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**Fewer Happy with Clinton Victory than with GOP Congressional Win**  
**CAMPAIGN '96 GETS LOWER GRADES FROM VOTERS**

**Also Inside ...**

*Compared to 1992 ...*

- \* Debates less useful.
- \* Press ratings fall.
- \* Fewer complaints about mudslinging.
- \* Political ads less informative.
- \* Campaign finance probe - yes 54%.

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**Fewer Happy with Clinton Victory than with GOP Congressional Win**  
**CAMPAIGN '96 GETS LOWER GRADES FROM VOTERS**

Voters were much less pleased with the presidential campaign this year than in 1992. The American electorate was less satisfied with its choice of candidates than in the two previous presidential elections and much more unhappy with the campaign process, particularly compared to 1992. The candidates, the debates, the press, the parties and the poll takers all got lower ratings in the Center's quadrennial post-election survey. But voters were particularly hard on themselves. Just 39% of respondents felt "the voters" deserved a grade of A or B, down from 61% in 1992 and 49% in 1988.

On a positive note voters felt that they learned enough to make an informed choice between candidates and fewer judged 1996 a mudslinging campaign than 1992. But these favorable developments were offset by complaints that issues were less discussed than four years ago and by greater displeasure with the candidates themselves than in the two previous presidential elections.

The poll of 1,012 respondents conducted Thursday - Sunday, Nov. 7-10, found voters of two minds about the split decision they rendered on election day. A two-thirds majority (65%) was happy that the GOP continued control of the Congress, but only a thin majority (53%) was pleased that Bill Clinton won reelection. In part this is because Republicans and Dole supporters were comparatively more unhappy about Clinton's win than were Democrats about the outcome of the Congressional elections. Nearly four-in-ten *Clinton voters* (39%) were pleased to see the GOP maintain control. Even 38% of those who voted for the Democrat from their Congressional district applauded the overall GOP victory. In contrast, only 22% of Republicans and half as many Dole voters (11%) said they are happy Clinton won reelection.

Only about half of all voters (51%) said they were satisfied with the Presidential candidates this year, down from 61% who said they were satisfied in 1992 and 62% in 1988. (See table.) Fully 77% of Clinton voters felt satisfied with the candidates, but two-thirds of Dole voters and 78% of Perot voters were *dissatisfied* with the candidates. Clinton voters in 1996 were less satisfied with their candidate than Clinton voters in 1992, 77% vs. 86%, while Dole voters were only marginally less satisfied than were Bush voters in 1992.

<b>% Satisfied With Choice Of Presidential Candidates</b>		
	<u>1992</u>	<u>1996</u>
	%	%
All Voters	61	51
<i>Among Supporters of:</i>		
Clinton	86	77
Bush/Dole	36	31
Perot	44	21

Asked to grade each election participant on a scale of A to F, voters gave the highest marks to Clinton and his party. He was the only election participant given A or B by a majority of voters (58%). By comparison, only a third of voters graded Dole A or B (34%), and only 27% gave the same high grades to Perot. Similarly, the Democratic party received substantially more A's and B's than the Republican party.

While voters were displeased with their own performance, they were even harder on the paid performers in the national elections: the press, pollsters, consultants and talk show hosts. About a third of voters gave the press, consultants and talk show hosts an A or B (29%, 30% and 28%, respectively). Some 18% gave the press a failing grade. Significantly, almost all groups of election participants received a lower grade now than in 1992. The press lost 8% points in these top grade categories; pollsters and consultants dropped 13% and 14% points, respectively; and talk show hosts fell 21% points. Among all voters, Clinton and his party received lower grades this time around, while grades for Dole as the Republican candidate and for his party were virtually unchanged. Among supporters of the candidates, Dole received an A or B from 52% of his supporters, compared to 58% of Bush supporters in 1992; more than 85% of Clinton supporters gave their candidate a top grade (A or B) in both years.

Voters were not only less happy with the cast of characters in the election but also with its issue content. Fully 65% said there was less discussion of issues this year than previously. In contrast, in 1992 a 59% majority said there had been *more* discussion of issues in that campaign than previously.

<b>Campaign Ratings</b>				
(Among Those Who Gave an Answer)				
	<i>% Who Rated</i>			<i>Avg. Grade</i>
	<i>Each an A or B:</i>			
	<u>1988</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1996</u>	
Press	30	37	29	C
Pollsters	46	53	40	C+
Talk Show Hosts	n/a	49	28	C
Campaign Consultants	30	44	30	C
Rep Party	46	30	29	C
Dem Party	34	60	50	C+
Bill Clinton*	39	66	58	B-
Bob Dole**	50	31	34	C
Ross Perot	n/a	48	27	C
Voters	52	67	43	C+

\* Clinton's numbers are compared to Dukakis' in 1988.  
 \*\* Dole's numbers are compared to Bush's in 1992 and 1988.

The 1996 debates did not help many voters make up their minds, perhaps because of the perceived lack of issue content. While 1992 was a banner year for the Presidential debates -- a large majority of voters (70%) found them helpful in making up their minds -- only 41% of this year's voters said the debates were helpful. This complaint is partially driven by Perot voters, only 21% of whom felt that the 1996 debates without their Reform Party candidate were helpful (compared to 84% in 1992). But Dole voters were also much less likely than '92 Bush voters to find the debates helpful (only 32% of Dole supporters said the debates were helpful, compared to 59% of Bush voters). And even Clinton supporters found the debates less worthwhile this year than in 1992.

	<u>1988</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1996</u>
	%	%	%
Helpful	48	70	41
Not helpful	49	24	48
Did not watch debates	3	5	10
DK/Refused	*	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100

***But An Informed Decision***

The usefulness of the debates aside, voters did feel they were sufficiently informed to choose between candidates. Fully 75% of voters felt they had learned enough about the candidates to make "an informed choice" between Clinton, Dole and Perot, a level similar to that in 1992 (77%) and substantially higher than in 1988 (59%).

Also on a positive note, many fewer voters (49%) complained of increased mudslinging in this campaign than four years ago (68%). Clinton supporters were more likely than Dole voters to say they saw an increase in mudslinging in 1996, presumably because of the intense attacks on Clinton's character during the last week of the campaign. Judgments about the extent of negative campaigning varied with the news media upon which voters relied for campaign information. More than half of those who relied primarily on television news thought this election was more negative than previous contests, compared to about a third of those who relied on newspapers rather than TV (34%).

***TV News Slips***

Voters were less likely to get their news from television this year than they were in 1992 (72% vs. 82%). Television news remains the leading source of campaign information, but the number of voters saying they got most of their news from the networks decreased by 19% points since the last Presidential election. The greatest fall off in network news consumption was among voters under 30 years of age. Radio use, on the other hand, increased (19% vs. 12% in 1992). Republicans were more likely than Democrats or Independents to report tuning in to radio for campaign news. Fully 10% of voters said they went on-line for news about the campaign. Men went

on-line for this purpose much more than women (14% vs. 5%), and young voters more than seniors (16% under 30 vs. 1% over 65).

**Commercial Failures**

Although news viewership was down, voters picked news reports nearly five times more often than commercials as the better way to get information on the candidates' issue positions (77% vs. 16% for commercials). A somewhat smaller majority (67%) also selected news reports as the better source for information about what the candidates were like personally. Preference for news reports over advertisements was greater in this campaign than in both 1992 and 1988.

This year, in general, fewer voters (25%) found the candidates' ads helpful than in 1992 (38%). Dole voters were the least satisfied with the information provided in the ads. In particular, fewer Dole supporters than Clinton backers saw ads as useful (20% vs. 31%).

<b>Value Of Commercials</b>		
	<u>1992</u>	<u>1996</u>
	%	%
Helpful	38	25
Not helpful	59	73
DK/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100

Even though press fairness became a campaign theme for Dole, the public judged the media's treatment of the major party candidates much the same as in 1992. Almost three out of four voters (73%) thought the press was fair to the President. A smaller majority (65%) felt the media was fair to Dole. These percentages mirror the public's view of press coverage of Clinton and Bush four years ago. Also now as then, far fewer Republicans than Democrats said the media was fair to the GOP candidate (47% vs. 79%). Members of both parties, along with Independents, thought Ross Perot was handled less fairly this year: 46% of all voters thought the media was fair to Perot vs. 67% four years ago.

Much as in 1992, voters split on whether news organizations had too much influence on the national elections (47 % said too much, 46% said about right, and 4% said too little). Men were more likely than women to see excessive media influence (51% vs. 42%), and Republicans more than Democrats (63% vs. 31%).

**Work Together**

Reaffirming the results of their voting, the public endorses bipartisan government. Nearly three-out-of-four voters (72%) said Democratic leaders in Washington should try to work with Republican leaders to accomplish things, rather than stand up for traditional Democratic constituencies. As many as 63% of *Democrats* expressed this sentiment as did 73% of Independents.

In contrast to 1994, voters pulled back from saying Republican Congressional leaders should set the agenda in Washington. When asked who should take the lead in solving the nation's problems, a plurality chose President Clinton over Republican Congressional leaders (45% vs. 30%). Just two years ago, in the wake of the Republicans' dramatic takeover of both Houses of Congress, the public chose GOP leaders over Clinton by a narrow margin (43% vs. 39%). Nearly one-in-five respondents volunteered that *both* Clinton and GOP leaders should take the lead, i.e. that agenda-setting should be shared; only one-in-ten volunteered this response in December of 1994. White Evangelical Protestants were the only major demographic group in which a plurality said the GOP Congressional leaders should set the agenda in Washington.

<b>Who Should Take Lead In Solving Nation's Problems</b>		
	Dec <u>1994</u> %	Nov <u>1996</u> %
Clinton	39	45
GOP Leaders	43	30
Both (VOL)	10	19
DK/Refused	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100

### ***Little Strategic Voting***

Although most voters expressed pleasure with the divided government resulting from the election, there is little evidence in this survey of strategic voting. More than half (53%) of those who voted for the Republican candidate for Congress from their district said their choice was mostly a vote for him or her personally. Some 21% said their vote was for the Republican Party, and 22% said their vote was intended as a check on the President's power. But a mere 8% of those who voted *both* for Clinton and for a Republican in Congress said their vote was aimed at checking Clinton's power as President. For the most part these ticket-splitters chose the GOP candidate from their district on the basis of his or her personal appeal.

Voters expressed some optimism about the future, believing the country is more likely to make progress than lose ground on a host of issues over the next four years. Reflecting several of the Clinton campaign's central themes, strong pluralities of voters said the country will likely move forward in a second Clinton term on the quality of public education, the budget deficit, and protecting the Medicare system. They were least optimistic about the problems of drug abuse, crime and families staying together. A majority of voters anticipate no change on two examined issues -- the tax system and the campaign finance system. Democrats expressed a higher level of optimism than Republicans and Independents on every one of the eleven issues examined in this survey.

### ***The Clinton Coalition***

Clinton won reelection by capturing strong majorities of traditional Democratic constituencies and winning over important swing groups. Minorities, low income voters, city dwellers, and those with the lowest educational levels voted overwhelmingly for Clinton. In addition, women and senior citizens chose Clinton over Dole by substantial margins. The key swing groups supporting Clinton were suburbanites (47% vs. 39% for Dole), white Catholics (46% vs. 36%), and Independents (38% vs. 31%). Dole found his strongest support among white men, high income voters, and white Evangelical Protestants.

Clinton's support was much more positive than was Dole's. Of the 45% who voted for Clinton, 31% said they voted more *for* the President than *against* his opponents. Dole voters, on the other hand, were more likely to say their choice was a vote against Clinton and Perot rather than a vote for the former Senator (20% anti-others vs. 17% pro-Dole).

Clinton did receive some protest votes, most often from those who were potential Dole voters -- Independents, Republicans, and split-ticket voters (i.e., voters who chose Clinton for President but voted for a Republican for Congress). Not surprisingly, those who said their support of Clinton was mainly a vote against his opponents were more likely than other Clinton backers to express dissatisfaction with the slate of presidential candidates. This is even truer among Dole "anti-supporters" -- an astounding 83% said they were dissatisfied with the choice of candidates in this year's election.

### ***Dole Voters More Negative***

Dole enjoyed much less positive support than Bush in 1992. Among Bush voters, 66% said their vote was *for* the former President rather against Clinton and Perot, compared to 44% for Dole this year. Less than a third of Bush voters cast their vote against his opponents, compared to more than half of Dole's supporters this year. Among Dole supporters, Independents, Southerners and those with high incomes were the most likely to say their choice was a vote against Dole's opponents.

Clinton's supporters voted more for the person than his party. Nearly four-in-ten (39%) said their choice was more a vote for Clinton personally while 26% said it was more for the Democratic Party. Asked what they liked most about him, those who voted for Clinton most often cited his stand on the issues (18%) and his leadership ability (12%). Only 5% mentioned his personality and character and 2% cited his experience. A similar pattern was seen in the Clinton vote in 1992, but since then, he has gained points on leadership and lost some ground on the issues.

Dole's supporters were more evenly divided between personality and party. Some 24% said their choice was a vote for Dole personally, 19% said they were voting more for the Republican Party.

Those voters who chose Clinton for *negative* reasons were evenly split between those who opposed Dole personally (13%) and those opposed to the Republican Party (14%). Dole's negative supporters, on the other hand, were much more anti-Clinton than anti-Democratic Party. Nearly four-in-ten Dole voters (38%) said they voted more against Clinton personally; only 11% said they were voting against the Democratic Party

### ***Early Decisions***

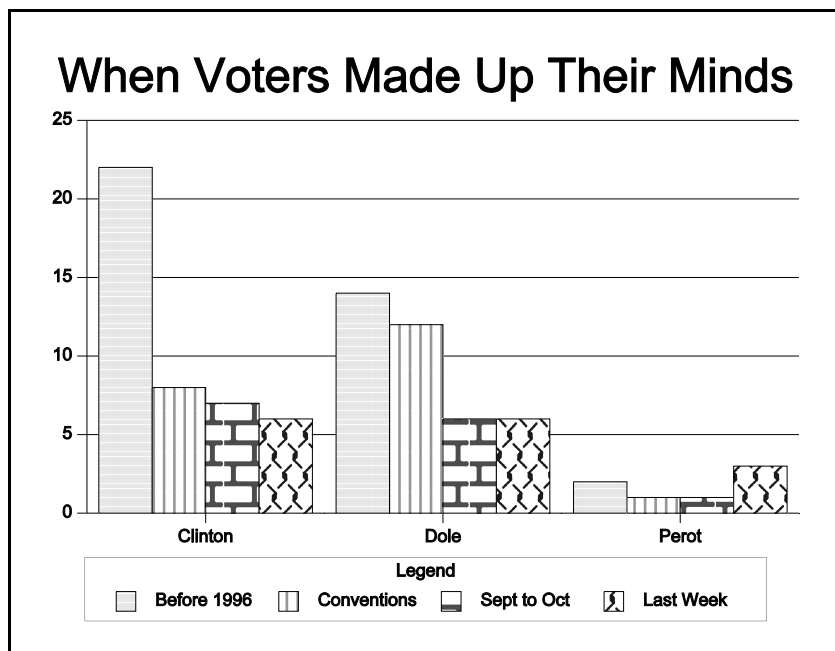
Voters appear to have made up their minds early in the election cycle. Four-in-ten said they definitely decided to vote for their candidate sometime before 1996. Another 13% made up their minds during the primaries, early in 1996. Some 17% said they decided sometime during the week before the election, and 6% of these were not certain until election day.

Clinton voters made their decision earlier than Dole voters -- not surprising given the fact that the President faced no opposition from within his own party. Half of all Clinton supporters said they decided for the President before 1996.

Dole voters decided later in the cycle. Some 37% said they decided before 1996. The Republican convention was an important turning point for some Dole voters; 14% said they made up their minds during or after the convention. Only 1% of Clinton voters said they made up their minds around the time of the Democratic convention. As many as 15% of Dole's supporters decided to vote for him in the week preceding the election.

The presidential debates had very little direct influence on voters' decisions this year compared to 1992. Only 3% of all voters said they made up their minds definitely to vote for their chosen candidate during or just after the debates, down from 12% in the last presidential election.





***Clinton Probes?***

The public is divided over the issue of whether Congress has gone too far in investigating ethical charges against the Clinton administration, but a narrow majority feels a special Congressional committee should be set up to examine charges of improper campaign contributions to the Democrats.

Nearly equal percentages said Congress has gone too far (30%) and not far enough (31%) in its ethics investigations, while 35% said it has handled the matter about right. Predictably, most Republicans (52%) believe Congress has not gone far enough and most Democrats (52%) said too far. A plurality of Independents (38%) said Congress has handled the situation about right.

White Protestant Evangelicals and white men were among the most likely groups to indicate that more investigations were warranted. Minorities and urban dwellers believed most strongly that the Congressional investigations had gone too far.

On the other hand, 54% of voters said a special Congressional committee should be set to investigate charges of improper campaign contributions to the Democratic Party. The gender gap that favored the Democrats in the campaign disappeared on this issue; nearly equal percentages of men and women (56% and 53%, respectively) supported the creation of a special Congressional committee to investigate questionable DNC fund-raising.

# TABLES

**1996 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE**  
(Based On Voters)

	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Don't Know/ Can't Remember</u>	<u>N</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	45	39	7	3	6=100	(1012)
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	36	44	9	5	6	(461)
Female	53	34	6	1	6	(551)
<b>Race</b>						
White	40	43	8	3	6	(901)
Non-white	81	10	2	0	7	(102)
Black	89	5	1	0	5	(*61)
<b>Race/Sex</b>						
White Men	32	48	10	5	5	(407)
White Women	47	38	7	2	6	(494)
<b>Age</b>						
Under 30	50	35	4	2	9	(102)
30-49	41	39	10	5	5	(409)
50-64	43	42	7	1	7	(261)
65+	49	38	6	2	5	(225)
<b>Education</b>						
College Grad	41	45	5	5	4	(348)
Some College	43	41	8	3	5	(261)
High School Grad	46	36	9	2	7	(339)
< H.S. Grad	55	30	7	1	7	(*61)
<b>Family Income</b>						
\$75,000 +	33	52	5	6	4	(130)
\$50,000 - \$74,999	44	42	6	4	4	(161)
\$30,000 - \$49,999	41	44	9	3	3	(309)
\$20,000 - \$29,999	42	39	7	3	9	(155)
< \$20,000	61	22	9	1	7	(169)
<b>Region</b>						
East	49	32	10	5	4	(192)
Midwest	43	41	9	2	5	(311)
South	46	39	6	1	8	(375)
West	41	43	5	6	5	(134)

\* NOTE: Small sample size.

Question: NOW THINKING ABOUT THE RECENT ELECTION...Did you happen to vote for Bill Clinton, for Bob Dole or for Ross Perot for President?

Continued ...

	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Don't Know/ Can't Remember</u>	<u>N</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	45	39	7	3	6=100	(1012)
<b>Race/Region</b>						
White South	39	45	7	1	8	(320)
White Non-South	40	42	9	4	5	(581)
<b>Race/Region/Sex</b>						
White Men South	30	51	10	1	8	(151)
White Men Non-South	32	47	10	7	4	(256)
White Women South	47	40	4	1	8	(169)
White Women Non-South	48	37	8	2	5	(325)
<b>Community Size</b>						
Large City	54	30	6	7	3	(162)
Suburb	47	39	4	1	9	(276)
Small City/Town	44	37	10	4	5	(344)
Rural Area	34	49	10	2	5	(222)
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>						
Total White Protestant	36	49	7	2	6	(535)
White Prot. Evangelical	28	57	8	1	6	(279)
White Prot. Non-Evang.	43	41	6	3	7	(256)
White Catholic	46	36	11	3	4	(234)
<b>Party ID</b>						
Republican	12	79	3	1	5	(348)
Democrat	82	6	5	2	5	(349)
Independent	38	31	16	7	8	(292)
Lean Republican	8	65	16	4	7	(120)
Lean Democrat	66	8	11	7	8	(124)
<b>1992 Presidential Vote</b>						
Clinton	79	8	4	3	6	(413)
Bush	8	82	4	1	5	(352)
Perot	23	34	35	6	2	(128)
<b>1996 Congressional Vote</b>						
Republican	20	67	8	1	4	(515)
Democrat	78	9	6	4	3	(406)

**HAPPY WITH CLINTON REELECTION**  
(Based On Voters)

	<u>Happy</u>	<u>Unhappy</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	53	42	5=100
<b>Sex</b>			
Male	46	49	5
Female	60	36	4
<b>Race</b>			
White	50	46	4
Non-white	84	11	5
Black*	90	5	5
<b>Race/Sex</b>			
White Men	43	52	5
White Women	56	40	4
<b>Age</b>			
Under 30	58	37	5
30-49	51	45	4
50-64	50	46	4
65+	59	36	5
<b>Education</b>			
College Grad	47	46	7
Some College	52	44	4
High School Grad	57	40	3
< H.S. Grad*	62	34	4
<b>Family Income</b>			
\$75,000 +	42	55	3
\$50,000 - \$74,999	53	42	5
\$30,000 - \$49,999	49	47	4
\$20,000 - \$29,999	56	40	4
< \$20,000	65	29	6
<b>Region</b>			
East	59	36	5
Midwest	54	42	4
South	53	43	4
West	48	46	6

\*Note: Small sample size.

Question: Are you happy or unhappy that Bill Clinton was reelected as President?

**Continued ...**

	<u>Happy</u>	<u>Unhappy</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
<b><i>Total</i></b>	53	42	5=100
<b><i>Race/Region</i></b>			
White South	47	49	4
White Non-South	51	45	4
<b><i>Race/Region/Sex</i></b>			
White Men South	42	53	5
White Men Non-South	43	52	5
White Women South	52	44	4
White Women Non-South	58	38	4
<b><i>Community Size</i></b>			
Large City	65	31	4
Suburb	53	41	6
Small City/Town	53	42	5
Rural Area	45	51	4
<b><i>Religious Affiliation</i></b>			
Total White Protestant	44	51	5
White Prot. Evangelical	37	58	5
White Prot. Non-Evang.	52	42	6
White Catholic	58	38	4
<b><i>Party ID</i></b>			
Republican	22	74	4
Democrat	88	10	2
Independent	50	41	9
Lean Republican	19	76	5
Lean Democrat	76	15	9
<b><i>1992 Presidential Vote</i></b>			
Clinton	87	9	4
Bush	16	80	4
Perot	37	58	5
<b><i>1996 Presidential Vote</i></b>			
Clinton	95	2	3
Dole	11	85	4
Perot	36	61	3
<b><i>1996 Congressional Vote</i></b>			
Republican	29	66	5
Democrat	83	13	4

## HAPPY WITH CONTINUED GOP CONTROL OF CONGRESS

(Based On Voters)

	<u>Happy</u>	<u>Unhappy</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
<b><i>Total</i></b>	65	27	8=100
<b><i>Sex</i></b>			
Male	71	22	7
Female	60	31	9
<b><i>Race</i></b>			
White	68	24	8
Non-white	43	46	11
Black*	39	47	14
<b><i>Race/Sex</i></b>			
White Men	74	20	6
White Women	63	28	9
<b><i>Age</i></b>			
Under 30	68	26	6
30-49	65	29	6
50-64	65	27	8
65+	66	22	12
<b><i>Education</i></b>			
College Grad	68	26	6
Some College	69	24	7
High School Grad	63	28	9
< H.S. Grad*	58	29	13
<b><i>Family Income</i></b>			
\$75,000 +	76	19	5
\$50,000 - \$74,999	61	33	6
\$30,000 - \$49,999	68	25	7
\$20,000 - \$29,999	65	24	11
< \$20,000	59	32	9
<b><i>Region</i></b>			
East	59	33	8
Midwest	67	25	8
South	65	26	9
West	70	23	7

\*Note: Small sample size.

Question: Are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party maintained control of the U.S. Congress?

**Continued ...**

	<u>Happy</u>	<u>Unhappy</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	65	27	8=100
<b>Race/Region</b>			
White South	70	22	8
White Non-South	68	25	7
<b>Race/Region/Sex</b>			
White Men South	76	18	6
White Men Non-South	73	21	6
White Women South	64	27	9
White Women Non-South	63	29	8
<b>Community Size</b>			
Large City	61	35	4
Suburb	66	26	8
Small City/Town	66	23	11
Rural Area	69	24	7
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>			
Total White Protestant	73	19	8
White Prot. Evangelical	77	15	8
White Prot. Non-Evang.	67	25	8
White Catholic	59	32	9
<b>Party ID</b>			
Republican	95	4	1
Democrat	39	50	11
Independent	65	23	12
Lean Republican	88	6	6
Lean Democrat	42	41	17
<b>1992 Presidential Vote</b>			
Clinton	42	45	13
Bush	95	3	2
Perot	77	19	4
<b>1996 Presidential Vote</b>			
Clinton	39	49	12
Dole	97	2	1
Perot	69	19	12
<b>1996 Congressional Vote</b>			
Republican	89	7	4
Democrat	38	52	10



## VOTERS GRADE THE "VOTERS"

1988 VS. 1992 VS. 1996

(Among Voters)

	-----1988-----			-----1992-----			-----1996-----		
	'A' or		'D' or	'A' or		'D' or	'A' or		'D' or
	<u>'B'</u>	<u>'C'</u>	<u>'F'</u>	<u>'B'</u>	<u>'C'</u>	<u>'F'</u>	<u>'B'</u>	<u>'C'</u>	<u>'F'</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	49	28	17	61	20	10	39	29	23
<b>Sex</b>									
Male	50	27	17	62	21	10	30	33	28
Female	48	28	17	61	18	10	48	24	18
<b>Race</b>									
White	48	28	17	60	20	11	36	30	24
Non-white	50	28	21	70	16	5	61	22	10
Black*	54	24	22	73	14	3	62	19	11
<b>Age</b>									
Under 30	57	27	14	69	18	6	50	28	18
30-49	44	32	20	65	19	10	37	31	24
50+	50	25	17	53	21	12	36	27	23
<b>Education</b>									
College Grad	45	33	17	64	18	8	28	37	26
Some College	46	31	18	61	21	10	37	28	26
High School Grad	51	26	16	58	22	11	44	27	20
< H.S. Grad*	53	20	20	61	15	11	55	17	18
<b>Family Income</b>									
\$50,000 +	44	33	17	59	27	10	28	35	29
\$30,000 - \$49,999	49	27	19	63	17	11	39	26	25
\$20,000 - \$29,999	51	25	18	59	20	12	44	29	17
< \$20,000	50	26	17	67	15	7	53	23	15
<b>Region</b>									
East	45	28	20	64	15	10	39	29	23
Midwest	45	30	19	61	18	11	44	30	23
South	55	26	13	59	21	11	41	22	23
West	49	29	18	62	24	7	30	37	21

\* Note small sample size.

Question: Students are often given the grades A, B, C, D, or Fail to describe the quality of their work. Looking back over the campaign, what grade would you give to each of the following groups for the way they conducted themselves in the campaign....the voters?

Continued ...

	-----1988-----			-----1992-----			-----1996-----		
	'A' or		'D' or	'A' or		'D' or	'A' or		'D' or
	<u>'B'</u>	<u>'C'</u>	<u>'F'</u>	<u>'B'</u>	<u>'C'</u>	<u>'F'</u>	<u>'B'</u>	<u>'C'</u>	<u>'F'</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	49	28	17	61	20	10	39	29	23
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>									
Total White Protestant	n/a	n/a	n/a	61	19	12	35	28	26
White Prot. Evangelical	n/a	n/a	n/a	61	20	11	33	30	26
White Prot. Non-Evang.	n/a	n/a	n/a	61	18	12	37	26	25
White Catholic	n/a	n/a	n/a	60	24	9	44	32	18
<b>Party ID</b>									
Republican	59	26	10	49	23	16	27	30	34
Democrat	43	28	24	72	15	6	53	25	12
Independent	44	30	18	62	21	9	38	32	22
Lean Republican	53	27	10	52	24	16	24	33	35
Lean Democrat	38	35	24	68	17	3	50	31	11
<b>1988 Presidential Vote</b>									
Bush	59	26	8	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Dukakis	36	30	28	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<b>1992 Presidential Vote</b>									
Clinton	n/a	n/a	n/a	73	15	4	50	26	14
Bush	n/a	n/a	n/a	49	24	18	26	31	34
Perot	n/a	n/a	n/a	59	24	11	31	34	28
<b>1996 Presidential Vote</b>									
Clinton	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	54	24	13
Dole	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	25	33	34
Perot	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	38	30	25

## HELPFULNESS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

-- 1992 VS. 1996 --

(Among Voters)

	----- 1992 -----			----- 1996 -----		
	<u>Helpful</u> %	<u>Not Helpful</u> %	<u>Didn't Watch</u> %	<u>Helpful</u> %	<u>Not Helpful</u> %	<u>Didn't Watch</u> %
<b>Total</b>	70	24	5	41	48	11
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	68	27	4	35	54	10
Female	72	21	6	46	42	11
<b>Race</b>						
White	69	24	5	38	50	11
Non-white	72	21	6	66	26	8
Black*	71	22	7	71	24	5
<b>Age</b>						
Under 30	81	16	3	50	47	4
30-49	73	21	6	39	48	12
50-64	64	32	5	34	48	16
65+	59	31	5	46	46	5
<b>Education</b>						
College Grad	75	22	3	28	62	9
Some College	71	23	4	42	49	10
High School Grad	66	25	7	48	41	10
< H.S. Grad*	68	25	5	50	31	18
<b>Family Income</b>						
\$50,000 +	71	25	3	30	57	12
\$30,000 - \$49,999	67	25	7	39	51	9
\$20,000 - \$29,999	77	15	6	45	42	12
< \$20,000	72	22	4	56	32	11
<b>Region</b>						
East	74	21	5	36	54	9
Midwest	66	28	4	44	42	13
South	68	23	7	43	45	12
West	74	23	2	38	52	8

\* Note small sample size.

Question: How helpful were the presidential debates to you in deciding which candidate to vote for? Would you say they were very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful?

Continued ...

	----- 1992 -----			----- 1996 -----		
	<u>Helpful</u>	Not	Didn't	<u>Helpful</u>	Not	Didn't
	%	<u>Helpful</u>	<u>Watch</u>	%	<u>Helpful</u>	<u>Watch</u>
		%	%		%	%
<b>Total</b>	70	24	5	41	48	11
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>						
Total White Protestant	68	25	6	38	49	12
White Prot. Evangelical	66	28	5	41	44	13
White Prot. Non-Evang.	70	23	6	34	54	11
White Catholic	75	22	3	42	47	11
<b>Party ID</b>						
Republican	67	27	4	37	51	11
Democrat	74	20	5	50	40	10
Independent	68	25	5	35	52	11
Lean Republican	70	24	5	27	59	11
Lean Democrat	69	22	6	45	44	10
<b>1992 Presidential Vote</b>						
Clinton	73	21	4	50	41	8
Bush	59	33	6	28	58	12
Perot	84	13	3	32	55	12
<b>1996 Presidential Vote</b>						
Clinton	n/a	n/a	n/a	54	36	10
Dole	n/a	n/a	n/a	32	56	12
Perot	n/a	n/a	n/a	21	70	9

## SOURCES OF CAMPAIGN NEWS

-- 1992 VS. 1996 --

(Among Voters)

	----- 1992 -----							----- 1996 -----							
	Total <u>TV</u> %	Net- <u>work</u> %	<u>Local</u> %	<u>CNN</u> %	News- <u>paper</u> %	<u>Radio</u> %	<u>Maga- zines</u> %	Total <u>TV</u> %	Net- <u>work</u> %	<u>Local</u> %	<u>CNN</u> %	News- <u>paper</u> %	<u>Radio</u> %	<u>Maga- zines</u> %	**On- <u>Line</u> %
<b>Total</b>	82	55	29	29	57	12	9	72	36	23	21	60	19	11	10
<b>Sex</b>															
Male	81	56	26	33	61	12	9	67	34	18	22	63	21	11	14
Female	82	54	31	25	54	13	9	76	38	27	20	57	18	12	6
<b>Race</b>															
White	81	56	27	29	57	12	10	70	37	22	20	62	19	12	10
Non-white	86	47	37	33	54	13	5	80	32	26	29	48	20	5	11
Black*	90	49	39	36	54	13	3	80	32	31	25	43	20	6	7
<b>Age</b>															
Under 30	82	58	23	31	46	14	10	71	29	24	26	42	26	11	16
30-49	77	51	28	28	59	15	8	67	36	20	18	63	21	12	13
50-64	85	59	28	29	59	11	9	76	39	25	22	58	14	10	8
65+	88	55	37	28	61	7	11	76	36	25	22	68	17	11	1
<b>Education</b>															
College Grad	68	52	20	26	66	16	14	59	36	11	16	70	21	17	16
Some College	80	56	26	30	58	12	8	75	39	21	26	61	20	9	11
High School Grad	87	58	30	33	57	12	6	77	36	29	20	54	16	10	7
< H.S. Grad*	93	51	46	24	41	10	10	82	31	34	22	50	21	6	4
<b>Family Income</b>															
\$50,000 +	74	54	20	31	64	16	11	60	33	16	18	71	20	14	15
\$30,000 - \$49,999	79	52	26	32	58	12	8	72	41	22	19	61	18	10	10
\$20,000 - \$29,999	89	62	32	30	56	8	7	78	33	31	22	51	19	13	8
< \$20,000	87	54	33	28	49	14	8	82	35	26	27	49	20	9	4

\* Note: Small sample size.

\*\* 3% of respondents volunteered they got *most of their news* about the election from on-line sources. The 10% figure in the table combines these respondents with the additional 7% who answered 'yes' to the following question: "Did you happen to get any news or information about the 1996 elections from computer on-line sources, or not?"

Question: How did you get most of your news about the Presidential election campaign? From television, from newspapers, from radio, from magazines or from computer on-line sources? (ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS. IF ONLY ONE RESPONSE IS GIVEN, PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSE.)  
Did you get most of your news about the Presidential campaign from network TV news, from local TV news, or from CNN? (ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS. DO NOT PROBE).

Continued ...

	----- 1992 -----							----- 1996 -----							
	Total <u>TV</u> %	Net- <u>work</u> %	<u>Local</u> %	<u>CNN</u> %	News- <u>paper</u> %	<u>Radio</u> %	<u>Maga- zines</u> %	Total <u>TV</u> %	Net- <u>work</u> %	<u>Local</u> %	<u>CNN</u> %	News- <u>paper</u> %	<u>Radio</u> %	<u>Maga- zines</u> %	**On- <u>Line</u> %
<b>Total</b>	82	55	29	29	57	12	9	72	36	23	21	60	19	11	10
<b>Region</b>															
East	84	55	30	33	61	11	10	74	41	25	21	70	17	12	8
Midwest	82	62	27	23	59	13	10	71	34	24	22	59	18	12	8
South	86	53	32	36	52	12	5	74	38	25	23	55	18	10	10
West	71	48	26	22	58	14	14	66	32	16	15	59	24	12	14
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>															
Total White Protestant	81	54	27	28	55	12	9	73	38	24	20	61	18	11	9
Wh. Prot. Evangelical	77	50	27	23	47	15	12	76	36	28	22	56	18	10	6
Wh. Prot. Non-Evang.	85	58	27	32	62	9	6	70	40	21	18	65	18	12	12
White Catholic	81	57	28	31	59	13	11	68	38	21	17	64	19	12	8
<b>Party ID</b>															
Republican	75	52	24	27	54	14	13	67	36	18	18	59	26	12	11
Democrat	85	56	33	28	55	12	4	77	36	26	22	60	14	10	8
Independent	84	56	29	34	64	11	11	71	36	24	24	61	17	13	9
Lean Republican	86	60	30	34	62	8	13	69	30	28	22	52	19	13	9
Lean Democrat	81	54	30	28	58	15	10	74	39	26	30	65	15	11	10
<b>1992 Presidential Vote</b>															
Clinton	84	54	32	29	58	11	8	74	39	25	21	63	16	11	9
Bush	73	54	25	25	57	16	12	64	34	18	18	63	24	12	11
Perot	91	61	25	40	56	7	7	77	35	25	21	59	20	8	10
<b>1996 Presidential Vote</b>															
Clinton	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	76	38	25	23	62	15	10	8
Dole	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	65	34	20	17	60	25	13	11
Perot	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	84	41	25	29	52	12	9	8

# SURVEY METHODOLOGY

## ABOUT THIS SURVEY

The survey results are based on telephone re-interviews conducted November 7 - 10, 1996 among 1,012 voters under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates.<sup>1</sup> This sample was selected from those identified as registered voters in two previous nationwide surveys of adults 18 years of age or older, the first conducted in June 1996 and the second in October 1996. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

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<sup>1</sup>

"Voters" are those respondents who said they voted in the 1996 elections.



## **SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL**

The sample for the June 1996 and October 1996 surveys (from which this sample was drawn) were random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone households in the U.S. Estimates of the number of telephone households within each county are derived from 1990 Census data on residential telephone incidence that have been updated with state-level information on new telephone installations and county-level projections of the number of households. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample.

At least four attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home". If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who lives in the household". This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1994). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

# THE QUESTIONNAIRE

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS  
 NOVEMBER 1996 RE-INTERVIEW SURVEY  
 -- FINAL TOPLINE--  
 November 7 - 10, 1996  
 N= 1,012 Voters

Hello, I am \_\_\_\_\_ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates in Princeton, New Jersey. (IF OCTOBER: A month or so ago...; IF JUNE: A few months ago...) we were conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and TV stations around the country, and we spoke with a (INSERT SEX AND AGE) in your household. I'd like to ask (HIM/HER) a few additional questions to follow up on that previous interview. Is (HE/SHE) available?

**IF PEW RESPONDENT DOES NOT ANSWER THE PHONE, USE THE FOLLOWING INTRODUCTION WHEN HE OR SHE DOES GET ON THE LINE:**

Hello, I am \_\_\_\_\_ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates in Princeton, New Jersey. (IF OCTOBER: A month or so ago...; IF JUNE: A few months ago...) you participated in a telephone opinion survey we were conducting for leading newspapers and TV stations around the country. I'd like to ask you a few additional questions to follow up on that previous interview.

**MY FIRST QUESTION IS...**

- Q.1 A lot of people have been telling us they didn't get a chance to vote in the election on November 5. How about you... did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?  
 Yes, voted -- **CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW**  
 No, did not vote -- **THANK RESPONDENT AND END**  
 Don't remember -- **THANK RESPONDENT AND END**  
 Refused -- **THANK RESPONDENT AND END**

Q.1a All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

51	Satisfied
42	Dissatisfied
<u>7</u>	No Opinion
100	

**NOW, THINKING ABOUT THE RECENT ELECTION...**

Q.2 Did you happen to vote for Bill Clinton, for Bob Dole or for Ross Perot for President?

		<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1988</u>
45	Bill Clinton	45	43 <sup>2</sup>
39	Bob Dole	32 <sup>3</sup>	53
7	Ross Perot	17	n/a
<u>9</u>	Other/Don't know/Can't remember	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100

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<sup>2</sup> These percentages refer to Dukakis/Bentsen in 1988.

<sup>3</sup> These percentages refer to Bush/Qualye in 1992 and 1988.

**IF RESPONDENT CHOSE CLINTON, DOLE OR PEROT IN Q.2 ASK:**

Q.3 Would you say that your vote was more a vote FOR (INSERT CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.2) or more a vote AGAINST (INSERT NAMES OF OTHER TWO PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES)?

		<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1988</u>
45	<u>Clinton Supporters</u>	45	43 <sup>4</sup>
	31 Pro-Clinton	33	25
	13 Anti-Others	10	16
	1 Undecided	2	2
39	<u>Dole Supporters</u>	32 <sup>5</sup>	53
	17 Pro-Dole	21	39
	20 Anti-Others	10	12
	2 Undecided	1	2
7	<u>Perot Supporters</u>	17	n/a
	2 Pro-Perot	13	n/a
	5 Anti-Others	4	n/a
	* Undecided	*	n/a
<u>9</u> 100	Other/Don't know/Can't remember	<u>6</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100

**IF "VOTE FOR" IN Q.3 ASK:**

Q.3a Was your choice more a vote for (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.2) personally or more a vote for his party?

**IF "PERSONALLY" IN Q.3a ASK:**

Q.3b What do you like most about (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.2), his personality and character, his leadership ability, his experience or his stand on issues?

	----- 1996 -----			----- 1992 -----		
	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>
Total positive support	69	44	34	66	72	77
Candidate total personal qualities	39	24	21	43	43	77
Personality and character	5	5	4	7	6 <sup>6</sup>	10 <sup>7</sup>
Leadership	12	6	1	12	6	14
Experience	2	4	4	10	2	9
Stand on issues	18	9	9	14	27	43
Other/Can't say	2	*	3	--	--	--
Party	26	19	13	19	26	n/a
Other/Can't say	4	1	0	4	3	0

<sup>4</sup> These percentages refer to Dukakis/Bentsen in 1988.

<sup>5</sup> These percentages refer to Bush/Qualye in 1992 and 1988.

<sup>6</sup> The following percentages do not add up to total candidate qualities (43%) due to the exclusion of respondents who answered don't know.

<sup>7</sup> The following percentages do not add up to total candidate qualities (77%) due to the exclusion of respondents who answered don't know.

**ASK ONLY THOSE WHO CHOSE EITHER CLINTON OR DOLE IN Q.2 AND ANSWERED '2' OR '5' AGAINST OTHER CANDIDATES IN Q.3**

Q.4 Was your choice more of a vote against (INSERT NAME OF MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATE NOT CHOSEN IN Q.2 -- CLINTON/DOLE) personally, more of a vote against his running mate, or more of a vote against the (INSERT APPROPRIATE PARTY -- DEMOCRATIC/REPUBLICAN) party?

	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>
Total negative support	28	51
More against other opponent personally	13	38
More against opponent's running mate	*	*
More against opponent's party	14	11
None of the above (VOL)	0	0
Vote against Perot (VOL)	0	0
Other/Can't say	1	2

**ASK ALL EXCEPT THOSE WHO ANSWERED '9' DON'T KNOW/CAN'T REMEMBER IN Q.2:**

Q.5 When did you make up your mind definitely to vote for (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.2; IF 'OTHER' IN Q.2 INSERT 'THE CANDIDATE OF YOUR CHOICE')? (Open-end) (INTERVIEWER: GET TIME AS SPECIFICALLY AS POSSIBLE)

<u>Total</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>		<u>Nov 1992</u>	<u>Nov 1988</u>
6	2	2	1	On Election Day	9	6
3	1	1	1	On Monday (day before the election)	4	3
2	*	1	*	Over the last week-end	4	2
6	3	2	1	In the last week	8	4
3	2	1	*	During or just after the Presidential debates	12	--
0	0	0	0	After the Vice-Presidential debate	1	1
12	5	5	1	In September, after the Conventions	4	17
1	1	*	0	During or after the Democratic Convention	6	--
7	1	6	*	During or after the Republican Convention	3	--
13	6	6	1	This year, before the summer, during the primaries	18	20
39	22	14	2	Before 1996	12	9
1	1	0	0	Other	8	--
2	1	1	*	Don't know/Can't remember	2	2

**NO QUESTION 6 OR 7**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.8 Now that the campaign is over, how satisfied were you with the choice of presidential candidates? Would you say that you were very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied?

		<u>Nov 1992</u>	<u>Nov 1988</u>
18	Very satisfied	24	26
33	Fairly satisfied	37	36
24	Not very satisfied	21	20
22	Not at all satisfied	16	17
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100

Q.9 During this campaign, did you feel you learned enough about the candidates and the issues to make an informed choice between Clinton, Dole and Perot or did you find it difficult to choose because you felt you did not learn enough from the campaign?

		<u>Nov 1992</u>	<u>Nov 1988</u>
75	Learned enough to make an informed choice	77	59
23	Did not learn enough from the campaign	20	39
<u>2</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100

Q.10 How helpful were the presidential debates to you in deciding which candidate to vote for? Would you say they were very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful?

		<u>Nov 1992</u>	<u>Nov 1988</u>
13	Very helpful	31	13
28	Somewhat helpful	39	35
23	Not too helpful	11	24
25	Not at all helpful	13	25
10	Did not watch the debates (VOL)	5	3
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100

Q.11 Students are often given the grades A, B, C, D, or Fail to describe the quality of their work. Looking back over the campaign, what grade would you give to each of the following groups for the way they conducted themselves in the campaign? First... (**READ AND ROTATE**)

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. The press	6	22	33	19	18	2=100
November 1992	11	25	29	16	15	4=100
November 1988	8	22	33	19	16	2=100
b. The pollsters	11	23	29	11	10	16=100
November 1992	15	31	27	9	6	12=100
November 1988	13	29	29	12	11	6=100
c. The talk show hosts	6	15	25	13	16	25=100
November 1992	10	29	25	8	9	19=100
d. The campaign consultants	4	18	33	11	8	26=100
November 1992	7	26	31	7	4	25=100
November 1988	5	20	37	14	8	16=100
e. The Republican Party	4	23	39	18	13	3=100
November 1992	4	25	34	18	15	4=100
November 1988	11	34	31	12	10	2=100
f. The Democratic Party	12	36	29	11	9	3=100
November 1992	18	40	26	6	6	4=100
November 1988	7	26	45	13	7	2=100
g. Bill Clinton	20	37	22	8	11	2=100
November 1992	26	38	21	7	5	3=100
<b>DUKAKIS:</b> November 1988	9	29	40	13	7	1=100
h. Bob Dole	7	26	34	20	12	1=100
<b>BUSH:</b> November 1992	4	26	33	18	16	3=100
<b>BUSH:</b> November 1988	15	34	26	13	11	1=100
i. Ross Perot	8	18	30	20	17	7=100
November 1992	17	30	27	13	10	3=100
j. The voters	12	27	29	13	10	9=100
November 1992	32	29	20	5	5	9=100
November 1988	18	31	28	10	7	6=100

Q.12 How helpful were the candidates' commercials to you in deciding which candidate to vote for? Would you say they were very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful?

		<u>Nov 1992</u>
4	Very helpful	10
21	Somewhat helpful	28
27	Not too helpful	28
46	Not at all helpful	31
<u>2</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u> 100

Q.13 Compared to past presidential elections, would you say there was more discussion of issues in this campaign or less discussion of issues?

		<u>Nov 1992</u>
25	More	59
65	Less	34
6	Same (VOL)	4
<u>4</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u> 100

Q.14 Compared to past presidential elections, would you say there was MORE mud slinging or negative campaigning in this campaign or LESS mud slinging or negative campaigning in this campaign?

		<u>Nov 1992</u>
49	More	68
36	Less	16
12	Same (VOL)	14
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u> 100



Q.15 How did you get most of your news about the Presidential election campaign? From television, from newspapers, from radio, from magazines or from computer on-line sources? (ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS. IF ONLY ONE RESPONSE IS GIVEN, PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSE)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' TELEVISION IN Q.15 ASK:

Q.15a Did you get most of your news about the presidential campaign from network TV news, from local TV news, or from CNN? (ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS; DO NOT PROBE)

		Nov <u>1992</u>
72	Television	82
	36 Network	55
	23 Local	29
	21 CNN	29
	4 Other (VOL)	2
	2 Can't say	1
60	Newspapers	57
19	Radio	12
11	Magazines	9
3	On-line sources	--
4	Other	6
1	Can't say	1

ASK ALL EXCEPT THOSE WHO ANSWERED '5' ON-LINE SOURCES IN Q.15

Q.15b Did you happen to get any news or information about the 1996 elections from computer on-line sources, or not?

7	Yes
90	No
<u>*</u> 97	Don't know/Refused

ASK ALL:

Q.16 Which gave you a better idea of where the presidential candidates stood on issues -- news reports OR TV commercials and advertisements about the candidates?

		Nov <u>1992</u>	Nov <u>1990</u>
77	News reports	74	63
16	Candidates' commercials and advertisements	22	28
<u>7</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100

Q.17 Which gave you a better idea of what the candidates were like personally... news reports OR candidates' TV commercials and advertisements?

		<u>Nov 1992</u>	<u>Nov 1990</u>
67	News reports	58	53
26	Candidates' commercials and advertisements	35	38
<u>7</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100

Q.18 How much influence do you think news organizations had on the outcome of this year's presidential election... too much, too little or about the right amount?

		<u>Nov 1992</u>
47	Too much	46
4	Too little	2
46	About the right amount	49
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u> 100

**ROTATE Q.19 AND Q.20**

Q.19 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered Bill Clinton's election campaign?

		<u>Nov 1992</u>
73	Fair	77
24	Unfair	19
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u> 100

Q.20 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered Bob Dole's election campaign?

<b>BUSH</b>		
		<u>Nov 1992</u>
65	Fair	61
32	Unfair	35
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u> 100

Q.21 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered Ross Perot's election campaign?

		Nov <u>1992</u>
46	Fair	67
44	Unfair	27
<u>10</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u> 100

Q.22 Now thinking about your vote for Congress... Did you happen to vote for the Republican Party's candidate OR the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

50	Republican
41	Democrat
2	Other candidate (VOL)
1	Didn't vote for Congress (VOL)
<u>6</u> 100	Don't know/Can't remember

**ASK Q.23 ONLY OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED '1' REPUBLICAN IN Q.22**

Q.23 Would you say your vote for the Republican from your district was mostly a vote for him or her personally, for the Republican Party, or was it a vote to try to control President Clinton's power?

53	Personally
21	Party
22	Control Clinton's power
3	None of the above (VOL)
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know/Refused
(N=515)	

**ROTATE Q. 24 AND Q.25**  
**ASK ALL: GENERALLY...**

Q.24 Are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party maintained control of the U.S. Congress?

*Based on General Public*  
Dec 1994<sup>8</sup>

65	Happy	57
27	Unhappy	31
$\frac{8}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{12}{100}$

Q.25 Are you happy or unhappy that Bill Clinton was reelected as President?

53	Happy
42	Unhappy
$\frac{5}{100}$	Don't know/Refused

Q.26 Who in Washington do you think should take the lead in solving the nation's problems -- President Clinton, or the Republican Congressional leaders?

*Based on General Public*  
Dec 1994

45	President Clinton	39
30	Republican Congressional leaders	43
19	Both ( <b>VOL</b> )	10
$\frac{6}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{8}{100}$

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<sup>8</sup>

In trend question was asked, "Generally, are you happy or unhappy the Republican party won control of the U.S. Congress?"

Q.27 Next year should the Democratic leaders in Washington... **(READ)**  
**BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS:**

		<i>Based on General Public</i>	
		<u>Dec 1994</u>	
<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
		Try as best they can to work with Republican leaders to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some groups of Democratic supporters?	
63	73	61	69
OR			
		Should they stand up to the Republicans on issues that are important to Democratic supporters, even if it means less gets done in Washington?	
29	22	33	24
<u>8</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	
<b>(N=349)</b>	<b>(N=292)</b>	<u>6</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100
		<b>(N=442)</b>	<b>(N=471)</b>

Q.28 Now some questions about the future... As I name a problem, tell me whether you think the country will make progress on this problem over the next four years, whether it will lose ground on the problem over the next four years, or whether things will stay about the same. (First,) **(READ AND ROTATE)**... do you think the country will make progress, lose ground, or will things stay about the same?

		<u>Make</u> <u>Progress</u>	<u>Lose</u> <u>Ground</u>	<u>Stay</u> <u>Same</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	Drug abuse	28	29	40	3=100
b.	The way the health care system works	32	22	43	3=100
c.	Reforming the tax system	23	17	56	4=100
d.	Families staying together	24	23	48	5=100
e.	Protecting the Medicare system	39	19	40	2=100
f.	Poverty, hunger and homelessness in the U.S.	28	21	48	3=100
g.	Crime	31	27	40	2=100
h.	The quality of public education	42	18	38	2=100
i.	The availability of a good paying job	31	23	43	3=100
j.	The budget deficit	40	23	35	2=100
k.	Reforming the campaign finance system	32	13	51	4=100

**ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...**

Q.29 Do you think Congress has gone too far or not far enough in investigating ethical charges against the Clinton administration, or has Congress handled this about right?

30 Too far

31 Not far enough

35 About right

$\frac{4}{100}$  Don't know/Refused

Q.29a You may have heard stories in the news about charges of improper campaign contributions made to the Democratic Party. Do you think a special committee should be set up in Congress to investigate these charges, or not?

54 Yes

42 No

$\frac{4}{100}$  Don't know/Refused

**ASK Q.30-Q.32 ONLY OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO SAID IN PREVIOUS INTERVIEW THAT THEY ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH (JUNE 1996 Q.25=1,2,3; OCTOBER 1996 Q.26=1,2,3)  
IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT FIT THAT DESCRIPTION, SKIP TO D.1.**

**ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...**

Q.30 Was information on political parties or candidates for the recent election made available in your place of worship, or not?

**BASED ON THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH: [N=630]**

28 Yes

69 No

$\frac{3}{100}$  Don't know/Refused

Q.31 And did the clergy at your place of worship or any other religious groups urge you to vote a particular way in the recent election, or not?

**IF '1' YES IN Q.31, ASK:**

Q.32 Were you urged to vote for a particular candidate or party in the presidential race, a Congressional race, a state race, or a local race? (**ACCEPT MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE**)

**BASED ON THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH: [N=630]**

7	Yes
5	Presidential
3	Congressional
3	State
3	Local
2	Don't know/Refused

91 No

2 Don't know/Refused  
100