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The People, The Press & Politics
Campaign '92:
Voters Say 'THUMBS UP'
To Campaign, Process & Coverage
Survey XIII

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VOTER SATISFACTION MUCH HIGHER THAN IN 1988

The American electorate feels better about itself and better about the campaign process than it did four years ago. A panel back post-mortem survey of voters conducted the weekend following the election found 77% of Americans thinking they learned enough during the campaign to make an informed choice between President George Bush, Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas and Independent candidate Ross Perot. Only 59% held that view in a 1988 *Times Mirror* survey taken days after the Bush - Dukakis contest.

Voters grade the performance of the press, the pollsters, the political parties and most campaign participants better than they did four years ago. But Americans reserved the biggest boost in grades for their own conduct. Sixty-one percent of *Times Mirror*'s respondents gave "*the voters*" a grade of "A" or "B" in the current survey. Four years ago just 49% of respondents interviewed days after the end of Campaign '88 made the same evaluation of their own electoral behavior.

A large part of the increased satisfaction with this year's struggle for the presidency appears to be related to a feeling among voters that "issues" played an important role in the campaign. By a 59% to 34% margin voters felt there was *more*, rather than less discussion of issues when compared to previous election campaigns. This view was more prevalent among Clinton supporters (67%) and Perot supporters (58%), than among those who said they voted for George Bush (48%).

More specifically, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot's backers most often cited their candidate's stand on issues as the reason for their support (Bush voters most often mentioned opposition to other candidates, or to party loyalty as the principal motivating factor).

Debates Lauded

Just as issues were seen as more important in this campaign than in the past, so the presidential candidate debates were seen as more helpful. Seventy percent of respondents in the current poll said the debates were helpful in deciding who to vote for. Four years ago, just 48% of voters in a *Times Mirror* post-election survey rated the debates as helpful.

The debates made the greatest difference this year to voters under fifty years of age, whose increased participation appears to have played an important role in higher voter turnout. Eighty-one percent of voters under 30 rated the debates as helpful, as did 73% of voters 30-49. Significantly fewer voters 50 & older (61%) believed the debates were as helpful to them.

Increased satisfaction with the campaign process was also more evident among younger voters, than among voters 50 and older. The percentage feeling that they made an informed choice this year rose much more among younger voters than among voters 50 and older, and younger Americans also gave "*the voters*" a bigger pat on the back than did older elements of the electorate.

	All	18-29	30-49	50+
<u>Feel They Learned Enough to Make An Informed Choice</u>				
1988	59	61	58	59
1992	77	81	79	72
<u>Rated Voter Performance "A" or "B"</u>				
1988	49	58	44	50
1992	61	69	65	53

Clinton Voters More Satisfied than Bush Voters In '88

An important element in the mood about this election is that Clinton voters feel better about themselves and the process than did Bush voters four years ago. Eighty-one percent of Bill Clinton's voters feel they learned enough from the campaign to make an informed choice. In contrast, only 68% of Bush voters felt that way in Times Mirror's 1988 post-mortem panel back survey. Similarly, 73% of Clinton's '92 supporters gave the "voters" a grade of "A" or "B", while in 1988 just 59% of Bush backers so rated the electorate.

Another difference in post-election moods is that Bush supporters in '92 are not nearly as down on the process as were Dukakis supporters in '88. Only 49% of the Massachusetts Governor's supporters thought they had learned enough to make an informed choice between candidates and as many as 28% graded the "voters" "D" or "F" in Times Mirror's November 1988 post-election survey.

Most Campaign Ratings Rise

Overall, in 1992 the electorate took a somewhat more positive view of most of the presidential campaign elements than four years ago - 36% rated the press "A" or "B" for its campaign coverage, compared to 30% who gave the press good grades after the '88 campaign. But the percentage giving the press a "D" or "F" for its campaign performance remained relatively high (31% in '92, 35% in '88).

Campaign consultants also got a somewhat better grade from the voters than four years ago. But it is most noteworthy that voters in 1992 were not as able to evaluate the role of the campaign consultants as they were four years ago when the campaign operators came under fire for their impact on the campaign (25% could not rate campaign consultants in '92 vs. 16% in '88).

Similarly, pollsters got better grades in 1992 as fewer American voters could express an opinion of their efforts than in 1988 (12% vs 6%). The Republican and Democratic parties traded performance ratings in the two elections; however Bill Clinton was given a better grade for his campaign conduct in 1992 than was George Bush in 1988.

For all the debate about the new prominence of talk show hosts in electoral politics, nearly one in five voters could not evaluate their conduct in this campaign. However, on average, talk show hosts received better grades from those who could rate them than did the press. Only half as many gave talk show hosts "D's" or "F's" (17%) as rated the press "D" or "F" (31%).

	% Who Rated Each an A or B		Average Grade	
	1992	1988	1992	1988
Bill Clinton	64	38 ¹	2.3	2.8
The voters	61	49	2.2	2.6
The Democratic Party	58	35	2.4	2.9
Ross Perot	47	NA	2.7	NA
The pollsters	47	39	2.5	2.8
Talk Show Hosts	39	NA	2.7	NA
The press	36	30	3.0	3.2
The campaign consultants	33	26	2.7	3.0
George Bush	31	49	3.2	2.7
The Republican Party	29	43	3.2	2.8

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A=1 B=2 C=3 D=4 F=5

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Perot Ads Informative, Not Effective

Throughout the month of October, Times Mirror measured the reactions of voters on an on-going basis to the advertising of the three campaigns. Perot and Clinton's ads were given better grades consistently for being convincing than were George Bush's ads. But for the most part few voters gave any of the advertisements very high grades for making a good case to vote for the candidate paying for the ads. In particular, Times Mirror's research found 72% of voters feeling that they learned a lot from Ross Perot's half hour infomercials. However, only 40% said the billionaire's commercials made them more likely to vote for him.

The current survey finds a similar judgment from voters *after* the election. Just 38% said they thought the candidates were "very" or "fairly" helpful in deciding which candidate to vote for, while most (59%) saw commercials as "not too" or "not at all" helpful. When asked which candidate ran the most informative commercials, mentions of Perot (55%) outnumbered *combined* mentions of Bush (8%) or Clinton (20%) by nearly two to one.

Positive views of Perot's infomercials notwithstanding, candidate commercials were given a lower rating as an information source in this election than in the past. The percentage of voters saying they learned more about candidates' positions on issues from news reports than from

¹ Clinton's numbers are compared to Dukakis' in 1988.

campaign commercials rose to 74% in '92 from 63% in 1990. In 1992, only 22% said they learned more about a candidate's position on the issues from commercials, compared to 28% in 1990.

As in 1990, news reports enjoyed a much narrower margin over campaign commercials as the medium that provided a better idea of what the candidates are like personally - 58% chose news reports, but as many as 35% chose campaign commercials in the current survey.

Partisan Views of the Press

On balance voters have a better opinion of the press' performance in this campaign, because Democrats have a better view of the press than they did four years ago. In both 1988 and 1992, only 23% of Republicans grade the press "A" or "B" for their conduct in the campaign. Independents also graded the press about the same after both elections (31% "A" or "B" in '92, 29% in '88). However, the percentage of Democrats giving the press high marks for campaign coverage rose from 37% in '88 to 50% in the current survey.

Reflecting Republican disquiet with the press, the percentage of voters who thought that the press was *unfair* in the way it covered George Bush steadily increased over the course of the campaign. In March, only 13% of voters believed the press was being unfair to the President. By mid-September that sentiment grew to 22%. In the current survey, 35% took the view that the press was unfair to Bush in its coverage while 61% saw the press as *fair* in its coverage.

Comparatively, 77% believed the press was *fair* to Clinton and 67% believed the press was *fair* to Ross Perot. As shown in the table below, Republicans had a vastly different view of the fairness of the press to the Bush campaign than did either Democrats *or* Independents.

	All Voters	Reps	Dems	Inds
Percent Think Coverage of Each Was Fair				
Bush	61	41	80	62
Clinton	77	73	83	75
Perot	67	61	75	61

While the percentage of voters who thought that the press was unfair to George Bush grew over the course of the campaign, the percentage of voters thinking that the press played too intrusive a role in the campaign process diminished. Fifty-eight percent held that view in February, 54% in September and 46% in Times Mirror's post-election survey.

Again, political partisanship is evident in the evolving view of the press. All of the decline in the percentage saying that the press plays too great a role occurred among Democrats and Independents. Republicans were as likely in November as in February to subscribe to this view.

	All Voters	Reps	Dems	Inds
Percent Think Press Had Too Much Influence				
February	58	62	55	58
November	46	65	29	47

Patterns Of Support From The Panel Back

* Voters made up their minds later in this election - 24% decided in the final week in 1992, compared to 15% in 1988. However, as *most* polls indicated, there was no indication of a narrowing margin among final week deciders (see Table 4).

* *Disaffecteds* strayed the most from their '88 voting pattern. Although Bush carried this group of angry and financially, hard-pressed voters four years ago, Clinton won the vote of Disaffecteds with 36%, as Bush and Perot divided the rest 26% and 27% respectively.

* In the end, Bush carried *Upbeats*, the other independent Republican leaning group in the *Times Mirror Typology*. After flirting with Clinton for much of the early part of the campaign, 45% of this young, moderate group supported Bush, 32% Clinton and 17% Perot.

* As usual, Vice Presidential candidates did not count much on election day. One percent of Bush's supporters said they supported the ticket mostly because of Quayle and 2% because they opposed Gore or Stockdale. Similarly, 2% of Clinton backers said they supported the Democratic ticket because of opposition to the other VP candidates.

* Parties counted less in this election as well. In 1988 one in three Bush and Dukakis voters said their votes were more for the parties, than for the candidates personally. In 1992, this was the opinion of just 19% of Bush's supporters and 26% of Clinton's.

* The panel back revealed that only 51% of Clinton voters supported him when first interviewed by Times Mirror in June. In contrast, Perot hung on to only 33% of his original June base, which was the high watermark of his popular support. More than a fourth of Perot's voters (28%) came to him in the fall, not having backed him until *after* he re-entered the race.

* Four years ago, Times Mirror found the post-election party allegiances of its panel back sample of voters dividing 33% Republican, 34% Democrat and 33% Independent. The current survey finds 30% Republican, 37% Democrat and 33% Independent. As many Perot voters continue to identify with the major parties - 26% Republican, 23% Democrat - after the election, as identified with them when asked in June - 26% Republican, 24% Democrat.

Table 1

PERCENT LEARNED ENOUGH FROM THE CAMPAIGN TO MAKE AN INFORMED CHOICE

	<u>Nov. 1992</u>	<u>Nov. 1988</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
<i>Total</i>	77	59	+18
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	76	61	+15
Female	77	57	+20
<i>Race</i>			
White	76	60	+16
Black	80	46	+34
<i>Age</i>			
18-29	81	61	+20
30-49	79	58	+21
50+	72	59	+13
<i>Education</i>			
College Grad.	84	65	+19
Some College	77	58	+19
H.S. Graduate	74	57	+17
< H.S. Grad.	70	56	+14
<i>Income</i>			
\$50,000+	81	63	+18
\$30,000-\$49,999	79	59	+20
\$20,000-\$29,999	78	61	+17
< \$20,000	75	54	+21
<i>Region</i>			
East	79	59	+20
Midwest	75	58	+20
South	77	60	+17
West	74	59	+15
<i>Party Affiliation</i>			
Republican	76	71	+5
Democrat	83	54	+29
Independent	71	52	+19
<i>Vote</i>			
Bush	76	68	N/A
Clinton in '92/ Dukakis in '88	81	49	N/A
Perot	70		N/A

	<u>Nov. 1992</u>	<u>Nov. 1988</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
<i>Other Groups</i>			
White Males	76	N/A	N/A
Southern White Males	75	N/A	N/A
White Catholics	75	N/A	N/A
White Protestants	76	N/A	N/A
<i>Typology Groups</i>			
Enterprisers	79	78	+1
Moralists	75	71	+4
Upbeats	78	61	+17
Disaffecteds	66	50	+16
Seculars	72	54	+18
60's Democrats	88	61	+27
New Dealers	79	59	+20
Pocket Book Democrats	84	46	+38

Table 2

VOTERS GRADE THE "VOTERS"

	<i>Nov. 1992</i> <u><i>A or B</i></u>	<i>Nov. 1988</i> <u><i>A or B</i></u>	<u><i>Diff.</i></u>
<i>Total</i>	61	49	+12
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	62	50	+12
Female	61	48	+13
<i>Race</i>			
White	60	49	+11
Black	74	54	+20
<i>Age</i>			
18-29	69	58	+11
30-49	65	44	+21
50+	53	50	+3
<i>Education</i>			
College Grad.	65	45	+20
Some College	62	46	+16
H.S. Graduate	59	51	+8
< H.S. Grad.	61	53	+8
<i>Income</i>			
\$50,000+	59	45	+14
\$30,000-\$49,999	63	49	+14
\$20,000-\$29,999	59	52	+7
< \$20,000	67	50	+17
<i>Region</i>			
East	64	45	+19
Midwest	61	45	+16
South	59	55	+4
West	62	49	+13
<i>Party Affiliation</i>			
Republican	49	59	-10
Democrat	72	43	+29
Independent	62	45	+17
<i>Vote</i>			
Bush	50	59	N/A
Clinton in '92/ Dukakis in '88	73	37	N/A
Perot	59		N/A

	<i>Nov. 1992</i> <u><i>A or B</i></u>	<i>Nov. 1988</i> <u><i>A or B</i></u>	<u><i>Diff.</i></u>
<i>Other Groups</i>			
White Males	61	N/A	N/A
Southern White Males	58	N/A	N/A
White Catholics	60	N/A	N/A
White Protestants	61	N/A	N/A
<i>Typology Groups</i>			
Enterprisers	43	54	-11
Moralists	53	61	-8
Upbeats	59	54	+5
Disaffecteds	56	50	+6
Seculars	68	34	+34
60's Democrats	83	37	+46
New Dealers	56	47	+9
Pocket Book Democrats	75	50	+25

Table 3

VOTERS GRADE THE "PRESS"

	Nov. 1988	November 1992			1992-1988
	<u>A or B</u>	<u>A or B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D or F</u>	<i>Diff.</i> <u>A or B</u>
<i>Total</i>	29	36	29	31	+7
<i>Sex</i>					
Male	27	37	28	33	+10
Female	32	35	31	30	+3
<i>Race</i>					
White	28	32	31	34	+4
Black	43	58	21	14	+15
<i>Age</i>					
18-29	36	36	34	27	0
30-49	28	38	28	33	+10
50+	29	33	28	31	+4
<i>Education</i>					
College	24	31	31	36	+7
Some College	26	33	28	37	+7
H.S. Grad.	32	34	33	30	+2
< H.S.	36	51	22	17	+15
<i>Income</i>					
\$50,000+	24	28	31	40	+4
\$30,000-49,999	28	33	28	34	+5
\$20,000-29,999	30	38	33	28	+8
< \$20,000	36	44	28	22	+8
<i>Region</i>					
East	28	36	28	31	+8
Midwest	26	31	32	33	+5
South	34	45	24	27	+11
West	28	28	37	34	0
<i>Party Affiliation</i>					
Republican	23	23	28	46	0
Democrat	37	50	27	18	+13
Independent	29	31	35	32	+2
<i>Vote</i>					
Bush	25	18	28	50	N/A
Clinton in '92/ Dukakis in '88	36	54	30	12	N/A
Perot		24	32	41	N/A

	<i>Nov. 1988</i>	<i>November 1992</i>			<i>Diff.</i>	<i>1992-1988</i>
	<u><i>A or B</i></u>	<u><i>A or B</i></u>	<u><i>C</i></u>	<u><i>D or F</i></u>		<u><i>A or B</i></u>
<i>Other Groups</i>						
White Males	N/A	34	29	35		N/A
Southern White Males	N/A	38	28	32		N/A
White Catholics	N/A	34	30	34		N/A
White Protestants	N/A	32	30	34		N/A
<i>Typology Groups</i>						
Enterprisers	17	17	29	50		0
Moralists	21	27	23	46		+6
Upbeats	28	30	36	29		+2
Disaffecteds	26	32	29	37		+6
Seculars	27	47	33	20		+20
60's Democrats	38	45	26	27		+7
New Dealers	36	53	31	13		+17
Pocket Book Democrats	38	49	30	15		+11

Table 4

WHEN VOTERS MADE UP THEIR MIND

	VOTED FOR:				<i>Other D/R</i>
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>	
<u>Made Up Mind:</u>					
During Election Week	24	29	41	29	1=100
During the Debates	13	29	43	28	0=100
Between When Perot Re-entered Race In September and When He Dropped Out	19	33	53	14	0=100
During the Primaries	18	29	61	10	0=100
Before 1992/Some Other Time	20	49	41	9	1=100
No Answer	$\frac{6}{100}$				

Table 5

**PRESIDENTIAL VOTE/PREFERENCE
BY TYPOLOGY GROUP**

	<i>OCTOBER 8-12</i>			<i>OCTOBER 20-22</i>			<i>NOVEMBER 5-8</i>			<i>N</i>
	<i>BUSH</i>	<i>CLINT.</i>	<i>PEROT</i>	<i>BUSH</i>	<i>CLINT.</i>	<i>PEROT</i>	<i>BUSH</i>	<i>CLINT.</i>	<i>PEROT</i>	
<i>TOTAL</i>	35	48	8	34	44	19	32	45	17	(1012)
<i>ENTERPRISERS</i>	76	8	9	74	5	19	69	9	21	(121)
<i>MORALISTS</i>	77	9	7	80	5	13	68	12	13	(161)
<i>UPBEATS</i>	45	34	8	40	36	20	45	32	17	(111)
<i>DISAFFECTEDS</i>	28	42	15	24	38	31	26	36	27	(96)
<i>SECULARS</i>	12	75	9	7	72	22	9	69	10	(89)
<i>60'S DEMOCRATS</i>	7	87	3	6	80	11	12	66	17	(105)
<i>NEW DEALERS</i>	16	71	2	16	68	16	14	71	11	(56)
<i>POCKET BOOK DEMOCRATS</i>	8	83	4	8	80	10	5	83	10	(167)
<i>BYSTANDERS/ OTHER</i>	43	30	12	32	26	36	23	44	30	(106)

Survey Methodology

The survey results are based on telephone re-interviews conducted November 5-8, 1992 of 1,012 voters from a nationwide survey of adults 18 years and older originally conducted May 28-June 10, 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 (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>	16
<i>Upbeats</i>	11
<i>Disaffecteds</i>	9
<i>Bystanders/Other</i>	10
<i>Seculars</i>	9
<i>60's Democrats</i>	10
<i>New Dealers</i>	6
<i>Pocketbook Dems.</i>	17

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
 RE-INTERVIEW SURVEY
 POLL XIII
 November 5-8, 1992
 N=1,012

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 month or so ago.

MY FIRST QUESTION IS:

Q.1 Did you happen to vote for George Bush for Bill Clinton or for Ross Perot for President?

Q.2 Would you say that your vote was more a vote for (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.1) or more a vote against (THE OTHER TICKET)?

		Nov 1988
32	George Bush total	53
21	Pro-Bush	39
10	Anti-others	12
1	Undesignated	2
45	Bill Clinton total	43 ³
33	Pro-Clinton	25
10	Anti-others	16
2	Undesignated	2
17	Ross Perot total	NA
13	Pro-Perot	NA
4	Anti-others	NA
*	Undesignated	NA
6	Other/Don't know/ Can't remember	4
100		100

³ The following numbers are for Dukakis/Bentsen in 1988.

- Q. 3 Was your choice more of a vote for **(CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q. 1)** personally or more of a vote for the **(Republican/Democratic)** party?
- Q. 4 What do you like most about **(NAME OF CANDIDATE)** his personality and character, his leadership ability, his experience or his stand on issues?
- Q. 5 Was your choice more of a vote against **(CANDIDATE OPPOSED IN Q. 1)** personally, more of a vote against his running mate, or more of a vote against the **(Republican/Democratic)** party?

	George <u>Bush</u>	Bill <u>Clinton</u>	Ross <u>Perot</u>
Reasons for positive support	66	72	77
Party	19	26	NA
Vice Presidential candidate	1	0	NA
Candidate qualities total	43	43	77
Personality	7	6 ⁴	10 ⁵
Leadership	12	6	14
Experience	10	2	9
Stand on issues	14	27	43
All others	3	3	0
Reasons for negative support	31	23	22
Against other opponents personally	16	11	9
Against opponent's party	11	7	7
Against opponent's running mate	2	2	1
All other negative supporters	2	3	5

THERE IS NO Q. 6

⁴ The following numbers do not add up to total candidate qualities (43%) due to the exclusion of respondents who answered don't know.

⁵ The following numbers do not add up to total candidate qualities (77%) due to the exclusion of respondents who answered don't know.

ASK ALL:

Q. 7 When did you make up your mind definitely to vote for (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR)? (INTERVIEWER: GET TIME AS SPECIFICALLY AS POSSIBLE)

	Nov <u>1988</u>
9 On Election Day	6
4 On Monday	3
4 Over the last week-end	2
8 In the last week	4
12 During or just after the Presidential Debates	
1 After the Vice-Presidential Debate	
3 When Perot reentered the race	
4 In September, after the Conventions	
3 During or after the Republican Convention	
6 During or after the Democratic Convention	
4 When Perot dropped out of the race	
18 This year, before the summer, during the primaries	
12 Before 1992	
8 Other time	
2 Don't know/Can't remember	

Q. 8 Now that the campaign is over, how satisfied were you with the choice of presidential candidates? Would you say that you were very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied?

	Nov <u>1988</u>
24 Very satisfied	<u>26</u>
37 Fairly satisfied	36
21 Not very satisfied	20
16 Not at all satisfied	17
<u>2</u> 100 Don't know	<u>1</u> 100

Q. 9 During this campaign, did you feel you learned enough about the candidates and the issues to make an informed choice between Bush, Clinton and Perot or did you find it difficult to choose because you felt you did not learn enough from the campaign?

		Nov <u>1988</u>
77	Learned enough to make an informed choice	59
20	Did not learn enough from the campaign	39
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know	<u>2</u> 100

Q. 10 How helpful were the presidential debates to you in deciding which candidate to vote for? Would you say they were very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful?

		Nov <u>1988</u>
31	Very helpful	<u>13</u>
39	Somewhat helpful	35
11	Not too helpful	24
13	Not at all helpful	25
5	DIDN'T WATCH THE DEBATES	3
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know	<u>*</u> 100

Q. 11 Students are often given the grades A, B, C, D, or Fail to describe the quality of their work. Looking back over the campaign, what grade would you give to each of the following groups for the way they conducted themselves in the campaign? First... (ROTATE)

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>Fail</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. The press November, 1988	11 8	25 22	29 33	16 19	15 16	4=100 2=100
b. The pollsters November, 1988	15 13	31 29	27 29	9 12	6 11	12=100 6=100
c. The talk show hosts	10	29	25	8	9	19=100
d. The campaign consultants November, 1988	7 5	26 20	31 37	7 14	4 8	25=100 16=100
e. The Republican party November, 1988	4 11	25 34	34 31	18 12	15 10	4=100 2=100
f. The Democratic party November, 1988	18 7	40 26	26 45	6 13	6 7	4=100 2=100
g. George Bush November, 1988	4 15	26 34	33 26	18 13	16 11	3=100 1=100
h. Bill Clinton	26	38	21	7	5	3=100
i. Ross Perot	17	30	27	13	10	3=100
j. The voters November, 1988	32 18	29 31	20 28	5 10	5 7	9=100 6=100

Q. 12 How helpful were the candidates' commercials to you in deciding which candidate to vote for? Would you say they were very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful?

10	Very helpful
28	Somewhat helpful
28	Not too helpful
31	Not at all helpful
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know

Q. 13 Which candidate, if any, ran the most informative commercials George Bush, Bill Clinton or Ross Perot?

8 Bush
20 Clinton
55 Perot
6 None
 $\frac{11}{100}$ Don't know

Q. 14 Compared to past presidential elections, would you say there was more discussion of issues in this campaign or less discussion of issues?

59 More
34 Less
4 Same (VOL)
 $\frac{3}{100}$ Can't say

Q. 15 Compared to past presidential elections, would you say there was more mud slinging in this campaign or less mud slinging in this campaign?

68 More
16 Less
14 Same (VOL)
 $\frac{2}{100}$ Can't say

Q.16 How did you get most of your news about the Presidential election campaign? From television, from newspapers, from radio or from magazines? (ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' TELEVISION IN Q.16 ASK:

Q.17 Do you get most of your news about the presidential campaign from network tv news, from local tv news, or from CNN? (ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS)

Nov 1992		Sept 1992	June 1992	May 1992	Mar 1992	Feb 1992
82	Television	83	84	86	83	80
55	Network	37	50	46	41	40
29	Local	36	38	40	32	37
29	CNN	33	34	34	30	29
2	Other	4	2	4	2	2
1	Can't say	2	1	1	2	1
116*		112*	125*	125*	107*	109*
57	Newspapers	49	55	51	48	49
12	Radio	13	18	17	14	18
9	Magazines	5	7	6	4	4
6	Other	4	4	3	3	3
1	Can't say	1	*	1	*	1
167**			155**	168**	164**	152** 155**

*Total exceeds the % who mentioned tv due to multiple responses

**Total exceeds 100% due to multiple responses

Q. 17a Which gave you a better idea of where the presidential candidates stood on issues - news reports or tv commercials and advertisements about the candidates?

		Nov <u>1990</u>
74	News reports	<u>63</u>
22	Candidates commercials and advertisements	28
<u>4</u> 100	No opinion	<u>9</u> 100

Q. 17b Which gave you a better idea of what the candidates were like personally - news reports or candidates tv commercials and advertisements?

		Nov <u>1990</u>
58	News reports	<u>53</u>
35	Candidates commercials and advertisements	38
<u>7</u> 100	No opinion	<u>9</u> 100

Q. 18 How much influence do you think news organizations had on the outcome of this year's Presidential election: too much, too little or about the right amount? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

		<u>BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS</u>		
		Sept <u>1992</u>	Feb <u>1992</u>	Oct <u>1988</u>
46	Too much	<u>54</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>58</u>
2	Too little	4	6	3
49	About the right amount	37	32	36
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know	<u>5</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100
		(1175)	(984)	(2006)

Q. 19 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered George Bush's election campaign?

		Sept <u>1992</u>	March <u>1992</u>
61	Fair	<u>71</u>	<u>79</u>
35	Unfair	22	13
<u>4</u> 100	Don't know	<u>7</u> 100 (575)	<u>8</u> 100 (924)

Q. 20 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered Bill Clinton's election campaign?

		Sept <u>1992</u>	March <u>1992</u>
77	Fair	<u>74</u>	<u>70</u>
19	Unfair	21	22
<u>4</u> 100	Don't know	<u>5</u> 100 (575)	<u>8</u> 100 (924)

Q. 21 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered Ross Perot's election campaign?

67	Fair
27	Unfair
<u>6</u> 100	Don't know

Q. 22 In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

30	Republican - GO TO Q. 24
37	Democrat - GO TO Q. 24
28	Independent
3	No Preference
1	Other party
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know

Q.23 Would you say you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

40 Republican

38 Democratic

22 Don't know
100

ONE LAST QUESTION....

Q.24 As part of this project, some of the information in this survey will be used to prepare newspaper articles and ads. Would you be willing to talk about your views with another person from this project?

65 Yes, willing to talk about views

35 No, not willing to talk about views
100