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DEMOCRATS**

Also Inside ...

WLower Turnout at the Polls?

WOne-Worders For Veep Candidates.

WPublic Rates Campaign Coverage.

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Increased Support For Incumbents

SOLID CLINTON LEAD, SMALL GAIN FOR CONGRESSIONAL DEMOCRATS

As the fall campaign begins, Bill Clinton holds a solid lead over challengers Bob Dole and Ross Perot. But the race for control of Congress remains close. While the Democrats have gained some ground on the GOP over the course of the summer, American voters have a more positive view of incumbents than they did two years ago and the Congressional vote seems more dependent on local matters than in 1994.

At the top of the ticket, Clinton's lead is impressive. Not only do more voters now back him than did in mid-summer, but a greater proportion say they would be casting a vote *for* Clinton rather than *against* Dole and Perot, if the election were being held today.

The latest *Pew Research Center* survey finds 52% of a national sample of registered voters saying they would vote for Clinton, compared to 34% for Dole and 8% for Ross Perot. Six weeks ago, prior to the political conventions, Clinton led by a significantly smaller margin (44% vs. 34% and 16%, respectively). In the current survey, half of Clinton backers say they support him strongly and most say they are voting for him, not against his opponents.

In contrast to Clinton, the net effect of the conventions has been to weaken Dole's position. While half the GOP candidate's backers say they strongly support him, much of his backing is based on opposition to Clinton and Perot. More ominously, the proportion of voters saying that they have decided *definitely* not to vote for the former Senate majority leader has risen from 40% in late July to 47% in the current poll. Four years ago, a Center survey found about as many voters (44%) saying they had *definitely* decided not to vote for George Bush who then trailed Clinton by 15%. By way of comparison, no fewer than 78% of respondents in the new survey have firmly decided against voting for Ross Perot.

Nature of Candidate Support	
	<u>Sept 1996</u> %
Total Clinton	52
Pro-Clinton	35
Anti-Others	15
Don't know	2
Support is:	
Strong	26
Moderate	26
Total Dole	34
Pro-Dole	16
Anti-Others	17
Don't know	1
Support is:	
Strong	17
Moderate	17
Total Perot	8
Pro-Perot	3
Anti-Others	5
Don't know	0
Support is:	
Strong	3
Moderate	5

Despite a short-lived post convention bounce, Dole has not rallied the expected numbers of Republicans to his side. Only 81% of Republicans and 59% of Independents who lean Republican back him. Clinton gets 90% of Democrats and 79% of Independents who lean Democratic.

Dole has gained no ground either with regard to his personal image or perceived abilities relative to Clinton. As was the case prior to the conventions, Clinton is picked over Dole as *personally likable* and *connecting well with ordinary people* by margins of 3 to 1 or better. The President is chosen over his challenger by nearly 2 to 1 for *having new ideas* and *caring about people*. Clinton is also graded better than Dole for *using good judgement in a crisis*, *sharing the voter's values* and for being *a strong leader*. Dole barely rates better than Clinton on character dimensions. A slim plurality of respondents (7 percentage points) choose Dole over Clinton for being *honest and truthful*, and about equal percentages select the two candidates for *keeping promises*.

	Phrase Better Describes ...			
	Bill <u>Clinton</u> %	Bob <u>Dole</u> %	Both/Neither <u>DK</u> %	
Would use good judgment in a crisis	51	34	15	
July, 1996	47	35	18	
Personally likable	67	20	13	
July, 1996	64	20	16	
Honest and truthful	30	37	33	
July, 1996	25	40	35	
Has new ideas	52	27	21	
July, 1996	49	28	23	
Cares about people like me	51	29	20	
July, 1996	48	30	22	
Keeps his promises	35	30	35	
July, 1996	29	35	36	
Shares my values		46	36	18
July, 1996	45	36	19	
Connects well with ordinary Americans	68	21	11	
July, 1996	63	22	15	
A strong leader	47	38	15	

Generally, the President has a lesser advantage on abilities than on personal characteristics. But he wins over Dole by significant pluralities on seven out of eight performance dimensions. The exception is that Dole is credited as potentially better able to cut taxes (by a 42% to 34% margin). Essentially the same proportion favors Clinton as Dole for balancing the budget (41% and 38%, respectively). By a 57% to 29% margin, voters have more confidence in Clinton to improve education, which is typically a Democratic strength, but they also favor him over Dole for protecting and strengthening families (50% to 36%), normally a GOP strong point.

Compared to late July, Clinton enjoys a slightly wider margin over Dole for improving economic conditions (49% to 35%), reflecting voters' views about abortion (46% to 28%), and making wise decisions about foreign policy (44% to 39%). Despite Dole's attacks on Clinton following the release of a government report indicating increased drug use among teens, voters think that the President is better able to deal with the drug problem than his opponent (44% to 32%).

Republican Defectors

Underscoring Dole's problem with defections from the GOP, significant percentages of Republicans and Independents who lean Republican have more faith in Clinton than in their party's standard bearer to improve education and to better represent their views on abortion. The desertion pattern is even more striking on the personal dimension. By margins of almost 2 to 1, Independents who lean *Republican* think that Clinton is more likeable than Dole and connects better with ordinary people.

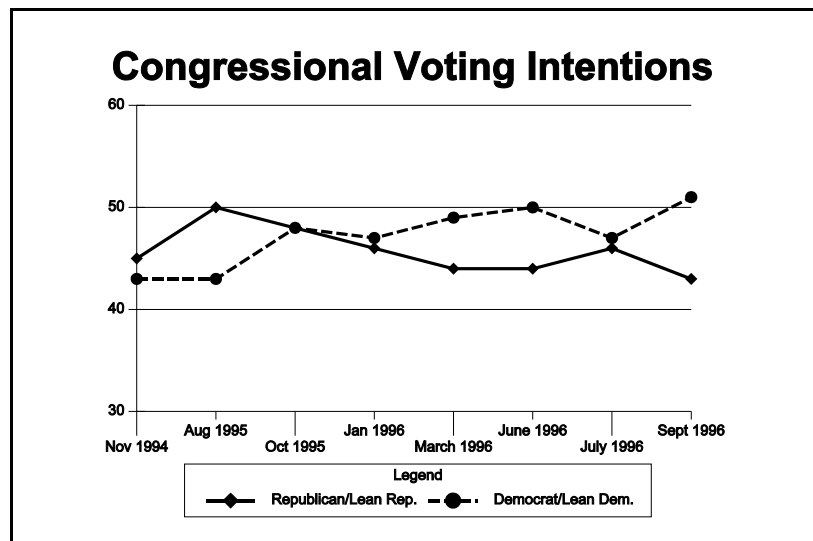
Clinton's gains in support since mid-summer have been greatest among Independents. His lead among Independents who lean Democratic has increased, while at the same time he has retained his pre-convention margin among Independents who lean Republican.

Demographically, the President also polls much better than six weeks ago among younger voters, whites, and middle and lower income groups. He also gained support among white evangelical Protestants over this period, but Dole continues to lead among this largely Republican, socially conservative group. Clinton has a comfortable lead among white Catholics and a smaller yet significant one among white mainline Protestants.

Dole support has increased since late July only among one sizeable demographic group -- white Southern men. Clinton, in contrast, has gained support among white men outside the South and among white women in all parts of the country in the past six weeks. (See table page 13.)

Democratic Gains

As Clinton's lead has increased, support for his party's Congressional candidates also has grown somewhat. Voters in the Pew Research Center sample were inclined to vote for Democrats over Republicans in House races by a margin of 51% to 43%, up from 47% to 46% in late July. But a number of crosscurrents undercut that small lead. In particular, the poll found much more support for incumbents than two years ago. Fully 62% of respondents said they would like to see their own incumbent Congressional representative reelected compared to 49% in early October 1994. Similarly, while that same 1994 survey found a strong majority of 56% to 28% against the reelection of most members, voters in the current survey divided 43% to 43% on this question.



Voters are also more inclined than two years ago to say that local issues will make the biggest difference in how they vote in their district (42% vs. 27%). In the current survey, only 18% said that national issues would have the largest bearing on their choice. Most respondents (51%) said Clinton would not be a factor in their vote for Congress. Of those who said he would be a factor, votes *for* his party's candidate slightly out weighed votes *against* (24% vs. 18%). Two years ago that margin was reversed (17% *for* to 23% *against*).

An Eye On Newt

Newt Gingrich may be more of a factor than Clinton in the battle for Congress. Fully 57% of respondents said he would be a consideration in their vote. More than half of them (36%) said they would be voting *against* the speaker, compared to 21% who said they will be voting *for* him. Gingrich in this way threatens to be a greater negative for the GOP than Clinton would be a positive value for the Democrats. For example, both Clinton and Gingrich are cited as positive factors by 44% of respondents who will vote for the Democratic and Republican Congressional candidates, respectively; but fully 62% of those backing Democrats said they were voting against the Speaker and only 37% of those voting for Republicans said they were voting against the President.

	Factors in Congressional Voting?		
		<i>Those Supporting</i>	
	<u>Total</u>	Rep.	Dem.
	<u>%</u>	<u>Cand.</u>	<u>Cand.</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Newt Gingrich a factor?			
For	21	44	3
Against	36	8	62
Not a factor	36	45	28
DK/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100
Bill Clinton a factor?			
For	24	4	44
Against	18	37	4
Not a factor	51	55	47
DK/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100

Gingrich's unpopularity may be diluted to some extent by support for the idea that the Presidency and the Congress should not be in the hands of the same party. Many believe that if Clinton should win, it would be better if the GOP controls Congress. Republicans put a higher priority on keeping control of the legislature than do Democrats (86% vs. 77%), with Independents tending to favor GOP rather than Democratic control (46% vs. 42%).

Flagging Interest

Given the closeness of the Congressional race and conflicting voter attitudes, turnout may be a decisive factor. And it may well work to the GOP's advantage. Measures of interest in the campaign and turnout indicators are significantly lower than they were four years and even eight years ago. Only 48% of respondents said they have given a lot of thought to the presidential election, compared to 63% in September 1992 and 57% in September 1988. In the new poll, just 24% said they were paying close attention to campaign news compared to 42% in September 1992.

Analysis suggests that lower turnout would help both Dole and perhaps more meaningfully, Republican Congressional candidates. Support levels are shown below for all registered voters, for likely voters if turnout is comparable to 1992, and for likely voters if turnout is comparable to 1988.

One-Worders For Kemp and Gore

One word descriptions of the vice presidential candidates indicate that the public sees both men, incumbent Al Gore and challenger Jack

Kemp, in mostly positive terms. Gore was most often called "intelligent;" Kemp's list led with "football." In second place for both men was "good." In comparison, the public in August offered a mix of positive and negative words for Clinton, led by "good" and "wishy-washy." Dole was most often described in terms of his age, "old," then "good."

Voter Turnout and Candidate Standing			
		<i>If turnout is comparable to:</i>	
	<u>All</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1988</u>
<i>Presidential Preference:</i>			
Clinton	52	52	51
Dole	34	37	38
Perot	8	7	7
Other/Undecided	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Congressional Preference:</i>			
Republican	43	45	46
Democrat	51	51	50
Other/Undecided	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100

<i>Al Gore "Top 20"</i>		<i>Jack Kemp "Top 20"</i>	
	<u>Frequency*</u>		<u>Frequency*</u>
1. Intelligent	20	1. Football	20
2. Good	16	2. Good	18
3. Environmentalist	15	3. Leader	16
4. Honest	14	4. Energetic	13
5. Leadership	14	5. OK	11
6. Smart	14	6. Unknown	11
7. Quiet	13	7. Honest	10
8. Stiff	13	8. Strong	10
9. Fair	12	9. Athletic	8
10. Boring	11	10. Intelligent	7
11. Follower	11	11. Capable	7
12. Nice	11	12. Alright	6
13. Alright	9	13. Dynamic	6
14. Dull	9	14. Conservative	6
15. Personable	9	15. Charismatic	5
16. Sincere	9	16. Integrity	5
17. Wimp	8	17. Moderate	5
18. OK	7	18. Nice	5
19. Politician	6	19. Aggressive	4
20. Puppet	5	20. Enthusiastic	4
Number of interviews	(758)	Number of interviews	(750)

* This table shows the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages.

The Public's Agenda

No single issue is compelling to the American public in this campaign. When asked what *one issue* they would most like to hear presidential candidates discuss, seven subjects were clustered at the top of the list of volunteered responses: taxes, health care, the economy, welfare, education, balanced budget, and jobs. The frequency of mentions ranged from 16% for taxes to 8% for jobs. More interesting than the frequency, however, is the change in concern about these issues compared to the recent past. Taxes are mentioned twice more often now than in October 1995 (16% vs. 8%). Health care is cited less often now than last fall during the Medicare debate (14% vs. 20%). The economy was cited three times more often in 1991 than it is now, and jobs twice as often in 1991 than now (43% vs. 13%). Welfare reform and education were mentioned by 12% and 11%, respectively, which is somewhat more often than last year, whereas slightly fewer respondents cited balancing the budget and crime.

Issues Voters Want Discussed

	All %	-Supporters of-	
		Clinton %	Dole %
Taxes	16	12	20
Health care	14	18	8
Economy	13	14	14
Welfare	12	13	12
Education	11	13	8
Budget	10	8	15
Jobs	8	9	3
Crime	6	6	5
Moral crisis	5	3	10
Abortion	4	3	7
<i>Number of Interviews</i>	<i>(1508)</i>	<i>(777)</i>	<i>(488)</i>

As would be expected, taxes and the balanced budget are cited about twice as often by Dole supporters and leaners as by Clinton supporters and leaners. Taxes are the top issue of those respondents who do not now support Dole but who said they might in November, but taxes are also the main issue for those voters who might swing to Clinton. Health care is mentioned twice more often by Clinton supporters than Dole's, but Perot's supporters mentioned this issue almost as often as Clinton's. Reflecting the changing character of Perot's supporters, jobs are cited by them four times more often than by Dole backers.

Tobacco Draws Attention

Voters as usual are paying more attention to events than to rhetoric. The two political stories to which they gave most attention were the Administration's efforts to regulate tobacco sales to children, followed very closely by 37%; and Clinton's signing of the welfare reform bill, followed very closely by 31%.

Despite professed high interest in tax issues, respondents were relatively less attentive to news of Dole's tax cut plan (22% followed very closely) and Clinton's tax breaks for home and school (20%). The family values debate attracted 23%. Respondents showed least interest in the stories that were critical, whether it was Republican criticism of Hillary Clinton (19% followed very closely) or Democratic criticism of Newt Gingrich (16%), Dole's criticism of Clinton's efforts to combat drugs (15%) or attacks on Jack Kemp's position switches on affirmative action and immigration (11%). Just 17% followed very closely news about the resignation of the former Clinton political campaign guru Dick Morris.

Among key voter categories, Independents who lean Republican were more attentive to the tobacco story, the family values debate and Jack Kemp's position changes than were Independents who lean Democratic.

Most respondents who closely followed the criticism of Hillary Clinton *disagreed* with that criticism (58%), while most respondents who closely followed criticism of Gingrich *agreed* with it (52%). While Mrs. Clinton fared better in comparison to Gingrich, she did worse compared to herself four years earlier. In September 1992, a significantly larger proportion, 73%, said they mostly disagreed. Women were more likely than men to disagree with criticism of the First Lady. Although Republicans were more likely to agree with the criticism, a sizeable portion of them (25%) disagreed. No significant gender gap was found among those who agreed with criticism of Gingrich.

Few A's or B's For Dole's Effort

Almost twice as many respondents gave Clinton high grades compared to Dole for selling himself to the voters. Fully 50% gave him either an A or B for the "job he is doing in convincing you to vote for him," compared to 28% for Dole. Most Democrats (74%) grade the Clinton campaign A or B. Dole, on the other hand, did relatively poorer with his party: just 52% of Republicans give him a good grade. Reflecting these views, no fewer than 76% of the public think that Clinton will win the election. Even 54% of Dole backers expect a Clinton victory.

Campaign Coverage: A Mixed Grade

A majority of Americans (57%) gives the news media excellent or good grades (13% and 44%, respectively) for covering the Presidential campaign so far. This is precisely the same job rating it received four years ago, in September 1992, and is significantly better than the press' showing during the July doldrums between the nomination battles and the conventions. Criticism of campaign coverage was more evident among men, whites, college graduates, Republicans, and Independents who lean Republican.

	<u>Sept</u> <u>1992</u> %	<u>Sept</u> <u>1996</u> %
Excellent	12	13
Good	45	44
Only fair	27	29
Poor	11	11
DK/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100

As four years ago, most voters think journalists want to see Clinton win the election. But again, most of the public also thinks that media is being fair in their coverage of both candidates. A 59% majority of registered voters believe that most journalists want Clinton to win the election, compared to 17% for Dole and 1% Perot. At the same time, two-thirds believe the media has been fair in their coverage of the campaigns of both major candidates: 67% said that of Clinton's campaign (down somewhat from 74% four years ago), and 65% said that of Dole's campaign. Noteworthy is that more Republicans said the press has been unfair to Clinton than did Democrats or Independents (29% vs. 20% and 22%, respectively). Republicans were much more likely to say coverage of Dole has been unfair (46% vs. 13% of Democrats and 21% of Independents). Republicans were also far more likely to see the media as biased toward a Clinton victory (73% vs. 43% of Democrats).

Nonetheless, almost two-thirds (64%) of registered voters believe that news organizations have too much influence on who wins, while 4% said too little and 30% said about the right amount. Republicans more often said the media has too much power compared to Democrats and Independents (77% vs. 54% and 64%, respectively).

Backing up the media's claim that the recent political conventions were boring, only 14% of the public said they followed the coverage very closely. But when asked about the highly emotional recitations of personal tragedies that were used to dramatize issues at the conventions, almost two out of three (64%) who followed these events closely said it was good that such subjects were raised, while 29% said it was a bad thing. Younger respondents liked these portrayals more than older ones: 73% of the under 30 year olds vs. 54% of those 50 and over said it was a good thing.

TABLES

THOUGHT GIVEN TO THE ELECTION

	-----September 1992-----			-----September 1996-----		
	Quite a <u>Lot</u> %	<u>Some</u> %	Little/ <u>None</u> %	Quite a <u>Lot</u> %	<u>Some</u> %	Little/ <u>None</u> %
Total	63	3	33	48	3	49
Sex						
Male	65	2	32	47	4	49
Female	61	4	35	49	2	48
Race						
White	64	3	32	49	3	47
Non-white	57	3	40	42	3	55
Black	58	3	39	44	2	54
Age						
Under 30	51	2	47	36	2	61
30-49	66	2	32	48	4	48
50-64	68	4	28	56	2	42
65+	67	4	26	56	3	38
Education						
College Grad	78	2	19	63	4	33
Some College	68	3	29	55	3	42
High School Grad	60	3	36	43	2	55
< H.S. Grad	47	2	48	33	3	61
Family Income						
\$50,000 +	74	4	22	60	4	36
\$30,000 - \$49,999	71	2	27	49	2	49
\$20,000 - \$29,999	60	2	37	41	4	55
< \$20,000	55	2	42	42	3	54
Region						
East	62	2	34	45	3	52
Midwest	66	4	30	48	2	49
South	60	2	37	48	4	47
West	64	4	31	51	2	46
Party ID						
Republican	68	2	29	60	1	39
Democrat	71	2	26	50	3	46
Independent	54	3	42	40	4	56
Lean Republican	53	3	42	47	3	49
Lean Democrat	57	4	39	41	5	54

Question: How much thought have you given to the coming Presidential election. . . quite a lot or only a little? {"Some" and "none" are volunteered responses.}

PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEATS*

(Based on Registered Voters)

	July 1996				September 1996			
	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	44	34	16	6=100	52	34	8	6=100
Sex								
Male	40	35	19	6	47	39	11	3
Female	48	33	14	5	56	30	6	8
Race								
White	39	38	17	6	48	38	8	6
Non-white	77	8	9	6	78	12	6	4
Black	82	5	7	6	83	8	7	2
Race/Sex								
White Men	36	39	19	6	42	43	12	3
White Women	41	37	16	6	52	33	6	9
Age								
Under 30	45	29	22	4	57	29	11	3
30-49	44	32	18	6	52	35	8	5
50-64	46	35	10	9	46	38	10	6
65+	44	40	13	3	53	34	5	8
Education								
College Grad	45	41	11	3	48	42	4	6
Some College	45	33	16	6	53	36	7	4
High School Grad	44	32	20	4	52	32	10	6
< H.S. Grad	43	27	17	13	53	25	13	9
Family Income								
\$75,000+	46	33	14	7	41	45	11	3
\$50,000 - \$74,999	39	40	17	4	53	41	5	1
\$30,000 - \$49,999	42	39	17	2	52	39	6	3
\$20,000 - \$29,999	44	35	17	4	52	34	7	7
< \$20,000	53	24	16	7	64	21	11	4

* 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 headed by Ross Perot?

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?

Continued ...

	-----July 1996-----				-----September 1996-----			
	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	44	34	16	6=100	52	34	8	6=100
Region								
East	45	32	18	5	59	26	8	7
Midwest	43	31	19	7	53	34	8	5
South	44	36	14	6	50	38	8	4
West	45	35	14	6	48	36	8	8
Race/Region								
White South	36	42	16	6	41	45	10	4
White Non-South	40	36	18	6	50	35	8	7
Race/Region/Sex								
White Men South	32	46	15	7	34	54	12	*
White Men Non-South	38	36	21	5	47	38	12	3
White Women South	40	38	17	5	49	36	8	7
White Women Non-South	42	37	15	6	54	32	5	9
Community Size								
Large City	60	22	13	5	57	31	7	5
Suburb	42	37	16	5	50	40	6	4
Small City/Town	42	36	17	5	54	32	8	6
Rural Area	37	38	18	7	45	36	12	7
Religious Affiliation								
Total White Protestant	34	45	15	6	43	43	9	5
White Prot. Evangelical	27	55	13	5	38	48	10	4
White Prot. Non-Evang.	41	35	18	6	46	40	8	6
White Catholic	45	30	20	5	54	33	7	6
Party ID								
Republican	9	72	15	4	10	81	6	3
Democrat	85	5	8	2	90	5	3	2
Independent	40	25	28	7	49	26	17	8
Lean Republican	10	51	28	11	17	59	21	3
Lean Democrat	70	4	22	4	79	4	9	8
1992 Presidential Vote								
Clinton	82	6	9	3	85	8	4	3
Bush	10	77	8	5	13	79	3	5
Perot	10	27	54	9	29	33	33	5

Continued ...

	-----July 1996-----				-----September 1996-----			
	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	44	34	16	6=100	52	34	8	6=100
Presidential Approval								
Approve	76	7	13	4	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Disapprove	4	68	21	7	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
GOP Congressional Approval								
Approve	18	64	13	5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Disapprove	67	10	19	4	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Listens To Talk Radio								
Regularly	37	44	12	7	39	49	8	4
Sometimes	42	37	16	5	55	31	10	4
Rarely/Never	48	29	17	6	54	32	7	7

SWING VOTERS
(Based on Registered Voters)

	-----Clinton-----		-----Dole-----		-----Perot-----	
	Now <u>Support*</u> %	Chance Might <u>Support</u> %	Now <u>Support</u> %	Chance Might <u>Support</u> %	Now <u>Support</u> %	Chance Might <u>Support</u> %
Total	52	10	34	14	8	11
Sex						
Male	47	10	39	11	11	10
Female	56	9	30	16	6	11
Race						
White	48	10	38	14	9	11
Non-white	78	6	12	10	6	8
Black	83	5	8	9	6	7
Age						
Under 30	57	8	29	14	11	14
30-49	52	12	35	15	8	11
50-64	46	11	38	14	10	9
65+	53	5	34	11	5	8
Education						
College Grad	48	9	42	13	4	10
Some College	53	8	36	14	7	14
High School Grad	53	10	32	14	10	9
< H.S. Grad	53	12	25	16	13	12
Family Income						
\$75,000 +	41	11	46	16	11	9
\$50,000 - \$74,999	53	11	41	14	5	12
\$30,000 - \$49,999	52	8	39	15	6	11
\$20,000 - \$29,999	52	14	33	8	7	11
< \$20,000	64	8	20	19	11	13

* 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?

Continued ...

	-----Clinton-----		-----Dole-----		-----Perot-----	
	<u>Now</u> <u>Support</u> %	<u>Chance</u> <u>Might</u> <u>Support</u> %	<u>Now</u> <u>Support</u> %	<u>Chance</u> <u>Might</u> <u>Support</u> %	<u>Now</u> <u>Support</u> %	<u>Chance</u> <u>Might</u> <u>Support</u> %
Total	52	10	34	14	8	11
Region						
East	59	15	26	18	8	11
Midwest	53	7	34	11	8	13
South	50	9	38	13	8	9
West	48	10	36	15	8	11
Community Size						
Large City	57	10	31	12	7	10
Suburb	50	8	40	13	6	11
Small City/Town	54	11	32	16	8	10
Rural Area	45	8	36	13	12	13
Religious Affiliation						
Total White Protestant	43	10	43	14	9	9
White Prot. Evangelical	38	10	48	17	10	10
White Prot. Non-Evang.	47	10	40	11	8	9
White Catholic	54	12	34	17	7	12
Party ID						
Republican	10	12	81	8	6	6
Democrat	90	4	5	11	4	10
Independent	50	13	26	21	17	17
1992 Presidential Vote						
Clinton	84	6	8	14	4	9
Bush	13	12	79	8	3	8
Perot	29	12	33	25	33	24
Listens To Talk Radio						
Regularly	39	10	49	14	8	10
Sometimes	55	9	31	15	10	9
Rarely/Never	54	10	32	13	7	11

CONGRESSIONAL VOTING INTENTIONS*
(Based On Registered Voters)

	-----July 1996-----			-----September 1996-----			(N)
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	46	47	7=100	43	51	6=100	(1141)
Sex							
Male	48	45	7	48	48	4	(562)
Female	45	48	7	40	53	7	(579)
Race							
White	52	41	7	47	47	6	(929)
Non-white	13	79	8	17	79	4	(205)
Black	10	84	6	11	86	3	(129)
Age							
Under 30	49	46	5	41	55	4	(201)
30-49	46	48	6	43	51	6	(472)
50-64	45	46	9	48	45	7	(236)
65+	45	44	11	42	54	4	(223)
Education							
College Grad	53	41	6	49	45	6	(385)
Some College	48	46	6	45	47	8	(282)
High School Grad	42	50	8	40	55	5	(380)
< H.S. Grad	43	47	10	40	56	4	(92)
Family Income							
\$75,000 +	49	42	9	59	39	2	(134)
\$50,000 - \$74,999	55	41	4	51	48	1	(158)
\$30,000 - \$49,999	55	42	3	45	49	6	(319)
\$20,000 - \$29,999	37	54	9	41	51	8	(168)
< \$20,000	35	57	8	31	66	3	(211)
Region							
East	41	46	13	39	57	4	(212)
Midwest	46	48	6	45	50	5	(276)
South	48	47	5	43	51	6	(393)
West	48	44	8	44	47	9	(260)

* 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?

Continued ...

	-----July 1996-----			-----September 1996-----			(N)
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	46	47	7=100	43	51	6=100	(1141)
<i>Community Size</i>							
Large City	30	61	9	38	55	7	(249)
Suburb	55	40	5	45	48	7	(289)
Small City/Town	47	45	8	45	50	5	(391)
Rural Area	49	44	7	43	53	4	(207)
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>							
Total White Protestant	58	35	7	54	41	5	(545)
White Prot. Evangelical	62	29	9	56	39	5	(239)
White Prot. Non-Evang.	55	40	5	51	44	5	(306)
White Catholic	44	48	8	42	53	5	(226)
<i>Party ID</i>							
Republican	90	5	5	90	9	1	(356)
Democrat	6	92	2	7	92	1	(428)
Independent	42	46	12	42	45	13	(314)
Lean Republican	81	13	6	81	15	4	(131)
Lean Democrat	17	79	4	15	77	8	(157)
<i>1992 Presidential Vote</i>							
Clinton	15	79	6	13	82	5	(473)
Bush	84	8	8	85	11	4	(318)
Perot	64	29	7	60	33	7	(90)
<i>1996 Presidential Preference</i>							
Clinton/Lean Clinton	16	80	4	13	83	4	(596)
Dole/Lean Dole	85	9	6	88	10	2	(400)
Perot/Lean Perot	50	42	8	53	36	11	(81)
<i>Listens To Talk Radio</i>							
Regularly	50	44	6	60	36	4	(208)
Sometimes	48	46	6	37	59	4	(287)
Rarely/Never	44	47	9	41	52	7	(643)

PERSONAL QUALITIES ASSOCIATED WITH CANDIDATES
(By Party Affiliation)

	<u>Total</u> %	-----Party Affiliation-----			<u>Democrats</u> %
		<u>Republicans</u> %	<u>Independents</u> <u>Who Lean Rep.</u> %	<u>Independents</u> <u>Who Lean Dem.</u> %	
<i>Would use good judgement in crisis</i>					
Clinton	51	18	36	78	77
Dole	34	73	54	7	12
<i>Personally likable</i>					
Clinton	67	43	60	79	88
Dole	20	46	29	7	4
<i>Honest and Truthful</i>					
Clinton	30	8	21	36	53
Dole	37	75	51	19	14
<i>Has new ideas</i>					
Clinton	52	31	40	58	74
Dole	27	48	42	18	13
<i>Cares about people like me</i>					
Clinton	51	17	29	74	82
Dole	29	66	44	9	7
<i>Keeps his promises</i>					
Clinton	35	9	19	49	60
Dole	30	64	47	16	7
<i>Shares my values</i>					
Clinton	46	14	19	66	78
Dole	36	76	60	16	10
<i>Connects well with ordinary Americans</i>					
Clinton	68	44	56	87	86
Dole	21	45	31	8	4
<i>A strong leader</i>					
Clinton	47	15	26	61	78
Dole	38	72	60	22	14
<i>Number of Interviews</i>	(750)	(229)	(78)	(121)	(260)

Question: As I read a list of phrases tell me if you think this phrase better describes Bill Clinton or if it better describes Bob Dole. (READ AND ROTATE.)

CANDIDATE CAPABILITIES
(By Party Affiliation)

	<u>Total</u> %	-----Party Affiliation-----			<u>Democrats</u> %
		<u>Republicans</u> %	<u>Independents Who Lean Rep.</u> %	<u>Independents Who Lean Dem.</u> %	
<i>Improving economic conditions</i>					
Clinton	49	13	18	66	85
Dole	35	78	68	13	6
<i>Making wise decisions about foreign policy</i>					
Clinton	44	17	22	51	75
Dole	39	77	62	24	13
<i>Representing your views about abortion</i>					
Clinton	46	25	32	60	69
Dole	28	58	41	15	10
<i>Improving education</i>					
Clinton	57	26	34	72	86
Dole	29	63	54	12	6
<i>Reducing the budget deficit</i>					
Clinton	41	13	19	51	72
Dole	38	74	67	21	15
<i>Cutting taxes</i>					
Clinton	34	12	11	38	63
Dole	42	77	68	25	19
<i>Dealing with the drug problem</i>					
Clinton	44	20	24	53	74
Dole	32	66	56	17	10
<i>Protecting and strengthening families</i>					
Clinton	50	18	27	68	82
Dole	36	73	63	16	10
<i>Number of Interviews</i>	(758)	(200)	(95)	(106)	(275)

Question: Regardless of who you support, which one of the Presidential candidates -- Bill Clinton or Bob Dole -- do you think would do the best job of (INSERT ITEM. IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS ANYONE OTHER THAN DOLE OR CLINTON, PROBE ONCE: " IF YOU HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN CLINTON AND DOLE ..." ROTATE)?

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,508 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period September 5-8, 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=758) or Form 2 (N=750), 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 1992). 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. After an optimum sample balancing solution is reached, the weights were constrained to fall within the range of 1 to 5. This constraint is useful to ensure that individual respondents do not exert an inordinate effect on the survey's overall results.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
SEPTEMBER 1996 NEWS INTEREST INDEX
-- FINAL TOPLINE --
September 5-8, 1996
N=1,508

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?]

Q.1 Generally, how would you say things are these days in your life -- would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy or not too happy?¹

		<u>Sept 1992</u>
34	Very happy	17
53	Pretty happy	48
11	Not too happy	34
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>
100		100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT . . .

Q.2 As I read a list of stories covered by news organizations this past month, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely? [READ AND ROTATE LIST]

	<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all Closely</u>	<u>DK (VOL)</u>
a. The Presidential election campaign ²	24	36	23	17	*=100
July, 1996	22	40	23	14	1=100
October, 1992	55	36	7	2	0=100
September, 1992	42	37	13	8	*=100
August, 1992	36	51	11	2	0=100
July, 1992	20	45	26	9	*=100
October, 1988	43	44	11	2	*=100
August, 1988	39	45	13	3	*=100

¹ In September 1992 question was asked as "Taken all together, how would you say things are these days -- would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy or not too happy?"

² The October 1992, August 1992, October 1988, and August 1988 figures are based on registered voters.

Q.2 con't ...

		<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all Closely</u>	<u>DK (VOL)</u>
b.	The summer Olympic Games in Atlanta	32	34	20	14	*=100
	July, 1996	45	30	13	11	1=100
c.	NASA's discovery of possible life on Mars	8	19	31	41	1=100

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

		<u>July 1996</u>	<u>June 1996</u>	<u>Oct³ 1992</u>	<u>Sept 1992</u>	<u>Aug 1992</u>	<u>June 1992</u>	<i>---Gallup---</i>	
								<u>Aug 1988</u>	<u>Sept 1988</u>
48	Quite a lot	47	43	77	63	72	55	61	57
3	Some (VOL)	2	5	5	3	4	6	10	18
43	Only a little	49	47	16	31	23	36	27	23
6	None (VOL)	2	4	1	2	1	2	2	2
<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>0</u> <u>100</u>	<u>0</u> <u>100</u>

³

The October 1992 and August 1992 figures are based on registered voters.

Q.4 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 headed by Ross Perot?

Q.4a 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?

**IF RESPONDENT NAMED A CANDIDATE IN Q.4, ASK:
NOW WITH REGARD TO THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AGAIN. . .**

Q.6 Do you support (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q. 4) strongly or only moderately?

		<u>July</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS: (N=1141)					
52	Clinton/Lean Clinton	44	44	42	39
	26 Strongly	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	26 Only moderately	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	0 Don't know	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
34	Dole/Lean Dole	34	35	36	36
	17 Strongly	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	17 Only moderately	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	* Don't know	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
8	Perot/Lean Perot	16	16	19	20
	3 Strongly	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	5 Only moderately	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	* Don't know	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<u>6</u> 100	Undecided/Other Candidate (VOL)	<u>6</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100

ASK ALL:

Q.5 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.5a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

		<u>July</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS: (N=1141)												
43	Republican/Lean Republican	46	44	44	46	48	50	45	47	52	48	45
51	Democrat/Lean Democrat	47	50	49	47	48	43	43	44	40	46	47
<u>6</u> 100	Other candidate/Undecided (VOL)	<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

**IF RESPONDENT NAMED A CANDIDATE IN Q.4 OR Q.4A, ASK:
(IF RESPONDENT WAS SKIPPED OUT OF Q.6, READ: "NOW WITH REGARD TO THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AGAIN")**

Q.7 Would you say that your choice is more a vote for (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.4 OR Q.4a) OR more a vote against (INSERT NAMES OF OTHER TWO PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES)

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS: (N=1141)

Direction of Support

52 Clinton
 35 Pro-Clinton
 15 Anti-other candidates
 2 Undecided

34 Dole
 16 Pro-Dole
 17 Anti-others candidates
 1 Undecided

8 Perot
 3 Pro-Perot
 5 Anti-other candidates
 0 Undecided

6 Don't know/Refused
 100

IF RESPONDENT NAMED A CANDIDATE IN Q.4 OR Q.4A, ASK:

Q.8 What do you like most about (NAME OF CANDIDATE): his personality, his leadership ability, his experience, or his stand on issues?⁴

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

	<u>Personality</u>	<u>Leadership</u>	<u>Experience</u>	<u>Stand on issue</u>	<u>DK</u>
Bill Clinton	14	24	6	49	7=100
October, 1992	11	13	4	68	4=100
Bob Dole	3	25	33	35	4=100
Ross Perot	8	17	13	54	8=100
October, 1992	12	25	9	53	1=100

⁴ The results from 1992 are based on respondents who said their vote was "Pro-Candidate." Please note in 1992 the first item was "Personality & Character."

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE CLINTON IN Q. 4 OR Q. 4a ASK:

Q.9 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?

		<u>July</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1992</u>
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:					
10	Chance might vote for him	8	12	14	11
34	Decided not to vote for him	36	28	26	37
<u>4</u> 48	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u> 48	<u>6</u> 46	<u>3</u> 43	<u>7</u> 55

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE DOLE IN Q. 4 OR Q.4a ASK:

Q.10 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?

		<u>July</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1992</u>
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:					
14	Chance might vote for him	15	12	15	7
47	Decided not to vote for him	40	44	45	40
<u>5</u> 66	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u> 58	<u>6</u> 62	<u>4</u> 64	<u>6</u> 53

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE PEROT IN Q. 4 OR Q.4a ASK:

Q.11 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?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:	
11	Chance might vote for him
78	Decided not to vote for him
<u>3</u> 92	Don't know/Refused

NOW A DIFFERENT KIND OF QUESTION...

Q.12 As I mention a person's name, tell me what one word best describes your impression of that person. Tell me just the one best word that describes him or her. **(PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW". ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE.)**

ASK ITEM A. OF FORM 1 ONLY:

a.F1 Al Gore

ASK ITEM B. OF FORM 2 ONLY:

b.F2 Jack Kemp

FOR RESULTS, SEE PAGE 6

Q.13 What one issue would you most like to hear presidential candidates talk about? **(OPEN-ENDED: ACCEPT UP TO THREE MENTIONS)**

		<u>Oct 1995</u>	<u>Oct 1991</u>
16	Cutting taxes/Taxes	8	6
14	Health care reform/Health care in general	20	8
13	The economy	14	43
12	Welfare reform	8	-
11	Education/Education reform	6	11
10	Balancing the budget/Budget deficit/National debt	14	8
8	The job situation/Unemployment/Protecting US jobs	6	15
6	Crime/Drugs	9	5
5	The moral crisis in this country	8	-
4	Abortion	-	-
4	Foreign Policy	5	-
3	Reforming/Cleaning up the political system/Term limits/ Campaign finance reform	4	-
*	Race relations	2	-
16	Other (SPECIFY)	10	27
6	Don't know/Refused	6	13
2	None	3	

ASK Q. 14 OF FORM 1 ONLY: (N=758)

Q.14F1 Regardless of who you support, which one of the Presidential candidates -- Bill Clinton or Bob Dole-- do you think would do the best job of **(INSERT ITEM. IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS ANYONE OTHER THAN DOLE OR CLINTON, PROBE ONCE: "IF YOU HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN CLINTON AND DOLE. . . ." ROTATE)** ?

		<u>Bill Clinton</u>	<u>Bob Dole</u>	(VOL) <u>Neither</u>	<u>DK/ Refused</u>
a.F1	Improving economic conditions	49	35	8	8=100
	July, 1996	45	38	8	9=100
b.F1	Making wise decisions about foreign policy	44	39	7	10=100
	July, 1996	42	42	5	11=100
c.F1	Representing your views about abortion	46	28	8	18=100
	July, 1996	46	33	7	14=100
(NO ITEM D.)					
e.F1	Improving education	57	29	5	9=100
	July, 1996	55	28	6	11=100
f.F1	Reducing the budget deficit	41	38	11	10=100
	July, 1996	39	40	11	10=100
g.F1	Cutting taxes	34	42	14	10=100
	July, 1996	35	42	12	11=100
h.F1	Dealing with the drug problem	44	32	12	12=100
i.F1	Protecting and strengthening families	50	36	7	7=100

ASK Q.15 OF FORM 2 ONLY: (N=750)

Q.15F2 As I read a list of phrases tell me if you think this phrase better describes Bill Clinton or if it better describes Bob Dole. **(READ AND ROTATE)**

		<u>Bill Clinton</u>	<u>Bob Dole</u>	(VOL) <u>Both</u>	(VOL) <u>Neither</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a.F2	Would use good judgment in a crisis	51	34	6	3	6=100
	July, 1996	47	35	9	2	7=100
	March, 1996	47	38	4	4	7=100
b.F2	Personally likable	67	20	5	5	3=100
	July, 1996	64	20	7	4	5=100
	March, 1996	67	22	4	4	3=100
NO ITEMS c. OR d.						
e.F2	Honest and truthful	30	37	4	21	8=100
	July, 1996	25	40	4	22	9=100
	March, 1996	34	39	2	19	6=100
f.F2	Has new ideas	52	27	4	10	7=100
	July, 1996	49	28	5	11	7=100
	March, 1996	49	34	2	10	5=100
g.F2	Cares about people like me	51	29	4	10	6=100
	July, 1996	48	30	5	13	4=100
	March, 1996	54	28	2	12	4=100
h.F2	Keeps his promises	35	30	1	24	10=100
	July, 1996	29	35	3	23	10=100
	March, 1996	32	35	1	23	9=100
i.F2	Shares my values	46	36	3	10	5=100
	July, 1996	45	36	2	11	6=100
	March, 1996	47	37	2	9	5=100
j.F2	Connects well with ordinary Americans	68	21	3	4	4=100
	July, 1996	63	22	4	6	5=100
k.F2	A strong leader	47	38	4	6	5=100

ASK ALL:

Q.16 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "1" YES IN Q.16, ASK:

Q.16a How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

		--Based on Registered Voters--					
		July 1996	June 1996	Oct 1992 ⁵	Sept 1992	Aug 1992	June 1992
87	Yes		89	88	98	98	97
89							
	70 Absolutely certain	69	71	91	85	89	75
	14 Fairly certain	18	15	6	11	8	12
	3 Not certain	2	2	1	2	*	2
9	No	8	8	1	1	1	7
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK Q.17 OF FORM 1 ONLY: (N=565)

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

Q.17F1 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?

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

⁵ The October 1992, September 1992, and August 1992 figures are based on registered voters.

ASK Q.18 OF FORM 1 ONLY: (N=565)

Q.18F1 Do you think your vote for Congress this fall will be a vote for Bill Clinton, a vote against Bill Clinton, or won't Bill Clinton be much of a factor in your vote for Congress?

		---Clinton---			---Bush---		---Reagan---	
		Nov	Oct	Early Oct	Oct 28-31	Oct 24-28	Sept 28-Oct 1	Oct 23-28
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1982</u>
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:								
24	For	17	17	17	19	26	26	23
18	Against	21	21	23	15	12	16	21
51	Not a factor	55	57	54	61	55	51	51
<u>7</u>	Don't know/refused	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK Q.19 OF FORM 1 ONLY: (N=565)

Q.19F1 Do you think your vote for Congress this fall will be a vote for Newt Gingrich and the other Republican leaders of Congress, a vote against Newt Gingrich and the Republican leaders, or won't the Republican leadership of Congress be a factor in your vote?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

21	For
36	Against
36	Not a factor
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK Q.20 OF FORM 2 ONLY: (N=576)

NOW THINKING ABOUT YOUR VOTE FOR CONGRESS THIS FALL.

Q.20F2 Would you like to see your Representative in Congress be re-elected in November, or not?

		Nov	Oct	Early Oct	---Gallup---
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	Oct 25-28
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1990</u>
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:					
62	Yes		58	55	49
62					
19	No	25	30	29	22
2	Congressman is not running (VOL)	1	2	2	2
<u>17</u>	No opinion	<u>16</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>14</u>
100		100	100	100	100

ASK Q.21 OF FORM 2 ONLY: (N=576)

Q.21F2 Regardless of how you feel about your own Representative, would you like to see most Members of Congress re-elected in November or not?

		Nov <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	Early Oct <u>1994</u>	
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:					
43	Yes		31	31	28
43	No	58	56	56	
<u>14</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>18</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	

ASK Q.22 OF FORM 2 ONLY: (N=576)

Q.22F2 If Bill Clinton is re-elected President in November, would it be better for the Republicans to control Congress or the Democrats to control Congress?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

46	Republicans
44	Democrats
<u>10</u> 100	Don't know/Refused

RETURNING TO THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES...

ASK ALL:

Q.23a,

23b,

23c

If "6" represents someone who is very liberal in politics and "1" represents someone who is very conservative, where on this scale of 6 to 1 would you rate each of the presidential candidates and yourself? First, where would you place Bill Clinton? Where would you place Bob Dole? Where would you place yourself?

		---Conservative---			---Liberal---			DK
		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	
a.	Bill Clinton	6	4	18	25	19	23	5=100
b.	Bob Dole	20	25	21	10	8	7	9=100
c.	Self	16	9	29	17	13	10	6=100
	Self 1988	13	14	27	19	11	10	6=100
	<i>Newsweek</i> : Self 1984	15	9	29	18	11	12	6=100

ROTATE QUESTIONS 24 AND 25.

Q.24 What grade would you give Bill Clinton as to how good a job he is doing in convincing you to vote for him?
Would you grade his election campaign: A, B, C, D, or F?

		<u>July 1996</u>	<u>Sept 1992⁶</u>
18	A	9	21
32	B	30	37
25	C	30	24
7	D	12	7
15	F	17	7
$\frac{3}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$
(N=1175)			

Q.25 What grade would you give Bob Dole as to how good a job he is doing in convincing you to vote for him?
Would you grade his election campaign: A, B, C, D, or F?

		<u>July 1996</u>
8	A	3
20	B	20
33	C	35
16	D	19
19	F	19
$\frac{4}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{4}{100}$

⁶ Based on registered voters.

Q.26 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)**

		<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all Closely</u>	<u>DK (VOL)</u>
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:						
ASK ITEMS a. - e. OF FORM 1 ONLY: (N=565)						
a.F1	Republican criticisms of Hillary Clinton September, 1992	19 13	26 27	30 35	24 23	1=100 2=100
b.F1	The debate about which political party best represents American family values September, 1992	23 23	37 43	23 21	16 11	1=100 2=100
c.F1	Jack Kemp's change of position on affirmative action and immigration issues	11	22	33	31	3=100
d.F1	Bob Dole's plan to cut federal income taxes by 15%	22	37	25	16	*=100
e.F1	The Administration's efforts to regulate tobacco sales to children	37	35	19	9	*=100
ASK ITEMS f.. - j. OF FORM 2 ONLY: (N=576)						
f.F2	Bill Clinton's tax breaks for some home sales and education expenses	20	37	31	12	*=100
g.F2	Bob Dole's criticisms of Bill Clinton's efforts to combat drug use	15	34	32	18	1=100
h.F2	The resignation of Clinton advisor Dick Morris over charges of sexual misconduct	17	29	33	21	*=100
i.F2	Clinton's signing of the welfare reform bill	31	43	20	6	*=100
j.F2	Democratic criticisms of Newt Gingrich	16	27	35	21	1=100

ASK Q.27 OF FORM 1 ONLY: (N=311)
IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' VERY CLOSELY OR '2' FAIRLY CLOSELY TO ITEM a. IN Q.26, ASK:
 Q.27F1 Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with Republican criticisms of Hillary Clinton?

		Sept <u>1992</u> ⁷
36	Mostly agree	15
58	Mostly disagree	73
$\frac{6}{100}$	Don't know/refused	$\frac{12}{100}$ (234)

ASK Q.28 OF FORM 2 ONLY: (N=298)
IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' VERY CLOSELY OR '2' FAIRLY CLOSELY TO ITEM j. IN Q.26, ASK:
 Q.28F2 Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with Democratic criticisms of Newt Gingrich?

52	Mostly agree
40	Mostly disagree
$\frac{8}{100}$	Don't know/refused

ASK ALL:

Q.29 Regardless of who you support, who do you think will be elected President in November, Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, or Ross Perot?

		July <u>1996</u>
76	Bill Clinton	71
14	Bob Dole	19
2	Ross Perot	2
$\frac{8}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{8}{100}$

⁷

Based on registered voters.

NOW ON A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT SUBJECT .

Q.30 All in all, how would you rate the job the press has done in covering the Presidential campaign so far; excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

		<u>July</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1992</u>
13	Excellent	7	16	12	10	12	11
44	Good	35	45	45	44	51	45
29	Only fair	42	25	27	33	28	32
11	Poor	14	10	11	10	6	7
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100

NO QUESTION 32

Q.33 How much influence do you think news organizations have on which candidate becomes the President: too much, too little or about the right amount?

		<u>Sept</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1988</u>
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS: (N=1141)				
64	Too much	54	59	58
4	Too little	4	6	3
30	About the right amount	37	32	36
<u>2</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100

ASK Q.34 OF FORM 1 ONLY: (N=565)

Q.34F1 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered Bill Clinton's election campaign?

		<u>July</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1992</u>
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:				
67	Fair	73	74	70
24	Unfair	19	21	22
<u>9</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100

ASK Q.35 OF FORM 1 ONLY: (N=565)

Q.35F1 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered Bob Dole's election campaign?

		<u>July</u> <u>1996</u>
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:		
65	Fair	67
25	Unfair	24
<u>10</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>9</u> 100

ASK Q.36 OF FORM 2 ONLY: (N=576)

Q.36F2 Who do you think most newspaper reporters and TV journalists want to see win the Presidential election -- Bill Clinton, Bob Dole or Ross Perot?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:	
59	Clinton
17	Dole
1	Perot
2	None (VOL)
<u>21</u> 100	Don't know/Refused

ASK ALL:

ON A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT SUBJECT ...

Q.37 How closely did you follow the Republican and Democratic conventions last month: very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

14	Very closely
31	Fairly closely
29	Not too closely
26	Not at all closely
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "1" VERY CLOSELY OR "2" FAIRLY CLOSELY IN Q.37, ASK: (N=702)

Q.38 At both political conventions, people spoke emotionally about their struggles with illness, personal relationships, and crime. Do you think it was a good thing or a bad thing that these subjects were raised at a national political convention?

64	Good thing
29	Bad thing
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL:

Q.39 How have you been getting most of your news about the Presidential election campaign? From television, from newspapers, from radio, from magazines or from computer on-line sources? **(ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS. IF ONLY ONE RESPONSE IS GIVEN, PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES)**⁸

		<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1992</u>
75	Television	81	85	82	83	84	86	83	80
44	Newspapers	48	56	57	49	55	51	48	49
14	Radio	21	21	12	13	18	17	14	18
5	Magazines	6	5	9	5	7	6	4	4
2	On-line sources	2	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2	Other	3	1	6	4	4	3	3	3
1	Can't say	1	1	1	1	*	1	*	1

IF ANSWERED "1" TELEVISION IN Q. 39, ASK:

Q.40 Do you get most of your news about the presidential campaign from network TV news, from local TV news, or from CNN? **(ACCEPT TWO RESPONSES; DO NOT PROBE)**⁹

		<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1992</u>
39	Network	48	50	55	37	50	46	41	40
41	Local	42	52	29	36	38	40	32	37
33	CNN	28	39	29	33	34	34	30	29
2	Other (VOL)	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	2
1	Can't say	1	*	1	2	1	1	2	1

⁸ The percentages from the current survey are not comparable to the trend because of a difference in the probe.

⁹ The percentages from the current survey and February 1996 are not comparable to the trend because of a difference in the probe.

ASK ALL:

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.41 How closely have you been following news about the recent U.S. missile attack on Iraq ... very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

31 Very closely
 42 Fairly closely
 19 Not too closely
 7 Not at all closely
 $\frac{1}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

Q.42 Do you approve or disapprove of President Clinton's decision to attack Iraqi military positions?

70 Approve
 19 Disapprove
 $\frac{11}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

ON A TOTALLY DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.43 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?

		<u>July</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1993</u>
15	Regularly	16	17	13	18	18	19	16	17	23	23
25	Sometimes	24	25	23	28	33	30	31	29	22	32
22	Rarely	27	26	25	24	25	24	26	24	25	23
37	Never	33	31	39	30	24	27	26	30	30	22
$\frac{1}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{0}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$

Q.44 Do you use a computer at your workplace, at school or at home on at least an occasional basis?

		<u>July</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1996</u>
56	Uses a PC at home, work or school	56	58	61	60	59
44	Does not use PC	44	42	39	40	41
<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>0</u> <u>100</u>	<u>0</u> <u>100</u>

IF YES:

Q.45 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?

		<u>July</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1996</u>
BASED ON TOTAL RESPONDENTS:						
22	Goes on-line	23	21	22	21	21
34	Does not go on-line	33	37	39	39	38
0	Don't know/Refused	0	*	0	*	0
<u>44</u> <u>100</u>	Not a computer user	<u>44</u> <u>100</u>	<u>42</u> <u>100</u>	<u>39</u> <u>100</u>	<u>40</u> <u>100</u>	<u>41</u> <u>100</u>

IF YES:

Q.46 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?

		<u>July</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1996</u>
BASED ON TOTAL RESPONDENTS:						
2	Everyday	1	1	2	1	2
2	3-5 days/week	3	1	3	2	2
4	1-2 days/week	4	4	5	4	3
3	Once every few weeks	3	4	3	3	3
1	Less Often	2	1	1	2	1
10	No/Never	10	10	8	9	10
0	Don't know/Refused	0	*	0	0	*
34	PC user, Does not go on-line	33	37	39	39	38
<u>44</u> <u>100</u>	Not a computer user	<u>44</u> <u>100</u>	<u>42</u> <u>100</u>	<u>39</u> <u>100</u>	<u>40</u> <u>100</u>	<u>41</u> <u>100</u>

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED 1,2,3 OR 4 IN Q. 46 ASK:

Q.47 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?

		<u>July</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1996</u>
BASED ON TOTAL RESPONDENTS:					
1	Everyday	*	*	*	*
1	3-5 days/week	1	1	1	1
2	1-2 days/week	1	1	2	2
1	Once every few weeks	1	1	1	1
*	Less Often	*	*	*	*
6	No/Never	8	7	9	6
0	Don't know/Refused	0	*	0	0
11	Does not go on-line for political/public issues	12	11	9	11
34	PC user, Does not go on-line	33	37	39	39
<u>44</u> <u>100</u>	Not a computer user	<u>44</u> <u>100</u>	<u>42</u> <u>100</u>	<u>39</u> <u>100</u>	<u>40</u> <u>100</u>