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The People, The Press & Politics
Campaign '92:
Survey XI

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"Family Values" Divide Republican Core
CLINTON MAINTAINS LEAD AS BUSH CAMPAIGN STRUGGLES

Bill Clinton is in as solid a position with American voters as was George Bush four years ago at this time. The Arkansas Governor's 53% to 38% lead over President Bush has stabilized and his support is as firm as Bush's was in September of 1988.

The Republican Convention and campaign have thus far failed to make any dent in the two roadblocks that, in the minds of voters, appear to bar a GOP victory: most Americans continue to think there is little chance that conditions in the country will improve if George Bush is re-elected. Conversely, few voters seem worried that Bill Clinton would make major mistakes if elected to the White House.

The Bush campaign's emphasis on family values appears thus far to have backfired. The theme is antagonizing as many voters as it attracts. It appears, significantly, to be hurting the President's chances with the younger voters and better educated people who have until recently given Bush more support than other groups throughout his term and through much of the campaign. The poll also finds that many core Republicans and Independent-leaning Republicans see Bush as more conservative on family values and sexual issues than they themselves are.

Clinton's principal vulnerability at this point is the extent to which his support is based on disapproval of Bush. A slim majority of Clinton supporters continue to see themselves as anti-Bush rather than pro-Clinton. Nevertheless, the Democratic challenger is far better liked personally than he was during the primary campaign.

Clinton's lead over Bush in the latest *Times Mirror* voter survey is almost as large as it was in the first week of August. The Clinton/Gore ticket leads Bush/Quayle by a 53% to 38% margin among a sample of 1175 registered voters. In early August, *Times Mirror* found marginally higher support for the Clinton/Gore ticket, which was favored at that time over the GOP ticket by a 57% to 37% margin.

As in the summer, most voters continue to say they are only moderate supporters of either candidate; but Clinton's support is on balance firmer than Bush's. Nearly half of the challenger's backers say they are strong supporters of the Arkansas governor (25% of 53%), compared to more moderate support for the President (14% of 38%).

Clinton's support is now as strong as Bush's was at the same point in 1988, while Bush's current support is about as soft as Michael Dukakis' was in early September.

**STRENGTH OF CANDIDATE PREFERENCES
 1992 VS. 1988**

	<u>Sept. '88</u>			<u>Sept. '92</u>	
<u>Dukakis</u>		44		<u>Bush</u>	38
Strong	19		Strong	14	
Moderate		25	Moderate		24
<u>Bush</u>		50		<u>Clinton</u>	53
Strong	26		Strong	25	
Moderate		24	Moderate		28

At this point, Bush's only advantage over Clinton is that his support is more positive than his challenger's. A 20% to 16% plurality of Bush backers are pro-Bush rather than anti-Clinton. Clinton supporters divide more negatively: 29% are anti-Bush, while 21% are pro-Clinton.

Four years ago Bush's support was on balance positive, as was Reagan's in 1984. However, Reagan's support in his victorious 1980 campaign was divided about equally between people who were mostly voting for him and those voting mostly against Carter.

Clinton's coalition includes overwhelming support from core Democratic groups, as well as significant levels of support from voter groups that have voted Republican in recent presidential elections.

Demographically, Clinton garners the support of nearly nine in ten Democrats, eight in ten African Americans, and he has a two-to-one margin among voters from households with annual incomes below \$20,000. The Clinton campaign has also produced an even split with Bush among voters from affluent and middle-income households and leads the President among white voters and among political independents.

Bill Clinton bests Bush by nearly a two-to-one margin among big city voters, but he also has a solid lead in the suburbs and in non-metropolitan areas.

Clinton leads Bush among white Catholic voters, and among white male voters, but trails the President among white *Southern* male voters and among white Protestants.

The South is the only part of the country where the election contest is close at this time. Clinton appears to have lost some ground in his home region since August. The Arkansas Governor enjoys his largest margin over the President in the West.

(See Appendix 1)

Family Values Divide GOP

Unlike four years ago when Bush's early September campaign efforts unified all of his core groups, his current strategy is having the opposite effect. While the family values emphasis appears to have increased the President's core support among social agenda "*Moralist*" Republicans, it has done little to attract socially moderate, yet economically conservative "*Enterpriser*" Republicans and independent "*Upbeats*" who until recently leaned heavily to the Republican party.

Since August support for Bush has climbed to nearly ninety percent among the Moralists Republicans. However, the President has made no gains in support among Enterprisers. Nor has he made any inroads with Upbeats, who are young moderate independents that lean to the GOP. Bush continues to trail Clinton by a 37% to 48% margin among this voting bloc that gave him very strong support in 1988 and supported Ronald Reagan before him.

The President does equally poorly among another critical independent group that in the past has played an important part in the GOP's winning coalition, the "*Disaffected*" voters. Bush trails Clinton 34% to 49% among this financially hard-pressed group of voters who are critical and suspicious of most American institutions.

CANDIDATE PREFERENCE
BY TYPOLOGY GROUP**

JULY 29-AUG 1, 1992
SEPT 10-13, 1992
BUSH CLINTON
BUSH CLINTON

<i>TOTAL</i>	36	57	38	53
<i>ENTERPRISERS</i>	81	14	80	13
<i>MORALISTS</i>	75	22	88	7

UPBEATS	40	48	37	48
DISAFFECTEDS	31	59	34	49
SECULARS	11	79	15	77
60'S DEMOCRATS	2	93	9	84
NEW DEALERS	12	87	16	78
POCKET BOOK DEMOCRATS	4	93	10	86
BYSTANDERS/ OTHER	33	60	29	58

**Includes Leaners.

The Bush campaign has succeeded in defining itself as having more traditional family and sexual values than Bill Clinton. But it has also positioned itself to the right of the average American voter on this dimension. The electorate places its own views on family and sexual issues midway between perceptions of Bush and Clinton's positions. Many voters who see themselves as more tolerant than George Bush or Dan Quayle have supported or at least leaned to the Republican party. *Pluralities of voters under 50 years of age, college educated voters and voters in the West think that Bill Clinton's way of thinking about these issues comes closer to their own views than do George Bush's.*

In typological terms, while most Moralists see their views as closer to Bush's than to Clinton's, most Enterprisers see themselves as more tolerant than Bush. As many as 25% of these rock ribbed Republicans see Clinton as closer to their way of thinking on family values than Bush. *Upbeats and Disaffecteds see their family values falling somewhere between Bush's and Clinton's. As many as 42% of the young Upbeats think that they have less traditional views of family and sexual issues than does the President.*

VIEWS ABOUT SEX AND FAMILY VALUES

	<i>RATED OWN VIEWS:</i>			<u>N</u>
	<i>Closer To Clinton Than Bush*</i>	<i>Closer To Bush Than Clinton</i>	<i>Neither</i>	
	%	%	%	
<i>Total</i>	36	30	34	(1175)
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	37	30	33	(582)
Female	35	30	35	(593)
<i>Race</i>				
White	35	32	34	(1008)
Black	42	21	37	(106)
<i>Age</i>				
18-29	41	31	28	(206)
30-49	39	30	30	(503)
50+	30	30	40	(454)
<i>Education</i>				
College Grad.	46	30	24	(400)
Some College	34	33	32	(309)
H.S. Graduate	34	34	32	(355)
< H.S. Grad.	27	18	55	(107)
<i>Income</i>				
\$50,000+	37	35	28	(289)
\$30,000-\$49,999	36	35	29	(275)
\$20,000-\$29,999	36	30	34	(227)
< \$20,000	37	23	39	(274)
<i>Region</i>				
East	40	31	29	(222)
Midwest	34	28	38	(319)
South	31	33	35	(426)
West	42	27	31	(208)
<i>Party Affiliation</i>				
Republican	22	48	30	(347)
Democrat	46	18	36	(406)
Independent	37	29	33	(384)
<i>Type of Community</i>				
City	42	27	31	(361)
Suburb	35	34	32	(524)
Non-metro	31	29	40	(290)

	RATED OWN VIEWS:			N
	<i>Closer To Clinton Than Bush</i>	<i>Closer To Bush Than Clinton</i>	<i>Neither</i>	
	%	%	%	
<i>Other Groups</i>				
White Males	36	33	31	(499)
Southern White Males	30	36	34	(171)
White Catholics	35	31	35	(248)
White Protestants	30	36	34	(605)
<i>Typology Groups</i>				
Enterprisers	25	46	29	(160)
Moralists	16	53	32	(151)
Upbeats	30	37	33	(106)
Disaffecteds	32	30	38	(196)
Seculars	70	9	21	(127)
60's Democrats	49	17	33	(94)
New Dealers	40	21	39	(55)
Pocket Book Dems	40	19	41	(191)
Bystanders/Other	36	31	34	(95)

****Respondent gave self a rating on 6-point scale closer to rating given to Clinton than rating given to Bush (See Q.26).***

Although the Bush campaign has been successful in defining itself as socially conservative, it has made no progress in increasing the percentage of American voters who think there is at least *some chance* that conditions in the country will improve, if the President is re-elected. As in August, and throughout the earlier campaign only slightly more than one in three voters believe that the country can improve under a second Bush administration. While pessimism about Bush's ability to bring about change is most extensive among Democrats, majorities of political independents see no chance that things will get better if the President is re-elected. A 55% majority of *Disaffecteds* subscribe to this view, as do 46% of *Upbeats* and 70% of *Seculars*.

At the same time the percentage of Americans remains low (18%) who think there is a *big chance* that Clinton will make major mistakes if elected. Even among Republicans, only one in three thinks there is a great chance that Clinton will harm the country should he win the White House.

Clinton Image Improvement

Since the Spring the electorate has reversed itself as to which presidential candidate is more personally likeable. A late March poll found a 43% to 33% plurality thinking that Bush was personally more likeable than Clinton. In contrast, Times Mirror's latest survey finds decidedly more voters liking Clinton (49%) than Bush (32%).

DEMOGRAPHIC TREND IN CANDIDATE LIKEABILITY

	<u>Bush Personally Likeable</u>			<u>Clinton Personally Likeable</u>		
	<u>Mar 92</u>	<u>Sept 92</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>Mar 92</u>	<u>Sept 92</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
Total	44	32	-12	33	49	+16
Sex						
Male	45	34	-11	34	49	+15
Female	43	29	-14	31	49	+18
Race						
White	46	33	-13	31	46	+15
Black	28	14	-14	50	71	+21
Age						
18-29	52	29	-23	32	58	+26
30-49	46	31	-15	31	49	+18
50+	36	33	- 3	36	45	+ 9
Education						
College Grad.	47	27	-20	27	51	+24
Some College	50	30	-20	30	49	+19
H.S. Graduate	42	33	- 9	35	49	+14
< H.S. Grad.	36	37	+1	39	44	+ 5
Income						
\$50,000+	52	34	-18	24	47	+23
\$30,000-\$49,999	43	38	- 5	36	44	+ 8
\$20,000-\$29,999	41	30	-11	28	54	+26
< \$20,000	42	28	-14	39	54	+15
Region						
East	44	31	-13	31	48	+17
Midwest	42	32	-10	34	45	+11
South	44	36	- 8	36	48	+12
West	48	24	-24	29	55	+26
Party Affiliation						
Republican	66	58	- 8	15	24	+ 9
Democrat	30	11	-19	48	72	+24
Independent	40	31	- 9	33	46	+13
Type of Community						
City		25			56	
Suburb		32			47	
Non-metro		37			44	

	<u><i>Bush Personally Likeable</i></u>			<u><i>Clinton Personally Likeable</i></u>		
	<u><i>Mar 92</i></u>	<u><i>Sept 92</i></u>	<u><i>Diff.</i></u>	<u><i>Mar 92</i></u>	<u><i>Sept 92</i></u>	<u><i>Diff.</i></u>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>		<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	
<i>Other Groups</i>						
White Males	46	35	-11	32	47	+15
Southern White Males	51	45	-6	30	41	+11
White Catholics	42	35	-7	34	45	+11
White Protestants	47	36	-11	30	43	+13
<i>Typology Groups</i>						
Enterprisers	67	58	-9	16	27	+11
Moralists	63	63	0	17	16	-1
Upbeats	54	40	-14	25	35	+10
Disaffecteds	41	35	-6	33	42	+9
Seculars	28	12	-16	40	70	+30
60's Democrats	40	6	-34	35	73	+38
New Dealers	38	21	-17	34	58	+24
Pocket Book Dems	29	11	-18	52	72	+20
Bystanders/Other	40	26	-32	34	54	+20

Voters in all demographic and political groups profess to like Clinton more and Bush less than they did in the spring but Clinton has made more friends among young people, well-educated people, among members of his own party and in the West.

The Arkansas governor has also reduced the stature gap. Bush's margin over Clinton as the *candidate who would use good judgment in a crisis* is down from 68% vs. 15% to 53% vs. 28%. And Bush's margin as the *more "intelligent" candidate* has been reduced from 48% vs. 18% to a meager 34% vs. 30%. Bush and Clinton are now equally often named as the *candidate who can best think long range* (39% to 38%). In the earlier poll the President held a 49% to 27% advantage on this dimension.

Bush continues to be seen more often than Clinton as the *"good family man"* (50% to 22%) but, Bush's advantage over Clinton as the *more "honest and truthful" candidate* has dwindled from 46% vs. 18% to 34% vs. 30%.

Clinton's margin over Bush on the care and change dimensions has exploded since the spring. He leads Bush as the *candidate who cares* by a 49% to 26% margin, and as the *candidate that can best bring about change* by a 60% to 21% margin.

Bush and Quayle Given "C" Grades for Campaign

Not surprisingly, the electorate judges the campaign efforts of Bush and Quayle less positively than the Clinton, Gore efforts. On average, Americans give President Bush a "C" for his effort to convince them to vote for him. His running mate Dan Quayle is given an even lower grade of "C-". Clinton and Gore were awarded a "B" and "B-", respectively, for their efforts in wooing voters.

Bush's lack of progress and "C" grades notwithstanding, the poll finds that the campaign news stories and issues that have attracted the most public attention have focused on the President and not his challenger.

Thirty-seven percent said they followed *very closely* criticisms of the President for his handling of the emergency caused by Hurricane Andrew. The high level of penetration of this story seems to reflect interest in the Hurricane as much as criticism of the President, in that Republicans were as likely as Democrats to say they paid close attention to this story.

On a more exclusively campaign issue, 32% of the voter sample reported paying close attention to Bush's criticism of the Congress for blocking his efforts to bring about change. By way of comparison, only 19% said they followed very closely Clinton's claims that he would be able to break the logjam in Washington. The Bush campaign is not only getting penetration on this theme, but also some degree of acceptance. Forty-six percent of voters who have followed news about this issue think that Congress is more to blame for not getting things done, while 40% put the blame with the President. This is a unifying theme for the GOP that draws very high levels of support from both Republicans (82%) and Independents who lean Republican (80%).

Bush's plan to improve the economy by cutting taxes and government spending was followed very closely by 28% of the electorate. Almost as many (23%) said they paid close attention to Bill Clinton's charges that Bush spending cuts would hurt elderly voters. Nearly six in ten voters questioned agreed with Clinton's criticisms. Penetration on Clinton's concerns about the impact of Bush spending cuts on the elderly was markedly higher among those 50 & older.

One in four (23%) said they have paid close attention to the debate about which political party best represents American family values. One in five said they had paid close attention to the controversy about Bill Clinton's Vietnam draft record.

Just one in seven voters said they had paid close attention to the debate about Clinton's Arkansas tax record (14%), Republican charges that Al Gore holds radical positions on the environment (14%) and Republican criticisms of Hillary Clinton (13%).

An overwhelming proportion of voters who followed Republican criticisms of Hillary Clinton (73%) disagreed with those criticisms. 59% who followed charges that Gore took radical positions disagreed with those charges. And voters tended to agree more with the Democrats (52%) than the Republicans as to how much Clinton raised taxes as Governor of Arkansas.

Perot Persists

Nearly one in three former Perot supporters¹ say they would *very likely* vote for the enigmatic billionaire, if he were to reconsider his decision and declare himself a candidate. Twenty-eight percent said they would be *fairly likely*, while 40% said they would not be likely to vote for him in any event.

With his name on most state ballots Perot could make an impact on the Presidential race, particularly if voters were to become disillusioned with the candidates. The poll finds that inclination to vote for Perot increases to 39% among former supporters who give both Bush and Clinton bad campaign grades. The survey also indicates that Clinton might suffer more in the eventuality of a substantial Perot vote. Former Perot supporters who say they would be very likely to vote for the Texas businessman, now support Clinton over Bush by almost a two to one margin.

¹ 33% of all registered voters

APPENDIX 1

DEMOGRAPHIC TREND IN PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT

	<i>Bush</i>		<i>Clinton</i>		<i>Other/Undecided</i>		<i>N</i>
	<u>8/92</u>	<u>Curr</u>	<u>8/92</u>	<u>Curr</u>	<u>8/92</u>	<u>Curr</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	37	38	58	53	6	9	(1175)
Sex							
Male	35	40	58	52	7	9	(582)
Female	37	36	57	55	6	9	(593)
Race							
White	39	40	55	50	6	9	(1008)
Black	6	13	89	77	5	10	(106)
Age							
18-29	35	36	60	61	5	3	(206)
30-49	35	39	59	54	6	7	(503)
50+	38	38	55	49	7	13	(454)
Education							
College Grad.	42	37	53	56	5	7	(400)
Some College	38	42	54	49	9	8	(309)
H.S. Graduate	35	36	59	54	6	10	(355)
< H.S. Grad.	28	34	66	54	6	11	(107)
Income							
\$50,000+	42	48	53	46	6	6	(289)
\$30,000-\$49,999	37	46	58	48	5	6	(275)
\$20,000-\$29,999	33	32	63	57	5	11	(227)
< \$20,000	32	29	61	62	7	9	(274)
Region							
East	33	35	60	55	7	10	(222)
Midwest	37	38	56	53	8	9	(319)
South	38	44	57	50	5	7	(426)
West	38	30	57	57	5	13	(208)
Party Affiliation							
Republican	77	81	20	13	3	6	(347)
Democrat	4	10	92	85	4	5	(406)
Independent	30	31	58	55	11	13	(384)
Type of Community							
City		33		59		9	(361)
Suburb		39		51		10	(524)
Non-metro		41		51		9	(290)

	<i><u>Bush</u></i>		<i><u>Clinton</u></i>		<i><u>Other/Undecided</u></i>		<i><u>N</u></i>
	<i><u>8/92</u></i>	<i><u>Curr</u></i>	<i><u>8/92</u></i>	<i><u>Curr</u></i>	<i><u>8/92</u></i>	<i><u>Curr</u></i>	
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	
<i>Other Groups</i>							
White Males		42		49		9	(499)
Southern White Males		52		40		9	(171)
White Catholics		38		56		6	(248)
White Protestants		47		44		10	(605)

Survey Methodology

The survey results are based on telephone interviews of 1,175 registered voters from a nationwide survey of adults 18 years and older conducted September 10-13, 1992.

For results based on the total sample of registered voters, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects 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.

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%²).

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:

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.

² Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

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>	12
<i>Moralists</i>	12
<i>Upbeats</i>	9
<i>Disaffecteds</i>	17
<i>Bystanders/Other</i>	14
<i>Seculars</i>	10
<i>60's Democrats</i>	7
<i>New Dealers</i>	4
<i>Pocketbook Dems.</i>	15

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
 NATIONAL POLITICAL SURVEY #11
 September 10-13, 1992
 N=1,508

INTRODUCTION: Hello, 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.13 How much thought have you given to the coming Presidential election quite a lot or only a little?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		<u>Gallup</u>		
		<u>June</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>Sept.</u>
		<u>1992</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1984</u>
63	Quite a lot	63	61	57
3	Some (VOL)	6	10	18
31	Little	29	27	23
2	None	1	2	2
<u>1</u>	Can't say	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
100		100	100	100
(1175)		(2594)	(1000)	(938)

Q.14 If the presidential election were being held today, would you vote for the Republican ticket of George Bush and Dan Quayle or for the Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton and Al Gore?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.14 ASK:

Q.16 As of today, do you lean more to Bush and Quayle the Republicans or more to Clinton and Gore the Democrats?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29- Aug 1 <u>1992</u>	July 22-26 <u>1992</u>	July 29- Aug 2 <u>1992</u>	June <u>1992</u>	May <u>1992</u>	Mar <u>1992</u>
38	Bush/Quayle	37	31	32	45	46	50
53	Clinton/Gore	57	58	57	41	43	43
<u>9</u> 100 (1175)	Other/Undecided	<u>6</u> 100 (1023)	<u>11</u> 100 (743)	<u>11</u> 100 (792)	<u>14</u> 100 (2594)	<u>11</u> 100 (1065)	<u>7</u> 100 (557)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' GEORGE BUSH OR '2' BILL CLINTON IN Q.14 ASK:

Q.15 Do you support (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.14) strongly or only moderately?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29 Aug 1 <u>1992</u>
38	Bush/Quayle	37
14	Strong	14
24	Weak	23
53	Clinton/Gore	57
25	Strong	24
28	Weak	33

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.14 AND Q.16, SKIP TO Q.18

Q.17 Would you say that your choice is more a vote for (CANDIDATE FROM Q.14/16) or more a vote against (OTHER CANDIDATE)?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29
		Aug 1
		<u>1992</u>
38	Bush/Quayle	37
20	Bush/Quayle-positive	20
16	Bush/Quayle-anti-Clinton	16
2	Bush/Quayle-can't say	1
53	Clinton/Gore	57
21	Clinton/Gore-positive	27
29	Clinton/Gore-anti-Bush	28
3	Clinton/Gore-can't say	2

Q.18 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' IN Q.18 ASK:

Q.19 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29	June
		Aug 1	1992
		<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
98	Yes	97	97
85	Absolutely certain	89	88
11	Fairly certain	8	8
2	Not certain	*	1
1	No	1	1
<u>1</u>	Can't say	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100
(1175)		(1023)	(2594)

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE BUSH IN Q. 14 OR Q. 16 ASK:

Q.20 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for George Bush in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29	Aug 1	May
		<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
50	Chance might vote for him	51	55	(voted for him in one of the preference questions)
44	Decided not to vote for him	45	40	
<u>6</u>	Can't say	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	
10		100	100	
(1175)		(1023)	(1065)	

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE CLINTON IN Q. 14 OR Q. 16 ASK:

Q.21 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Bill Clinton in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29	Aug 1	May
		<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
66	Chance might vote for him	71	56	(voted for him in one of the preference questions)
28	Decided not to vote for him	26	38	
<u>6</u>	Can't say	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	
100		100	100	
(1175)		(1023)	(1065)	

ASK ALL:

Q.22 As I read a list of phrases tell me if you think this phrase better describes George Bush or if it better describes Bill Clinton? **(ROTATE)**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	George Bush	Bill Clinton	VOL-----		DK
			Both	Neither	
a. Would use good judgment in a crisis	53	28	8	3	8=100 (1175)
March, 1992	68	15	4	4	9=100 (557)
b. Personally likable	32	49	13	3	3=100
March, 1992	43	33	14	5	5=100
c. A typical politician	41	29	24	1	5=100
March, 1992	34	38	22	2	4=100
d. Can bring about change	21	60	4	7	8=100
March, 1992	30	47	5	11	7=100
e. Honest and truthful	34	30	6	21	9=100
March, 1992	46	18	5	20	11=100
f. Can think long range	39	38	7	5	11=100
March, 1992	49	27	4	8	12=100
g. Is a good family man	50	22	18	2	8=100
March, 1992	73	9	7	2	9=100
h. Intelligent	34	30	28	3	5=100
March, 1992	48	18	26	3	5=100
i. Cares about people like me	26	49	8	10	7=100
March, 1992	33	37	4	16	10=100

Q.23 What grade would you give George Bush 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. (ROTATE)

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	<u>A</u> (1)	<u>B</u> (2)	<u>C</u> (3)	<u>D</u> (4)	<u>F</u> (5)	<u>DK</u>
	<u>Average Grade</u>			<u>Mean</u>		
a. George Bush		C				2.94
b. Bill Clinton		B				2.41
c. Al Gore		B-				2.59
d. Dan Quayle		C				3.42

Q.24 Do you think there is a chance that if George Bush is re-elected that conditions in this country will get better or don't you think so?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	July 29 Aug 1 <u>1992</u>	May <u>1992</u>
38 Yes chance	37	35
54 No chance	56	52
<u>8</u> Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>13</u>
100	100	100
(1175)	(1023)	(1065)

Q. 25 How much of a chance is there that if Bill Clinton is elected President that he would make major mistakes that would hurt the country? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29 Aug 1 <u>1992</u>	May <u>1992</u>
18	A big chance	18	16
55	Some chance	55	50
22	Hardly any chance	23	20
<u>5</u>	Can' t say	<u>4</u>	<u>14</u>
100		100	100
(1175)		(1023)	(1065)

Q.26 If 6 represents someone who has a very traditional point of view about family and sexual matters and 1 represents someone who takes a very tolerant point of view on these issues where would you place yourself on this scale of 6 to 1. Where would you place George Bush, where would you place Bill Clinton, where would you place Dan Quayle?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>DK</u>
	<u>AVERAGE RATING</u>						
Self							3.81
George Bush							4.39
Bill Clinton							3.15
Dan Quayle							4.30

<u>Summary of Self vs Bush...</u>			<u>Summary of Self vs Clinton...</u>	
More traditional than Bush/Clinton	23			41
Less traditional than Bush/Clinton	39			22
Same as Bush/Clinton	28			25
Other	<u>10</u>			<u>12</u>
	100			100

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY

Rated self closer to Clinton than Bush	36
Self closer to Bush than Clinton	30
Other	<u>34</u>
	100

Q.27 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)

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all Closely</u>	<u>DK</u>
FORM 1					
a. Republican criticisms of Hillary Clinton	13	27	35	23	2=100 (575)
FORM 2					
b. Bill Clinton and Al Gore's campaign tours by bus	20	36	29	15	*=100 (600)
FORM 1					
c. The dispute between the Bush and Clinton campaigns over Governor Clinton's tax record in Arkansas	14	36	30	18	2=100
FORM 2					
d. Criticism of President Bush's handling of the emergency caused by Hurricane Andrew	37	44	13	5	1=100
FORM 1					
e. George Bush's plan to improve the economy by cutting government spending and cutting taxes	28	44	18	9	1=100
FORM 2					
f. Bill Clinton's charges that Bush government spending cuts would hurt elderly voters	23	35	28	12	2=100
FORM 1					
g. The debate about which political party best represents American family values	23	43	21	11	2=100
FORM 2					
h. Republican charges that Al Gore's positions on the environment are radical	14	24	35	24	3=100
FORM 1					
i. Bill Clinton's claims that he would be able to break the log jam in Washington and bring about change	19	47	19	14	1=100

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	DK
FORM 2					
j. George Bush's claims that the Congress has blocked his efforts to bring about change	32	41	19	7	1=100

FORM 1					
k. The controversy about Bill Clinton's Vietnam draft record	19	34	27	18	2=100

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' VERY CLOSELY OR '2' FAIRLY CLOSELY TO ITEM A IN Q. 27 ASK:

FORM 1
Q.28 Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with Republican criticisms of Hillary Clinton?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

15 Mostly agree

73 Mostly disagree

12 Can't say

100
(234)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' VERY CLOSELY OR '2' FAIRLY CLOSELY TO ITEM C IN Q.27 ASK:
FORM 1

Q.29 Do you mostly agree with the Republicans or mostly agree with Democrats about how much Governor Clinton has raised taxes as the Governor of Arkansas?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

29 Mostly agree with Republicans

52 Mostly agree with Democrats

19 Can't say

100
(307)

**IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' VERY CLOSELY OR '2' FAIRLY CLOSELY TO ITEM F IN Q.27 ASK:
FORM 2**

Q.30 Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with Bill Clinton's charges that George Bush's proposed spending cuts would hurt elderly voters?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

59 Mostly agree

32 Mostly disagree

9 Can't say

100

(349)

**IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' VERY CLOSELY OR '2' FAIRLY CLOSELY TO ITEM H IN Q.27 ASK:
FORM 2**

Q.31 Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with Republican charges that Al Gore's environmental positions are radical?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

31 Mostly agree

59 Mostly disagree

10 Can't say

100

(249)

**IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' VERY CLOSELY OR '2' FAIRLY CLOSELY TO ITEM I OR J IN Q.27
ASK:**

Q.32 Who would you say is more responsible for things not getting done in Washington the Democratically controlled Congress or the Bush Administration?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

46 Congress

40 Bush

14 Can't Say

100

(832)

Q.41 At any point this year, did you consider yourself a supporter of H. Ross Perot?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

33 Yes

65 No

2 Don't know
100
(1175)

Q.41a If H. Ross Perot were to reconsider his decision and declare himself a candidate for president how likely would you be to vote for him in November?
(READ CATEGORIES 1-4)

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

12 Very likely

12 Fairly likely

17 Not too likely

57 Not at all likely

2 Can't say
100
(1175)

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.)

	(VOL)				
	<u>Compl etely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Di sagree</u>	<u>Compl etely Di sagree</u>	<u>Don' t Know</u>
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	19	35	30	15	1=100
b. Most elected officials care what people like me think	7	36	38	17	2=100
c. Hard work offers little guarantee of success	16	29	28	24	3=100
d. The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives	33	36	21	7	3=100
e. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	9	31	37	21	2=100
f. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	37	41	15	4	3=100
g. As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	16	42	27	13	2=100
h. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed	53	35	7	3	2=100
i. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	21	32	28	14	5=100

	<u>Compl etely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Di sagree</u>	<u>Compl etely Di sagree</u>	<u>(VOL) Don' t Know</u>
j. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	18	36	28	15	3=100
k. Prayer is an important part of my daily life	50	29	12	8	1=100
l. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	26	20	22	29	3=100
m. There are clear guide- lines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	28	39	17	11	5=100
n. Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	44	35	15	5	1=100
o. I often don' t have enough money to make ends meet	28	29	27	14	2=100
p. I' m interested in keeping up with national affairs	36	47	11	4	2=100
q. I feel guilty when I don' t get a chance to vote	47	27	12	10	4=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT. .

Q. 901 How often would you say you vote; always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

- 42 Always
- 30 Nearly always
- 12 Part of the time
- 13 Seldom
- 1 **(DO NOT READ)** Other **(SPECIFY)**
- 2 **(DO NOT READ)** Never vote
- $\frac{*}{100}$ Don't know/no answer