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The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92

Year of the "Outsiders"

Survey VII

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PEROT TOPS BUSH AND CLINTON, BUT SCHWARTZKOPF RUNS ALMOST AS STRONG

Unannounced candidate Ross Perot has pulled ahead of George Bush and Bill Clinton in the latest nationwide *Times Mirror* survey, but for all the talk of Perot's connection with voters, his strength against Bush and Clinton is almost matched by non candidate Norman Schwartzkopf.

Currently Perot polls support of 36% from Times Mirror's sampling, Bush gets 31% and Bill Clinton runs third with 27%. In a separate ballot test, Schwartzkopf draws as much support as Clinton and almost as much as Bush. The former Desert Storm commander polled 29% to Clinton's 27% and 35% for George Bush.

The Schwartzkopf finding underscores the difficulty of judging how much of Perot's standing in the polls is really support for Perot rather than a yearning for a non-political alternative to Bush and Clinton. By all measures, public support for a fresh face in Washington is far greater than it was four years ago, and at the same time Americans seem willing to take some risks, even with Democratic institutions, in order to bring about change.

In comparison to 1976, another election year in which voters were predisposed to the appeals of political outsiders, the public today is much more likely to see a need for a strong leader who would try to solve the country's problem, *directly without worrying about how Congress and the Supreme Court would feel*.

Sixty-three percent of Americans think the country needs that sort of strong leadership, while only 27% believes it would be dangerous. In the aftermath of Watergate in 1976, 49% favored a so described strong leader, compared to 44% who thought it might be dangerous.

In a more recent trend the percentage of Americans who say the country needs new people in Washington, *even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians* has risen from 44% in 1987 to 56% currently. At the same time, the percentage saying it's time for politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders climbed from 62% to 84% over that same period.

Support for a strong leader who would *"solve problems directly"* and for *"new but inexperienced leadership"* in Washington is evident at all levels of society and among all political and demographic groups. However, enthusiasm for such ideas is greater among Perot supporters and among political Independents than it is among Clinton and Bush supporters or among those who identify with the major parties.

	<u>Country Needs Strong Leader</u>		<u>Need New Leader Even If Inexperienced</u>	
	<u>1976*</u>	<u>Curr</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>Curr</u>
<i>Total</i>	49	63	44	56
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	53	66	44	57
Female	45	61	43	56
<i>Race</i>				
White	N/A	62	43	56
Black	N/A	70	50	56
Other	N/A	63	44	54
<i>Age</i>				
18-29	47	64	37	46
30-49	51	64	40	55
50+	49	62	52	64
<i>Education</i>				
College graduate	42	61	40	58
College incomplete	N/A	65	40	55
High School graduate	52	63	45	55
Less than high school graduate	51	63	47	59
<i>Income</i>				
\$50,000 & over	N/A	66	40	55
\$30,000-\$49,999	N/A	65	38	58
\$20,000-\$29,999	N/A	63	44	58
Less than \$20,000	N/A	61	47	57
<i>Region</i>				
East	52	60	N/A	56
Midwest	47	62	N/A	57
South	54	66	N/A	53
West	40	66	N/A	60

CONTINUED...

	<u>Country Needs Strong Leader</u>		<u>Need New Leader Even If Inexperienced</u>	
	<u>1976*</u>	<u>Curr</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>Curr</u>
<i>Party Affiliation</i>				
Republican	50	61	36	52
Democrat	50	64	52	57
Independent	48	65	41	60
<i>Supporters</i>				
Bush	N/A	59	N/A	44
Clinton	N/A	61	N/A	54
Perot	N/A	71	N/A	67

*Spring 1976 nationwide *Newsweek* survey by Gallup.

Leaving the possibility of Perot aside, in a two-way match up Bush continues to lead Clinton by a slim 46% to 41% margin - not statistically different than the 46% to 43% margin recorded in the May *Times Mirror* survey. The three-way test election shows a clear trend over the past month. Perot picked up 6 points, moving from 30% to 36%, while Clinton slipped 3% points (30% to 27%) and Bush 2% points (33% to 31%). When the current trial heat is based only on the responses of registered voters the survey finds 36% for Perot, 31% for Bush and 28% for Clinton.

Over the past month Perot has made major gains in support among middle income people (\$30,000 -\$49,000), voters under 30 years of age and most of all among political independents. At 51% Perot's support among Independents rivals Clinton's among Democrats (57%) but is below Bush's among Republican's (64%).

DEMOGRAPHIC TREND IN PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT

	<u>Bush</u>		<u>Clinton</u>		<u>Perot</u>	
	<u>5/92</u>	<u>Curr</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>Curr</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>Curr</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Total</i>	33	31	30	27	30	36 (3517)
<i>Sex</i>						
Male	33	31	30	26	33	39 (1252)
Female	33	31	30	29	27	33 (1260)
<i>Race</i>						
White	36	34	26	23	32	37 (2007)
Black	10	9	61	57	21	24 (380)
<i>Age</i>						
18 - 29	39	34	32	28	25	34 (752)
30 - 49	34	30	28	27	32	37 (1040)
50 +	28	31	32	28	31	35 (710)
<i>Education</i>						
College grad.	35	33	24	26	34	38 (672)
Some college	33	32	30	22	34	41 (721)
High school graduate	36	31	30	25	28	37 (860)
Less than H.S. grad.	25	28	38	41	23	24 (256)
<i>Income</i>						
\$50,000 & over	35	35	24	22	36	40 (487)
\$30,000-\$49,999	43	32	22	22	31	42 (633)
\$20,000-\$29,999	30	30	34	30	31	36 (447)
Less than \$20,000	29	27	38	35	24	29 (728)
<i>Region</i>						
Northeast	30	30	30	28	32	34 (617)
Midwest	32	32	33	27	29	37 (681)
South	39	32	30	31	24	31 (836)
West	29	28	27	24	38	43 (378)
<i>Party Affiliation</i>						
Republican	66	64	7	6	23	28 (707)
Democrat	10	9	56	57	28	28 (795)
Independent	31	24	23	18	37	51 (908)

TYPOLGY

The Times Mirror Typology reveals that while Perot supporters are most numerous among Independent groups, substantial percentages of core Republicans and core Democrats say they would vote for him if the election were being held today. He achieves his highest levels of support (48%) from Republican leaning *Disaffecteds* who grudgingly voted Republican in 1988 and from Democratic leaning *Seculars* (46%) who mostly supported Dukakis in 1988. Both groups have been among the most enthusiastic early supporters of Ross Perot. However, the current survey finds Perot's candidacy now also gaining support among more typically loyal Republican and Democratic groups.

Most notably the survey finds Perot now running almost as strong as Bush among *Upbeats*, who are young moderate independents who strongly supported Bush and Reagan before him. On the Democratic side the survey shows Perot getting the support of one in three liberal *60's Democrats*, while among Republicans one in three economically conservative *Enterprisers* say they would like to see Perot elected.

In fact, Perot's support is only below the one in three level among *Pocketbook Democrats* and among socially conservative *Moralist Republicans*.

CANDIDATE PREFERENCE
BY TYPOLOGY GROUP**

	<u>TWO WAY CHOICE</u> <u>BUSH CLINTON</u>		<u>THREE WAY CHOICE</u> <u>BUSH CLINTON PEROT</u>			<u>PEROT'S</u> <u>IMPACT ON</u> <u>BUSH CLINTON</u>	
TOTAL	45	41	31	27	36	-14	-14
ENTERPRISERS	88	5	65	3	31	-23	-2
MORALISTS	80	12	64	8	26	-16	-4
UPBEATS	59	29	41	14	38	-18	-15
DISAFFECTEDS	37	37	22	21	48	-15	-16
SECULARS	27	63	13	38	46	-14	-25
60'S DEMOCRATS	17	72	12	48	35	-5	-24
NEW DEALERS	22	62	10	44	44	-12	-18
POCKET BOOK DEMOCRATS	11	78	7	61	25	-4	-17
BYSTANDERS/ OTHER	46	35	30	23	39	-16	-12

**Includes Leaners.

No Growth in Perot Negatives

Despite increasing press scrutiny over the past month, Perot's unfavorable rating has held steady at 26%, while his favorable rating has increased slightly from 50% to 53%. In contrast the percentages of Americans holding unfavorable opinions of Clinton and Bush has increased for the third consecutive month. Both major party candidates are now rated unfavorably by almost as many people as rate them favorably (Bush 47% unfavorable, 51% favorable - Clinton 47% unfavorable, 46% favorable).

For perspective, Dan Quayle's unfavorable rating (61%) is substantially higher than his favorable rating (33%). But even relatively popular politicians who have received significantly good press get mixed reviews from the public. Jack Kemp achieves a 35% favorable, 26% unfavorable rating and Bill Bradley ratings are 35% favorable, 23% unfavorable.

Desert Storm commanders Powell and Schwartzkopf are given ratings of a completely different magnitude. Schwartzkopf achieves a 74% favorable to 13% unfavorable evaluation, while Powell's is only slightly less positive (65% to 15%).

Methodological Problems In Polling On Perot

The Times Mirror survey included an experiment to illustrate the fragility of candidate standing measures in this political environment and the difficulties of polling in three candidate races. In the main survey respondents were asked about their support for Bush, Clinton or for Perot after being *first* asked about their preference in the traditional two-way contest between Bush and Clinton. In a *separate* and comparable nationwide survey respondents were asked to choose between the three candidates without first being questioned about the two-way race. The two measurement approaches yield somewhat different results. In the "*cold*" three way test a larger percentage of respondent express no preference and the levels of support for Bush and Perot are about even. We have observed similar differences in results in other similar comparisons over the past few months.

	-----Preferences:-----	
	<u>After the 2 way</u>	<u>Without 2 way</u>
Perot	36	31
Bush	31	33
Clinton	27	24
Other/Undec.	<u>6</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100
N=	(2512)	(1004)

The above experiment illustrates two principles of polling. First, when opinions are soft and volatile, small differences in survey method can and often do affect survey results. Secondly, this experiment in conjunction with the Schwartzkopf finding points up the difficulty in factoring true levels of support for the candidates at this point in time.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 3,517 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of May 28 - June 10, 1992. 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 2 percentage points. A split ballot technique was used to test Norman Schwartzkopf's appeal versus Ross Perot's. A random subset of 2512 respondents were questioned about Perot as a third party candidate while a random subset of 1005 were asked about Schwartzkopf.

A second independent nationwide telephone survey was conducted among 1004 adults 18 years of age and older during the period June 5-9, 1992 as a means of testing an alternative voting intentions method. See Preference table on page 8.

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.

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in ***THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990***. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year the ***Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press*** has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research.

There are two core Republican groups:

Enterprisers: Enterprisers are fiscal conservatives who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. Enterprisers are much less likely than other Americans to agree with the popular notion that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer (43% vs. 81%). Their pro-business stance leads them to differ with most Americans on the idea that too much power is concentrated in the hands of big companies. While 82% of other Americans feel that this is true, only 48% of Enterprisers agree. Enterprisers are also less likely to completely agree that society should make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity (55% vs. 41%).

Moralists: Moralists are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older, and many live in the South. A vast majority of Moralists agree that books with dangerous ideas should be banned from public schools, which sets them firmly to the right of the rest of the public on the issue of censorship (89% vs. 39%).

There are three core Democratic groups:

Sixties Democrats: Sixties Democrats are strong believers in peace and social justice. More than any other segment of the population, they disagree with the idea that the best way to preserve peace is through military strength (88% vs. 44%). And two-thirds (65%) of Sixties Democrats completely agree that society should guarantee everyone an equal opportunity. This is a heavily female, middle class, middle-aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers: New Dealers are older Democrats who experience little financial pressure and are more socially conservative than the national Democratic Party. Drawn heavily from the South, many of these old-time Democrats have party roots that go back to Roosevelt. Despite the end of the Cold War, New Dealers still universally agree that the best way to insure peace is through military strength (96%¹).

Pocketbook Democrats: Pocketbook Dems overwhelmingly agree that they don't have enough money to make ends meet (98%). They are very concerned with social justice, and they believe that government should take an active role in the solution of the socio-economic problems that plague them. One-third of Pocketbook Dems are minorities (32%), and many have less than a high school education.

There are three typology groups that are basically Independent:

¹ Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

Seculars: Seculars lean to the Democratic party, but some identify more closely with the GOP on certain issues. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms. Seculars are well-informed, relatively affluent, and more often found on the East and West coasts. Their defining characteristic is an almost total lack of religious conviction. While 87% of the rest of the public says that prayer is an important part of their daily life, only one in ten (12%) Seculars hold this view. Their support for personal freedoms is best reflected in their feelings about censorship: 97% disagree with banning books containing dangerous ideas from public school libraries, compared with 48% of other Americans.

Two of the Independent groups lean to the Republican party:

Disaffecteds: Disaffecteds are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle-aged, lower-middle income group contains many blue collar workers. Disaffecteds are nearly twice as likely as others to agree that hard work offers little guarantee of success (69% vs. 36%). Their political distrust is such that three-quarters (77%) disagree that elected officials care what people like them think.

Upbeats: Upbeats are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats are primarily young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values: 88% of Upbeats agree that Americans can always solve their problems, while only 55% of others agree.

Finally, there is one typology group that is by definition apolitical:

Bystanders: Bystanders have an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles. Forty-six percent of Bystanders say they seldom vote.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

	<i>PERCENT</i>
<i>Enterprisers</i>	10
<i>Moralists</i>	14
<i>Upbeats</i>	12
<i>Disaffecteds</i>	13
<i>Bystanders/Other</i>	16
<i>Seculars</i>	8
<i>60's Democrats</i>	6
<i>New Dealers</i>	5
<i>Pocketbook Dems.</i>	16

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
 21ST CENTURY VOTER
 MAY 28 - JUNE 10, 1992
 N=3517

SEX: 1[]Male 2[]Female INTERVIEWER'S NAME: _____
 TIME STARTED: _____ INTERVIEWER'S I. D. : _____
 TIME FINISHED: _____ PAGE NUMBER: _____
 LENGTH: _____ REPLICATE NUMBER: _____
 REGION: 1 East STRATUM: 1 Stratum One
 2 Midwest 2 Stratum Two
 3 South 3 Remainder
 4 West
 DATE: _____

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am _____ calling for the Princeton Survey Research Associates from 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?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

		NEWS INTEREST INDEX							
		May 1992	March 1992	Feb 1992	Jan 1992	Nov 1991	Oct 1991	July 1991	May 1991
32	Approve	37	38	39	46	55	61	67	77
57	Disapprove	51	52	53	43	33	28	23	16
<u>11</u> 100	Don't know	<u>12</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100

Q. 6 Suppose the 1992 Presidential election were being held today. If George Bush were the Republican candidate and Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton were the Democratic candidate who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q. 6 ASK:

Q. 8 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican or do you lean more to Bill Clinton the Democrat?

		May <u>1992</u>	Mar <u>1992</u>
46	George Bush - with leaners	46	50
41	Bill Clinton - with leaners	43	43
<u>13</u>	Other/Undecided	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100
			(557)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' GEORGE BUSH OR '2' BILL CLINTON IN Q. 6 ASK:

Q. 7 Do you support (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q. 6) strongly or only moderately?

Strength of support

		May <u>1992</u>	Mar <u>1992</u>
46	George Bush	46	50
13	Strongly	15	19
33	Only moderately	31	31
41	Bill Clinton	43	43
9	Strongly	10	9
32	Only moderately	33	34
<u>13</u>	Other/undecided	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100
			(557)

ASK ALL:

FORM 1

Q. 9f1 And suppose the candidates were George Bush, the Republican candidate, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, the Democratic candidate, and Ross Perot was the Independent candidate, who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '4' OTHER OR '5' UNDECIDED IN Q. 9f1 ASK:

FORM 1

Q. 10f1 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or do you lean toward Ross Perot, the Independent?

		<u>May 1992</u>	<u>Form 2² Asked Without 2 Way First</u>
31	George Bush - with leaners	33	33
27	Bill Clinton - with leaners	30	24
36	Ross Perot - with leaners	30	31
<u>6</u> 100	Other/Undecided	<u>7</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100 (1004)

ASK ALL:

FORM 2

Q. 9f2 And suppose the candidates were George Bush, the Republican candidate, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, the Democratic candidate, and Former Army General Norman Schwarzkopf was the Independent candidate, who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '4' OTHER OR '5' UNDECIDED IN Q. 9f2 ASK:

FORM 2

Q. 10f2 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or do you lean toward Former Army General Norman Schwarzkopf as the Independent candidate?

35	George Bush - with leaners
27	Bill Clinton - with leaners
29	Norman Schwarzkopf - with leaners
<u>9</u> 100	Other/Undecided

² Separate National Survey - field dates June 5-9, 1992.

Q.22 Some people feel that what this country needs is some really strong leadership that would try to solve problems directly without worrying how Congress and the Supreme Court might feel. Others think that such strong leadership might be dangerous. What do you think?

		Newsweek
63	Need strong leadership	$\frac{1976}{49}$
27	Strong leadership might be dangerous	44
$\frac{10}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{7}{100}$

Q. 43 I'd like your opinion of some people. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who I name. First, would you describe your opinion of **(ITEM)** as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable? **(ROTATE)**

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>(VOL) Never Heard Of</u>	<u>(VOL) Can't Rate</u>
a. George Bush	13	38	29	18	0	2=100
May, 1992	13	42	25	17	0	3=100
March, 1992	18	45	23	13	0	1=100
February, 1992	26	38	20	14	0	2=100
January, 1992	20	43	22	13	0	2=100
November, 1991	25	46	17	9	0	3=100
May, 1990	24	52	15	7	0	2=100
January, 1989	24	54	9	4		9=100
*October, 1988	23	35	20	17		5=100
*September, 1988	19	40	20	17		4=100
*August, 1988	25	40	18	12		5=100
May, 1988	11	40	25	17		7=100
January, 1988	11	41	26	13		9=100
September, 1987	18	51	19	8		4=100
May, 1987	11	56	19	7		7=100
b. Bill Clinton	10	36	33	14	1	6=100
May, 1992	11	42	32	10	*	5=100
March, 1992	10	43	29	11	1	6=100
February, 1992	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
c. Ross Perot	18	35	18	8	5	16=100
May, 1992	11	39	20	7	2	21=100
March, 1992	11	18	15	6	29	21=100
d. Dan Quayle	7	26	34	27	1	5=100
November, 1991	9	40	28	15	1	7=100
May, 1990	6	41	24	15	4	10=100
*October, 1988	10	33	21	24	*	12=100
*September, 1988	9	32	17	15	2	25=100
*August, 1988	12	38	19	9	2	20=100
e. Norman Schwartzkopf	41	33	9	4	5	8=100
March, 1991	62	22	2	11	5	8=100
f. Bill Bradley	8	27	17	6	22	20=100
g. Jack Kemp	9	26	21	5	18	21=100
h. Colin Powell	30	35	11	4	10	10=100
March, 1991	51	28	2	1	7	11=100

*Based on registered voters

DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS:

Q. 900 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is...
(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL)</u> <u>Don't Know</u>
q. It is time for Washington politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders	38	46	12	2	2=100
u. We need new people in Washington even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians	20	36	30	11	3=100