

The Star-Ledger/**Eagleton-Rutgers Poll**

EMBARGOED – NOT FOR RELEASE UNTIL: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER, 23, 1996

RELEASE: SL/EP 59-1 (EP 109-1)

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A story based on the survey findings presented in this release and background memo will appear in Wednesday's *Star-Ledger*. We ask users to properly attribute this copyrighted information to "The Star-Ledger/Eagleton Poll."

In this release *The Star-Ledger/Eagleton Poll* includes a classification of likely voters that is based on how firmly they support a candidate. A "firm voter" is one who selects a candidate and says they are "very sure" about their choice and will not change their mind before the election. "Not firm voters" are those who select a candidate and say they might change their mind or who are initially undecided. Traditionally, election studies have grouped voters who "lean" toward a candidate with those who are "undecided." Voters who are "firm" in their choice of candidate or those who say they "might change" have been allocated to a specific candidate. A 1993 Eagleton post-election study showed that this traditional classification under-represents the larger group of voters who might change their minds prior to, or even on, Election Day.

All of the percentages in this release are based on New Jersey residents who report they are currently registered to vote.

The *Star-Ledger/Eagleton Poll* web address: <http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~eaglepol>

1996 NEW JERSEY ELECTIONS CLINTON CONTINUES TO LEAD DOLE; RECOGNITION OF SENATE CANDIDATES INCREASES

With about two weeks until Election Day, there are still about 1-in-4 registered New Jersey voters who are deciding on their choice for President. Among registered New Jersey voters who say they will not change their minds before Election Day, Clinton is ahead of Dole by a margin of 47 to 23 percent which is a slight increase for Clinton since September and about the same support for Dole. When voters who have made a choice but might change their mind before Election Day are included, Clinton leads Dole 55 to 28 percent. However, in a

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foreshadowing of the potential volatility of New Jersey's uncommitted voters there was some shifting of support before and after the October 16 debate. Among the 403 voters interviewed before the debate, Dole's support among the voters who made a choice was 31 percent and Clinton was at 50 percent. However, in the interviews conducted following the debate, Dole had support from 25 percent of the voters and Clinton's support was at 59 percent.

"The pre and post debate shifts in voter opinion may be a warning sign for Bill Clinton that uncertain voters can vacillate in their support for the President," commented Janice Ballou, Director of the Poll. "However, at this time their uncertainty has not turned into an advantage for Bob Dole. Voters who are not firm in their choice for President may have taken the first step – to have doubts about the selection of Bill Clinton, but they have not taken the second step of transferring their choice to Bob Dole."

The candidates in the U.S. Senate election have increased their recognition. Compared to the September Poll, more than twice as many voters can name either Dick Zimmer or Bob Torricelli as the U.S. Senate candidates. However, 51 percent are still not firm in their choice for Senator compared to 21 percent who firmly support Zimmer and 23 percent who are firm Torrecilli voters. When voters who might change their minds are included in the support for each candidate, by a margin of 40 to 35 percent more registered voters select Torricelli than select Zimmer.

"The U.S. Senate race is beginning to get the voters attention," commented Ballou. "However, with less than half of the voters firmly aligned with either candidate both Zimmer and Torricelli have opportunities to win this election."

The latest *Star-Ledger/Eagleton* Poll was conducted by telephone in two waves of interviews. The first wave of 403 interviews was conducted with a random sample of registered voters prior to the second Presidential debate from October 10 to 15, 1996 and the second wave of interviews with a random sample of 407 registered voters was conducted from October

17 to 20, 1996 for a total sample of 810. In the Congressional races in New Jersey, 40 percent of registered voters say that they will vote for a Democrat, 30 percent will select a Republican, and 30 percent say they do not know whom they will be voting for.

THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE

About 7-in-10 registered voters have selected a candidate for President. However, there are still 25 percent of the voters who are in the process of making a definite commitment to a presidential candidate. At this time President Clinton has a 47 to 23 percent lead over the challenger Bob Dole with 25 percent who may still change or make up their mind before Election Day and 5 percent who are firmly committed to Ross Perot (3%) or some other candidate (2%).

When the voters who are not firm about their choice for President are included in the candidates support, Clinton is selected by 55 percent – 47 percent who say they are firm in their choice and 8 percent who support him now, but may change their minds. In comparison, Dole is supported by 28 percent of the voters – 23 percent firm and 5 percent who support him now, but may change their minds. For both candidates these percentages are about the same as in the September poll.

However, there are indications in this poll of the potential for New Jersey voters to change their minds prior to Election Day. When comparisons are made between the interviews conducted before and after the October 16 debate, support for Dole prior to the debate was 31 percent among all voters who selected a candidate, but in the post debate interviews it was 25 percent. Bill Clinton was the pre-debate choice for 50 percent of the voters, however support shifted to 59 percent in the post debate interviews.

"The results of the pre-debate interviews suggest that Dole's consistent message about trust and integrity during Clinton's first term in office and his presence in New Jersey may have been creating doubts about voting for the President," commented Janice Ballou. "However,

following the second debate Dole's message and presence was not continued in New Jersey and the momentum he may have started did not carry through."

Currently, Bob Dole does not have the loyalty of as many Republican voters as Clinton has among Democrats. While 65 percent of the Republicans are firm in their support of Dole, Clinton has a firm commitment from 84 percent of the Democrats. Among independents who are firm in their choice, Clinton leads Dole 38 to 15 percent, with 35 percent who are not decisive about either candidate.

Firm support for the candidates among different segments of voters is as follows:

- Gender: Both men (44 to 28 percent) and women (49 to 20 percent) who are firm in their choice of candidates support Clinton more than Dole.
- Interest in the Election: Among New Jerseyans who say they have a lot of interest in the election, 50 percent are firm in their support for Clinton and 29 percent for Dole. In comparison, among those who have some interest Clinton's firm vote leads Dole's by a margin of 44 to 16 percent.
- Past Voting: Comparing the voters' choice of candidates in the 1992 Presidential election with their selection in 1996, 78 percent of New Jerseyans who voted for President Clinton in 1992 say that they are firm in their choice of Clinton in 1996 while 57 percent of Bush voters are firm about their choice of Dole. In addition, while more Perot voters are firm in their choice of Clinton (26%) compared to Dole (18%), 36 percent of these voters have not committed to either of these candidates.

The percentage of voters who say President Clinton deserves reelection remains about the same as in the September 1996 poll at 55 percent. The potential for change in support for Clinton is indicated among the critical group of voters who are not yet decisive about whom they will vote for. Among this group, there has been a decline of 9 percentage points from 49 to 40 percent who say Clinton deserves reelection and a 7 percentage point increase from 10 to 17 percent in those who say they don't know if the President deserves reelection.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Overall, more people have favorable (60%) than unfavorable (35%) impressions of Bill Clinton. In comparison, fewer New Jersey voters have favorable (36%) impressions of Bob Dole than have unfavorable (55%) impressions.

VIEWERSHIP AND IMPACT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

Overall, 60 percent of the voters report that they watched the Presidential debate on October 6 and 57 percent watched the October 16 debate. After the October 6 debate, about 7-in-10 voters who saw the debate said that there was no change in their opinion of Bill Clinton and about half said their opinion of Bob Dole had not changed. However, by a margin of 26 to 8 percent more voters who saw the first debate said they had a less favorable opinion of Bob Dole than felt this way about Bill Clinton. After the second debate, slightly more voters said they had less favorable views of both candidates. However, by a margin of 36 to 14 percent an even larger percentage of voters who had viewed the second debate said their impressions of Bob Dole became less favorable than said the same about Bill Clinton.

THE SENATE RACE

There has been a major increase in the recognition of the candidates for the U.S. Senate. Currently, about 4-in-10 of the voters can name Congressman Dick Zimmer and Congressman Bob Torricelli as the U.S. Senate candidates.

However, about 2-in-3 voters still do not have an impression of these candidates or do not know who they are. About equal percentages of the voters have favorable (16%) as have unfavorable (19%) impressions of Dick Zimmer. The percentages are similar for Bob Torricelli with 17 percent having favorable impressions of the Democrat compared to 20 percent unfavorable.

U.S. SENATE VOTE CHOICE

About half of New Jersey's voters have not made a definite choice about whom to vote for in the U.S. Senate election. At this time Bob Torricelli has firm support from 23 percent compared to 21 percent for Dick Zimmer. This represents a 7 percentage point increase for Zimmer from 14 percent in September and a 5 percentage point increase in the past month from Torricelli's 18 percent.

When the voters who might change their mind are included in the support for each candidate, Torricelli has a very slight lead over Zimmer by a margin of 40 to 35 percent.

Zimmer's firm commitment from Republicans (55%) is higher than the support Torricelli has from Democrats (47%). Among the key group of independent voters, the candidates have about equal percentages of firm voters with Torricelli at 17 percent and Zimmer with 15 percent, and 61 percent who are not firm about either candidate.

Firm support for the candidates among some different types of voters is as follows:

- **Region of the State:** Voters in North Jersey who are firm in their choice of a candidate favor Torricelli over Zimmer by a margin of 24 to 20 percent. Among Central Jersey voters Torricelli and Zimmer are about even with 25 to 23 percent. In South Jersey, the candidates are also even with Torricelli receiving support from 21 percent and Zimmer with 20 percent.
- **Gender:** About equal numbers of men who are firm in their choice of candidates support Zimmer (25%) and Torricelli (24%). In comparison, more women are firm in their choice of Torricelli (23%) than Zimmer (17%).

VIEWERSHIP AND IMPACT OF THE SENATE DEBATES

Few New Jersey voters watched either of the two Senate debates. Five percent report having watched the October 5 debate and 7 percent watched the October 17 debate.

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION

In addition to the Presidential and the Senatorial races, New Jersey voters will also be selecting their representatives to Congress. Overall, 40 percent say that they will select a

Democratic candidate, 30 percent a Republican candidate, and 30 percent do not have an opinion at this time.

SWING VOTERS

With two major elections in New Jersey where voters can show their partisan loyalty, only about 55 percent of New Jersey voters plan to vote the party line. While 33 percent say they will vote for Democrats in both the Presidential and Senate race, 22 percent are loyal to the Republicans in both contests. About equal percentages of Democrats (67%) and Republicans (64%) report that they will vote for their party in both races. While about half (47%) of the independent voters are undecided about both races, almost twice as many say they will vote for both Democratic candidates (24%) than say they will vote for both Republicans (13%) in the Presidential and U.S. Senate races.

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Note: Patrick Murray assisted in the development of this press release.

BACKGROUND MEMO — RELEASE SL/EP59-1 (EP109-1), WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 23, 1996

The latest *Star-Ledger/Eagleton* Poll was conducted between October 10 and 20, 1996, when a random sample of 810 New Jersey registered voters, 18 years and older, was interviewed by telephone. Figures based on this sample size are subject to a sampling error of about ± 3.5 percent at a 95 percent confidence interval.

The survey was conducted in two waves: 403 interviews were conducted October 10-15 (between the first and second Presidential debates) and 407 interviews were conducted between October 17-20 (after the final Presidential debate).

This release of the *Star-Ledger/Eagleton* Poll includes two classifications of registered voters based on their support for a candidate: 1) "Vote Choice - Traditional" refers to the initial preference for a candidate in a particular election. This group classification includes both firm and soft supporters of a candidate and groups of people who lean toward a candidate with undecided voters; 2) "Vote Choice - Firm" refers to how firmly voters support a candidate. A firm voter selects a candidate and says they are very sure about their choice and will not change their mind before the election. A not firm voter either selects a candidate and says they might change their mind or is initially undecided in their vote choice. Only voters who are firm are allocated to a specific candidate while all others are referred to as not firm. A 1993 Eagleton post-election study showed that the "Vote Choice - Traditional" underrepresents the group of voters who might change their minds prior to or even on Election Day.

Sampling error is the probable difference in results between interviewing everyone in the population versus a scientific sample taken from that population. Sampling error does not take into account other possible sources of error inherent in any study of public opinion. The questions and figures referred to in this release are presented below. The location of each question on the actual questionnaire is in brackets.

Note: The percentages in this release are based on registered voters.

"In November there will be an election for President and U.S. Senate in New Jersey -- do you think you definitely will vote, probably will vote, probably not vote, or definitely not vote?" [Q.6]

	<u>Definitely Vote</u>	<u>Probably Vote</u>	<u>Probably Not Vote</u>	<u>Definitely Not Vote</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	79%	15%	2%	1%	2%	99%	(810)
<u>PAST SURVEYS</u>							
September, 1996	80	17	1	--	1	99	(627)

"How much interest do you have in this election--a lot, some, a little or none at all?" [Q.7]

	<u>A Lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little/ None</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	57%	30%	12%	--	99%	(810)
<u>PAST SURVEYS</u>						
September, 1996	61	28	10	1	100	(627)
September, 1992 --Registered Voters	64	22	13	1	100	(663)

"And compared to the 1992 election, would you say that you are more interested or less interested in this year's Presidential campaign?" [Q.7A]

More	Less	About	Don't
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	<u>Interested</u>	<u>Interested</u>	<u>The Same</u>	<u>Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	49%	28%	22%	1%	100%	(810)

"In your opinion, how much of a difference will the outcome of this election make in the way the government is run for the next few years--a great deal of difference, some difference, or not very much difference?" [Q.8]

	<u>Great Deal</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not Very Much</u>	<u>Depends/ No Opinion</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	32%	36%	26%	7%	101%	(810)

PAST SURVEYS

September, 1996	36	36	24	4	100	(627)
September, 1992						
--Registered Voters	34	34	25	7	100	(663)

"I'd like to get your general impression of the presidential candidates. For each name I read, please tell me if your general impression of him is favorable or unfavorable. If you don't have an opinion on a candidate, just say so.

First, is your general impression of (START AT DESIGNATED POINT) favorable or unfavorable? [PROBE: Would that be very or somewhat (favorable/unfavorable)?]" [Q.9]

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
<u>DOLE</u>							
October, 1996 Total	12%	24%	25%	30%	9%	100%	(810)
September, 1996	14	26	26	26	8	100	(627)
June, 1996	13	24	19	16	26	98	(646)

CLINTON

October, 1996 Total	25%	35%	14%	21%	5%	100%	(810)
September, 1996	26	36	15	19	4	100	(627)
June, 1996	18	35	17	18	13	101	(646)

PEROT

October, 1996 Total	6%	18%	22%	34%	20%	100%	(810)
September, 1996	7	16	23	40	15	101	(627)

"If the election for President were held today and you had to choose between Bill Clinton, the Democrat; Bob Dole, the Republican; and Ross Perot, the Reform Party Candidate; who would you vote for? (IF RESPONDENT SAYS "OTHER," PROBE: "But, if you had to choose only between Clinton, Dole, and Perot who would you vote for?)" [Q.10]

"Are you very sure about your choice or do you think you might change your mind before election day?" [Q.11A]

If Chooses Candidate PROBE:

If undecided: "Do you lean more towards Clinton, more towards Dole, or more towards Perot?" [Q.12]

Combined Q.10, Q.11, Q.12

	<u>Firm Clinton</u>	<u>Soft Clinton</u>	<u>Lean Clinton</u>	<u>Firm Dole</u>	<u>Soft Dole</u>	<u>Lean Dole</u>	<u>Firm Perot</u>	<u>Soft Perot</u>	<u>Lean Perot</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	47%	8%	3%	23%	5%	1%	3%	4%	1%	2%	4%	101%	(810)
--Pre-debate 2	44	6	3	24	7	1	3	4	--	1	5	98	(403)
--Post-debates	50	9	2	23	2	1	3	4	1	2	3	100	(407)

Party ID

--Democrat	84	6	2	2	1	--	1	2	--	1	1	100	(282)
--Independent	38	12	2	15	6	2	7	7	1	3	6	99	(286)
--Republican	11	4	2	65	8	3	1	2	--	--	2	98	(208)

Gender

--Male	44	6	3	28	4	2	4	3	1	2	4	101	(387)
--Female	49	10	2	20	5	1	3	4	--	1	4	99	(423)

PAST SURVEYS

September, 1996	42	15	2	23	6	1	3	3	--	2	3	100	(627)
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"When did you decide who were going to vote for--[READ #1-4]" [Q.11B]

	In The Last Few Days	In The Last Couple Weeks	In The Last Month or Two	Did You Know All Along	Don't Know	Total	(n)
October, 1996 Total	3%	10%	25%	60%	2%	100%	(726)
--Pre-debate 2	4	10	23	61	2	100	(357)
--Post-debates	2	9	27	59	2	99	(369)

Vote Choice - Traditional

--Clinton	3	10	23	63	1	100	(441)
--Dole	4	8	27	60	2	101	(228)
--Perot	--	16	33	39	12	100	(57)

Vote Choice - Firm

--Clinton	2	6	22	70	--	100	(380)
--Dole	2	5	26	67	1	101	(190)
--Perot*							

* There are too few people in this category to include the percentages.

"Would you say you are voting more for (CANDIDATE NAMED IN Q.10 OR Q.12) or more against the other candidates?" [Q.13]

	More For	More Against	Don't Know	Total	(n)
October, 1996 Total	58%	38%	4%	100%	(763)
--Pre-debate 2	57	38	4	99	(378)
--Post-debates	58	38	4	100	(385)

Vote Choice - Traditional

--Clinton	66	30	4	100	(441)
--Dole	46	50	4	100	(228)
--Perot	47	49	4	100	(57)

Vote Choice - Firm

--Clinton	67	29	3	99	(380)
--Dole	48	48	4	100	(190)
--Perot*					

* There are too few people in this category to include the percentages.

Party ID

--Democrat	73	24	3	100	(277)
--Independent	49	47	4	100	(260)
--Republican	50	46	4	100	(203)

PAST SURVEYS

September, 1996	58	38	4	100	(598)
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VOTE CHOICE - TRADITIONAL*

Note: The traditional method of simplifying the vote choice has been to group the people who are "firm" and "soft" supporters of a candidate and combine people who "lean" towards a candidate with the undecided voters. The data for this classification is based on Q.10.

	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	28%	9%	55%	7%	2%	101%	(810)
--Pre-debate 2	31	10	50	7	1	99	(403)
--Post-debates	25	7	59	7	2	100	(407)
<i>Party ID</i>							
--Democrat	3	3	90	3	1	100	(282)
--Independent	22	11	50	14	3	100	(286)
--Republican	74	7	15	3	--	99	(208)
<i>Gender</i>							
--Male	32	10	50	7	2	101	(387)
--Female	25	8	59	7	1	100	(423)
<i>Age</i>							
--18 - 29	16	8	62	13	2	101	(112)
--30 - 49	29	6	56	8	1	100	(358)
--50 - 64	27	11	53	6	2	99	(175)
--65 and older	39	11	48	1	1	100	(147)
<i>Probability of Voting</i>							
--Definitely	30	8	55	6	1	100	(643)
--Probably	21	11	59	7	2	100	(123)
<i>Interest In Election</i>							
--A lot	33	6	55	4	2	100	(465)
--Some/Little	22	12	55	10	1	100	(315)
<i>Presidential Vote in 1992</i>							
--Voted Clinton	6	5	85	3	1	100	(342)
--Voted Bush	65	9	20	4	3	101	(266)
--Voted Perot	22	9	33	35	1	100	(91)
<i>Gubernatorial vote in 1993</i>							
--Voted Florio	4	6	85	5	1	101	(236)
--Vote Whitman	50	8	33	7	2	100	(351)
<i>Senate Race - Firm</i>							
--Firm Zimmer	76	4	14	5	1	100	(169)
--Not Firm	21	14	55	8	2	100	(410)
--Firm Torricelli	4	2	91	3	1	101	(190)
<u>PAST SURVEYS</u>							
September, 1996	29	6	57	6	2	100	(627)
<i>Party ID</i>							
--Democrat	2	5	91	2	--	100	(217)

--Independent	20	7	58	12	4	101	(226)
--Republican	78	4	14	3	1	100	(167)
June, 1996 - Registered Voters	34	8	53	N/A*	4	99	(646)

*N/A= Not asked

VOTE CHOICE - FIRM

Note: During this election the *Star-Ledger/Eagleton* Poll will be tracking the dynamics of voter "stability". Post-election analysis has substantiated the phenomena of voters "switching" candidates as late as Election Day. Firm voters are those who pick a candidate they support and say they will not change their minds prior to Election Day; voters who are not firm are either initially undecided or say that they might change their mind about who they will vote for. The data for these classifications are based on Q.10, Q.11 and Q.12.

	<u>Firm Dole</u>	<u>Not Firm</u>	<u>Firm Clinton</u>	<u>Firm Perot</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	23%	25%	47%	3%	2%	100%	(810)
--Pre-debate 2	24	27	44	3	1	99	(403)
--Post debates	23	22	50	3	2	100	(407)
<u>Party ID</u>							
--Democrat	2	11	84	1	1	99	(282)
--Independent	15	35	38	7	3	98	(286)
--Republican	65	22	11	1	--	99	(208)
<u>Does Clinton deserve Re-election?</u>							
--Re-election	1	18	78	2	--	99	(446)
--Time for change	59	26	7	5	3	100	(308)
<u>Presidential Vote in 1992</u>							
--Voted Clinton	3	17	78	1	1	100	(342)
--Voted Bush	57	25	14	1	3	100	(266)
--Voted Perot	18	36	26	19	1	100	(91)
<u>Gubernatorial Vote in 1993</u>							
--Voted Florio	3	14	80	3	1	101	(236)
--Voted Whitman	44	26	25	3	2	100	(351)
<u>Gender</u>							
--Male	28	22	44	4	2	100	(387)
--Female	20	27	49	3	1	100	(423)
<u>Age</u>							
--18 - 29	9	31	52	6	2	100	(112)
--30 - 49	24	23	48	4	1	100	(358)
--50 - 64	24	25	45	4	2	100	(175)
--65 and older	35	20	44	--	1	100	(147)
<u>Interest In The Election</u>							
--A lot	29	17	50	2	2	100	(465)
--Some/Little	16	35	44	5	1	101	(315)
<u>Probability of Voting</u>							
--Definitely vote	26	21	48	3	1	99	(643)
--Probably vote	15	33	48	2	2	100	(123)
<u>Senate Race - Firm</u>							
--Firm Zimmer	72	14	11	2	1	100	(169)
--Not Firm	15	35	44	4	2	100	(410)
--Firm Torricelli	2	11	85	2	1	101	(190)
<u>PAST SURVEYS</u>							
September, 1996	23	30	42	3	2	100	(627)
<u>Party ID</u>							
--Democrat	2	17	79	1	--	99	(217)
--Independent	14	40	37	5	4	100	(226)
--Republican	65	29	5	1	1	101	(167)

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June, 1996 - Registered Voters	24	36	36	N/A	4	100	(646)
<i>Party ID</i>							
--Democrat	2	25	70	N/A	2	99	(212)
--Independent	21	46	28	N/A	5	100	(228)
--Republican	57	34	7	N/A	3	101	(176)
* N/A= Not asked							

“Did you watch the October 6th Presidential debate between Clinton and Dole?” [Q.24]

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	60%	40%	--	100%	(810)
<i>Vote Choice - Firm</i>					
--Firm Dole	71	29	--	100	(190)
--Not Firm	52	48	1	101	(199)
--Firm Clinton	62	38	--	100	(380)

“Based on what you saw or heard about the debate, did your overall impression of Bill Clinton become more favorable, less favorable, or didn't you view of him change?” [Q.24A]

	<u>More Favorable</u>	<u>Less Favorable</u>	<u>Didn't Change</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	25%	9%	66%	--	100%	(488)
<i>Vote Choice - Firm</i>						
--Firm Dole	3	22	75	--	100	(134)
--Not Firm	19	10	71	--	100	(103)
--Firm Clinton	42	--	58	--	100	(236)

“Based on what you saw or heard about the debate, did your overall impression of Bob Dole become more favorable, less favorable, or didn't your view of him change?” [Q.24B]

	<u>More Favorable</u>	<u>Less Favorable</u>	<u>Didn't Change</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	23%	26%	51%	--	100%	(488)
<i>Vote Choice - Firm</i>						
--Firm Dole	46	2	51	--	99	(134)
--Not Firm	30	24	46	--	100	(103)
--Firm Clinton	7	40	53	--	100	(236)

“Did you watch the October 16th Presidential debate between Clinton and Dole?” [Q.25]

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	57%	42%	1%	100%	(407)
<i>Vote Choice - Firm</i>					
--Firm Dole	65	35	--	100	(92)
--Not Firm	51	48	1	100	(89)
--Firm Clinton	57	41	1	99	(204)

Watched October 6th Debate

--Yes	74	24	2	100	(268)
--No	23	77	--	100	(137)

"Based on what you saw or heard about the debate, did your overall impression of Bill Clinton become more favorable, less favorable, or didn't your view of him change?" [Q.25A]

	<u>More Favorable</u>	<u>Less Favorable</u>	<u>Didn't Change</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	28%	14%	58%	1%	101%	(232)

Vote Choice - Firm

--Firm Dole	3	37	60	--	100	(60)
--Not Firm	20	7	71	2	100	(45)
--Firm Clinton	44	2	53	1	100	(117)

"Based on what you saw or heard about the debate, did your overall impression of Bob Dole become more favorable, less favorable, or didn't your view of him change?" [Q.25B]

	<u>More Favorable</u>	<u>Less Favorable</u>	<u>Didn't Change</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	22%	36%	41%	1%	100%	(232)

Vote Choice - Firm

--Firm Dole	55	3	42	--	100	(60)
--Not Firm	18	27	53	2	100	(45)
--Firm Clinton	7	56	36	1	100	(117)

"Thinking about the job that Bill Clinton has done as President, do you think he deserves to be re-elected, or do you think it's time for a change?" [Q.28]

	<u>Deserves Re-election</u>	<u>Time For Change</u>	<u>Depends</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	55%	38%	2%	5%	100%	(810)

Party ID

--Democrat	87	10	--	2	99	(282)
--Independent	50	41	3	6	100	(286)
--Republican	18	76	--	5	99	(208)

Vote Choice - Traditional

--Dole	4	93	--	3	100	(228)
--Undecided	37	24	3	36	100	(70)
--Clinton	89	8	1	2	100	(441)
--Perot	32	58	7	4	101	(57)

Vote Choice - Firm

--Firm Dole	3	96	--	2	101	(190)
--Not Firm	40	40	4	17	101	(199)
--Firm Clinton	92	6	1	1	100	(380)

PAST SURVEYS

September, 1996	55	40	1	3	99	(627)
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Party ID

--Democrat	88	9	1	2	100	(217)
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--Independent	54	41	--	4	99	(226)
--Republican	14	82	1	3	100	(167)
June, 1996 - Registered Voters	51	42	3	4	100	(646)
February, 1996	50	39	6	5	100	(676)

THE SENATORIAL ELECTION

"Do you know who the (Republican/Democratic) candidate for Senator is? [Q.29, Q.33] ASKED OF THOSE NOT NAMING CANDIDATE: The (Republican/Democratic) candidate is (Dick Zimmer/Bob Torricelli) – have you ever heard of him before?" [Q.30/Q.34]

	<u>Names</u>	<u>Recognizes</u>	<u>Doesn't Recognize</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
ZIMMER					
October, 1996 Total	39%	48%	13%	100%	(810)
--Pre-debate 2	34	50	16	100	(403)
--Post-debates	44	45	11	100	(407)
<u>Party ID</u>					
--Democrat	37	49	15	101	(282)
--Independent	39	47	14	100	(286)
--Republican	47	43	10	100	(208)
TORRICELLI					
October, 1996 Total	43%	45%	12%	100%	(810)
--Pre-debate 2	38	49	13	100	(403)
--Post-debates	47	42	11	100	(407)
<u>Party ID</u>					
--Democrat	43	43	15	101	(282)
--Independent	43	46	11	100	(286)
--Republican	44	47	9	100	(208)

PAST SURVEYS**ZIMMER**

September, 1996	13	48	39	100	(627)
June, 1996 - Registered Voters	15	43	41	99	(646)

TORRICELLI

September, 1996	20	46	34	100	(627)
June, 1996 - Registered Voters	19	40	41	100	(646)

ASKED OF THOSE NAMING OR HEARD OF CANDIDATE:

"How much do you think you know about (Zimmer/Torricelli) – a lot, some, or a little?" [Q.31/Q.35]

	<u>A Lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>A Little</u>	<u>Nothing At All</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Don't Recognize Candidate</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
ZIMMER								
October, 1996 Total	5%	18%	51%	13%	--	14%	101%	(810)
--Pre-debate 2	5	17	49	13	--	16	100	(403)
--Post-debates	4	18	54	13	--	11	100	(407)
TORRICELLI								
October, 1996 Total	8%	20%	48%	11%	--	13%	100%	(810)
--Pre-debate 2	7	19	48	12	--	14	100	(403)
--Post-debates	8	21	48	10	--	12	99	(407)

PAST SURVEYS**ZIMMER**

September, 1996	4	11	38	8	--	39	100	(627)
June, 1996 - Registered Voters	3	11	29	15	--	41	99	(646)

TORRICELLI

September, 1996	5	17	36	8	--	34	100	(627)
June, 1996 - Registered Voters	4	14	28	12	--	41	99	(646)

"Is your general impression of (Torrice/Zimmer) favorable, unfavorable, or don't you have an opinion about him? PROBE: Is that very or somewhat (favorable/unfavorable)?" [Q.32, Q.36]

	Very Favorable	Somewhat Favorable	Somewhat Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Don't Know/No Opinion	Don't Recognize Candidate	Total	(n)
ZIMMER								
October, 1996 Total	6%	10%	11%	8%	52%	13%	100%	(810)
<i>Party ID</i>								
--Democrat	1	4	16	14	51	15	101	(282)
--Independent	3	11	11	6	55	14	100	(286)
--Republican	17	18	5	2	49	10	101	(208)
<i>Vote Choice - Traditional</i>								
--Zimmer	15	26	3	1	48	7	100	(285)
--Undecided	1	2	3	4	72	18	100	(160)
--Torrice	1	2	21	15	46	15	100	(324)
<i>Vote Choice - Firm</i>								
--Firm Zimmer	25	28	1	1	40	5	100	(169)
--Not Firm	--	7	8	4	63	18	100	(410)
--Firm Torrice	2	3	25	22	40	9	101	(190)
TORRICELLI								
October, 1996 Total	5%	12%	11%	9%	50%	12%	99%	(810)
<i>Party ID</i>								
--Democrat	9	18	7	2	48	15	99	(282)
--Independent	3	14	10	9	52	11	99	(286)
--Republican	1	3	18	20	49	9	100	(208)
<i>Vote Choice - Traditional</i>								
--Zimmer	--	2	20	22	45	11	100	(285)
--Undecided	1	4	4	4	71	18	102	(160)
--Torrice	12	27	6	--	45	10	100	(324)
<i>Vote Choice - Firm</i>								
--Firm Zimmer	--	1	24	32	36	7	100	(169)
--Not Firm	--	8	8	4	64	16	100	(410)
--Firm Torrice	19	34	4	--	35	7	99	(190)
PAST SURVEYS								
ZIMMER								
September, 1996	3	9	3	3	43	39	99	(627)
<i>Party ID</i>								
--Democrat	1	4	4	4	40	47	100	(217)
--Independent	2	5	3	4	45	42	101	(226)
--Republican	7	21	2	1	42	26	99	(167)
June, 1996 - Registered Voters	3	9	3	3	40	41	99	(646)
TORRICELLI								
September, 1996	4	11	5	5	42	34	101	(627)
<i>Party ID</i>								
--Democrat	7	16	2	2	37	36	100	(217)
--Independent	2	12	4	5	42	36	101	(226)
--Republican	1	3	13	8	47	28	100	(167)
June, 1996 - Registered Voters	4	10	4	3	38	41	100	(646)

"Suppose the election for Senator was held today and you had to choose right now. Would you vote for Dick Zimmer, the Republican; or Bob Torricelli, the Democrat? [Q.37] (Candidates' names are rotated) (IF CHOOSES CANDIDATE, PROBE: Are you very sure about your choice, or might you change your mind before the election?) [Q.38] (IF UNDECIDED, PROBE: At this moment do you lean more toward Zimmer or more toward Torricelli?) [Q.37]

	<i>(Firm)</i>		<u>Initially Undecided</u>			<i>(Soft)</i>		<i>(Firm)</i>		<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
	<u>Sure About Zimmer</u>	<i>(Soft)</i> <u>Picks Zimmer</u> (But might change)	<u>Leans Zimmer</u>	<u>Does Not Lean</u>	<u>Leans Torricelli</u>	<i>(Soft)</i> <u>Picks Torricelli</u> (But might change)	<u>Sure About Torricelli</u>	<u>Other</u>			
October, 1996 Total	21%	14%	2%	15%	3%	17%	23%	5%	100%	(810)	
--Pre-debate 2	20	14	3	15	2	18	23	5	100	(403)	
--Post-debates	22	15	1	15	3	15	24	5	100	(407)	
<i>Party ID</i>											
--Democrat	3	5	--	12	4	24	47	4	99	(282)	
--Independent	15	18	2	18	3	19	17	8	100	(286)	
--Republican	55	21	3	11	--	3	3	2	98	(208)	
PAST SURVEYS											
September, 1996	14	18	2	18	4	20	18	5	99	(627)	
<i>Party ID</i>											
--Democrat	2	4	1	15	6	31	39	2	100	(217)	
--Independent	8	18	2	24	4	22	12	10	100	(226)	
--Republican	41	37	5	11	1	1	1	3	100	(167)	
June, 1996 - Registered Voters	14	17	3	21	2	21	18	5	101	(646)	

VOTE CHOICE - TRADITIONAL Note: The traditional method of simplifying the vote choice has been to group the people who are "firm" and "soft" supporters of a candidate and combine people who "lean" towards a candidate with the undecided voters. The data for this classification is based on Q.36.

	<u>Zimmer</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Torricelli</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	35%	20%	40%	5%	100%	(810)
--Pre-debate 2	34	21	41	5	101	(403)
--Post-debates	37	19	39	5	100	(407)
<i>Party ID</i>						
--Democrat	8	16	71	4	99	(282)
--Independent	33	23	36	8	100	(286)
--Republican	76	15	6	2	99	(208)
<i>Gender</i>						
--Male	39	17	39	5	100	(387)
--Female	32	22	41	5	100	(423)
<i>Age</i>						
--18 - 29	29	20	41	11	101	(112)
--30 - 49	36	19	41	4	100	(358)
--50 - 64	38	21	38	3	100	(175)
--65 and older	37	18	41	3	99	(147)
<i>Interest In The Election</i>						
--A lot	36	17	41	5	99	(465)
--Some/Little	34	23	39	3	99	(315)
<i>Probability of Voting</i>						
--Definitely will vote	35	19	42	4	100	(643)
--Probably will vote	36	24	36	5	101	(123)
PAST SURVEYS						
September, 1996	32	25	38	5	100	(627)
<i>Party ID</i>						
--Democrat	6	22	70	2	100	(217)
--Independent	26	30	35	10	101	(226)
--Republican	78	17	2	3	100	(167)
June, 1996 - Registered Voters	31	26	39	5	101	(646)

VOTE CHOICE - FIRM Note: During this election the *Star-Ledger/Eagleton* Poll will be tracking the dynamics of voter "stability". Post-election analysis has substantiated the phenomena of voters "switching" candidates as late as Election Day. Firm voters are those who pick a candidate they support and say they will not change their minds prior to Election Day; voters who are not firm are either initially undecided or say that they might change their mind about who they will vote for. The data for these classifications are based on Q.37 and Q.38.

	<u>Zimmer</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Toricelli</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	21%	51%	23%	5%	100%	(810)
-- <i>Pre-debate 2</i>	20	53	23	5	101	(403)
-- <i>Post-debates</i>	22	48	24	5	99	(407)
<u>Party ID</u>						
--Democrat	3	46	47	4	100	(282)
--Independent	15	61	17	8	101	(286)
--Republican	55	39	3	2	99	(208)
<u>Gender</u>						
--Male	25	46	24	5	100	(387)
--Female	17	55	23	5	100	(423)
<u>Age</u>						
--18 - 29	10	63	16	11	100	(112)
--30 - 49	20	53	23	4	100	(358)
--50 - 64	21	52	24	3	100	(175)
--65 and older	33	33	31	3	100	(147)
<u>1992 Presidential Vote</u>						
--Vote Clinton	6	47	43	4	100	(342)
--Vote Bush	44	46	4	6	100	(266)
--Vote Perot	19	63	12	7	101	(91)
<u>1993 Gubernatorial Vote</u>						
--Vote Florio	3	39	54	4	100	(236)
--Vote Whitman	37	50	9	4	100	(351)
<u>Region</u>						
--North	20	51	24	5	100	(368)
--Central	23	47	25	5	100	(212)
--South	20	53	21	6	100	(222)
<u>1996 Presidential - Firm</u>						
--Firm Dole	64	33	2	2	101	(190)
--Not Firm	12	72	11	6	101	(199)
--Firm Clinton	5	48	42	5	100	(380)
<u>PAST SURVEYS</u>						
September, 1996	14	62	18	5	99	(627)
<u>Party ID</u>						
--Democrat	2	57	39	2	100	(217)
--Independent	8	70	12	10	101	(226)
--Republican	41	55	1	3	100	(167)
June, 1996 - Registered Voters	14	63	18	5	100	(646)

"When did you decide who were going to vote for--[**READ #1-4**]?" [Q.39B]

	<u>In The Last Few Days</u>	<u>In The Last Couple Weeks</u>	<u>In The Last Month or Two</u>	<u>Did You Know All Along</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	23%	20%	16%	30%	10%	99%	(609)
<u>Vote Choice - Traditional</u>							
--Zimmer	24	20	19	27	11	101	(285)
--Torricelli	23	20	15	33	9	100	(324)
<u>Vote Choice - Firm</u>							
--Zimmer	13	18	28	38	3	100	(169)
--Torricelli	12	19	19	46	3	99	(190)
--Not Firm	39	22	6	12	20	99	(250)

"Would you say you are voting more for (**CANDIDATE NAMED IN Q.37 OR Q.38**) or against the other candidate?" [Q.40]

	<u>More For</u>	<u>More Against</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	51%	37%	12%	100%	(645)
<u>Vote Choice - Traditional</u>					
--Zimmer	50	40	10	100	(285)
--Torricelli	52	36	13	101	(324)
<u>Vote Choice - Firm</u>					
--Zimmer	55	42	3	100	(169)
--Torricelli	59	35	6	100	(190)
--Not Firm	42	36	22	100	(286)
<u>Party ID</u>					
--Democrat	52	36	12	100	(236)
--Independent	45	43	12	100	(213)
--Republican	57	33	9	99	(180)
<u>PAST SURVEYS</u>					
September, 1996	52	32	16	100	(480)

"Did you watch the October 5th Senate debate between Zimmer and Torricelli?" [Q.45]

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	5%	95%	--	100%	(810)
<u>Vote Choice - Firm</u>					
--Firm Zimmer	8	91	1	100	(169)
--Not Firm	3	97	--	100	(410)
--Firm Torricelli	7	93	--	100	(190)

"Based on what you saw or heard about the debate, did your overall impression of Dick Zimmer become more favorable, less favorable, or didn't your view of him change?" [Q.45A]

	<u>More Favorable</u>	<u>Less Favorable</u>	<u>Didn't Change</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	28%	15%	51%	5%	99%	(39)

"Based on what you saw or heard about the debate, did your overall impression of Bob Torricelli become more favorable, less favorable, or didn't your view of him change?" [Q.45B]

	<u>More Favorable</u>	<u>Less Favorable</u>	<u>Didn't Change</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	10%	28%	59%	3%	100%	(39)

"Did you watch the October 17th Senate debate between Zimmer and Torricelli?" [Q.46]

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	7%	93%	--	100%	(310)

Vote Choice - Firm

--Firm Zimmer	4	96	--	100	(70)
--Not Firm	7	93	--	100	(147)
--Firm Torricelli	8	92	--	100	(75)

"Based on what you saw or heard about the debate, did your overall impression of Dick Zimmer become more favorable, less favorable, or didn't your view of him change?" [Q.46A]

	<u>More Favorable</u>	<u>Less Favorable</u>	<u>Didn't Change</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	19%	24%	57%	--	100%	(21)

"Based on what you saw or heard about the debate, did your overall impression of Bob Torricelli become more favorable, less favorable, or didn't your view of him change?" [Q.46B]

	<u>More Favorable</u>	<u>Less Favorable</u>	<u>Didn't Change</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	29%	24%	48%	--	101%	(21)

"There will be an election for the U.S. House of Representatives in your district in November. If you were voting today, would you vote for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?" [Q.49]

<u>Democratic Candidate</u>	<u>Republican Candidate</u>	<u>Other Candidate</u>	<u>Undecided/ No Opinion</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	40%	30%	--	30%	100% (810)

Party ID

--Democrat	79	2	--	18	99 (282)
--Independent	30	24	--	45	99 (286)
--Republican	4	81	--	15	100 (208)

PAST SURVEYS

September, 1996	38	34	1	26	99 (627)
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Party ID

--Democrat	80	4	--	16	100 (217)
--Independent	28	28	3	42	101 (226)
--Republican	1	86	1	13	101 (167)
September, 1994	33	33	1	33	100 (598)

VOTE CHOICE – PRESIDENT AND SENATE

Note: The following data is based on the traditional vote choice for the President and Senate. [Q.10 and Q.37]

	<u>Solid Democrat</u>	<u>Solid Republican</u>	<u>Senate-Democrat President-Republican</u>	<u>Senate Republican President-Democrat</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
October, 1996 Total	33%	22%	3%	9%	34%	101%	(810)
<i>Party ID</i>							
--Democrat	67	1	1	6	25	100	(282)
--Independent	24	13	5	12	47	101	(286)
--Republican	3	64	2	9	21	99	(208)
<i>Gender</i>							
--Male	32	26	3	7	32	100	(387)
--Female	34	18	2	10	35	99	(423)
<u>PAST SURVEYS</u>							
September, 1996	32	22	2	8	37	101	(627)
<i>Party ID</i>							
--Democrat	66	1	--	5	28	100	(217)
--Independent	24	11	3	10	52	100	(226)
--Republican	1	66	1	9	23	100	(167)
<i>Gender</i>							
--Male	29	27	2	7	35	100	(324)
--Female	35	17	2	8	38	100	(303)
June, 1996 - Registered Voters	33	21	5	6	35	100	(646)