# The People, The Press \& Politics 

## Campaign '92:

Voters Reconsider An October Panel-back Survey (XII)

Perot Is Back

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## PEROT UNDERTOE THREATENS CLINTON

Ross Perot's surge in the polls is drawing somewhat more support from Bill Clinton than from George Bush, and the third party candidate seems poised to make more gains that might further narrow Bill Clinton's nationwide margin.

A special Times Mirror re-interview survey of 1153 registered voters conducted Oct 20-22 found $44 \%$ supporting Clinton, $34 \%$ George Bush and $19 \%$ Ross Perot. The benchmark poll, which took place Oct. 8-11, had Clinton leading by a $48 \%$ to $35 \%$ margin over the President, with independent Ross Perot gaining the support of only $8 \%$ of the predebate sampling.

Over the ten-day period between surveys $79 \%$ of the electorate maintained their presidential preferences in the face of four televised debates. However, of the $21 \%$ who changed allegiances, the largest categories were Bush (4\%) and Clinton supporters (6\%) defecting to independent candidate Ross Perot. As shown in the table below, Perot was also the beneficiary of added support from voters who were initially undecided.

|  | October 8-11 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Bush | Clinton | Perot | Undec. |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |
|  | 100 | 35 | 48 | 8 | 9 |
| Reinterviews: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bush | 34 | $30^{1}$ | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Clinton | 44 | 1 | 41 | 1 | 2 |
| Perot | 19 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 3 |
| Undecided | 3 | * | * | * | 2 |

The small differences in the candidate standings are perhaps less significant than the major changes in voter attitudes observed over the panel-back survey period. Through his performance in the debates and his advertising, Perot has managed to get large numbers of voters to reconsider their opinions of him. At the same time, Republican attacks on Bill Clinton have begun to wear away at the Democratic candidate's image. Opinions of George Bush have changed the least over this period, and that may be the principal reason why the candidate standings have not changed more than they have.

## Perot Worries Wane

Over the ten-day period voter worries about Ross Perot as a potential president fell, while concerns about Clinton continued to increase. The percentage thinking there is a big chance that Perot would make major mistakes that would hurt the country, if elected, fell from $40 \%$ to $31 \%$ between surveys. Believing that Clinton would make major mistakes increased to $27 \%$, from $25 \%$, Oct $8-11$, and from only $18 \%$ in Times Mirror's midSeptember poll.

A companion question about George Bush showed some improvement for the President. Thinking that conditions in this country might improve, if he were re-elected,

[^0]rose from $34 \%$ in early October to $44 \%$ currently. However, a majority ( $50 \%$ ) of the public continues to think that there is no chance of improvement under George Bush.

The number of voters either saying that they now support Perot, or would consider voting for him rose from $29 \%$ to $38 \%$ during the survey period. When Perot was at his high watermark back in May, $51 \%$ of voters said there was some chance they might vote for the independent candidate. Perot's potential vote is now approaching Bush's level, which slipped from $48 \%$ to $45 \%$. Clinton's vote potential remains considerably higher at $55 \%$ but prior to the debates, $62 \%$ of voters were either supporting him or said they might consider it.

The panel-back similarly showed the percentage of voters naming Perot as their second choice rising from $33 \%$ to $44 \%$ currently. Analysis of the poll results reveals that people who say that Perot is their second choice, or say that there is some chance that they might vote for Perot are drawn more often from Clinton's base than from Bush's. The potential defection pattern approximates the pattern of losses to Perot incurred by Bush and Clinton over the past 10 days.

|  | Might Vote <br> For Perot | Perot 2nd <br> Choice |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Current: | $35 \%$ | $40 \%$ |  |
| Bush Supporter | $57 \%$ | $60 \%$ | $*$ |
| Clinton Supporter | $\frac{8}{100}$ |  | $\frac{*}{100}$ |
| Undecided | $\frac{8}{100}$ |  |  |

Perot's success with some voters is a dual consequence of how much he has repaired his personal image, and the extent to which he has gained the confidence of many voters on critical issues. In ten days, the percentage of voters naming Perot as the most "unreliable" candidate of the three fell from $30 \%$ to $17 \%$. In turn, mentions of Clinton as the most unreliable of the candidates rose from $21 \%$ to $32 \%$.

Seeing Perot as the "power hungry" candidate fell from $37 \%$ to $28 \%$ as association of this phrase with Clinton increased from $22 \%$ to $31 \%$. Similarly in the panel-back, voters increasingly named Perot as the most honest and truthful candidate ( $16 \%$ to $31 \%$ ), the strongest leader ( $12 \%$ to $21 \%$ ), having the most new ideas ( $31 \%$ to $44 \%$ ) and caring the most about people like me (12\% to 26\%).

On balance, Clinton remains stronger than Perot on many of the most crucial personal dimensions, such as being able to bring about change, likability, and long range thinking, but the growth in his negatives is also apparent. Association of Bill Clinton with the phrase "a typical politician" increased from $34 \%$ to $44 \%$ during the study period. And more people identified the Arkansas Governor with the phrase "doesn't tell the truth', in the follow-up interviews ( $26 \%$ to $37 \%$ ).

As would be expected of an incumbent, but not hoped for by an underdog, Times Mirror's sampling of voters changed their opinions much less about Bush than about his challengers. The President continues to be seen by a wide margin as the candidate with the 'best judgment in a crisis" and as the best "family man'" of the three. But in the first interview, only $17 \%$ thought that he is the candidate best "able to bring about change" and $25 \%$ thought he was the candidate who "cared most about people like me". Both of those perceptions were in tact ten days later ( $17 \%$ and $24 \%$, respectively).

People who back the President most often cite his experience (35\%) as the reason for their support with only $19 \%$ citing the President's positions on issues as important, and $26 \%$
his leadership ability. In contrast, Clinton's backers overwhelmingly point to the Democratic candidate's stand on issues (68\%), with only $13 \%$ naming Clinton's leadership ability and $4 \%$ his experience.

Perot has succeeded in giving his supporters a somewhat more balanced picture $53 \%$ say they most like the independent candidate's stand on issues and $25 \%$ cite his leadership ability.

## Candidate Commitment Crystallizes

Bill Clinton's ability to maintain his margin over President Bush in the face of a resurgent Perot will be helped by the fact that over the course of October the resolve of Clinton's backers has stiffened and more of his supporters said they were voting for the Governor, rather than against the President. Between the first interview and the second interview Clinton's support changed from on balance moderate to on balance positive ( $23 \%$ strong, $25 \%$ moderate in the first poll, to $26 \%$ strong, $18 \%$ moderate in the follow-up). The same pattern was observed for Bush's support and Perot's, as well. Perhaps more importantly for Clinton, the percentage saying they were voting for Bill Clinton climbed from $23 \%$ to $25 \%$ during the 10 -day interval.

The presidential race is changing most in the demographic and attitudinal categories of voters who usually vote Republican for President, but have shown less support for Bush so far in this campaign. The highest rates of switching to Perot were found among independents, whites, males, voters with some college training and people living in the West. Clinton's losses over the period occurred most often among men, Midwesterners, and affluent voters.

Perot has made his greatest gains among Disaffected voters. While still trailing Clinton, he leads Bush among this financially hard-pressed and alienated bloc. Perot has also made substantial progress among well-informed voter segments that have widely disparate values. He attracts the support of one in five economically conservative Enterpriser Republicans and about the some proportion of socially liberal Seculars.

## CANDIDATE PREFERENCE** BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

## SEPT 10-13, 1992 OCT 8-11, 1992 <br> OCT 20-22, 1992

 BUSH CLINTON BUSH CLINTON PEROT BUSH CLINTON PEROT| TOTAL | 38 | 53 | 35 | 48 | 8 | 34 | 44 | 19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ENTERPRISERS $(\mathrm{N}=169)$ | 80 | 13 | 76 | 8 | 9 | 74 | 5 | 19 |
| MORALISTS $(\mathrm{N}=149)$ | 88 | 7 | 77 | 9 | 7 | 80 | 5 | 13 |
| UPBEATS | 37 | 48 | 45 | 34 | 8 | 40 | 36 | 20 |
| DISAFFECTEDS $(\mathrm{N}=175)$ | 34 | 49 | 28 | 42 | 15 | 24 | 38 | 31 |
| $\underset{(\mathrm{N}=107)}{\text { SECULARS }}$ | 15 | 77 | 12 | 75 | 9 | 7 | 72 | 22 |
| 60'S DEMOCRATS $(\mathrm{N}=83)$ | 9 | 84 | 7 | 87 | 3 | 6 | 80 | 11 |
| NEW DEALERS $(\mathrm{N}=51)$ | 16 | 78 | 16 | 71 | 2 | 16 | 68 | 16 |
| POCKET BOOK |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| DEMOCRATS $(\mathrm{N}=220)$ | 10 | 86 | 8 | 83 | 4 | 8 | 80 | 10 |
| BYSTANDERS/ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\underset{(\mathrm{N}=86)}{\text { OTHER }}$ | 29 | 58 | 43 | 30 | 12 | 32 | 26 | 36 |

**Includes Leaners.

## DEMOGRAPHIC TREND IN PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT

|  | Bush |  | Clinton |  | Perot Ot |  | Other/Undec. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | October |  | October |  | October |  | October |  |  |
|  | 8-11 | 20-22 | 8-11 | 20-22 | 8-11 | 20-22 | 8-11 | 20-22 | $N$ |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 35 | 34 | 48 | 44 | 8 | 19 | 9 | 3 | (1153) |
| Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male | 37 | 34 | 44 | 38 | 11 | 24 | 8 | 2 | (556) |
| Female | 34 | 33 | 51 | 48 | 6 | 14 | 10 | 5 | (597) |
| Race |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| White | 39 | 38 | 43 | 39 | 9 | 21 | 9 | 3 | (1012) |
| Black | 9 | 4 | 82 | 87 | 3 | 6 | 7 | 3 | (87) |
| Age |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 18-29 | 35 | 28 | 53 | 50 | 9 | 21 | 4 | 1 | (199) |
| 30-49 | 35 | 35 | 48 | 43 | 10 | 20 | 8 | 3 | (537) |
| 50+ | 36 | 35 | 45 | 43 | 7 | 18 | 12 | 5 | (409) |
| Education |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| College Grad. | 38 | 37 | 48 | 46 | 7 | 16 | 6 | 1 | (413) |
| Some College | 34 | 31 | 45 | 40 | 11 | 24 | 10 | 5 | (322) |
| H.S. Graduate | 37 | 36 | 48 | 43 | 7 | 19 | 8 | 2 | (318) |
| < H.S. Grad. | 29 | 28 | 51 | 50 | 7 | 17 | 14 | 5 | (99) |
| Income |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$50,000+ | 38 | 35 | 48 | 40 | 9 | 23 | 5 | 2 | (288) |
| \$30,000-\$49,999 | 43 | 44 | 43 | 35 | 7 | 19 | 7 | 3 | (300) |
| \$20,000-\$29,999 | 37 | 35 | 45 | 44 | 9 | 20 | 8 | 3 | (217) |
| < \$20,000 | 24 | 21 | 59 | 59 | 7 | 17 | 11 | 4 | (257) |
| Region |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| East | 36 | 34 | 47 | 44 | 9 | 19 | 9 | 4 | (241) |
| Midwest | 33 | 33 | 49 | 42 | 8 | 21 | 11 | 4 | (329) |
| South | 39 | 39 | 44 | 45 | 8 | 15 | 9 | 2 | (435) |
| West | 31 | 26 | 53 | 46 | 10 | 25 | 6 | 4 | (148) |
| Party Affiliation |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Republican | 76 | 74 | 10 | 7 | 8 | 16 | 7 | 2 | (353) |
| Democrat | 9 | 7 | 82 | 79 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 3 | (417) |
| Independent | 29 | 26 | 43 | 38 | 15 | 33 | 13 | 3 | (344) |
| Type of Community |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| City | 31 | 28 | 54 | 51 | 7 | 18 | 8 | 2 | (286) |
| Suburb | 38 | 36 | 46 | 41 | 8 | 20 | 8 | 3 | (555) |
| Non-metro | 35 | 36 | 44 | 42 | 9 | 18 | 12 | 4 | (312) |



Other Groups
White Males
Southern White Males
White Catholics
White Protestants

| 40 | 38 | 40 | 35 | 12 | 25 | 8 | 2 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 48 | 50 | 34 | 32 | 11 | 18 | 7 | 1 |
| 41 | 35 | 44 | 41 | 8 | 20 | 8 | 4 |
| 42 | 43 | 40 | 34 | 9 | 19 | 10 | 4 |

## THE PEROT BOOM

|  | Perot As 2nd Choice |  | Perot Not A Risk |  | $N$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\overline{\text { OCT }}$ | OCT | $O C T$ | OCT |  |
|  | 8-11 | 20-22 | 8-11 | 20-22 |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 33 | 45 | 50 | 65 | (1153) |
| Sex |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male | 40 | 48 | 55 | 67 | (556) |
| Female | 27 | 42 | 45 | 63 | (597) |
| Race |  |  |  |  |  |
| White | 33 | 45 | 50 | 66 | (1012) |
| Black | 35 | 43 | 50 | 53 | (87) |
| Age |  |  |  |  |  |
| 18-29 | 40 | 54 | 59 | 72 | (199) |
| 30-49 | 33 | 46 | 53 | 68 | (537) |
| 50+ | 30 | 38 | 41 | 58 | (409) |
| Education |  |  |  |  |  |
| College Grad. | 36 | 49 | 52 | 67 | (413) |
| Some College | 31 | 42 | 54 | 68 | (322) |
| H.S. Graduate | 31 | 45 | 47 | 65 | (318) |
| < H.S. Grad. | 40 | 42 | 45 | 57 | (99) |
| Income |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$50,000+ | 32 | 44 | 49 | 67 | (288) |
| \$30,000-\$49,999 | 33 | 44 | 52 | 66 | (300) |
| \$20,000-\$29,999 | 32 | 46 | 50 | 60 | (217) |
| < \$20,000 | 39 | 44 | 50 | 65 | (257) |
| Region |  |  |  |  |  |
| East | 29 | 49 | 49 | 66 | (241) |
| Midwest | 32 | 47 | 55 | 72 | (329) |
| South | 37 | 43 | 45 | 59 | (435) |
| West | 34 | 41 | 51 | 64 | (148) |
| Party Affiliation |  |  |  |  |  |
| Republican | 32 | 46 | 46 | 64 | (353) |
| Democrat | 37 | 52 | 47 | 63 | (417) |
| Independent | 29 | 36 | 56 | 70 | (344) |
| Type of Community |  |  |  |  |  |
| City | 33 | 44 | 48 | 66 | (286) |
| Suburb | 33 | 47 | 51 | 66 | (555) |
| Non-metro | 34 | 42 | 50 | 62 | (312) |


|  | Perot As 2nd Choice |  | Perot Not A Risk |  | $\underline{N}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | OC | OCT | OCT | OCT |  |
|  | 8-11 | 20-22 | 8-11 | 20-22 |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Other Groups |  |  |  |  |  |
| White Males | 40 | 49 | 55 | 69 | (491) |
| Southern White |  |  |  |  |  |
| Males | 42 | 52 | 49 | 60 | (180) |
| White Catholics | 35 | 47 | 52 | 67 | (245) |
| White Protestants | 32 | 45 | 48 | 64 | (622) |

## THE CLINTON NEGATIVES

|  | Clinton Unreliable |  | Clinton Doesn't Tell the Truth |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & O C T \quad O C T \\ & 8-11 \quad 20-22 \end{aligned}$ |  | $O C T \quad O C T$ |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | $8-11$ | $20-2$ |  | $N$ |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |  |
| Total | 22 | 32 | 26 | 37 | (1153) |  |
| Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male | 26 | 37 | 29 | 40 | (556) |  |
| Female | 18 | 27 | 24 | 34 | (597) |  |
| Race |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| White | 23 | 34 | 28 | 40 | (1012) |  |
| Black | 7 | 9 | 7 | 13 | (87) |  |
| Age |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 18-29 | 22 | 28 | 27 | 40 | (199) |  |
| 30-49 | 23 | 35 | 30 | 40 | (537) |  |
| 50+ | 19 | 29 | 22 | 32 | (409) |  |
| Education |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| College Grad. | 24 | 36 | 30 | 40 | (413) |  |
| Some College | 20 | 32 | 27 | 38 | (322) |  |
| H.S. Graduate | 21 | 30 | 26 | 38 | (318) |  |
| < H.S. Grad. | 21 | 27 | 17 | 29 | (99) |  |
| Income |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$50,000+ | 23 | 35 | 35 | 43 | (288) |  |
| \$30,000-\$49,999 | 25 | 42 | 33 | 46 | (300) |  |
| \$20,000-\$29,999 | 23 | 30 | 25 | 34 | (217) |  |
| < \$20,000 | 16 | 21 | 17 | 27 | (257) |  |
| Region |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| East | 18 | 31 | 26 | 37 | (241) |  |
| Midwest | 18 | 31 | 23 | 38 | (329) |  |
| South | 26 | 34 | 28 | 40 | (435) |  |
| West | 22 | 29 | 26 | 33 | (148) |  |
| Party Affiliation |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Republican | 44 | 59 | 50 | 68 | (353) |  |
| Democrat | 6 | 9 | 10 | 13 | (417) |  |
| Independent | 20 | 33 | 24 | 37 | (344) |  |
| Type of Community |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| City | 19 | 25 | 23 | 34 | (286) |  |
| Suburb | 23 | 33 | 30 | 39 | (555) |  |
| Non-metro | 23 | 36 | 23 |  | (312) |  |


|  | Clinton <br> Unreliable |  | Clinton Doesn't Tell the Truth |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | OCT | OCT | OCT | OC |  |
|  | 8-11 | 20-22 | 8-11 | 20-2 |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Other Groups |  |  |  |  |  |
| White Males | 27 | 39 | 32 | 43 | (491) |
| Southern White |  |  |  |  |  |
| Males | 38 | 41 | 38 | 45 | (180) |
| White Catholics | 21 | 29 | 28 | 39 | (245) |
| White Protestants | 26 | 38 | 30 | 43 | (622) |

## Survey Methodology

The survey results are based on telephone re-interviews conducted October 20-22, 1992 of 1,153 registered voters from a nationwide survey of adults 18 years and older originally conducted October 8-11, 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 3 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 $\left(96 \%{ }^{2}\right)$.

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 socioeconomic 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.

[^1]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 threequarters ( $77 \%$ ) 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.

> PERCENT

## Enterprisers <br> 15

Moralists 13

Upbeats 10
Disaffecteds 15
Bystanders/Other 8
Seculars 9
60's Democrats 7

New Dealers 4

Pocketbook Dems. 19

## THE QUESTIONNAIRE

# TI MES MRRRR CENER FQR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS <br> NAI ONL PQ TI CAL SURVEY \#12 <br> RE-I NERM EWSURMEY <br> BASED ON REG STERED VOIERS Otcober 20-22, 1992 <br> $\mathrm{N}=1153$ 

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 AGE/SEX of respondent. It will only be a few questions to follow up to the interview we did a week ago or so.

MY FIRST QUESTION IS
Q. 1 How closely have you been following news about the Presidential election, very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

Very closely
Fairly closely
Not too closely,
Not at ally closely?
Don't know
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { Re- } & \text { Sept } & \text { Aug } & \text { May } & \text { Aug } \\ \frac{\text { Interview }}{55} & \frac{1992}{47} & \frac{1992}{36} & \frac{1992}{35} & \frac{1988}{43}\end{array}$

| 36 | 36 | 51 | 43 | 44 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

$\begin{array}{lllll}7 & 11 & 11 & 15 & 11\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{lllll}2 & 6 & 2 & 7 & 2\end{array}$
$\frac{0}{100} \quad \frac{*}{100} \quad \frac{0}{100} \quad \frac{*}{100} \quad \frac{*}{100}$ $\begin{array}{lllll}1153 & 1175 & 1023 & 1605 & 1000\end{array}$

## ON ANOIHER SUB ECT. . .

Q. 3 If the presidential election were being held today, would you vote for the Republican ticket of George Bush and Dan Quayle, for the Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton and Al Gore or for the ticket of Ross Perot and James Stockdale?

## IF RESPONDEN ANSMHRED ' 4' OIFR RR'5' UNDED DED INQ 3 ASK

Q. 5 As of today, do you lean more to Bush and Quayle the Republicans, more to Clinton and Gore the Democrats or more to Perot and Stockdale?

| Re- | $0 c t$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Interview | $\underline{8.11}$ |

Total Bush/Quayle
34
35 Bush
Lean Bush
32

Total Clinton
44
Clinton
Lean Clinton
42
48

Total Perot
Perot
Lean Perot
Ot her / Undecided

| 19 | 8 |
| ---: | ---: |
| 17 | 7 |
| 2 | 1 |

I F RESPONDEN ANSMERED' 1' GEORGE BUH '2' BI L CI NONOR' 3' PEROT INQ 3 ASK Q. 4 Do you support (INBERT CDCE PROMQ 3) strongly or only moderately?

Total Bush/Quayle Strong Bush
$\frac{3}{100}$ $\frac{9}{100}$

Moderate
Total Clinton/Gore
Strong Clinton
Moderate
Total Perot/Stockdale
Strong Perot
Moderate

Q. 6 Would you say that your choice is more a vote for (CADDDIE FROM Q3/5) or more a vote against (OIER CAND DAIES)?

| Re- | Oct |
| :--- | :--- |
| Interview | $\underline{8-11}$ |

Total Bush/Quayle
Bush/positive
Bush/against opponents
Total Clinton/Gore
Clinton/positive
Clinton/against opp.
Total Perot/Stockdale
Perot/positive
Perot/against opponents

34
19 13

44
25
$17 \quad 22$

IF RESPONDENT ANSMERED ' 1' FOR CAND DAIE OHDEN IN Q 6 ASK
Q. 7 What do you like most about (NME GF CADD DAE) his personality and character, his leadership ability, his experience or his stand on issues?

Personality and character
Leadership
26
13
25
Experience
Stand on issues
Can't say

| RE. - NTERVIEW |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| George | Bill | Ross |
| Bush | Clinton | Perot |
| 15 | 11 | 12 |
| 26 | 13 | 25 |
| 35 | 4 | 9 |
| 19 | 68 | 53 |
| $\frac{5}{100}$ | $\frac{4}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ |

## ASK AL VFO CHOEE ATI QET INQ 3 QRQ5:

Q. 8 Suppose you could have a second choice which ticket would be your second choice (OIFR TI OET) or (OHER TI CRET)?

| Bush/ Quayle | Re. <br> Interview <br> 20 | $\frac{8 \cdot 11}{18}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Clinton/Gore | 19 | 19 |
| Perot/Stockdale | 44 | 33 |
| Has no second choice | 13 | 23 |
| (DONOT READ) Other | 1 | 2 |
| (DO NOT READ) Undecided | $\frac{3}{100}$ | $\frac{5}{100}$ |

Q. 13 What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the choices?

|  | Re. Interview | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Aug } \\ & 1992 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \text { une } \\ & 1992 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { May } \\ & 1992 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Mar } \\ & \underline{19 g 2} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very satisfied S)I)t)) , | -10 | 11 | $\underline{6}$ |  |  |
| (eaty ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |  |  |  | 25 | 26 |
| Fairly satisfied S)I)) - | 41 | 42 | 29 |  |  |
| Not too satisfied St)t)t)) , | 33 | 31 | 36 |  |  |
| Not at all satisfied S)I)) - | 14 | 15 | 27 | 72 | 68 |
| ( DO NOT READ) Can't say | $\frac{2}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{2}{100}$ | $\frac{3}{100}$ | $\frac{6}{100}$ |
|  | 1153 | 1203 | 2594 | 1065 | 1366 |

${ }^{3}$ In May and March the question was asked, "What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are satisfied with the choices or not satisfied with the choices?

## IF RESPONDENT DD NOT OHOSE BUSHINQ3 RRQ5 ASK

Q. 10 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?

|  | Re. Interview | $\begin{aligned} & 0 c t \\ & 8.11 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Sept } \\ & 1992 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | July 29 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | Aug 1 | May |
|  |  |  |  | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ |
| ${ }^{4}$ Chance might vote for him | 45 | 48 | 50 | 51 | 55 |
| Decided not to vote for him | 53 | 46 | 44 | 45 | 40 |
| Can't say | $\frac{2}{100}$ | $\frac{6}{100}$ | $\frac{6}{100}$ | $\frac{4}{100}$ | $\frac{5}{100}$ 1065 |

## I F RESPONDENT DD NOT OHOSE UNTONINQ3 ORQ5 ASK

Q. 11 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?

|  | Re. <br> Interview | $\begin{aligned} & 0 c t \\ & 8.11 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Sept } \\ & 1992 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { July } \\ & \text { Aug } \\ & 1992 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { May } \\ & 1992 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ${ }^{5}$ Chance might vote for him | 55 | 62 | 66 | 71 | 56 |
| Decided not to vote for him | 43 | 32 | 28 | 26 | 38 |
| Can't say | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{2}{100} \\ & 1153 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{6}{100} \\ & 1815 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{6}{100} \\ & 1175 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{3}{100} \\ & 1023 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{6}{100} \\ & 1065 \end{aligned}$ |

[^2]
## IF RESPONDENT DD NOT OHOSE PERCT INQ 3 QRQ5 ASK

Q. 12 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Ross Perot in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

| 3 <br> Chance might vote <br> for him | $\frac{\text { Interview }}{}$ | $\frac{8.11}{}$ | $\frac{1992}{58}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Decided not to vote <br> for him | 59 | 51 |  |
| Can't say | $\frac{3}{100}$ | $\frac{8}{100}$ | $\frac{15}{100}$ |
|  | 1153 | 1815 | 1065 |

Q. 22 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?

Yes, chance

$$
\begin{array}{lllll} 
& & \text { July 29 } \\
\text { Re- } & \text { Oct } & \text { Sept } & \text { Aug1 1May } \\
\frac{\text { Interview }}{44} & \frac{8 \cdot 11}{34} & \frac{1992}{38} & \frac{1992}{37} & \frac{1992}{35}
\end{array}
$$

$$
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text { No chance } & 50 & 54 & 54 & 56 & 52
\end{array}
$$

Don't know

| $\frac{6}{100}$ | $\frac{12}{100}$ | $\frac{8}{100}$ | $\frac{7}{100}$ | $\frac{13}{100}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1153 | 1815 | 1175 | 1023 | 1065 |

Q. 23 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 CAIEGOR ES 1-3)

A big chance
Some chance
Hardly any chance
Can't say

|  |  |  | July 29 |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Re- | Oct | Sept | Aug11 May |  |
| Interview <br> 29 | $\frac{8 \cdot 11}{25}$ | $\frac{1992}{18}$ | $\frac{1992}{18}$ | $\frac{1992}{16}$ |
| 50 | 48 | 55 | 55 | 50 |
| 19 | 19 | 22 | 23 | 20 |
| $\frac{2}{100}$ | $\frac{8}{100}$ | $\frac{5}{100}$ | $\frac{4}{100}$ | $\frac{14}{100}$ |
| 1153 | 1815 | 1175 | 1023 | 1065 |

Q. 24 How much of a chance is there that if Ross Perot is elected President that he would make major mistakes that would hurt the country? (READ CAIEGORES 1-3)

| A big chance | $\frac{\text { nterview }}{31}$ | $\frac{8 \cdot 11}{40}$ | $\frac{1992}{16}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Some chance | 51 | 39 | 50 |
| Hardly any chance | 14 | 11 | 20 |
| Can't say | $\frac{4}{100}$ | $\frac{10}{100}$ | $\frac{14}{100}$ |
|  | 1153 | 1815 | 1065 |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 26 As I read a list of phrases tell me if you think this phrase better describes George Bush, Bill Clinton or Ross Perot? (ROTAIE)

| George | Bill | Ross | (VQUNIERED) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Bush | Clinton | Perot |  |  |

a. Would use good judgment in
a crisis
Re-interview 4 October 8-11, 1992

49 49

32
11
$3=100$
$\begin{array}{lllll}32 & 8 & 3 & 1 & 7=100\end{array}$
b. Personally likable

Re-interview
October 8-11, 1992
26
31
41
48
23
$\begin{array}{lll}7 & 2 & 1=100 \\ 5 & 4 & 4=100\end{array}$
c. Unreliable

Re-interview 32
32
October 8-11, 1992
29
32
$\begin{array}{lllll}21 & 30 & 4 & 5 & 11=100\end{array}$
d. A typical politician

Re-interview 41
$41 \quad 44$ October 8-11, 1992

43
44
34
3
5
9
13
$3=100$
34

6
44
44
31
2

| 2 | $2=100$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| 3 | $4=100$ |

Q. 26 As I read a list of phrases tell me if you think this phrase better describes George Bush, Bill Clinton or Ross Perot? (ROAIE)
f. Can bring about change Re-interview
October 8-11, 1992

George Bill Ross Bush clinton Perot
(VOLNETED)
All None DK $\begin{array}{llllll}17 & 46 & 28 & 3 & 2 & 4=100 \\ 17 & 49 & 19 & 4 & 5 & 6=100\end{array}$
g. Honest and truthful Re-interview

27 October 8-11, 1992

27
h. Can think long range Re-interview October 8-11, 1992
i. Is a good family man Re-interview 42 October 8-11, 1992

49
j. Intelligent

Re.interview 22 October 8-11, 1992

28

| 31 | 3 | 15 | $4=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 16 | 4 | 20 | $9=100$ |

33
35
24
16
$\begin{array}{lllll}34 & 25 & 3 & 1 & 4=100 \\ 32 & 17 & 4 & 3 & 9=100\end{array}$

21
23
1
$\begin{array}{rrrr}18 & 14 & 1 & 4=100 \\ 9 & 10 & 1 & 8=100\end{array}$

Re-interview
k. Cares about people like me Re-interview

2438
$\begin{array}{llll}26 & 3 & 6 & 3=100 \\ 12 & 4 & 9 & 6=100\end{array}$
I. Is a strong leader Re-interview 39 October 8-11, 1992

42
m. Power hungry

Re-interview
October 8-11, 1992
25
23
31
22
n. Would bend the rules to
get things done
Re-interview 19
October 8-11, 1992
24

| 29 | 37 | 7 | 2 | $6=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: |
| 27 | 29 | 8 | 2 | $10=100$ |

o. Doesn't tell the truth Re-interview

31
37
$\begin{array}{lllr}3 & 15 & 6 & 8=100 \\ 8 & 17 & 6 & 13=100\end{array}$


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ How To Read Table - $35 \%$ of voters said they supported George Bush when first called. In the second interview, that group was composed of $30 \%$ who still supported Bush, $1 \%$ Clinton, 4\% Perot and one half of a percent undecided.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

[^2]:    ${ }^{4}$ Voted for him in one of the preference questions.
    ${ }^{5}$ Voted for him in one of the preference questions.

