

The Star-Ledger/Eagleton-Rutgers Poll

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A story based on the survey findings presented in this release and background memo will appear in Sunday'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, unless otherwise indicated, are based on New Jersey residents who are likely to vote on Election Day. Likely voters are defined as registered voters who report that they will definitely or probably vote and either have a lot of interest in this election or have voted in at least 4 of the past 5 elections.

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

1996 NEW JERSEY ELECTIONS

A STATE IN FLUX

CLINTON'S LEAD DECLINES; ZIMMER AND TORRICELLI EVEN

VOTER INTEREST DROPS

While President Bill Clinton still leads former Senator Bob Dole 45 to 34 percent, there has been a 10 percentage point decline in the President's support since the poll conducted in mid-October. In addition, President Clinton who has had support for re-election among a majority of New Jersey voters since February, now finds the state's likely voters reconsidering him as their choice to lead the country for the next four years. Forty-six percent of likely voters say that the President deserves re-election which is a 10 percentage point decline

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since the mid-October poll. While Bob Dole is the benefactor of some of this discontent with Clinton, Ross Perot is gaining about the same proportion of those who are moving from Clinton. Independent voters, voters aged 50 to 64 years old, and voters who are 18-29 years old are examples of groups where Clinton's strong lead is eroding.

“With just a few days left before voters have to decide on a candidate, there are notable changes occurring in the Presidential election,” commented Janice Ballou, Director of the Poll. “There is a historical decline in interest in this election and voters who consistently supported Clinton throughout the fall are now reconsidering a second Clinton administration.”

In the campaign for the U.S. Senate, the support for both Bob Torricelli the Democrat and Dick Zimmer the Republican is even at 42 to 41 percent. While the percentage of undecided voters has declined, there are still 15 percent of likely voters who have not decided which candidate to vote for. In addition, there is an 17 percentage point difference in those who say they definitely will vote in the Presidential election compared to the U.S. Senate race.

“Adding to the uncertainty of the outcome of the U.S. Senate race is an expected drop-off in the number of voters who will be selecting one of the candidates,” said Ballou. “A different group of voters will probably elect the Senator from New Jersey than pull the lever for President.”

The latest poll also shows shifts in likely voters' opinions about the Congressional races in New Jersey. Currently 40 percent say they will vote for a Democratic candidate, 36 percent for a Republican, and 22 percent of likely voters say they are still undecided. This is a 1 percentage point decline for Democratic candidates from the October poll and a 4 percentage increase for Republicans.

The latest *Star-Ledger/Eagleton* Poll was conducted by telephone with a random sample of 841 registered voters from October 29 to November 1, 1996. While this release includes some comparisons with registered voters, the main focus of the results focus on 559 likely voters. Likely voters are the group of registered New Jersey voters who say that they are definitely or probably going to vote on Election Day and either have a lot of interest in the election or have voted in four of the past five major elections.

THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE

Bill Clinton's lead over Bob Dole has declined 10 percentage points from 55 to 45 percent among likely voters. Bob Dole's current support is 34 percent, and Ross Perot's support is 7 percent.

While Bob Dole has gained 2 percentage points, Perot the Reform Party candidate has also gained 3 percentage points since the October poll. In addition, the percentage of likely voters who are reporting that they are undecided has increased from 7 to 11 percent rather than decreasing as one would expect this close to Election Day.

Bill Clinton continues to have more support among likely Democratic voters (87%) than Bob Dole has among likely Republican voters (76%). These percentages indicate a slight decline in both Clinton's and Dole's partisan support from the October poll. Among the key group of likely independent voters, Bill Clinton is experiencing a 17 percentage point decline from 51 to 34 percent. These independent voters' support for Dole is about the same as in October--27 percent. However, undecided likely independent voters have increased 7 percentage points from 11 to 18 percent and support for Perot and other candidates shifted 10 percentage points from 10 to 20.

Changes in support for the Presidential candidates has also occurred among different segments of likely voters:

- **Gender:** Among men, Clinton and Dole are about even 39 to 38 percent. This represents a 12 percentage point decline in support for Clinton among likely male voters. Women's support for Clinton has also declined. Currently, Clinton leads Dole among likely women voters by a margin of 51 to 31 percent. Likely women voters have reduced their support for Clinton by 8 percentage points.
- **Time of Vote Decision:** Among likely voters who say they have decided on who they would vote for in the last few days or last few weeks, Clinton leads Dole by a margin of 44 to 29 percent. Clinton leads Dole among those who decided in the last month or two (57-31%), and among those who say they have known who they would vote for all along (52-43%).
- **U.S. Senate Vote Choice:** Seventy-three percent of the likely voters who say they will select Dick Zimmer also say they will vote for Bob Dole. In comparison, 79 percent of Torricelli voters are planning to vote for Bill Clinton. Likely voters who

are still undecided in their choice for U.S. Senate, select Clinton over Dole by a margin of 48 to 13 percent.

- **Past Voting:** Comparing the voters' choice of candidates in the 1992 Presidential election with their selection in 1996, 81 percent of New Jerseyans who voted for President Clinton in 1992 say that they will vote for him in 1996. In comparison, 73 percent of likely voters who selected Bush in 1992 say they will vote for Dole.

Overall, likely voters who select Clinton are making a positive choice for President with 71 percent reporting they are voting more for the President than against the other candidates. In comparison, the majority of Dole (54%) and Perot (51%) voters say their choice is more a vote against the other candidates.

For the first time since February 1996, less than half of New Jersey voters say President Clinton deserves to be re-elected. Forty-six percent of likely voters now say that the President deserves to be re-elected which is a 10 percentage point decline from the 56 percent just a few weeks ago. An indicator of the potential vulnerability of the President on Election Day is the 9 percentage point decline in Democrats who say he deserves re-election. In addition, there is a 13 percent point decline among likely independent voters who think he should be re-elected.

THE SENATE RACE

In the U.S. Senate race the two candidates continue to get about equal percentages of support from likely voters. Forty-two percent of the voters select Bob Torricelli compared to 41 percent for Dick Zimmer with a sizeable 15 percent still undecided. This represents a 4 percentage point increase for Zimmer from 37 percent in October and a 1 percentage point decline in the past few weeks from Torricelli's 43 percent among likely voters.

Zimmer's support from Republicans (85%) is higher than the support Torricelli has from Democrats (79%). Among the key group of independent voters, there is a large 21 percent who are undecided with Torricelli having a somewhat larger 39 percent of support from these likely independent voters compared to 36 percent for Zimmer.

Support for the candidates among some different types of likely voters is as follows:

- **Region of the State:** Forty-three percent of likely voters in North Jersey favor Torricelli and Zimmer. Among Central Jersey voters Zimmer and Torricelli are even at 43 to 41 percent. In South Jersey, Zimmer is favored over Torricelli by a margin of 39 to 40 percent.
- **Gender:** Men are more likely to support Zimmer (45%) than Torricelli (39%) equally. In comparison, slightly more women select Torricelli (45%) rather than Zimmer (37%).
- **Age:** In all age categories except those who are 65 years old or older (Torricelli 54%/Zimmer 32%), Zimmer has more support than Torricelli: including 18-29 years old (Zimmer 44%/Torricelli 36%); 30-49 years old (Zimmer 43%/Torricelli 40%); 50-64 years old (Zimmer 45%/Torricelli 42%).
- **Presidential Vote Choice:** Dole supporters (87%) are more likely to select Zimmer than Clinton supporters (74%) are to select Torricelli.
- **Time of Vote Decision:** Among likely voters who say they have decided on who they would vote for in the last few days or in the last couple of weeks Torricelli leads Zimmer by a margin of 57 to 43 percent. Zimmer has a slight lead among those who have determined their vote choice within the last month or two (51-49%), and among those who say they have known who they would vote for all along (55-45%).

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION

In addition to the Presidential and the Senatorial races, New Jersey voters will also be selecting their representatives to Congress. Overall, among likely voters 36 percent say that they will select a Republican candidate, 40 percent a Democratic candidate, and 22 percent do not have an opinion at this time. Compared to a few weeks ago, Republicans have increased their support by 4 percentage points from 32 percent compared to a decline of 1 percentage point from 41 percent among likely voters who say that they'll support a Democratic candidate. Dole supporters (77%) are somewhat more likely than Clinton

supporters (72%) to say that they will support the candidate representing the party of their choice for President.

SWING VOTERS

With two major elections in New Jersey where voters can show their partisan loyalty, 61 percent of likely New Jersey voters plan to vote the party line. While 32 percent say they will vote for Democrats in both the Presidential and Senate race, 29 percent are loyal to the Republicans in both contests. About equal percentages of Democrats (67%) and Republicans (69%) report that they will vote for their party in both races. While about 5-in-10 (53%) of the independent voters are undecided or have selected Perot, 22 percent say they will vote for both Democratic candidates compared to 16 percent who will vote for both Republicans in the Presidential and U.S. Senate races.

MOMENTUM, VOLATILITY, AND TURNOUT

Pre-election polls provide an overview of the dynamics of an election as they unfold. However, even though there are only a few days until Election Day, there are indicators of a lot of activity during the remaining hours prior to the election. In the presidential race Bob Dole is at the beginning of his 96 hour campaign marathon and Bill Clinton and the Democrats are struggling with increasing numbers of accusations about campaign finance irregularities and about the alleged mis-management of the government. In the election for U.S. Senate, both candidates are releasing new advertisements during this final weekend to convince voters to select them on November 5. Since there are still many undecided voters and voters who are not firm in their commitment to any specific candidate, the events of the final hours prior to Election Day may influence the final outcome of the Presidential and the U.S. Senate contests.

– Momentum

In the Presidential race, the momentum over the past few days is in favor of Bob Dole and Ross Perot. The President who has enjoyed a consistent solid lead since June, has fallen below the 50 percent he needs for a decisive win in New Jersey.

At this time, there are not any indicators that either candidate in the U.S. Senate race has more momentum than the other during the last few days of this election. However,

turnout, rather than momentum may be the factor that determines which candidate will get Bill Bradley's Senate seat.

– ***Volatility***

Voter volatility has become typical in New Jersey elections, and there are several indicators this volatility will be present in the 1996 elections. In this poll, voters were asked three questions about their vote choice on Election Day, 46 percent are consistent in their choice of Clinton, 34 percent for Dole, and 8 percent for Perot or some other candidate. However, 4 percent stayed undecided and 9 percent switched their choices during the interview. In the race for U.S. Senate, likely voters had two opportunities to report who they would vote for. Forty percent consistently name Zimmer, 40 percent Torricelli, 2 percent some other candidate, 8 percent undecided, and 10 percent switched their choices during the interview.

In addition, 12 percent of these likely voters have been very late deciders in past elections and have made up or changed their minds while they were in the voting booth. There are about equal percentages of these late deciders among supporters of all of the candidates for President and for the U.S. Senate.

– ***Turnout***

It is expected that voter turnout in the 1996 election will decline from the 82 percent of registered voters who participated in 1992. In the final poll in 1992, 79 percent of the registered voters reported a lot of interest in the election compared to 53 percent in 1996. Interest in the 1992 election grew larger the closer it got to election day from 64 percent in September to 79 percent in the final poll. In comparison, from September to the final poll in the 1996 election there has been an 8 percentage point decline in those who have a lot of interest from 61 to 53 percent. It is expected that there will be an even greater decline in participation in the U.S. Senate race. While 83 percent say that they are definitely going to vote for President, there is a decline to 66 percent who say they definitely plan to vote in the

ESTIMATION OF ELECTION RESULTS

U.S. Senate election.

“If the election were held today,” the final vote could be estimated based on this pre-election poll data. Included in the calculation for this estimate are party loyalty, commitment to a candidate, interest in the election, probability of voting, and past voting behaviors. Undecided voters in the presidential and the senatorial elections were allocated to the candidates based on these criteria. Currently, Clinton is estimated to win the election for President. Statistically, the Senate race is too close to determine a winner. Based on these estimates, it is expected that the results will be as follows:

<i>CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT</i>	
Clinton	49%
Dole	41
Perot	7
Other	3

<i>CHOICE FOR U.S. SENATE</i>	
Torricelli	49%
Zimmer	48
Other	3

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

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BACKGROUND MEMO — RELEASE SL/EP60-1 (EP110-1), SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1996

The latest *Star-Ledger/Eagleton* Poll was conducted between October 29 and November 1, 1996, when a random sample of 1021 New Jersey residents 18 years and older was interviewed by telephone.

Figures are reported for 841 registered voters and 559 likely voters. Figures based on the sample of registered voters are subject to a sampling error of about ±3.5 percent at a 95 percent confidence interval. The sampling error for likely voters is ±4.5 percent.

Likely voters are defined as registered voters who report that they will definitely or probably vote and either have a lot of interest in this election or have voted in at least 4 of the past 5 statewide elections.

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 and likely voters. All of the sub-classifications are for likely voters unless otherwise indicated.

"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]

	Definitely <u>Vote</u>	Probably <u>Vote</u>	Probably <u>Not Vote</u>	Definitely <u>Not Vote</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
November, 1996							
--Registered Voters	83%	14%	2%	1%	1%	101%	(841)
<u>Party ID</u>							
--Democrat	84	12	2	--	1	99	(292)
--Independent	78	18	2	1	--	99	(250)
--Republican	88	10	1	1	--	100	(254)
<u>PAST SURVEYS</u>							
October, 1996							
--Registered Voters	79	15	2	1	2	99	(810)
September, 1996							
--Registered Voters	80	17	1	--	1	99	(627)

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

	<u>A</u> <u>Lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little/</u> <u>None</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
November, 1996						
--Registered Voters	53%	33%	12%	1%	99%	(841)
<u>Party ID</u>						
--Democrat	57	31	11	1	100	(292)
--Independent	46	36	17	1	100	(250)
--Republican	58	32	10	1	101	(254)

PAST SURVEYS

October, 1996						
--Registered Voters	57	30	12	--	99	(810)
September, 1996						
--Registered Voters	61	28	10	1	100	(627)
September, 1992						
--Registered Voters	64	22	13	1	100	(663)

"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?[Q.10]

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

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</u> <u>Clinton</u>	<u>Soft</u> <u>Clinton</u>	<u>Lean</u> <u>Clinton</u>	<u>Firm</u> <u>Dole</u>	<u>Soft</u> <u>Dole</u>	<u>Lean</u> <u>Dole</u>	<u>Firm</u> <u>Perot</u>	<u>Soft</u> <u>Perot</u>	<u>Lean</u> <u>Perot</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
November, 1996													
--Registered Voters	42%	5%	3%	26%	4%	1%	6%	3%	1%	2%	8%	101%	(831)
--Likely Voters	42	3	3	32	3	--	5	2	1	2	6	99	(557)

Party ID

--Democrat	83	3	2	4	1	--	2	--	--	--	3	98	(202)
--Independent	30	5	7	24	3	1	10	3	2	7	8	100	(151)
--Republican	11	2	1	72	4	1	4	3	--	1	3	102	(184)

Gender

--Male	37	3	4	35	3	1	6	3	1	3	6	102	(276)
--Female	48	3	3	29	2	--	4	2	1	1	6	99	(281)

PAST SURVEYS

October, 1996													
--Registered Voters	47	8	3	23	5	1	3	4	1	2	4	101	(810)
--Likely Voters	49	6	2	28	4	1	2	2	1	1	3	99	(558)
September, 1996													
--Registered Voters	42	15	2	23	6	1	3	3	--	2	3	100	(627)

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>
November, 1996							
--Registered Voters	30%	13%	47%	9%	2%	101%	(831)
--Likely Voters	34	11	45	7	2	99	(557)
<u>Party ID</u>							
--Democrat	5	5	87	3	--	100	(202)
--Independent	27	18	34	13	7	99	(151)
--Republican	76	4	13	7	1	101	(184)
<u>Gender</u>							
--Male	38	11	39	9	3	100	(276)
--Female	31	10	51	6	1	99	(281)
<u>Age</u>							
--18 - 29	35	7	46	9	4	101	(46)
--30 - 49	34	11	47	6	2	100	(242)
--50 - 64	41	11	34	10	4	100	(136)
--65 and older	29	10	56	5	--	100	(127)
<u>Presidential Vote in 1992</u>							
--Voted Clinton	4	10	81	3	2	100	(237)
--Voted Bush	73	8	10	7	2	100	(214)
--Voted Perot	32	12	25	27	5	101	(60)
<u>Senate Race - Traditional</u>							
--Zimmer	73	5	11	10	2	101	(218)
--Torricelli	6	8	79	5	1	99	(226)
--Undecided	13	32	48	5	2	100	(85)
<u>Time of Vote Decision</u>							
--Last few days/couple weeks	29	--	44	27	--	100	(41)
--Last month or two	31	--	57	12	--	100	(100)
--Knew all along	43	--	52	5	--	100	(341)
PAST SURVEYS							
October, 1996							
--Registered Voters	28	9	55	7	2	101	(810)
--Likely Voters	32	7	55	4	1	99	(558)
<u>Party ID</u>							
--Democrat	1	3	92	3	1	100	(210)
--Independent	28	11	51	8	2	100	(179)
--Republican	83	5	11	1	--	100	(149)
<u>Gender</u>							
--Male	35	9	51	4	1	100	(271)
--Female	30	6	59	5	1	101	(287)
<u>Age</u>							
--18 - 29	18	8	67	6	--	99	(49)
--30 - 49	33	5	56	5	1	100	(248)
--50 - 64	33	11	50	6	1	100	(135)
--65 and older	38	11	50	--	1	100	(135)
September, 1996							
--Registered Voters	29	6	57	6	2	100	(627)
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>
November, 1996							
--Registered Voters	26%	23%	42%	6%	2%	99%	(831)
--Likely Voters	32	18	42	5	2	99	(557)
<u>Party ID</u>							
--Democrat	4	10	83	2	--	99	(202)
--Independent	24	29	30	10	7	100	(151)
--Republican	72	13	11	4	1	101	(184)
<u>Does Clinton Deserve Re-election?</u>							
--Re-election	--	15	83	1	--	99	(255)
--Time for change	67	16	4	9	4	100	(257)
<u>Presidential Vote in 1992</u>							
--Voted Clinton	3	14	78	3	2	100	(237)
--Voted Bush	68	18	9	3	2	100	(214)
--Voted Perot	30	23	20	22	5	100	(60)
<u>Gender</u>							
--Male	35	20	37	6	3	101	(276)
--Female	29	17	48	4	1	99	(281)
<u>Age</u>							
--18 - 29	30	20	39	7	4	100	(46)
--30 - 49	31	19	44	4	2	100	(242)
--50 - 64	39	16	33	8	4	100	(136)
--65 and older	27	19	52	2	--	100	(127)
<u>Senate Race - Firm</u>							
--Firm Zimmer	74	11	8	6	2	101	(173)
--Firm Torricelli	3	11	81	4	1	100	(175)
--Not Firm	20	31	41	5	3	100	(181)
<u>Time of Vote Decision</u>							
--Last few days/couple weeks	17	41	27	15	--	100	(41)
--Last month or two	28	10	51	11	--	100	(100)
--Knew all along	41	4	51	4	--	100	(341)
<u>PAST SURVEYS</u>							
October, 1996							
--Registered Voters	23	25	47	3	2	100	(810)
--Likely Voters	28	19	49	2	1	99	(558)
<u>Party ID</u>							
--Democrat	1	8	89	1	1	100	(210)
--Independent	21	34	39	4	2	100	(179)
--Republican	78	13	9	--	--	100	(149)
September, 1996							
--Registered Voters	23	30	42	3	2	100	(627)
June, 1996							
--Registered Voters	24	36	36	N/A*	4	100	(646)

*N/A= Not asked

“When did you decide who you were going to vote for [Candidate named in Q.10]” [Q.11B]

	<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>
November, 1996							
--Registered Voters	4%	7%	22%	65%	1%	99%	(714)
--Likely Voters	3	6	21	70	1	101	(486)
<u>Vote Choice - Traditional</u>							
--Clinton	2	5	23	70	--	100	(253)
--Dole	3	4	16	77	1	101	(192)
--Perot	10	17	29	39	5	100	(41)
<u>Vote Choice - Firm</u>							
--Firm Clinton	1	4	22	74	--	101	(236)
--Firm Dole	1	3	16	79	1	100	(178)
--Firm Perot	7	14	38	41	--	100	(29)
--Not Firm	19	21	23	33	5	101	(43)

PAST SURVEYS

October, 1996

--Registered Voters	3	10	25	60	2	100	(726)
--Likely Voters	2	7	26	64	1	100	(512)

“Before this time, did you think you might vote for [Candidates not named in Q.10]? [Q.11C]

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Knew All Along</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
November, 1996						
--Registered Voters	17%	17%	65%	2%	101%	(714)
--Likely Voters	14	14	70	1	99	(486)
<u>Vote Choice - Traditional</u>						
--Clinton	14	15	70	--	99	(253)
--Dole	9	14	77	1	101	(192)
--Perot	44	10	39	7	100	(41)
<u>Vote Choice - Firm</u>						
--Firm Clinton	10	16	74	--	100	(236)
--Firm Dole	8	12	79	1	100	(178)
--Firm Perot	41	10	41	7	99	(29)
--Not Firm	47	19	33	2	101	(43)

"Would you say you are voting more for [Candidate named in Q.10 or Q.12] or more against the other candidates?" [Q.13]

	<u>More For</u>	<u>More Against</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
November, 1996					
--Registered Voters	52%	44%	4%	100%	(755)
--Likely Voters	57	40	4	101	(511)
<u>Vote Choice - Traditional</u>					
--Clinton	71	26	4	101	(253)
--Dole	42	54	4	100	(192)
--Perot	44	51	5	100	(41)
<u>Vote Choice - Firm</u>					
--Firm Clinton	73	24	3	100	(236)
--Firm Dole	42	54	4	100	(178)

--Firm Perot	52	41	7	100	(29)
--Not Firm	40	54	6	100	(68)

Party ID

--Democrat	71	26	3	100	(196)
--Independent	48	47	5	100	(128)
--Republican	47	49	4	100	(178)

PAST SURVEYS

October, 1996

--Registered Voters	58	38	4	100	(763)
--Likely Voters	58	37	4	99	(534)

September, 1996

--Registered Voters	58	38	4	100	(598)
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"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.14]

	<u>Deserves Re-election</u>	<u>Time For Change</u>	<u>Depends</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
November, 1996						
--Registered Voters	45%	46%	3%	6%	100%	(841)
--Likely Voters	46	46	3	5	100	(557)
<u>Party ID</u>						
--Democrat	84	11	3	1	99	(202)
--Independent	37	50	3	10	100	(151)
--Republican	14	83	3	1	101	(184)
<u>Vote Choice - Traditional</u>						
--Clinton	89	6	4	2	101	(253)
--Dole	2	96	2	1	101	(192)
--Perot	10	78	7	5	100	(41)
--Undecided	39	31	2	29	101	(59)
<u>Vote Choice - Firm</u>						
--Firm Clinton	90	5	3	2	100	(236)
--Firm Dole	1	97	2	--	100	(178)
--Firm Perot	7	83	7	3	100	(29)
--Not Firm	38	39	3	20	100	(102)

PAST SURVEYS

October, 1996

--Registered Voters	55	38	2	5	100	(810)
--Likely Voters	56	39	1	3	99	(558)

Party ID

--Democrat	93	6	--	1	100	(210)
--Independent	50	41	4	5	100	(179)
--Republican	13	86	--	1	100	(149)

September, 1996

--Registered Voters	55	40	1	3	99	(627)
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June, 1996

--Registered Voters	51	42	3	4	100	(646)
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February, 1996

--Registered Voters	50	39	6	5	100	(676)
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CONSISTENT PRESIDENTIAL VOTERS (Based on vote choice over three questions)

"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?" [Q.10]

"What do you think you will do on election day, vote for Dole, vote for Clinton, vote for another candidate or stay home and not vote?" [Q.15] "Now let's pretend it is election day and you are about to pull the lever to vote for President -- who are you voting for?" [Q.55]

	Always Clinton	Always Dole	Always Perot/Other	Always Undecided	Switch	Total	(n)
November, 1996							
--Registered Voters	45%	29%	8%	5%	14%	101%	(834)
--Likely Voters	46	34	8	4	9	101	(557)
<u>Party ID</u>							
--Democrat	86	4	2	1	6	99	(202)
--Independent	36	26	17	3	18	10	(151)
--Republican	13	74	5	2	6	100	(184)
<u>Gender</u>							
--Male	40	37	9	4	10	100	(276)
--Female	51	30	6	4	9	100	(281)
<u>Presidential Vote Choice - Traditional</u>							
--Clinton	97	--	--	--	3	100	(253)
--Dole	--	97	--	--	3	100	(192)
--Perot	--	--	78	--	22	100	(41)
--Undecided/Leaners	15	2	2	36	46	100	(59)

"Besides the race for President, there will also be an election for U.S. Senator. Some people do not always vote in all the races at each election. Are you definitely going to vote for a candidate in the Senate race, probably going to vote for a Senate candidate, or is there a chance you might not vote for any candidate in the Senate race?" [Q.36]

	Definitely Vote For Senate	Probably Vote For Senate	Might Not Vote For Senate	Definitely Not Vote For Senate	Don't Know	Total	(n)
November, 1996							
--Registered Voters	66%	16%	13%	2%	3%	100%	(841)
<u>Party ID</u>							
--Democrat	66	17	10	1	5	99	(292)
--Independent	60	18	18	3	2	101	(250)
--Republican	72	13	12	1	1	99	(254)
<u>Gender</u>							
--Male	71	14	11	2	3	101	(412)
--Female	61	18	15	2	3	99	(429)
<u>Likely to Vote in Presidential</u>							
--Definitely	74	14	8	1	3	100	(688)
--Probably	27	31	36	3	3	100	(118)
<u>1996 Presidential Choice - Traditional</u>							
--Clinton	64	19	13	1	4	101	(388)
--Dole	78	11	9	1	1	100	(248)
--Perot	56	22	21	--	1	100	(73)
--Undecided	57	16	17	5	5	100	(105)

"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]

	(Firm) Sure About <u>Zimmer</u>	(Soft) Picks <u>Zimmer</u> (But might change)	Initially Undecided			(Soft) Picks <u>Torricelli</u> (But might change)	(Firm) Sure About <u>Torricelli</u>	Other	Total	(n)
			Leans <u>Zimmer</u>	Does Not Lean	Leans <u>Torricelli</u>					
November, 1996										
--Registered Voters	27%	10%	2%	14%	3%	12%	29%	3%	100%	(802)
--Likely Voters	33	8	1	10	3	9	33	2	99	(508)
<u>Party ID</u>										
--Democrat	5	3	1	6	4	15	65	2	101	(186)
--Independent	26	10	2	16	4	11	27	5	101	(132)
--Republican	73	12	2	5	1	1	6	1	101	(171)
<u>Gender</u>										
--Male	37	8	--	10	3	9	30	3	100	(260)
--Female	29	7	3	11	2	9	36	2	99	(248)
PAST SURVEYS										
October, 1996										
--Registered Voters	21	14	2	15	3	17	23	5	100	(810)
--Likely Voters	24	13	2	14	3	15	28	1	100	(544)
September, 1996										
--Registered Voters	14	18	2	18	4	20	18	5	99	(627)
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.37.

	<u>Zimmer</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Torricelli</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
November, 1996						
--Registered Voters	37%	19%	41%	3%	100%	(802)
--Likely Voters	41	15	42	2	100	(508)
<u>Party ID</u>						
--Democrat	8	12	79	2	101	(186)
--Independent	36	21	39	5	101	(132)
--Republican	85	8	7	1	101	(171)
<u>Gender</u>						
--Male	45	13	39	3	100	(260)
--Female	37	17	45	2	101	(248)
<u>Age</u>						
--18 - 29	45	13	42	--	100	(38)
--30 - 49	43	15	40	2	100	(219)
--50 - 64	44	16	36	4	100	(131)
--65 and older	32	11	54	2	99	(114)
<u>1993 Gubernatorial Vote</u>						
--Whitman	69	12	17	2	100	(252)
--Florio	8	11	78	3	100	(181)
<u>1996 Presidential Vote - Traditional</u>						
--Clinton	9	15	74	2	100	(226)
--Dole	87	5	7	1	100	(180)
--Perot	54	10	31	5	100	(39)
--Undecided	14	50	34	2	100	(50)
<u>Region</u>						

--North	43	14	43	1	101	(235)
--Central	41	10	43	6	100	(125)
--South	39	20	40	1	100	(148)

Time of Vote Decision

--Last few days	43	--	57	--	100	(42)
--Last couple of weeks	43	--	57	--	100	(95)
--Last month or two	51	--	49	--	100	(133)
--Knew all along	55	--	45	--	100	(145)

PAST SURVEYS

October, 1996

--Registered Voters	35	20	40	5	100	(810)
--Likely Voters	37	19	43	1	100	(544)

Party ID

--Democrat	6	16	77	1	100	(204)
--Independent	37	22	39	1	99	(175)
--Republican	82	14	3	1	100	(146)

Gender

--Male	42	17	41	1	101	(264)
--Female	33	21	45	1	100	(280)

Age

--18 - 29	32	21	47	--	100	(47)
--30 - 49	38	18	44	--	100	(240)
--50 - 64	38	19	41	2	100	(133)
--65 and older	38	18	43	2	101	(114)

September, 1996

--Registered Voters	32	25	38	5	100	(627)
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June, 1996

--Registered Voters	31	26	39	5	101	(646)
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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>Not Firm</u>	<u>Torricelli</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
November, 1996						
--Registered Voters	27%	42%	29%	3%	101%	(802)
--Likely Voters	33	31	33	2	99	(508)
<u>Party ID</u>						
--Democrat	5	29	65	2	101	(186)
--Independent	26	42	27	5	100	(132)
--Republican	73	21	6	1	101	(171)
<u>Gender</u>						
--Male	37	30	30	3	100	(260)
--Female	29	33	36	2	100	(248)
<u>Age</u>						
--18 - 29	32	42	26	--	100	(38)
--30 - 49	33	37	29	2	101	(219)
--50 - 64	40	26	31	4	101	(131)
--65 and older	29	22	47	2	100	(114)
<u>1993 Gubernatorial Vote</u>						
--Voted Whitman	58	29	11	2	100	(252)
--Voted Florio	6	25	66	3	101	(181)

Region

--North	35	31	33	1	100	(235)
--Central	30	28	36	6	100	(125)
--South	34	33	32	1	100	(148)

1996 Presidential Vote - Firm

--Firm Clinton	6	28	65	1	100	(215)
--Firm Dole	77	20	3	1	101	(167)
--Firm Perot	33	33	26	7	99	(27)
--Undecided	21	57	20	2	100	(86)

Time of Vote Decision

--Last few days	17	52	31	--	100	(95)
--Last couple of weeks	28	34	38	--	100	(157)
--Last month or two	44	14	41	--	99	(166)
--Knew all along	53	3	44	--	100	(186)

PAST SURVEYS

October, 1996

--Registered Voters	21	51	23	5	100	(810)
--Likely Voters	24	47	28	1	100	(544)

Party ID

--Democrat	3	41	55	1	100	(204)
--Independent	16	62	21	1	100	(175)
--Republican	66	32	2	1	101	(146)

September, 1996

--Registered Voters	14	62	18	5	99	(627)
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June, 1996

--Registered Voters	14	63	18	5	100	(646)
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“When did you decide who were going to vote for--[Candidate named in Q.37]” [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>
November, 1996							
--Registered Voters	15%	25%	27%	30%	3%	100%	(626)
--Likely Voters	10	22	31	34	2	99	(423)
<u>Vote Choice - Traditional</u>							
--Zimmer	9	20	33	38	1	101	(209)
--Torricelli	11	25	30	30	3	99	(214)
<u>Vote Choice - Firm</u>							
--Firm Zimmer	4	16	35	45	--	100	(170)
--Firm Torricelli	8	21	33	38	1	101	(169)
--Not Firm	26	38	23	5	8	100	(84)
<u>PAST SURVEYS</u>							
October, 1996							
--Registered Voters	23	20	16	30	10	99	(609)
--Likely Voters	18	21	19	34	8	100	(435)

“Before this time, did you think you might vote for [Candidate not named in Q.37]?” [Q.39C]

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Knew All Along</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(n)</u>
November, 1996						
--Registered Voters	14%	47%	30%	9%	100%	(626)
--Likely Voters	13	44	34	9	100	(423)

Vote Choice - Traditional

--Zimmer	11	43	38	7	99	(209)
--Torricelli	15	44	30	10	99	(214)

Vote Choice - Firm

--Firm Zimmer	6	44	45	5	100	(170)
--Firm Torricelli	14	41	38	7	100	(169)
--Not Firm	27	49	5	19	100	(84)

"Would you say you are voting more for [**Candidate named in Q.37 or Q.38**] or against the other candidate?" [Q.40]

	More For	More Against	Don't Know	Total	(n)
November, 1996					
--Registered Voters	65%	29%	7%	101%	(666)
--Likely Voters	68	26	6	100	(444)

Vote Choice - Traditional

--Zimmer	71	23	6	100	(209)
--Torricelli	65	29	6	100	(214)

Vote Choice - Firm

--Firm Zimmer	76	18	6	100	(170)
--Firm Torricelli	70	25	5	100	(169)
--Not Firm	50	43	8	101	(105)

Party ID

--Democrat	68	25	8	101	(171)
--Independent	61	34	5	100	(105)
--Republican	71	24	5	100	(161)

PAST SURVEYS

October, 1996					
--Registered Voters	51	37	12	100	(645)
--Likely Voters	52	37	11	100	(466)
September, 1996					
--Registered Voters	52	32	16	100	(480)

CONSISTENT SENATE VOTERS (Based on vote choice over two questions)

"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]

"Again, pretending it is election day and you are about to pull the lever to vote for Senate -- who are you voting for?" [Q.56]

	Always <u>Zimmer</u>	Always <u>Torricelli</u>	Always <u>Other</u>	Always <u>Undecided</u>	Switch	Total	(n)
November, 1996							
--Registered Voters	35%	38%	2%	11%	14%	100%	(808)
--Likely Voters	40	40	2	8	10	100	(508)

Party ID

--Democrat	8	75	2	6	10	101	(186)
--Independent	31	38	3	14	14	100	(132)
--Republican	84	6	1	2	8	101	(171)

Gender

--Male	43	38	2	8	8	99	(260)
--Female	36	42	1	9	12	100	(248)

Senate Vote Choice - Traditional

--Zimmer	95	--	--	--	5	100	(209)
--Torricelli	--	92	--	--	8	100	(214)
--Undecided/Leaners	4	8	--	58	30	100	(74)

"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]

Democratic Candidate	Republican Candidate	Other Candidate	Undecided/No Opinion	Total	(n)	
November, 1996						
--Registered Voters	37%	33%	1%	29%	100%	(841)
--Likely Voters	40	36	1	22	99	(557)

Party ID

--Democrat	85	4	--	10	99	(202)
--Independent	30	26	2	41	99	(151)
--Republican	4	82	1	15	102	(184)

Presidential Vote Choice - Traditional

--Clinton	72	9	1	18	100	(253)
--Dole	6	77	--	17	100	(192)
--Perot	32	41	--	26	99	(41)
--Undecided	27	20	--	53	100	(59)

Senate Vote Choice - Traditional

--Zimmer	11	72	1	16	10	(218)
--Torricelli	75	8	--	17	100	(226)
--Undecided	27	21	--	52	100	(173)

PAST SURVEYS

October, 1996

--Registered Voters	40	30	--	30	100	(810)
--Likely Voters	41	32	--	27	100	(558)

Party ID

--Democrat	80	3	--	17	100	(210)
--Independent	31	28	1	41	101	(179)
--Republican	3	82	--	15	100	(149)

September, 1996

--Registered Voters	38	34	1	26	99	(627)
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September, 1994

--Registered Voters	33	33	1	33	100	(598)
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"Have you ever changed your mind or made up your mind about who you would vote for while you were in the voting booth or do you always decide who to vote for before election day? [IF "YES" CLARIFY]" [Q.57]

	Yes, Have Changed Mind In Booth (n)	Yes, Have Made Up Mind In Booth	Yes, Have Changed & Made Up Mind In Booth	No, Always Made Up Mind Before	Don't Know	Total
November, 1996						
--Registered Voters	6%	5%	4%	84%	1%	100% (841)
--Likely Voters	4	5	3	87	1	100 (557)
<u>Presidential Vote Choice - Traditional</u>						
--Clinton	4	7	3	85	1	100 (253)
--Dole	4	2	2	91	1	100 (192)
--Perot	5	2	2	90	--	99 (41)
--Undecided	7	3	7	81	2	100 (59)
<u>Senate Vote Choice - Traditional</u>						
--Zimmer	5	3	3	89	--	100 (218)
--Torricelli	3	4	3	88	1	99 (226)
--Undecided	7	9	2	79	2	99 (85)

TICKET SPLITTERS – 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>Perot/Undecided</u>			
<u>Total</u>								
November, 1996								
--Registered Voters	30%	23%	3%	6%	38%	100%	(834)	
--Likely Voters	32	29	3	4	32	100	(557)	
<u>Party ID</u>								
--Democrat	67	3	1	4	25	100	(202)	
--Independent	22	16	5	3	53	99	(151)	
--Republican	4	69	2	5	20	100	(184)	
<u>Gender</u>								
--Male	29	32	3	4	33	101	(276)	
--Female	35	25	2	4	33	99	(281)	
<u>PAST SURVEYS</u>								
<u>October, 1996</u>								
--Registered Voters	33	22	3	9	34	101	(810)	
--Likely Voters	37	26	2	7	28	100	(558)	
<u>Party ID</u>								
--Democrat	72	1	--	4	23	100	(210)	
--Independent	28	17	6	11	38	100	(179)	
--Republican	2	74	--	5	18	99	(149)	
<u>Gender</u>								
--Male	35	30	3	7	26	101	(271)	
--Female	39	23	1	6	31	100	(287)	
<u>September, 1996</u>								
--Registered Voters	32	22	2	8	37	101	(627)	
<u>June, 1996</u>								
--Registered Voters	33	21	5	6	35	100	(646)	