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Interest In Debates Off DOLE CAN'T CASH IN ON MIXED VIEW OF CLINTON

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Interest in Debates Off DOLE CAN'T CASH IN ON MIXED VIEW OF CLINTON

Bill Clinton continues to hold a commanding lead over Bob Dole and Ross Perot, but it is not because voters are delighted with his record, or because the electorate is euphoric about economic conditions, or because people expect better things to come. American voters are modest in their enthusiasm for Bill Clinton, except in comparison to his Republican and Reform party rivals.

Dole, for his part, has made little progress in September. The President is drowning him out in the news media, and voters are coming to judge Dole's campaign approach as too negative.

A *Pew Research Center* nationwide survey of 1,517 registered voters on average gave Clinton a grade of C for his performance as president. Further, the electorate which largely expects a Clinton victory in November is not optimistic about progress on major national problems over the next four years.

Americans rate their personal financial condition somewhat better than they did two years ago, and much better than they did four years ago, but a large percentage still say they do not earn enough to lead the kind of life to which they aspire (55%), and rate their economic situation negatively (44%). And most Americans continue to think that the American economy is "off track"... except if Bob Dole says so.

When a random half of the respondents in the Pew survey was asked if they thought the American economy was off track, many more said yes than no, 58% vs. 36%. But when the other half sample was asked if they agreed with "*Bob Dole's charge* that the American economy is off track", only 49% said yes, 43% said no.

This survey experiment reflects Dole's inability to capitalize upon lingering economic discontent and other Clinton vulnerabilities. The trend in voting intentions is the bottom line sign of the Dole campaign's ineffectiveness. Clinton's lead over Dole and Perot (51% to 35% and 7%, respectively) among all registered voters is similar to our findings in early September. The margin is somewhat smaller among likely voters (50% vs. 38% and 6%, respectively), but there are few signs that Dole has made progress in changing people's minds.

Presidential Voting Intentions							
`	July %	Early Sept %	Late Sept %				
Clinton Dole Perot DK/Other	44 34 16 6	52 34 8 6	51 35 7 <u>7</u>				
Number of Interviews:	100	100 (1141)	100				

The proportion of voters who say they have definitely decided not to vote for Dole remains ominously high (44%) and the proportion who say there is a chance they *might* vote for Dole is almost as modest as it was for Bush four years ago (16% vs. 12%). Dislike of Clinton continues to be the dominant motive for supporting the former Senate Majority Leader.

Voters say they are hearing more about Clinton (47%) than Dole (31%) in the news media these days. Moreover, a 53% majority think the Republican candidate has been too critical of his opponent. Only 21% think Clinton has been too critical of Dole.

Dole's campaign objectives of rallying Republicans and narrowing the gender gap remain mostly unfulfilled. Fewer than 80% of Republicans and 70% of Independents who lean Republican say they intend to vote for their party's standard bearer and he continues to trail the President by 22 percentage points among women. Similarly, Dole has been unable to narrow the Clinton margin among many of the dominant population groups that have supported Republican presidential candidates in recent elections -- upper middle income voters, whites, and suburbanites.

Dole's failure to have an impact may be related to rising public confidence in the economy, but the survey finds large percentages of voters who remain financially pressured and/or displeased with their wages despite the favorable trend. More than half (55%) rate their own financial situation excellent or good, (up from 49% in 1994 and 42% in 1992). However, 44% say they are in only fair (34%) or poor (10%) shape. Dole runs further behind Clinton among voters unhappy with their finances. Even financially pressured Republicans are less inclined to vote for Bob Dole than are their fellow party members who are better off. In contrast, money woes among Democrats do not discourage voting for Clinton.

Economic Outlook & Voting Intentions By Party ID							
Republican*Democrat*							
	Excel/	Fair/	Excel/	Fair/			
	Good	Poor	Good	Poor			
	Shape	Shape	Shape	Shape			
	%	%	%	%			
1996 Presidential							
Vote Preference:*							
Clinton	10	18	88	85			
Dole	80	68	5	4			
Perot	6	8	5	6			
Other/DK	4	6	2	<u>5</u>			
	100	100	100	100			
Number of							
Interviews	(411)	(233)	(414)	(326)			
* Includes Leaners							
	·		·	·			

Unable to make economic discontent work for him, Dole also has not been able to fully exploit voter misgivings about Clinton's performance. Close to half the electorate (47%) grades the President *A or B*, but just as many rate his four years in office less positively: 32% grade him *C* and 20% give him a *D or F*. Those who give Clinton A's or B's largely say they will vote for him, while most who give him a D or F are inclined to vote for Dole. However, among those who give Clinton a C grade, Dole leads the president by only a relatively narrow 46% to 35% margin.

First Term Grades & Voting Intention								
	Grade Given To Clinton:							
	<u>A</u> %	<u>B</u> %	<u>C</u> %	D or F %				
Total	7	40	32	20				
1996 Presidential								
Vote Preference*:								
Clinton	88	82	35	5				
Dole	2	11	46	79				
Perot	5	3	8	13				
Other/DK	<u>5</u>	4	<u>11</u>	3				
	100	100	100	100				
* Includes Leaners.	•							

Looking forward, voter expectations about the future are correspondingly modest. Most do not see the country making a great deal of progress in dealing with its big problems over the next four years. Fewer than one in three see progress on reducing the budget deficit, curtailing drug abuse and improving jobs. Somewhat greater percentages expect progress on health care reform and improving education. Those who expect Clinton to win re-election (79% of all voters) are *less optimistic* in many areas than those who think

Dole will prevail in November. See table on p. 14.

This is not to say that voters see no difference between the positions of the candidates.

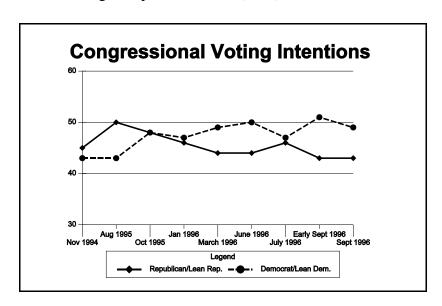
Majorities think Clinton and Dole differ on the economy, tax policy, moral questions, and the role of government. Fewer see major differences on foreign policy, and the tobacco issue. Interestingly, Clinton supporters see fewer policy differences between the candidates than do Dole's backers, except on the economy and tobacco. See table on p. 16.

Congress Close

While the presidential race seems wide open, Congressional voting intentions continue to divide closely. Among all registered voters, 49% are inclined to vote for a Democrat in their district and 43% for a Republican (with 8% undecided or saying they will vote for a candidate of another party). A Pew survey earlier in the month found a similar 51% to 43% margin on these races. Also, as in the earlier survey, when results are based upon likely voters the race tightens to a virtual draw: 48% for the Democratic candidate, 46% for the Republican¹.

¹ The likely voter base assumes a turnout level comparable to the level of participation in 1988.

Several factors should be considered, in addition to turnout, in weighing the significance of the Democratic lead. Anti-incumbency sentiment is less prevalent now than two years ago (17% vs. 29%) and voters say they will be thinking about local issues to a greater extent than they did in 1994 (38% vs. 27%). Both factors may help the GOP. Cutting in the opposite direction, more people say there is an excellent or good chance they will vote a straight Democratic ticket (36%) than say they will vote a straight Republican ticket (25%).



These cross currents, along with the Center's finding that generic measures are less accurate in presidential years,² suggest that the outcome of the struggle for control of the House may be unforeseeable until election day. More evident are the clear demographic splits in Congressional voting intentions. The GOP leads among men, affluent voters, whites, especially white evangelical Protestants, and white Southerners. There is more support for Democratic candidates among women, voters 50 years of age and older, Easterners and Midwesterners, city dwellers, white Catholics and poorer people. The swing categories, where voting intentions are even, consist mainly of voters under 50, suburbanites, and middle income voters.

Minds Made Up?

As the campaign moved into its final month, fewer Americans intend to watch the televised debates between presidential candidates this year than in recent elections and few think the debates will be crucial to their decision on election day.

² "Poll Watch: Generic Congressional Measures Less Accurate In Presidential Years", September 18, 1996. For details see http://www.people-press.org.

Only 30% of the public said the debates will matter to them, while fully 65% -- two out of three respondents -- said their minds were already made up. Men more often than women have their minds made up, as do older Americans, those with the least education, Democrats, likely voters, Dole supporters, and Clinton supporters. The debate matters most to young men (under 30), middle aged women (30 to 49), Independents, 1992 Perot voters, swing voters, and ticket splitters who say they will vote both for Clinton and a Republican Congressional candidate. See table on p. 21.

Unlike previous elections, only a minority of registered voters (43%) say they are "very likely" to watch the debates; this compares to 67% in 1992 and 55% in both 1988 and 1984. Among those highly likely to watch are the most and least educated and regular listeners to talk radio.

Of the 77% who said they are very or somewhat likely to watch the debates, almost twice as many said their minds were already made up (48%) as said the

Interest In Watching The Debates						
	kelihood of Viewing					
P	Presidential Debates <u>% Very Likely</u>					
Current 1996	43					
1992	67					
1988	55					
1984	55					

debates matter (27%). In this respect the figures parallel 1984 when a majority said they had already made up their minds (54%), twice as many as those who said the debate would matter (26%)³. [Comparable survey data for 1992 and 1988 is not available.]

Little Commercial Appeal

The public has seen more of Dole's campaign ads than Clinton's but grades them lower. Fully 70% said they had watched Dole's television commercials, compared to 63% who had watched Clinton's ads. But when asked to rate the commercials "as being a convincing reason to vote for" each candidate, 24% gave Dole's commercials good grades (4% A, 20% B) while 37% gave Clinton's ads good grades (9% A, 28% B). Another indication that Dole's commercials are not working for him was found in the fact that respondents who said there was a chance they might vote for Dole rated his commercials less positively than they rated Clinton's ads: 26% A or B for Dole's commercials, 40% A or B for Clinton's.

A majority of all voters (56%) said they had seen the television commercials in which Dole attacks Clinton's drug control efforts, with 41% saying they had not. Clinton's supporters were more likely to have seen the drug ads than were Dole's or Perot's (62% vs. 51% and 54%, respectively).

³ CBS/New York Times poll.

Dole Too Critical

The Pew survey found that Dole's attack strategy, including his commercials, could be backfiring. More than twice as many Americans said Dole was "too personally critical" of Clinton than the reverse: 53% vs. 21%. Those who had seen any Dole commercials were significantly more likely to say the Republican was too personally critical of Clinton than were those who had not seen his commercials (56% vs. 42%), and the same for those who had seen Dole commercials criticizing Clinton's efforts to combat drugs⁴ than those who had not seen such ads (60% vs. 45%).

Further, Dole supporters are as likely to say he is too critical of Clinton as they are to complain that Clinton is too critical of Dole. But Clinton supporters are much more likely to see Dole as too critical. Swing voters who said they might vote for Dole found him too critical as often as swing voters who incline toward Clinton, and both were twice as likely to say Dole rather than Clinton was too critical.

In a test of how well electioneering phrases are being received, the survey found generally that about 60% of the public said they heard of the tested phrase but only about two-thirds of them correctly ascribed them to one or the other candidate. Specifically, 61% said they had heard the phrase "bridge to the future" and 38% correctly credited it to Clinton; 63% had heard of "just don't do it" and 40% correctly ascribed it to Dole; and 61% had heard of "he's too liberal" and 43% correctly credited it to Dole. Among ticket splitters (Clinton and a GOP Congressman), Dole's "just don't do it" was recognized most often, Clinton's "bridge to the future" was second, and Dole's "he's too liberal" third (68%, 59% and 47%, respectively).

Clinton Wins Free Media

The public overwhelmingly expects Clinton to win. Asked who they think will be elected, regardless of who they support, 79% of respondents said Clinton, 12% said Dole, and 1% said Perot. By this measure, Clinton is up 7 percentage points and Dole down the same amount since July. The group most optimistic about Dole's prospects were evangelical Republicans, but even among them only 30% said he would win. Also, the public has been seeing more of Clinton than Dole on the news. Asked which candidate they had heard most about in the media during the previous week, 47% said Clinton, 31% said Dole, with Perot registering 4%.

The public was most attentive to campaign stories about Dole's plan to cut 15% off Federal income taxes: 57% followed it closely (including 16% very closely and 41% fairly closely). Next was the debate commission's exclusion of Perot (53% closely) and Dole's criticism of Clinton's efforts to combat drug use (also 53%), then Democratic criticisms of Newt Gingrich (45%), Dole's charge that the American economy is off track (44%), and finally Dole's fall from the stage in

⁴ Dole has run several drug commercials including a few in which Clinton, appearing on MTV, indicated that he would inhale marijuana if he had it to do all over again.

California (36%, including 10% very closely). Women were less likely than men to follow all of these stories very closely except for Dole's fall. Dole's swing voters were less likely than average to have followed any of the campaign stories; they were particularly uninterested in stories on two of Dole's important issues, his tax cut plan and his criticism of Clinton's drug efforts.

The Media And The Campaign

More than half (51%) felt the media should have avoided showing the pictures of Dole's embarrassing fall when a bannister collapsed, while 40% felt the pictures were "newsworthy." Surprisingly, perhaps, Americans over 65 significantly more often approved of the pictures being published, while middle agers (30 to 49 years old) were almost two to one in favor of suppressing them, 60% vs. 32%. Little difference was found on the issue across political lines, with Republicans marginally more opposed to publication than were Democrats (55% vs. 49%).

Otherwise, public assessment of press coverage of the campaign so far was mixed. Of the top ten list of one word descriptions of press performance, half were generally positive and half negative.

Other Findings

The biggest problems facing families these days are similar to those of previous years but are seemingly less pervasive. By far most often mentioned was not having enough money (22%), which is roughly the same frequency as in the past four years. Those with college educations and income over \$75,000 cited this complaint less often than average, with most other categories of education and income citing it more than the average. Other frequent mentions were:

- ♦ Taxes, 14%, about twice the rate of previous years.
- ♦ Unemployment, mentioned by merely 6% now, compared to 26% in August 1992.⁵
- ♦ General economic conditions, 5% compared to 18% four years ago.

Press Coverage "Top 20"					
		Frequency*			
1.	Good	179			
2.	Biased	144			
3.	Fair	111			
4.	Adequate	78			
5.	Poor	44			
6.	Overkill	38			
7.	Boring	32			
8.	Okay	31			
9.	One-sided	30			
10.	Excellent	28			
11.	Inadequate	19			
12.	Mediocre	16			
13.	Unfair	14			
14.	Alright	13			
15.	Over-done	13			
16.	Slanted	13			
17.	Average	12			
18.	Liberal	12			
19.	Satisfactory	12			
	Excessive	11			

^{*} This table shows the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are <u>not</u> percentages.

⁵ U.S. News & World Report poll.

If voters were choosing solely based on the vice presidential candidates, Al Gore would win handily: 49% vs. 36% for Jack Kemp and 3% for Pat Choate. His supporters were found among various groups. Proportionately more Democrats favored him than Republicans favored Kemp (84% vs. 73%), for example, as did Independents (44% Gore vs. 33% Kemp), ticket splitters (68% vs. 21%) and swing voters who said they might support Dole (53% vs. 22%).

TABLES

PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEATS*

(Based on Registered Voters)

	Early September 1996			 Late September 1996				
	Clinton	Dole	Perot	Undecided	Clinton	Dole	Perot	Undecided
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	52	34	8	6=100	51	35	7	7=100
Sex								
Male	47	39	11	3	46	38	10	6
Female	56	30	6	8	55	33	5	7
Race								
White	48	38	8	6	47	39	8	6
Non-white	78	12	6	4	83	8	4	5
Black	83	8	7	2	88	5	2	5
D /C								
Race/Sex	42	40	10	2	40	4.1	10	
White Men	42	43	12	3	43	41	10	6
White Women	52	33	6	9	50	38	5	7
Age								
Under 30	57	29	11	3	50	38	9	3
30-49	52	35	8	5	49	36	8	7
50-64	46	38	10	6	52	34	8	6
65+	53	34	5	8	57	34	2	7
F.1								
Education College Grad	48	42	4	6	50	39	5	6
Some College	53	36	7	4	48	39 37	6	9
High School Grad	52	32	10	6	46 47	38	9	6
< H.S. Grad	53	25	13	9	72	18	9 7	3
< n.s. Glad	33	23	13	9	12	10	/	3
Family Income								
\$75,000+	41	45	11	3	46	43	6	5
\$50,000 - \$74,999	53	41	5	1	49	37	8	6
\$30,000 - \$49,999	52	39	6	3	50	38	7	5
\$20,000 - \$29,999	52	34	7	7	51	38	6	5
< \$20,000	64	21	11	4	62	24	8	6

^{*} Includes leaners

Question:

If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton and Al Gore, for the Republican ticket of Bob Dole and Jack Kemp, or for the Reform party ticket of Ross Perot and Pat Choate?

As of TODAY, do you lean more to Clinton and Gore, the Democrats; more to Dole and Kemp, the Republicans; or more to Perot, the Reform party candidate?

	Early September 1996			1996	Late September 1996			
	Clinton	Dole Dole		Undecided	Clinton	Dole Dole		Undecided
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	52	34	8	6=100	51	35	7	7=100
Region								
East	59	26	8	7	60	26	6	8
Midwest	53	34	8	5	50	37	7	6
South	50	38	8	4	50	38	6	6
West	48	36	8	8	46	39	9	6
Race/Region								
White South	41	45	10	4	43	46	6	5
White Non-South	50	35	8	7	49	36	8	7
Race/Region/Sex								
White Men South	34	54	12	*	38	47	9	6
White Men Non-South	47	38	12	3	45	38	11	6
White Women South	49	36	8	7	46	45	3	6
White Women Non-South	54	32	5	9	53	34	6	7
Community Size								
Large City	57	31	7	5	56	32	6	6
Suburb	50	40	6	4	48	40	6	6
Small City/Town	54	32	8	6	55	31	7	7
Rural Area	45	36	12	7	45	40	9	6
Religious Affiliation								
Total White Protestant	43	43	9	5	41	46	7	6
White Prot. Evangelical	38	48	10	4	32	54	8	6
White Prot. Non-Evang.	46	40	8	6	48	39	7	6
White Catholic	54	33	7	6	56	31	7	6
Party ID								
Republican	10	81	6	3	12	78	5	5
Democrat	90	5	3	2	89	4	4	3
Independent	49	26	17	8	51	29	12	8
Lean Republican	17	59	21	3	16	68	11	5
Lean Democrat	79	4	9	8	82	4	8	6
1992 Presidential Vote								
Clinton	85	8	4	3	85	9	3	3
Bush	13	79	3	5	12	9 77	4	3 7
Perot	13 29	33	33	<i>5</i>	32	34	27	7
L CIOI	<i>29</i>	33	33	J	32	54	21	/
Listens To Talk Radio	20	40	0	4	25	<i>5</i> 1	7	7
Regularly	39 55	49	8	4	35	51	7	7
Sometimes	55 54	31	10	4	49	39	7	5
Rarely/Never	54	32	7	7	55	31	7	7

RATING OF PERSONAL FINANCIAL SITUATION

	<u>Excellent</u>	Good	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	DK
Total	% 8	% 47	% 34	% 10	% 1=100
Sex			• 0		
Male	10	52	28	9	1
Female	7	43	39	10	1
Race					
White	9	49	33	8	1
Non-white	4	34	44	17	1
Black	3	33	44	18	2
Race/Sex					
White Men	10	53	27	9	1
White Women	7	45	39	8	1
Age					
Under 30	4	43	43	9	1
30-49	9	48	33	9	1
50-64	11	48	32	8	1
65+	8	46	31	13	2
Education					
College Grad	17	55	24	4	*
Some College	6	49	35	8	2
High School Grad	5	45	38	11	1
< H.S. Grad	1	32	44	22	1
Family Income					
\$75,000 +	26	57	15	1	1
\$50,000 - \$74,999	12	62	24	2	*
\$30,000 - \$49,999	6	55	33	5	1
\$20,000 - \$29,999	2	40	50	8	0
< \$20,000	1	24	48	26	1
Region					
East	8	47	37	7	1
Midwest	7	50	33	9	1
South	7	46 45	35	11	1
West	11	45	32	11	1
Race/Region					
White South	9	47	34	9	1
White Non-South	9	49	33	8	1

Question: How would you rate your own personal financial situation. Would you say you are in excellent shape, good shape, only fair shape or poor shape?

RATING OF PERSONAL FINANCIAL SITUATION

	Excellent %	Good %	<u>Fair</u> %	Poor %	<u>DK</u> %
Total	8	47	34	10	1=100
Race/Region/Sex					
White Men South	10	57	23	9	1
White Men Non-South	11	51	29	9	*
White Women South	8	40	42	10	*
White Women Non-South	7	47	37	7	2
Community Size					
Large City	6	46	34	13	1
Suburb	11	54	30	4	1
Small City/Town	7	45	36	12	*
Rural Area	9	45	35	9	2
Religious Affiliation					
Total White Protestant	10	47	33	9	1
White Prot. Evangelical	8	48	34	10	*
White Prot. Non-Evang.	11	46	32	9	2
White Catholic	7	52	34	6	1
Party ID					
Republican	12	50	30	7	1
Democrat	6	47	36	10	1
Independent	8	44	35	12	1
Lean Republican	10	46	34	9	1
Lean Democrat	8	43	34	14	1
Rep./Lean Rep.	11	49	31	8	1
Dem./Lean Dem.	6	46	36	11	1
1992 Presidential Vote					
Clinton	8	47	33	11	1
Bush	11	52	31	5	1
Perot	10	51	27	12	0
1996 Presidential Preference					
Clinton/Lean Clinton	7	45	36	11	1
Dole/Lean Dole	11	52	30	6	1
Perot/Lean Perot	9	37	33	21	0
Ticket-Splitters					
Clinton/Rep. Congress	12	38	42	8	0
Listens To Talk Radio					
Regularly	13	49	28	10	*
Sometimes	9	51	29	11	*
Rarely/Never	7	45	38	9	1

PROGRESS ON NATIONAL PROBLEMS

		<u>All</u> %	Those Who Think Clinton %	Winner Will Be: Dole %
Drug Abuse				
Progress		30	30	43
Lose groun	d	30	30	23
Stay same		37	37	31
Don't know	7	<u>3</u> 100	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$
Health Care				
Progress		38	38	40
Lose groun	d	24	23	25
Stay same		33	34	26
Don't know	1	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u> 100
		100	100	100
High Taxes				
Progress		19	17	31
Lose groun	d	23	25	22
Stay same		52	54	38
Don't know	<i>I</i>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>
		100	100	100
Families				
Progress		23	21	34
Lose groun	d	27	27	30
Stay same		45	48	32
Don't know	1	<u>5</u>	4	4
		100	100	100
US Military Involve	ment			
Progress		25	25	34
Lose groun	d	16	15	20
Stay same		51	53	37
Don't know	1	8	<u>7</u>	9
		100	100	100

Question:

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. (READ AND ROTATE) (FIRST ...) (INTERVIEWERS: IF NECESSARY, PROBE "DO YOU THINK THE COUNTRY WILL MAKE PROGRESS, LOSE GROUND, OR WILL THINGS STAY ABOUT THE SAME?")

PROGRESS ON NATIONAL PROBLEMS

		Those Who Think	Winner Will Be:
	<u>All</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>
	%	%	%
Poverty/Homeless			
Progress	24	23	30
Lose ground	24	28	7
Stay same	48	47	54
Don't know	4	2	9
	100	100	100
Crime			
Progress	29	29	32
Lose ground	30	32	15
Stay same	38	38	45
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	8
	100	100	100
Public Education			
Progress	38	38	41
Lose ground	22	23	15
Stay same	36	37	36
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100
Jobs			
Progress	28	28	27
Lose ground	23	24	14
Stay same	46	46	54
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100
Budget Deficit			
Progress	29	31	30
Lose ground	27	30	13
Stay same	38	36	47
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100

PERCEIVED POLICY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CANDIDATES

		1996 Presi	eference*		
	Total %	Clinton %	Dole %	Perot %	
Differences Between Clinton/Dole/Perot On:					
Tax cuts					
Major	63	62	68	55	
Minor	25	27	20	31	
Same	2	2	2	4	
Don't know	<u>10</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	
Economy	100	100	100	100	
Major	59	61	62	49	
Minor	31	31	29	41	
Same	3	2	3	5	
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	
	100	100	100	100	
Role of Government					
Major	56	55	65	45	
Minor	31	31	25	43	
Same	3	3	3	5	
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	7	<u>7</u>	
	100	100	100	100	
Moral Values					
Major	51	39	73	39	
Minor	34	43	19	42	
Same	6	7	3	11	
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	8	
	100	100	100	100	
Tobacco Sales To Teenagers					
Major	41	48	33	32	
Minor	34	30	39	36	
Same	5	4	7	9	
Don't know	<u>20</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>23</u>	
	100	100	100	100	
Foreign Policy					
Major	40	37	49	31	
Minor	37	38	32	45	
Same	3	4	3	3	
Don't know	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>21</u>	
	100	100	100	100	

^{*}Includes Leaners.

CONGRESSIONAL VOTING INTENTIONS*

	Early September 1996			Late			
			<u>Undecided</u>	Republican			(N)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	43	51	6=100	43	49	8=100	(1517)
Sex							
Male	48	48	4	49	43	8	(732)
Female	40	53	7	38	54	8	(785)
Race							
White	47	47	6	48	44	8	(1275)
Non-white	17	79	4	13	83	4	(219)
Black	11	86	3	9	87	4	(141)
Race/Sex							
White Men	52	44	4	53	39	8	(631)
White Women	44	49	7	43	49	8	(644)
Age							
Under 30	41	55	4	46	47	7	(229)
30-49	43	51	6	46	47	7	(675)
50-64	48	45	7	41	52	7	(310)
65+	42	54	4	36	54	10	(278)
Education							
College Grad	49	45	6	47	45	8	(536)
Some College	45	47	8	48	45	7	(395)
High School Grad	40	55	5	45	46	9	(469)
< H.S. Grad	40	56	4	23	71	6	(108)
Family Income							
\$75,000 +	59	39	2	57	35	8	(211)
\$50,000 - \$74,999	51	48	1	46	47	7	(244)
\$30,000 - \$49,999	45	49	6	46	49	5	(433)
\$20,000 - \$29,999	41	51	8	47	48	5	(188)
< \$20,000	31	66	3	28	64	8	(272)
Region							
East	39	57	4	37	53	10	(298)
Midwest	45	50	5	42	49	9	(384)
South	43	51	6	44	50	6	(538)
West	44	47	9	48	45	7	(297)

^{*} Includes leaners.

Question: Suppose the 1996 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the

Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

As of TODAY, do you lean more to the Republican or the Democrat?

	Early September 1996		r 1996	Late	Late September 1996			
<u>I</u>	Republican	<u>Democra</u>	t Undecided	Republican	Democra	t Undecided	(N)	
	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Total	43	51	6=100	43	49	8=100	(1517)	
Race/Region								
White South	51	44	5	52	41	7	(428)	
White Non-South	46	48	6	46	45	9	(847)	
Race/Region/Sex								
White Men South	60	37	3	57	36	7	(202)	
White Men Non-South	48	47	5	51	40	9	(429)	
White Women South	42	50	8	47	46	7	(226)	
White Women Non-Sou	th 44	49	7	42	50	8	(418)	
Community Size								
Large City	38	55	7	40	52	8	(311)	
Suburb	45	48	7	47	45	8	(362)	
Small City/Town	45	50	5	41	51	8	(520)	
Rural Area	43	53	4	45	48	7	(302)	
Religious Affiliation								
Total White Protestant	54	41	5	54	38	8	(798)	
White Prot. Evangelical	56	39	5	60	30	10	(356)	
White Prot. Non-Evang.	51	44	5	49	44	7	(442)	
White Catholic	42	53	5	40	51	9	(308)	
Party ID								
Republican	90	9	1	92	5	3	(501)	
Democrat	7	92	1	6	91	3	(547)	
Independent	42	45	13	39	46	15	(399)	
Lean Republican	81	15	4	81	11	8	(149)	
Lean Democrat	15	77	8	11	80	9	(201)	
1992 Presidential Vote								
Clinton	13	82	5	14	80	6	(590)	
Bush	85	11	4	85	10	5	(441)	
Perot	60	33	7	52	37	11	(160)	
1996 Presidential Prefe								
Clinton/Lean Clinton	13	83	4	14	81	5	(762)	
Dole/Lean Dole	88	10	2	88	9	3	(550)	
Perot/Lean Perot	53	36	11	49	36	15	(102)	
Listens To Talk Radio								
Regularly	60	36	4	58	36	6	(220)	
Sometimes	37	59	4	48	47	5	(312)	
Rarely/Never	41	52	7	39	52	9	(983)	

SWING VOTERS

	Cl	inton	1	Dole	F	Perot
	Now	Chance Might	Now	Chance Might	Now	Chance Might
	Support*	<u>Support</u>	Support	<u>Support</u>	<u>Support</u>	<u>Support</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	51	11	35	16	7	12
Sex						
Male	47	10	38	15	10	13
Female	55	12	33	16	5	10
Race						
White	47	12	39	15	7	12
Non-white	83	5	8	18	4	10
Black	88	3	5	19	2	10
Age						
Under 30	50	13	38	18	9	16
30-49	49	11	36	19	8	13
50-64	52	10	34	9	8	9
65+	57	9	34	11	2	8
Education						
College Grad	50	8	38	14	5	9
Some College	48	13	38	18	6	14
High School Grad	47	14	38	15	9	14
< H.S. Grad	72	5	18	17	7	6
Family Income						
\$75,000 +	46	7	43	16	6	10
\$50,000 - \$74,999	49	11	37	15	8	9
\$30,000 - \$49,999	50	13	38	16	6	14
\$20,000 - \$29,999	51	13	38	15	5	14
< \$20,000	62	10	24	16	8	12

^{*} Total support for each candidate, as measured in the three-way presidential preference question, including leaners.

Question:

(IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE CLINTON IN THE THREE WAY TRIAL HEAT, ASK:) Do you think that there is a chance that you might vote for Bill Clinton in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

(IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE DOLE IN THE THREE WAY TRIAL HEAT, ASK:) Do you think that there is a chance that you might vote for Bob Dole in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

(IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE PEROT IN THE THREE WAY TRIAL HEAT, ASK:) Do you think that there is a chance that you might vote for Ross Perot in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

	Cl	linton	1	Oole	<i>F</i>	Perot		
	Now	Chance Might	Now	Chance Might	Now	Chance Might		
	Support	<u>Support</u>	Support	<u>Support</u>	Support	<u>Support</u>		
	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Total	51	11	35	16	7	12		
Region								
East	60	10	26	16	6	11		
Midwest	50	12	37	15	7	12		
South	50	12	38	16	6	11		
West	46	9	39	16	9	13		
Community Size								
Large City	56	9	32	15	6	12		
Suburb	48	10	40	14	5	11		
Small City/Town	55	11	31	16	7	13		
Rural Area	45	14	40	18	9	10		
Religious Affiliation								
Total White Protestant	41	11	46	15	7	12		
White Prot. Evangelical	32	12	54	13	8	11		
White Prot. Non-Evang.	48	10	39	16	6	12		
White Catholic	56	14	31	18	7	11		
Party ID								
Republican	12	11	78	12	5	11		
Democrat	89	7	4	14	4	8		
Independent	50	15	29	22	12	16		
1992 Presidential Vote								
Clinton	85	6	8	12	3	6		
Bush	12	12	77	12	4	11		
Perot	32	15	34	22	27	24		
Listens To Tall Dal								
Listens To Talk Radio	25	10	<i>E</i> 1	12	7	10		
Regularly Sometimes	35 48	10 10	51 39	12	7 7	10 11		
	48 56	10 11	39 31	15 16	7	11 12		
Rarely/Never	30	11	31	10	/	12		

ATTITUDE TOWARD DEBATES

	Mind Made Up	Debates Matter	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
Total	65	30	5=100
Sex			
Male	68	28	4
Female	63	32	5
Race			
White	65	30	5
Non-white	68	28	4
Black	69	27	4
Race/Sex			
White Men	68	28	4
White Women	62	33	5
Age			
Under 30	62	34	4
30-49	59	36	5
50-64	72	22	6
65+	76	20	4
Sex/Age			
Men 18-29	61	37	2
Women 18-29	64	31	2 5
Men 30-49	65	32	3
Women 30-49	54	40	6
Men 50+	75	19	6
Women 50+	73	23	4
Education			
College Grad.	69	27	4
Some College	61	36	3
High School Grad.	61	33	6
< H.S. Grad.	78	19	3

Question: Will the debates matter in deciding who you will vote for or is your mind already made up?

ATTITUDE TOWARD DEBATES

	Mind Made Up %	<u>Debates Matter</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Total	65	30	5=100
Family Income			
\$75,000 +	67	30	3
\$50,000 - \$74,999	66	30	4
\$30,000 - \$49,999	63	33	4
\$20,000 - \$29,999	65	32	3
< \$20,000	68	27	5
Region			
East	63	31	6
Midwest	68	27	5
South	65	31	4
West	66	31	3
Race/Region			
White South	65	31	4
White Non-South	65	30	5
Race/Region/Sex			
White Men South	70	25	5
White Men Non-South	67	29	4
White Women South	61	36	3
White Women Non-South	63	31	6
Community Size			
Large City	67	28	5
Suburb	69	28	3
Small City/Town	64	32	4
Rural Area	61	32	7
Religious Affiliation			
Total White Protestant	65	30	5
White Prot. Evangelical	67	30	3
White Prot. Non-Evang.	64	31	5
White Catholic	64	32	4
Party ID			
Republican	67	28	5
Democrat	73	25	2
Independent	56	38	6
Lean Republican	58	39	3 5
Lean Democrat	61	34	5

ATTITUDE TOWARD DEBATES

	Mind Made Up	Debates Matter	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
Total	65	30	5=100
1992 Presidential Vote			
Clinton	71	25	4
Bush	68	29	3
Perot	54	42	4
1996 Presidential Preference			
Clinton/Lean Clinton	67	29	4
Dole/Lean Dole	69	28	3
Perot/Lean Perot	65	27	3 8 3
Likely Voters	75	22	3
Ticket-Splitters			
Clinton/Rep. Congress	37	60	3
Swing Voters			
Might support Clinton	25	66	9
Might support Dole	29	63	8 7
Might support Perot	39	54	7
Listens To Talk Radio			
Regularly	70	27	3
Sometimes	67	29	4
Rarely/Never	64	31	5

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among 1,517 registered voters from a nationwide sample of adults 18 years of age or older, during the period September 25-29, 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. For results based on either Form 1 (N=757) or Form 2 (N=760), the sampling error is plus or minus 4 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.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The sample for this survey is a 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 SEPTEMBER 1996 PRE-ELECTION SURVEY

-- FINAL TOPLINE --September 25-29, 1996 N=1,517 Registered Voters

Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates in Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and TV stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home. [IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?]

ALL NUMBERS IN SURVEY, INCLUDING TREND FIGURES, ARE BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

ASK ALL:

Q.3 How much thought have you given to the coming Presidential election. . . quite a lot or only a little?

		Early							Ga	llup
		Sept 1996	July <u>1996</u>	June <u>1996</u>	Oct 1992	Sept 1992	Aug 1992	June 1992	Aug <u>1988</u>	Sept <u>1988</u>
61	Quite a lot	56	55	50	77	69	72	63	61	57
7	Some (VOL)	3	3	5	5	3	4	6	10	18
29	Only a little	36	41	41	16	26	23	29	27	23
2	None (VOL)	4	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	2
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u> 100	* 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	* 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100

Q.4 Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district?

		Nov <u>1994</u>
85	Yes	91
15	No	9
* 100	Don't know/Refused	* 100

Q.5	Generally speaking, how much interest would you say you have in politics: a great deal, a fair amount, only a little, or no
	interest at all?

25 Great deal

50 Fair amount

22 Only a little

3 None

* 100 Don't know/Refused

Q.6 How often would you say you vote... (READ)

			Feb 1996		April <u>1995</u>			-	June 1992	•	Nov 1991	May 1990	-		May 1987
52	Always	52	42	53	53	58	55	52	60	50	46	42	43	49	43
31	Nearly always	33	41	35	34	28	32	34	29	35	41	42	41	39	43
10	Part of the time	9	11	7	9	8	10	10	7	10	9	11	11	9	9
4	Seldom	4	4	4	4	5	3	4	3	4	4	4	3	2	3
1	(VOL) Other	1	1	*	*	1	*	*	1	*	0	*	1	*	1
2	(VOL) Never vote	1	1	1	*	*	*	*	*	1	*	1	2	1	1
* 100	Don't know	* 100	* 100	* 100	* 100	<u>0</u> 100	* 100	* 100	* 100	* 100	* 100	* 100	* 100	* 100	* 100

- Q.7 If the presidential election were being held <u>today</u>, would you vote for the Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton and Al Gore, for the Republican ticket of Bob Dole and Jack Kemp, or for the Reform party ticket of Ross Perot and Pat Choate (INTERVIEWER: CHOATE RHYMES WITH BOAT)?
- Q.7a Do you support (**INSERT CHOICE FROM Q. 7**) strongly or only moderately?
- Q.7b As of TODAY, do you lean more to Clinton, the Democrat, more to Dole, the Republican, or more to Perot, the Reform party candidate?

		Early				
		Sept	July	March	Sept	July
		<u> 1996</u>	<u> 1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u> 1995</u>	<u>1994</u>
51	Clinton/Lean Clinton	52	44	44	42	39
	26 Strongly	26	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	25 Only moderately	26	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	* Don't know	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
35	Dole/Lean Dole	34	34	35	36	36
	16 Strongly	17	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	18 Only moderately	17	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	1 Don't know	*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
7	Perot/Lean Perot	8	16	16	19	20
	3 Strongly	3	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	4 Only moderately	5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	* Don't know	*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
7	Undecided/Other Candidate (VOL)	6	6	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	5
100	emacrates can candidate (VOE)	100	100	$1\overline{00}$	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.8a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

		Early									Early		
		Sept	July	June	March	Jan	Oct	Aug	Nov	Oct	Oct	Sept	July
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	1994	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
43	Republican/Lean Republican	43	46	44	44	46	48	50	45	47	52	48	45
49	Democrat/Lean Democrat	51	47	50	49	47	48	43	43	44	40	46	47
$\frac{8}{100}$	Other candidate/Undecided (VOL	100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100

Q.8 Suppose the 1996 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

IF RESPONDENT NAMED A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IN Q. 7 OR Q.7b, ASK: NOW WITH REGARD TO THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AGAIN... Q.9 What is the main reason why you would like to see (CHOICE FROM Q.7 OR Q.7b--CLINTON, DOLE, PEROT) win

the presidential election? (OPEN - END)

	RS WHO SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR CLINTON: [N=762]	
Bill Cli		21
27	NEGATIVE (NET)	31
17	Don't like Bob Dole/A vote against Bob Dole	13
5	"Lesser of the two evils"/No one else worth voting for	8
2	Dole is too old	6
4	Don't like the Republicans/Party ideas	5
31	RECORD (NET)	30
23	Has done a good job	19
4	Should give him more time/Need to allow time for his policies to work	9
5	Has helped the economy	3
1	Has kept campaign promises	2
16	QUALITIES (NET)	26
3	He's better qualified/He would do a better job	7
3	He's a "people person"/He is in touch with the people	6
2	He's young	4
6	He's for the working man	3
1	Has experience	2
*	Sincere/Really cares about the country	2
*	He's a known entity/We already know what he is like	2
*	Good decision-maker	1
1	He's honest	*
21	ISSUES (NET)	14
16	Like his ideas/Stand on issues in general	12
3	Like his stand for education	1
1	Like his stand on abortion	1
2	Like his position on welfare reform	1
*	Raising minimum wage	*
2	Has helped unemployment	*
6	Keep Democrats in power/Like Democratic Party	7
1	Wrong time for change	2
3	Other	3
6	Don't know/No answer	4
	RS WHO SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR DOLE: [N=548]	
Bob Do		47
47	NEGATIVE (NET) Don't like Bill Clinton/As a vote against Bill Clinton	47
27	Clinton hasn't done a good job	22 7
5 4	Clinton's dishonest character	
-		6
5	Time for change/New ideas	5
3	Don't like Clinton's ideas/Policy choices/Issue positions	5
2	"Lesser of two evils"/No one else worth voting for	4
1	Clinton hasn't kept promises	2
1	Don't like the Democrats/Party ideas	2
33	ISSUES (NET)	22
18	Like his ideas/Stand on issues in general	14
9	Like his position on taxes/Tax breaks/Other monetary issues	5
4	Like his stand on abortion	3
1	Like his position on welfare reform	2
2	Will take better care of military/defense issues	1

Q.9 con't ...

VOTER	S WHO SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR DOLE con't	<u>July 1996</u>
15	QUALITIES (NET)	15
9	He's honest/Trustworthy	9
3	He's older/More experienced	5
4	Conservative	2
6	Keep Republicans in power/Like Republican Party	
3	Other	
3	Don't know/No answer	

VOTERS WHO SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR PEROT: [N=102]

Ross Perot

- 33 Don't like Clinton/Dole/As a vote against Clinton/Dole
- 22 Time for change/New ideas
- 12 Like his ideas/Stand on issues in general
- 11 Good businessman/Business minded/Not a "politician"
- 10 Like his position on taxes/Tax breaks/Other monetary issues
- 10 "Less of all evils"/No one else worth voting for
- 3 Other
- 5 Don't know/No answer

IF RESPONDENT WAS SKIPPED OUT OF Q.9, THEY SHOULD GET THE INTRO "NOW WITH REGARD TO THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AGAIN" BEFORE THEY GET ANY OF THE Q.10 - 12 SEQUENCE.

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE CLINTON IN Q. 7 OR Q. 7b ASK:

Q.10 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Bill Clinton in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

		Early Sept 1996	July <u>1996</u>	Sept 1992	July <u>1992</u>	May 1992
11	Chance might vote for him	10	8	13	14	11
35	Decided not to vote for him	34	36	28	26	37
<u>3</u> 49	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u> 48	<u>4</u> 48	<u>6</u> 47	<u>3</u> 43	<u>7</u> 55

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE DOLE IN Q. 7 OR Q.7b ASK:

Q.11 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Bob Dole in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

					Bush	-
		Early Sept 1996	July <u>1996</u>	Sept 1992	July <u>1992</u>	May 1992
16	Chance might vote for him	14	15	12	15	7
44	Decided not to vote for him	47	40	44	45	40
<u>5</u> 65	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u> 66	<u>3</u> 58	<u>6</u> 62	<u>4</u> 64	<u>6</u> 53

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE PEROT IN Q. 7 OR Q.7b ASK:Q.12 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Ross Perot in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

		Early Sept 1996
12	Chance might vote for him	11
77	Decided not to vote for him	78
<u>4</u> 93	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{3}{92}$

ASK ALL:

Q.13 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

IF YES, ASK:

Q.14 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

		Early Sept <u>1996</u>	July <u>1996</u>	June 1996	Oct 1992	Sept 1992	Aug 1992	June 1992
98	Yes	96	95	96	98	98	97	97
	89 Absolutely certain	83	82	84	91	85	89	88
	8 Fairly certain	11	12	11	6	11	8	8
	1 Not certain	2	1	1	1	2	*	1
1	No	2	3	2	1	1	1	1
$\frac{1}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100

ASK ALL:

Q.15 I'd like you to rate your chance of voting in November on a scale of 10 to 1. If 10 represents a person who definitely will vote and 1 represents a person who definitely will not vote, where on this scale of 10 to 1 would you place yourself?

		<i>Gallup</i> <u>Sept 1992</u>
78	10 Definitely will vote	77
10	9	5
6	8	4
2	7	3
1	6	2
1	5	4
*	4	*
*	3	1
*	2	*
1	1 Definitely will not vote	4
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know	* 100

ASK Q.16 OF FORM 1 ONLY: [N= 757]

NOW THINKING AGAIN ABOUT YOUR VOTE FOR CONGRESS THIS FALL...

Q.16F1 What will make the biggest difference in how you vote for Congress in your district -- national issues, local or state issues, the candidate's political party, or the candidate's character or experience? (**IF MORE THAN ONE, PROBE:**) Well, which is most important?

						<i>CBS</i>	/NYT
		Early Sept 1996	Nov <u>1994</u>	Oct 1994	Early Oct <u>1994</u>	Oct 24-28 <u>1986</u>	Sept 28-Oct 1 <u>1986</u>
25	National issues	18	22	22	22	22	20
38	State/Local issues	42	38	38	27	25	23
6	Candidate's Political party	6	5	3	5	6	9
24	Candidate's Character/Experience	30	30	29	39	40	41
2	Other (VOL)	1	1	3	2	1	3
*	None (VOL)	*	*	1	1	1	*
<u>5</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	$\frac{4}{100}$

ASK Q.17 OF FORM 2 ONLY: [N=760]

NOW THINKING AGAIN ABOUT YOUR VOTE FOR CONGRESS THIS FALL.

Q.17F2 Would you like to see your Representative in Congress be re-elected in November, or not?

	E	arly Sept <u>1996</u>	Nov 1994	Oct 1994	Early Oct <u>1994</u>	<i>Gallup</i> Oct 25-28 <u>1990</u>
55	Yes	62	58	55	49	62
17	No	19	25	30	29	22
2	Congressman is not running (VOL)	2	1	2	2	2
<u>26</u> 100	No opinion	17 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>20</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' CLINTON IN QUESTION 7 OR 7b, THEN ASK:

- Q.18 One last question about how you intend to vote... What are the chances that you will vote only for Democratic candidates in November? Is there an excellent chance of this, a good chance, some chance or no chance?
 - 38 Excellent chance
 - 32 Good chance
 - 21 Some chance
 - 8 No chance
 - 1 Don't know/Refused

100

(N=762)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '2' DOLE IN QUESTION 7 OR 7b, THEN ASK:

- Q.18a One last question about how you intend to vote. . . What are the chances that you will vote only for Republican candidates in November? Is there an excellent chance of this, a good chance, some chance or no chance?
 - 42 Excellent chance
 - 29 Good chance
 - 19 Some chance
 - 8 No chance
 - 2 Don't know/Refused

100

(N=550)

ASK ALL: ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.19 What is the biggest problem facing you and your family these days? (OPEN END. RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION)

		March 1994	Dec ⁶ 1993	U.S. News Aug 1992	w & Wor May 1992	old Report Jan <u>1992</u>
22	Not enough money/Paying bills/Making ends meet	26	27	20	18	22
14	Taxes/High taxes	6	6	8	9	7
8	Healthcare/High cost of health insurance	8	15	11	8	10
7	Issues facing the elderly	3	3	3	*	*
6	Unemployment/Low paying jobs	9	12	26	27	27
5	Family/Personal/Health problems	8	5	2	3	5
5	Fear of Crime/Violence	4	6	*	*	*
5	Economy/Recession/Business (general)	3	4	18	31	20
4	High prices/High cost of living and housing	4	6	7	8	10
3	Morality/Family values	1	1	2	*	*
3	Child care/Costs of education	5	3	3	5	4
3	Low paying jobs					
3	Quality of Education/What's going on in schools	2	1	3	*	*
1	Government/Government corruption	1	1	5	4	*
*	Welfare					
*	Environment	*	*	*	1	*
*	Recession					
2	Other	2	8	7	22	8
21 *112	No problems/Don't know	28 *110	*109	*11 *126	*\frac{7}{143}	*13 *126

^{*}Total exceeds 100% due to multiple response

 $^{^{\,\,6}\,}$ All figures from December 1993 are based on general population.

Q.20 Do you think the person who is elected President can make a difference in your ability to deal with this problem or not?

BASED ON THOSE WHO MENTIONED A PROBLEM IN Q.19:

63 Yes

28 No -- **GO TO Q.22**

9 Don't know/Refused -- **GO TO Q.22**

(N=1210)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q. 20, ASK:

Q.21 Which Presidential candidate would help you most with this problem?

BASED ON TOTAL REGISTERED VOTERS: [N=1517]

- 23 Bill Clinton
- 17 Bob Dole
- 3 Ross Perot
- 1 None
- 5 Don't know/Refused

ASK ALL:

Q.22 How would you rate your own personal financial situation. Would you say you are in (**READ**)?

				U.S. News & World Report				
		Mar	Dec^7	Oct	Aug	May	Jan	
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1992</u>	1992	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	
8	Excellent shape?	6	5	6	6	4	5	
47	Good shape?	43	34	36	33	36	36	
34	Only fair shape?	39	45	39	44	44	43	
10	OR poor shape?	11	15	18	16	15	16	
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	* 100	

 $^{^{7}\,}$ Figures from December 1993 are based on general population.

Q.23 Are you now employed full-time, part-time, or not employed?

		June <u>1996</u>	March 1994
52	Full-time	57	54
12	Part-time	12	13
36	Not employed	31	33
* 100	Don't Know/Refused	* 100	* 100

ASK ONLY OF EMPLOYED PEOPLE: [N=1003]

Q.24 Do you now earn enough money to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

				U.S. News & World Report				-
		June	March	Oct	Aug	May	Jan	
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	1992	<u>1992</u>	
44	Yes	48	45	38	34	36	41	
55	No	51	54	61	65	63	59	
	- · · ·							
1	Don't know	1	1	1	1	<u>1</u>	*	
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	

IF RESPONDENTS ANSWERS '2' NO IN Q.24, ASK:

Q.25 Do you think you will be able to earn enough money in the future to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

				U.S. News & World Report			port
		June <u>1996</u>	March <u>1994</u>	Oct 1992	Aug 1992	May 1992	Jan <u>1992</u>
33	Yes	30	31	32	34	32	32
18	No	19	20	24	26	28	23
<u>4</u> 55%	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u> 51%	3 54%	<u>5</u> 61%	<u>5</u> 65%	<u>3</u> 63%	<u>4</u> 59%

ASK ALL: ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.26 What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the choices?

		June 1996	Oct 1992	Aug 1992	June 1992
11	Very satisfied	10	10	11	6
50	Fairly satisfied	37	41	42	29
26	Not too satisfied	31	33	31	36
10	Not at all satisfied	18	14	15	27
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	$\frac{1}{100}$	<u>2</u> 100

- Q.27 If you had to make a choice strictly on the basis of the Vice Presidential candidates, who would you choose: Al Gore, the Democrat; Jack Kemp, the Republican; or Pat Choate, the Reform Party candidate?
 - 49 Gore
 - 36 Kemp
 - 3 Choate
 - 12 Don't know/Refused

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

- Q.27a All in all, what grade would you give Bill Clinton for the job he's done as President over the past four years? Would you give him an A, B, C, D or F?
 - 7 A
 - 40 B
 - 32 C
 - 11 D
 - 9 F
 - $\underline{1}$ Don't know/Refused

Q.28 Do you think there are important differences in what Bob Dole and Bill Clinton stand for?

80 Yes

13 No

<u>7</u> 100 Don't know/Refused

Q.29 Do you think there are major differences or only minor differences between Clinton and Dole when it comes to their policies regarding . . . (READ AND ROTATE)

		<u>Major</u>	Minor	(VOL) <u>Same</u>	No <u>Opinion</u>
a.	The economy	59	31	3	7=100
b.	Foreign policy	40	36	4	20=100
c.	Moral values	51	34	6	9=100
d.	The role of government in solving national problems	56	31	3	10=100
e.	Tax cuts	63	25	2	10=100
f.	Regulating tobacco sales to teenagers	41	34	5	20=100

NOW A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE CAMPAIGN ITSELF. . .

What one word best describes your impression of the press coverage of the presidential election campaign so far? (OPEN Q.30 END. RECORD VERBATIM. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWER "DON'T KNOW." ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE.)

FOR RESULTS SEE PAGE 7.

Q.31 In the Presidential campaign so far, do you think Bill Clinton has been too personally critical of Bob Dole, or not?

21 Too personally critical

70 Not too personally critical

<u>9</u> 100 Don't know/Refused

Q.32 In the Presidential campaign so far, do you think Bob Dole has been too personally critical of Bill Clinton, or not?

53 Too personally critical

40 Not too personally critical

 $\frac{7}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

Q.33 Apart from whom you support, which presidential candidate have you heard the most about in the last week or so in newspapers, on television or on radio? (DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)

		Oct 23-25 <u>1992</u>	Oct 26-27 <u>1992</u>	Oct 28-29 <u>1992</u>	Oct 14-18 <u>1992</u>	Oct 9-13 <u>1992</u>	Oct 2-6 1992	Sept 25-29 <u>1992</u>
47	Bill Clinton	33	25	26	39	37	33	40
31	Bob Dole	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
4	Ross Perot	31	43	39	28	31	33	19
18 100	None/DK/Refused	<u>16</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>19</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100

Q.34 So far, have you seen any of Clinton's campaign commercials on TV, or not?8

		Oct 14-18 <u>1992</u>	Oct 9-13 <u>1992</u>	Oct 2-6 1992	Sept. 25-29 <u>1992</u>
63	Yes	57	59	64	75
35	No	40	39	34	24
<u>2</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100

⁸ In 1992 question was asked as "In the past few days have you seen any television commercials on behalf of Bill Clinton's candidacy? ... Only tell me "yes" if you have seen paid commercials for Clinton on tv in the past few days?

IF ANSWERED 'YES' IN Q. 34 ASK: [N=963]

Q.34a What grade would you give these commercials as being a convincing reason to vote for Bill Clinton? Would you grade them A, B, C, D or Flunk?

		Oct 14-18 <u>1992</u>	Oct 9-13 1992	Sept 25-29 1992
9	A	17	15	16
28	В	35	25	30
32	C	24	25	27
10	D	8	12	8
18	Flunk (F)	14	19	16
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	100	$\frac{4}{100}$	<u>3</u> 100

ASK ALL:

Q.35 So far, have you seen any of Dole's campaign commercials on TV, or not?

70 Yes

29 No

 $\frac{1}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

IF ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q.35 ASK: [N=1067]

Q.36 What grade would you give these commercials as being a convincing reason to vote for Bob Dole? Would you grade them A, B, C, D, or Flunk?

- 4 A
- 20 B
- 37 C
- 17 D
- 19 Flunk (F)
- $\frac{3}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

Q.37 I'd like to ask you a few more questions about presidential election campaign news stories. How closely have you followed news about . . . (READ RESPONSE CATEGORIES AFTER EACH ITEM. ROTATE)

		Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	(VOL) DK
a.F1	EMS a c. OF FORM 1 ONLY [N=757] Bob Dole's charge that the American economy is off-track	11	33	34	20	2=100
b.F1	The debate commission's recommendation that Ross Perot be excluded from the presidential debates	19	34	25	20	2=100
c.F1	Bob Dole's criticisms of Bill Clinton's efforts to combat drug use Early September, 1996	15 15	38 34	31 32	14 18	2=100 1=100
ASK IT	EMS d f. OF FORM 2 ONLY [N=760]					
d.F2	Democratic criticisms of Newt Gingrich	15	30	32	23	*=100
	Early September, 1996	16	27	35	21	1=100
e.F2	Bob Dole's falling off a stage in California	10	26	31	29	4=100
f.F2	Bob Dole's plan to cut federal income taxes by 15% Early September, 1996	16 22	41 37	29 25	13 16	1=100 *=100

ASK Q.38 OF FORM 1 ONLY: [N=757]

Q.38F1 Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with Dole's charge that the American economy is off track?

- 49 Mostly agree
- 43 Mostly disagree
- 8 Don't know/Refused

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1', '2' OR '3' IN Q.37eF2 (FOLLOWED STORY VERY, FAIRLY OR NOT TOO CLOSELY), ASK: [N=515]

- Q.39 Do you think the news media should have avoided showing pictures of Bob Dole's fall, or do you think the pictures were newsworthy?
 - 51 Should have avoided showing pictures
 - 40 Pictures were newsworthy
 - 2 Did not see pictures (**VOL**)
 - $\frac{7}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

ASK Q.40 OF FORM 2 ONLY: [N=760] ON A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT SUBJECT:

Q.40F2 Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with the statement: "the American economyoilsf-track"?

- 58 Mostly agree
- 36 Mostly disagree
- 6 Don't know/Refused

ASK ALL:

- Q.41 I am going to read you a short list of phrases that are being used in the campaign by the presidential candidates. For each one, please tell me whether or not you have heard of it. The first phrase is. (INTERVIEWERS: BE SURE TO READ WHOLE PHRASE)
- a. Bridge to the future
- b. Which candidate -- Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, or Ross Perot has used this phrase?
 - 61 Heard of (GO TO Q.41b)
 - Bill Clinton (correct answer) 38
 - 9 Bob Dole
 - 2 Ross Perot
 - 12 Don't know/Refused
 - 38 Haven't heard of (GO TO Q.41c)
 - Don't know/Refused (GO TO Q.41c)

100

ASK ALL:

- Just don't do it
- Which candidate -- Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, or Ross Perot has used this phrase? d.
 - Heard of (GO TO Q.41d) 63
 - Bill Clinton 8
 - 40 Bob Dole (correct answer)
 - 1 Ross Perot
 - 14 Don't know/Refused
 - 35 Haven't heard of (GO TO Q.41e)
 - $\frac{2}{100}$ Don't know/Refused (GO TO Q.41e)

ASK ALL:

- He's too liberal
- Which candidate -- Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, or Ross Perot has used this phrase to describe their opponent? f.
 - 61 Heard of (GO TO Q.41f)
 - 4 Bill Clinton
 - 43 Bob Dole (correct answer)
 - 2 Ross Perot
 - 12 Don't know/Refused
 - 36 Haven't heard of (GO TO Q.42)
 - $\frac{3}{100}$ Don't know/Refused (GO TO Q.42)

ASK ALL:

NOW REGARDING NEXT MONTH'S PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES ...

Q.42 How likely is it that you will watch the upcoming Presidential debates between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole? (**READ**)

			CBS/NYT ⁴ 1988	1984
43	Very likely	67	55	55
34	Somewhat likely, OR	24	27	27
22	Not likely	8	17	16
<u>1</u> 100	(DON'T READ) Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u> 100	100	<u>2</u> 100

Q.42a Will the debates matter in deciding who you will vote for or is your mind already made up?

Based on those who are very or somewhat likely to watch as a % of total

		Current <u>Sept 1996</u>	<i>CBS/NYT</i> <u>1984</u>
30	Debate matters	27	26
65	Mind made up	48	54
<u>5</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u> 77%	<u>2</u> 82%

Q.43 Regardless of who you support, who do you think will be elected President in November, Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, or Ross Perot?

		Early Sept 1996	July <u>1996</u>
79	Bill Clinton	75	72
12	Bob Dole	16	19
1	Ross Perot	1	2
<u>8</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100

⁹ Field dates of the trend surveys are comparable to the current survey except for 1988. The 1988 survey was conducted a few days prior to the first debate and was based on the probable electorate. Trend surveys asked, "How likely is it that you will watch next/this Sunday's debate between ...?"

Q.44 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. (READ AND ROTATE) (First...) (INTERVIEWERS: IF NECESSARY, PROBE "DO YOU THINK THE COUNTRY WILL MAKE PROGRESS, LOSE GROUND, OR WILL THINGS STAY ABOUT THE SAME?")

		Make <u>Progress</u>	Lose Ground	Stay the <u>Same</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
ASK ITEMS a e. OF FORM 1 ONLY: [N=757] a.F1 Drug abuse		30	30	37	3=100
b.F1	The way the health care system works	38	24	33	5=100
c.F1	High taxes	19	23	52	6=100
d.F1	Families staying together	23	27	45	5=100
e.F1	U.S. military involvement overseas		16	51	8=100
ASK ITEMS f j. OF FORM 2 ONLY: [N=760] f.F2 Poverty, hunger and homelessness in the U.S.		S. 24	24	48	4=100
g.F2	Crime	29	30	38	3=100
h.F2	The quality of public education	38	22	36	4=100
i.F2	The availability of good paying job	28	23	46	3=100
j.F2	The budget deficit	29	27	38	6=100

NO QUESTION 45

ONE LAST QUESTION ABOUT TELEVISION AND THE CAMPAIGN...

Q.46 Have you seen the television commercial in which the Dole campaign criticizes Bill Clinton's efforts to deal with the drug problem?

56 Yes

41 No

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

ON A TOTALLY DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.47		en if ever do you listen to radio shows that invite listeners to call in to discuss current events, public issues and regularly, sometimes, rarely or never?
	14	Regularly
	20	Sometimes
	28	Rarely
	38	Never
	* 100	Don't know/Refused
Q.48 Do you use a computer at your workplace, at school or at home on at least an occasional basis		ise a computer at your workplace, at school or at home on at least an occasional basis?
	59	Uses a PC at home, work or school
	41	Does not use PC
	* 100	Don't know/Refused
IF YES: Q.49	Do you e	ver use a computer at work, school or home to connect with computer bulletin boards, information services such ca Online or Prodigy, or other computers over the Internet?
	BASED 23	ON TOTAL REGISTERED VOTERS: Goes on-line
	36	Does not go on-line
	0	Don't know/Refused
	41 100	Not a computer user

IF YES:

Q.50 Do you ever go on-line to get information on current events, public issues and politics? **IF YES:** How often do you go on-line for this type of information... every day, 3 to 5 days per week, 1 or 2 days per week, once every few weeks, less often, or never?

BASED ON TOTAL REGISTERED VOTERS:

- 2 Everyday
- 2 3-5 days/week
- 5 1-2 days/week
- 3 Once every few weeks
- 1 Less Often
- 10 No/Never
- 0 Don't know/Refused
- 36 PC user, Does not go on-line
- 41 Not a computer user

100

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED 1,2,3 OR 4 IN Q.50 ASK:

Q.51 Do you ever go on-line to get information about the 1996 presidential campaign? **IF YES:** How often do you go on-line for this type of information... every day, 3 to 5 days per week, 1 or 2 days per week, once every few weeks, less often, or never?

BASED ON TOTAL REGISTERED VOTERS:

- l Everyday
- 1 3-5 days/week
- 1 1-2 days/week
- 1 Once every few weeks
- 1 Less Often
- 8 No/Never
- 0 Don't know/Refused
- 10 Does not go on-line for political/public issues
- 36 PC user, Does not go on-line
- 41 Not a computer user

100