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

Also Inside ...<br>* Clinton gets 'C' from voters.<br>* Dole "too critical" of Clinton.<br>* Poorer Republicans unhappy with Dole.<br>* "One-Worders" for news media.<br>* Pictures of Dole's fall controversial.

## FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Andrew Kohut, Director
Robert C. Toth, Senior Associate
Kimberly Parker, Research Director
Claudia Deane, Survey Analyst
Pew Research Center for The People \& The Press
202/293-3126
http://www.people-press.org

## 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 |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Early | Late |
|  | $\frac{\text { July }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Sept }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Sept }}{\%}$ |
|  |  |  |  |
|  | 44 | 52 | 51 |
| Clinton | 34 | 34 | 35 |
| Dole | $\underline{16}$ | 8 | 7 |
| Perot | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{7}$ |  |
| DK/Other | $\underline{100}$ | 100 | 100 |
| Number of | $(928)$ | $(1141)$ | $(1517)$ |
| Interviews: |  |  |  |

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 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Clinton | 10 | 18 | 88 | 85 |
| Dole | 80 | 68 | 5 | 4 |
| Perot | 6 | 8 | 5 | 6 |
| Other/DK | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{5}$ |
|  | 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.

Looking forward, voter expectations about

## First Term Grades \& Voting Intention

|  | Grade Given To Clinton: |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\underline{\mathrm{A}}$ | $\underline{\mathrm{B}}$ | $\underline{\mathrm{C}}$ | $\underline{\mathrm{D} \text { or } \mathrm{F}}$ |
|  | $\%$ | $\%$ | $\%$ | $\%$ |
| 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 | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{11}$ | $\underline{3}$ |
| * Includes Leaners. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 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 Republican ${ }^{1}$.

[^0]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.

[^1]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
$\left.\begin{array}{|lc|}\hline \text { Interest In Watching The Debates } \\ \text { Likelihood of Viewing } \\ \text { Presidential Debates } \\ \text { \% Very Likely }\end{array}\right\}$ their minds were already made up (48\%) as said the 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).

[^2]
## 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 drugs ${ }^{4}$ 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

[^3]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:
$\diamond$ Taxes, $14 \%$, about twice the rate of previous years.
$\diamond$ Unemployment, mentioned by merely 6\% now, compared to 26\% in August 1992. ${ }^{5}$
$\diamond$ 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 |  |
| 20. Excessive | 11 |  |
| *. This table shows the number of |  |  |
| respondents who offered each |  |  |
| response; the numbers are not |  |  |
| percentages. |  |  |

[^4]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--------- |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\frac{\text { Clinton }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Dole }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Perot }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Undecided }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Clinton }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Dole }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Perot }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Undecided }}{\%}$ |
| 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 |
| Race/Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 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 |
| Education |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| College Grad | 48 | 42 | 4 | 6 | 50 | 39 | 5 | 6 |
| Some College | 53 | 36 | 7 | 4 | 48 | 37 | 6 | 9 |
| High School Grad | 52 | 32 | 10 | 6 | 47 | 38 | 9 | 6 |
| < H.S. Grad | 53 | 25 | 13 | 9 | 72 | 18 | 7 | 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 |

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?

|  |  | ly Sep | mber |  | -------- | ate Sept | ember | 996-- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\frac{\text { Clinton }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Dole }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Perot }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Undecided }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Clinton }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Dole }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Perot }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Undecided }}{\%}$ |
| 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 | 77 | 4 | 7 |
| Perot | 29 | 33 | 33 | 5 | 32 | 34 | 27 | 7 |
| Listens To Talk Radio |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Regularly | 39 | 49 | 8 | 4 | 35 | 51 | 7 | 7 |
| Sometimes | 55 | 31 | 10 | 4 | 49 | 39 | 7 | 5 |
| Rarely/Never | 54 | 32 | 7 | 7 | 55 | 31 | 7 | 7 |

## RATING OF PERSONAL FINANCIAL SITUATION

|  | Excellent | Good | Fair | Poor | DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Total | 8 | 47 | 34 | 10 | $1=100$ |
| Sex |  |  |  |  |  |
| 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 | 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 | Fair | Poor | DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| 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

|  | Those Who Think Winner Will Be: |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | All | Clinton | Dole |
|  | \% | \% | \% |
| Drug Abuse |  |  |  |
| Progress | 30 | 30 | 43 |
| Lose ground | 30 | 30 | 23 |
| Stay same | 37 | 37 | 31 |
| Don't know | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Health Care |  |  |  |
| Progress | 38 | 38 | 40 |
| Lose ground | 24 | 23 | 25 |
| Stay same | 33 | 34 | 26 |
| Don't know | $\underline{5}$ | 5 | $\underline{9}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| High Taxes |  |  |  |
| Progress | 19 | 17 | 31 |
| Lose ground | 23 | 25 | 22 |
| Stay same | 52 | 54 | 38 |
| Don't know | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{9}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Families |  |  |  |
| Progress | 23 | 21 | 34 |
| Lose ground | 27 | 27 | 30 |
| Stay same | 45 | 48 | 32 |
| Don't know | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{4}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| US Military Involvement |  |  |  |
| Progress | 25 | 25 | 34 |
| Lose ground | 16 | 15 | 20 |
| Stay same | 51 | 53 | 37 |
| Don't know | $\underline{8}$ | 7 | $\underline{9}$ |
|  | 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?")

Continued ...

## PROGRESS ON NATIONAL PROBLEMS

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

## PERCEIVED POLICY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CANDIDATES

Total<br>\%

| 1996 Presidential Preference* |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Clinton <br> $\%$ | $\frac{\text { Dole }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Perot }}{\%}$ |

## Differences Between Clinton/Dole/Perot On:

Tax cuts

Major 63
Minor 25
Same 2
Don't know

Economy
Major
Minor
Same
Don't know

Role of Government
Major
56
Minor
Same
Don't know

Moral Values
Major 51
Minor 34
Same 6
Don't know

Tobacco Sales To Teenagers
Major
41
Minor
Same
Don't know

Foreign Policy
Major 40
Minor 37
Same
Don't know
$\underline{20}$
100
*Includes Leaners.

## CONGRESSIONAL VOTING INTENTIONS*

|  | $\qquad$ Early September 1996 Republican Democrat Undecided |  |  | --------Late September 1996------- |  |  | (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) |

[^5]

## SWING VOTERS

|  | -----Clinton----- |  | -----Dole----- |  | -----Perot----- |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \begin{array}{c} \text { Now } \\ \text { Support* } \end{array} \\ \hline \% \end{gathered}$ | Chance Might $\frac{\text { Support }}{\%}$ | $\begin{array}{c}\text { Now } \\ \text { Support }\end{array}$ <br> $\%$ | Chance Might $\frac{\text { Support }}{\%}$ | Now <br> Support <br> $\%$ | Chance Might $\frac{\text { Support }}{\%}$ |
| 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?

|  | -----Clinton----- |  | -----Dole----- |  | -----Perot----- |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Now } \\ & \frac{\text { Support }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | Chance Might $\frac{\text { Support }}{\%}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Now } \\ & \frac{\text { Support }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | Chance Might $\frac{\text { Support }}{\%}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Now } \\ & \frac{\text { Support }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | Chance Might $\frac{\text { Support }}{\%}$ |
| 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 Talk Radio |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Regularly | 35 | 10 | 51 | 12 | 7 | 10 |
| Sometimes | 48 | 10 | 39 | 15 | 7 | 11 |
| Rarely/Never | 56 | 11 | 31 | 16 | 7 | 12 |

## ATTITUDE TOWARD DEBATES

|  | Mind Made Up | Debates Matter | DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \% | \% | \% |
| 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 | 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?

## Continued ...

## ATTITUDE TOWARD DEBATES

|  | Mind Made Up | Debates Matter | DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \% | \% | \% |
| 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 |
| Lean Democrat | 61 | 34 | 5 |

[^6]
## ATTITUDE TOWARD DEBATES

|  | Mind Made Up | Debates Matter | DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \% | \% | \% |
| 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 | 8 |
| 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 |
| 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 ( $\mathrm{N}=757$ ) or Form 2 ( $\mathrm{N}=760$ ), 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-yetlisted). 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 <br> SEPTEMBER 1996 PRE-ELECTION SURVEY <br> -- FINAL TOPLINE -- <br> September 25-29, 1996 <br> $\mathbf{N}=1,517$ Registered Voters 

Hello, I am $\qquad$ 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?

|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Early } \\ \text { Sept } \\ 1996 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { July } \\ 1996 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { June } \\ 1996 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Oct } \\ 1992 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Sept } \\ 1992 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Aug } \\ & 1992 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { June } \\ & 1992 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | ---Gallup--- |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Aug $1988$ |  |  |  |  |  |  | Sept |
| 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 |
| $\frac{1}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{0}{100}$ | $\frac{0}{100}$ |

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

> Nov
$\underline{1994}$

| 85 | Yes | 91 |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| 15 | No | 9 |
| $\frac{*}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\frac{*}{100}$ |

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

Q. 6 How often would you say you vote... (READ) June Feb Oct April Nov Oct July June May Nov May May Jan May
$\underline{1996} \underline{1996} \underline{1995} \underline{1995} \underline{1994} \underline{1994} \underline{1994} \underline{1992} \underline{1992} \underline{\underline{1991}} \underline{1990} \underline{\underline{1988}} \underline{1988} \underline{\underline{1987}}$

| 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 |
| $\frac{*}{100}$ | Don't know | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{0}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ |

Q. 7 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 (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?

|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Early } \\ \text { Sept } \\ 1996 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { July } \\ 1996 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | March 1996 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Sept } \\ & \underline{1995} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { July } \\ 1994 \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ |
|  | * Don't know | * | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| $\frac{7}{100}$ | Undecided/Other Candidate (VOL) | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{5}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

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

| Early |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Sept July June March Jan Oct Aug Nov Oct Oct | Sept July |
| $\underline{1996} \underline{1996} \underline{1996} \underline{1996} \underline{1996} \underline{1995} \underline{1995} \underline{1994} \underline{1994} \underline{1994} \underline{1994} \underline{1994}$ |  |


| 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) | $\frac{6}{100}$ | $\frac{7}{100}$ | $\frac{6}{100}$ | $\frac{7}{100}$ | $\frac{7}{100}$ | $\frac{4}{100}$ | $\frac{7}{100}$ | $\frac{12}{100}$ | $\frac{9}{100}$ | $\frac{8}{100}$ | $\frac{6}{100}$ | $\frac{8}{100}$ |

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) winthe presidential election? (OPEN - END)
July 1996
VOTERS WHO SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR CLINTON: [N=762]
Bill Clinton
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 wage2 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
VOTERS WHO SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR DOLE: [N=548]
Bob Dole
47 NEGATIVE (NET) ..... 47
27 Don't like Bill Clinton/As a vote against Bill Clinton ..... 22
5 Clinton hasn't done a good job ..... 7
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 ...

|  |  |  |  | July 1996 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VOTERS WHO SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR DOLE con't ... | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |  |  |  |
| $\mathbf{1 5}$ | QUALITIES (NET) | 9 |  |  |
| 9 | He's honest/Trustworthy | 5 |  |  |
| 3 | He's older/More experienced | 2 |  |  |
| 4 | Conservative |  |  |  |
| 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 | July | Sept | July | May |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\underline{1996}$ | $\underline{1996}$ | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ |  |
| 11 | Chance might vote for him | 10 | 8 | 13 | 14 | 11 |
| 35 | Decided not to vote for him | 34 | 36 | 28 | 26 | 37 |
| $\frac{3}{49}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{43}$ |

## 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?

|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Early Sept } \\ \underline{1996} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { July } \\ 1996 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Sept } \\ 1992 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | ----Bush---- |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | July |  |  | May |
|  |  | $\underline{1992}$ |  |  | $\underline{1992}$ |
| 16 | Chance might vote for him |  | 14 | 15 | 12 | 15 | 7 |
| 44 | Decided not to vote for him |  | 47 | 40 | 44 | 45 | 40 |
| $\frac{5}{65}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\frac{5}{66}$ | $\frac{3}{58}$ | $\frac{6}{62}$ | $\frac{4}{64}$ | $\frac{6}{53}$ |

## 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
$\underline{1996}$

12 Chance might vote for him 11
77 Decided not to vote for him 78
$\frac{4}{93} \quad$ Don't know/Refused $\quad \underline{3}$

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?

|  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Early } \\ \text { Sept } \\ \underline{1996} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { July } \\ 1996 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { June } \\ & \underline{1996} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Oct } \\ \underline{1992} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Sept } \\ & 1992 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Aug } \\ & 1992 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { June } \\ & 1992 \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 98 | Yes |  | 96 | 95 | 96 | 98 | 98 | 97 | 97 |
|  | 89 | Absolutely certain | 83 | 82 | 84 | 91 | 85 | 89 | 88 |
|  |  | 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 |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused |  | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ | 1 | 1 | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ |
| 100 |  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 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?

|  |  | -- Gallup -- <br> Sept 1992 |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| 78 | 10 -- Definitely will vote | 77 |
| 10 | 9 | 5 |
| 6 | 8 | 4 |
| 2 | 7 | 3 |
| 1 | 6 | 2 |
| 1 | 5 | 4 |
| $*$ | 4 | $*$ |
| $*$ | 3 | $*$ |
| $*$ | 2 | 4 |
| 1 | $1--$ Definitely will not vote | $*$ |
| $\frac{1}{100}$ | 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?

|  |  | Early Sept 1996 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Nov } \\ & \underline{1994} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Oct } \\ \underline{1994} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Early Oct1994 | ---CBS/NYT--- |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Oct 24-28 } \\ \underline{1986} \end{gathered}$ | Sept 28-Oct 1 $\underline{1986}$ |
| 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 | * |
| $\frac{5}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\frac{3}{100}$ | $\frac{4}{100}$ | $\frac{4}{100}$ | $\frac{4}{100}$ | $\frac{5}{100}$ | $\frac{4}{100}$ |

## ASK Q. 17 OF FORM 2 ONLY: [ $\mathrm{N}=760]$

## 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?

| Early Sept | Nov | Oct | Early Oct | -- -Gallup--- <br> Oct 25-28 |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 55 | Yes | $\underline{1996}$ | $\underline{1994}$ | $\underline{1994}$ | $\underline{1994}$ | $\underline{1990}$ |
| 17 | No | 62 | 58 | 55 | 49 | 62 |
| 2 | Congressman is not running (VOL) | 2 | 25 | 30 | 29 | 22 |
| $\frac{26}{100}$ | No opinion | $\underline{17}$ | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

## 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
$\frac{1}{100}$ Don't know/Refused
100
( $\mathrm{N}=762$ )

## 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
$\underline{2}$ Don't know/Refused
100
( $\mathrm{N}=550$ )

## 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)

|  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -- \text { U.S. News } \\ \text { Aug } \\ 1992 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | \& World Report -- |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | March $\underline{1994}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{Dec}^{6} \\ & 1993 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { May } \\ & \underline{1992} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Jan } \\ 1992 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 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 |
| $\frac{21}{*_{1} 12}$ | No problems/Don't know | $\frac{28}{* 110}$ | $\frac{16}{* 109}$ | $\frac{11}{* 126}$ | $\frac{7}{* 143}$ | $\frac{13}{* 126}$ |

*Total exceeds $\mathbf{1 0 0 \%}$ due to multiple response

[^7]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 |
| $\frac{9}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused -- GO TO Q. 22 |
| $\mathbf{( N = 1 2 1 0 )}$ |  |

## 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: [ $\mathrm{N}=1517$ ]
23 Bill Clinton
17 Bob Dole
3 Ross Perot
1 None
$\frac{5}{49} \quad$ Don't know/Refused

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

|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{Mar} \\ 1994 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{Dec}^{7} \\ & \underline{1993} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | -- U.S. News \& World Report-- |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Oct } \\ 1090 \end{gathered}$ |  | Aug $1992$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { May } \\ & 1992 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | Jan |
| 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 |
| $\frac{1}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\stackrel{*}{100}$ |

[^8]Q. 23 Are you now employed full-time, part-time, or not employed?

|  |  | June <br> $\underline{1996}$ | March <br> $\underline{1994}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 52 | Full-time | 57 | 54 |
| 12 | Part-time | 12 | 13 |
| 36 | Not employed | 31 | 33 |
| $\frac{*}{100}$ | Don't Know/Refused | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ |

## ASK ONLY OF EMPLOYED PEOPLE: [ $\mathrm{N}=1003]$

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

|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { June } \\ & \underline{1996} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { March } \\ \underline{1994} \end{gathered}$ | -- U.S. News \& World Report -- |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Oct |  | Aug | May | Jan |
|  |  | 1992 |  | 1992 | $\underline{1992}$ | 1992 |
| 44 | Yes |  | 48 | 45 | 38 | 34 | 36 | 41 |
| 55 | No |  | 51 | 54 | 61 | 65 | 63 | 59 |
| $\frac{1}{100}$ | Don't know | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\stackrel{*}{100}$ |

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?

|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { June } \\ & \underline{1996} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { March } \\ \underline{1994} \end{gathered}$ | -- U.S. News \& World Report -- |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Oct |  | Aug | May | Jan |
|  |  | $\underline{1992}$ |  | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ |
| 33 | Yes |  | 30 | 31 | 32 | 34 | 32 | 32 |
| 18 | No |  | 19 | 20 | 24 | 26 | 28 | 23 |
| $\frac{4}{55 \%}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\frac{2}{51 \%}$ | $\frac{3}{54 \%}$ | $6 \frac{5}{61 \%}$ | $\frac{5}{65 \%}$ | $6 \underline{3} \%$ | 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 <br> 1996 | Oct | Aug | June |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ |  |
| 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 |
| $\frac{3}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\frac{4}{100}$ | $\frac{2}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\underline{100}$ |

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 |
| $\frac{12}{100}$ | 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 |
| $\frac{1}{100}$ | 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 |
| $\frac{7}{100}$ | 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)

|  |  | Major | Minor | (VOL) <br> Same | No Opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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. . .
Q. 30 What one word best describes your impression of the press coverage of the presidential election campaign so far? (OPEN 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 |
| $\frac{9}{100}$ | 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
$40 \quad$ Not too personally critical
$\frac{7}{100} \quad$ 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 | Oct | Oct | Oct | Oct | Oct | Sept |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $23-25$ | $26-27$ | $28-29$ | $14-18$ | $9-13$ | $2-6$ | $25-29$ |
|  | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ |  |
| 47 | Bill Clinton | 33 | 25 | 26 | 39 | 37 | 33 | 40 |
| 31 | Bob Dole | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ |
| 4 | Ross Perot | 31 | 43 | 39 | 28 | 31 | 33 | 19 |
| $\frac{18}{100}$ | None/DK/Refused | $\underline{16}$ | $\underline{17}$ | $\underline{13}$ | $\underline{19}$ | $\underline{16}$ | $\underline{16}$ | $\underline{12}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 10 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

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

|  |  | Oct | Oct | Oct | Sept. |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $14-18$ | $9-13$ | $2-6$ | $25-29$ |
|  |  | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ |
| 63 | Yes | 57 | 59 | 64 | 75 |
| 35 | No | 40 | 39 | 34 | 24 |
| $\frac{2}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{1}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 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 | Oct | Sept |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $14-18$ | $9-13$ | $25-29$ |
| $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ |


| 9 | A | 17 | 15 | 16 |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 28 | B | 35 | 25 | 30 |
| 32 | C | 24 | 25 | 27 |
| 10 | D | 8 | 12 | 8 |
| 18 | Flunk (F) | 14 | 19 | 16 |
| $\frac{3}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{4}{100}$ | $\underline{3}$ |

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: [ $\mathbf{N}=1067$ ]
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)

|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Very } \\ \text { Closely } \end{gathered}$ | Fairly Closely | Not too Closely | Not at all Closely | $\begin{gathered} \text { (VOL) } \\ \underline{\text { DK }} \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ASK ITEMS a. - c. OF FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=757]$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| a.F1 | 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 | 15 | 38 | 31 | 14 | $2=100$ |
|  | Early September, 1996 | 15 | 34 | 32 | 18 | $1=100$ |
| ASK ITEMS d. - f. OF FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=760$ ] |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 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\% | 16 | 41 | 29 | 13 | $1=100$ |
|  | Early September, 1996 | 22 | 37 | 25 | 16 | *=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
100

## 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
$40 \quad$ Pictures were newsworthy
2 Did not see pictures (VOL)
$\frac{7}{100} \quad$ 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 economyoiff-track"?

| 58 | Mostly agree |
| :--- | :--- |
| 36 | Mostly disagree |
| $\frac{6}{100}$ | 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) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 38 | Bill Clinton (correct answer) |
|  | 9 Bob Dole <br> 2 Ross Perot <br>  12 | Don't know/Refused |
| 38 |  |  |
|  | Haven't heard of (GO TO Q.41c) |  |
| $\frac{1}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (GO TO Q.41c) |  |

ASK ALL:
C. Just don't do it
d. Which candidate -- Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, or Ross Perot has used this phrase?

63 Heard of (GO TO Q.41d)
8 Bill Clinton
40 Bob Dole (correct answer)
1 Ross Perot
14 Don't know/Refused

35 Haven't heard of (GO TO Q.41e)
$\underline{2}$ Don't know/Refused (GO TO Q.41e)
100
ASK ALL:
e. He's too liberal
f. Which candidate -- Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, or Ross Perot has used this phrase to describe their opponent?

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)
3 Don't know/Refused (GO TO Q.42)
100

## 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)

|  |  | $\underline{c}-----C B S / N Y T^{9}$ | ------ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 43 | Very likely | $\underline{1988}$ | $\underline{1984}$ |  |
| 34 | Somewhat likely, OR | 67 | 55 | 55 |
| 22 | Not likely | 24 | 27 | 27 |
| $\frac{1}{100}$ | (DON'T READ) Don't know/Refused | $\frac{2}{10}$ | 17 | 16 |
|  |  | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{2}{100}$ |  |

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 -- CBS/NYT -- Sept 1996 $\underline{1984}$

| 30 | Debate matters | 27 | 26 |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: |
| 65 | Mind made up | 48 | 54 |
| $\frac{5}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\frac{2}{2} \%$ | $82 \%$ |

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 <br> $\underline{1996}$ | July <br> $\underline{1996}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 79 | Bill Clinton | 75 | 72 |
| 12 | Bob Dole | 16 | 19 |
| 1 | Ross Perot | 1 | 2 |
| $\frac{8}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\frac{8}{100}$ | $\frac{7}{100}$ |

[^9]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 <br> Progress | Lose Ground | $\begin{gathered} \text { Stay } \\ \text { the } \\ \text { Same } \end{gathered}$ | Don't <br> Know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ASK ITEMS a.- e. OF FORM 1 ONLY: [ $\mathrm{N}=757]$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| 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 | 25 | 16 | 51 | $8=100$ |
| ASK ITEMS f.- j. OF FORM 2 ONLY: [ $\mathrm{N}=760$ ] |  |  |  |  |  |
| f.F2 | Poverty, hunger and homelessness in the U.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 100

## ON A TOTALLY DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q. 47 How often if ever do you listen to radio shows that invite listeners to call in to discuss current events, public issues and politics -- regularly, sometimes, rarely or never?

14 Regularly
20 Sometimes
28 Rarely
38 Never
$\stackrel{*}{100} \quad$ 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?

59 Uses a PC at home, work or school

41 Does not use PC
$\stackrel{-}{100} \quad$ Don't know/Refused

IF YES:
Q. 49 Do you ever use a computer at work, school or home to connect with computer bulletin boards, information services such as America Online or Prodigy, or other computers over the Internet?

## BASED ON TOTAL REGISTERED VOTERS:

23
Goes on-line
36 Does not go on-line
0 Don't know/Refused

41 Not a computer user
100

## 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 |
| $\frac{41}{100}$ | Not a computer user |

## 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:

1 Everyday
1 3-5 days/week
1 1-2 days/week
1 Once every few weeks
1 Less Often
8 No/Never
$0 \quad$ Don't know/Refused
10 Does not go on-line for political/public issues
$36 \quad$ PC user, Does not go on-line
41 Not a computer user
100


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ The likely voter base assumes a turnout level comparable to the level of participation in 1988.

[^1]:    2 "Poll Watch: Generic Congressional Measures Less Accurate In Presidential Years", September 18, 1996. For details see http://www.people-press.org.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ CBS/New York Times poll.

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ 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.

[^4]:    ${ }^{5}$ U.S. News \& World Report poll.

[^5]:    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?

[^6]:    Continued ...

[^7]:    ${ }^{6}$ All figures from December 1993 are based on general population.

[^8]:    ${ }^{7}$ Figures from December 1993 are based on general population.

[^9]:    ${ }^{9}$ 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 ...?"

