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**Voter Typology**

**DOLE FAILS WITH POPULISTS, GOP MODERATES**

**CLINTON UNITES DEMS, GAINS WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENTS**

**Also Inside ...**

- \* Age and sex gaps divide Congressional vote.
- \* Moderate Reps, Populists split tickets.
- \* Less anger at government.
- \* Media has 'too much influence' on election.

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## Voter Typology

### **DOLE FAILS WITH POPULISTS, GOP MODERATES**

### **CLINTON UNITES DEMS, GAINS WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENTS**

After two presidential debates and six weeks of the general campaign Bill Clinton's lead over Bob Dole is as large as it was in early September. The course of the race has changed little with the passing of each important campaign milestone. The only observable consequence of the debates is that the percentage of voters who say they might switch to Bob Dole is lower than it was just prior to the first debate (11% vs. 16%). The Pew voter typology, which divides the electorate by core values, finds Dole unable to forge a coalition of staunch conservatives, moderates and populists.

#### **Presidential Voting Intentions**

|          | ---Registered Voters--- |             |             |            | --- Likely Voters --- |             |            |
|----------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------------------|-------------|------------|
|          | Early                   |             | Late        |            | Early                 | Late        |            |
|          | <u>July</u>             | <u>Sept</u> | <u>Sept</u> | <u>Oct</u> | <u>Sept</u>           | <u>Sept</u> | <u>Oct</u> |
|          | %                       | %           | %           | %          | %                     | %           | %          |
| Clinton  | 44                      | 52          | 51          | 51         | 50                    | 50          | 50         |
| Dole     | 34                      | 34          | 35          | 34         | 38                    | 38          | 38         |
| Perot    | 16                      | 8           | 7           | 8          | 7                     | 6           | 6          |
| DK/Other | <u>6</u>                | <u>6</u>    | <u>7</u>    | <u>7</u>   | <u>5</u>              | <u>6</u>    | <u>6</u>   |
|          | 100                     | 100         | 100         | 100        | 100                   | 100         | 100        |

The unchanged standings also reflect the breadth of the Clinton coalition. The President is getting strong support from the left, right and center of his own party and has won over working class Independents who had big doubts about him as recently as a year ago.

In stark contrast, Dole has not only failed to attract Independents, but he has been unable to rally key Republican segments. His support is weak among economically squeezed populist conservatives. He has also turned off moderate economic conservatives, with whom Bill Clinton has made inroads. Dole only gets overwhelming support from Republicans who are *both* economically *and* socially conservative.

The Pew Research Center's voter classification system (typology) categorizes voters based on their political values, party affiliation, and political participation into ten groups -- four Democratic, three Independent and three Republican.<sup>1</sup> In the summer of 1994 when voter support was about equally divided between Clinton (39%) and Dole (36%), and when Perot had a larger following (20%), moderate Democratic groups were not enthusiastic about the President.

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<sup>1</sup> The Typology is described in an appendix to this report (see pages 14-15).

But in the current survey, right-of-center Democrats give Clinton a strong vote of confidence. Fully 86% of moderate New Democrats say they would vote for Clinton if the election were being held today, as do 74% of older, socially conservative New Dealers. More liberal groups are even more enthusiastic. Nine out of ten voters among the liberal Seculars and among the disadvantaged Partisan Poor favor Clinton.

A profile of left of center groups in this election follows.

New Democrats (moderate on economic issues, strong environmentalists) Clinton has gained 25 % points with this group since 1994. Opinions of Dole have turned sharply negative (62% unfavorable now vs. 34% in 1994). Clinton is not seen as weak on personal character. His record and presidential attributes impress this group.

New Dealers (older, unionist, socially conservative) Clinton's support is weakest and hostility to him strongest (23% unfavorable) here among all Democratic groups. But New Dealers have also turned against Dole (80% unfavorable, vs. 43% in 1994). The character issue dogs Clinton with this group, but he wins points on Medicare (by 57% to 5%, they prefer his position over Dole's). A key attraction for many is that Clinton sidetracked GOP Congressional efforts. New Dealers, who often defected to Ronald Reagan, are the Democratic group least satisfied with the quality of the presidential candidates this year. One in three (30%) would prefer a GOP Congress if Clinton is re-elected.

Seculars (tolerant, progressive, low religious practice) These affluent liberals are most likely to cite party (perhaps a surrogate for ideology) as their main reason for backing Clinton. Worried that health care, education and other social issues are being overlooked, Seculars prefer Clinton over Dole on Medicare by a margin of 65% to 4%. Three-quarters (74%) think Dole's tax cut would be the wrong thing for the country. The group is most likely to express anti-incumbent sentiment in the race for Congress.

| <b>Left of Center Groups</b> |                          |                         |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
|                              | July<br><u>1994</u><br>% | Oct<br><u>1996</u><br>% |
| <i>Seculars:</i>             |                          |                         |
| Clinton                      | 73                       | 90                      |
| Dole                         | 10                       | 2                       |
| Perot                        | 14                       | 2                       |
| DK                           | <u>3</u>                 | <u>6</u>                |
|                              | 100                      | 100                     |
| <i>New Democrats:</i>        |                          |                         |
| Clinton                      | 61                       | 86                      |
| Dole                         | 15                       | 5                       |
| Perot                        | 18                       | 4                       |
| DK                           | <u>6</u>                 | <u>5</u>                |
|                              | 100                      | 100                     |
| <i>New Dealers:</i>          |                          |                         |
| Clinton                      | 65                       | 74                      |
| Dole                         | 14                       | 10                      |
| Perot                        | 19                       | 12                      |
| DK                           | <u>2</u>                 | <u>4</u>                |
|                              | 100                      | 100                     |
| <i>Partisan Poor:</i>        |                          |                         |
| Clinton                      | 71                       | 92                      |
| Dole                         | 10                       | 4                       |
| Perot                        | 16                       | 3                       |
| DK                           | <u>3</u>                 | <u>1</u>                |
|                              | 100                      | 100                     |

Partisan Poor (disadvantaged, pro-social welfare) This reliably Democratic group now supports Clinton at the same level as it does Democratic Congressional candidates (90%). It cares little about the character issue. Instead, like New Dealers, it is more likely to prefer Clinton because he stymied GOP Congressional efforts. Economically anxious and concerned about the safety net, this group prefers Clinton's position on Medicare over Dole's, 73% to 6%.

***Fractious Republicans***

There is much less unity among Republican groups. Only two in three populists (Moralists) are backing Dole. The former Senate Majority leader has actually lost a lot of ground among Libertarians since 1994, and is trailing Clinton among them. However, hardcore conservatives, who intensely dislike the President, are solidly behind Dole.

Enterprisers (affluent economic and social conservatives) This is one of two groups in which Dole has gained ground since 1994. Although strongly anti-Clinton (61% very unfavorable opinion), even this classic GOP group lacks enthusiasm for the GOP presidential nominee: nearly half (44%) say they are voting for Dole mainly because they don't like his opponents. Enterprisers are the only group in the electorate with a majority (61%) believing the Dole tax cut is good for the country.

Moralists (social conservatives, critical of big business and big government) The most economically anxious group among Republicans, Moralists are not convinced they will be better off with Dole in the White House. They don't think a 15% tax cut would be good for the country. They believe labor unions and business corporations have too much influence on who becomes President (57% and 62%, respectively). One-in-three (33%) have very unfavorable views of the President.

Libertarians (socially tolerant, conservatives) These moderates are unimpressed by Dole and his tax proposal. In fact, more of them have a favorable opinion of Clinton than Dole (53% vs. 35%), and more believe a 15% tax cut would be the wrong rather than the right thing for the country (50% vs. 40%). Moral appeals and Clinton's character problems have little impact on Libertarians. Two-thirds (67%) say Clinton's record is what matters most, while only 16% think character is most important. Among Republican groups Libertarians feel most strongly that churches have *too much* influence on who gets elected President.

| <b>Right of Center Groups</b> |              |             |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-------------|
|                               | July<br>1994 | Oct<br>1996 |
|                               | %            | %           |
| <i>Enterprisers:</i>          |              |             |
| Clinton                       | 7            | 6           |
| Dole                          | 79           | 88          |
| Perot                         | 10           | 3           |
| DK                            | <u>4</u>     | <u>3</u>    |
|                               | 100          | 100         |
| <i>Moralists:</i>             |              |             |
| Clinton                       | 11           | 20          |
| Dole                          | 63           | 66          |
| Perot                         | 22           | 7           |
| DK                            | <u>4</u>     | <u>7</u>    |
|                               | 100          | 100         |
| <i>Libertarians:</i>          |              |             |
| Clinton                       | 20           | 39          |
| Dole                          | 57           | 34          |
| Perot                         | 17           | 12          |
| DK                            | <u>6</u>     | <u>15</u>   |
|                               | 100          | 100         |

**Independents**

While party unity and the lack of it are big factors in the race, the President's success in wooing the working class Independents represents the biggest percentage turn around since 1994. Perhaps with an assist from GOP Congressional leader Newt Gingrich, he has succeeded with the waitress moms and double shift dads who have no firm anchor in either party. Clinton has also held his own with the most distrustful and alienated voter group, the Embittered, whose natural tendency is to vote against incumbents.

New Economy Independents (middle income, weak party ties, female, mixed liberal/conservative values) These voters are far more likely to have favorable views of Clinton than Dole now (63% vs. 26%), whereas two years ago the two men were rated about evenly (Clinton 58%, Dole 54%). Economic anxiety remains high among them. They worry about the social safety net; by a margin of 47% to 11%, they prefer Clinton's approach to Medicare over Dole's. They want to hear more from the candidates about social issues, including education and health care. In their view, Clinton's *presidential* character (i.e. performance in office) outweighs concerns about his *personal* character. They give Clinton a big edge over Dole as the candidate who would use good judgment in a crisis (58% vs. 22%), is a strong leader (53% vs. 26%), cares about people like me (50% vs. 19%) and shares my values (49% vs. 28%).

| <b>Center Groups</b> |             |             |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|
|                      | July        | Oct         |
|                      | <u>1994</u> | <u>1996</u> |
|                      | %           | %           |
| <i>New Economy</i>   |             |             |
| <i>Independents:</i> |             |             |
| Clinton              | 37          | 53          |
| Dole                 | 27          | 14          |
| Perot                | 30          | 16          |
| DK                   | <u>6</u>    | <u>17</u>   |
|                      | 100         | 100         |
| <i>Embittered:</i>   |             |             |
| Clinton              | 49          | 45          |
| Dole                 | 22          | 37          |
| Perot                | 25          | 11          |
| DK                   | <u>4</u>    | <u>7</u>    |
|                      | 100         | 100         |

The Embittered (cynical, distrustful, low income) A majority of this group holds an unfavorable opinion of *both* presidential candidates. It is the only non-Republican group in which Dole appears to have gained any ground since 1994. Attacks on Clinton's character have taken a toll on Clinton's image in this group, which is economically pressured and supports Dole's 15 % tax cut proposal.

### *Dole's Image*

The respective campaign success and failure of Clinton and Dole with various constituencies emerges more clearly in the public's assessment of each candidate's personal character, attitudes and performance. In these measurements, Dole has lost ground or has not improved for the most part compared to seven months ago. For example, fewer voters now believe Dole, a man who spent a generation as a Senate leader, would use good judgment in a crisis, 37% vs. 42%. Since March he has dropped 10 percentage points among women on this measure and dropped 13 percentage points among voters 65 and older.

Clinton, on the other hand, has improved a great deal in one key performance measure, although the GOP campaign attacks on his character have also taken their toll. A majority now believes he has new ideas (51% vs. 43% last March). But his standing has dropped on the question of being honest and truthful (26% now vs. 32%) and on caring about people (46% now vs. 53%).

Beyond the trends, Clinton is evaluated better on most dimensions, often overwhelmingly, when the two candidates are compared directly in the latest Pew poll. Three times more voters say he is personally likeable, 66% vs. 20% for Dole; and by the same three-fold margin voters believe he connects well with ordinary Americans, 65% vs. 21% for Dole. Almost twice as many voters say he has new ideas (51% vs. 28% for Dole). Clinton is far better regarded than Dole in these respects among working class Independents and even among Republican-leaning Libertarians.

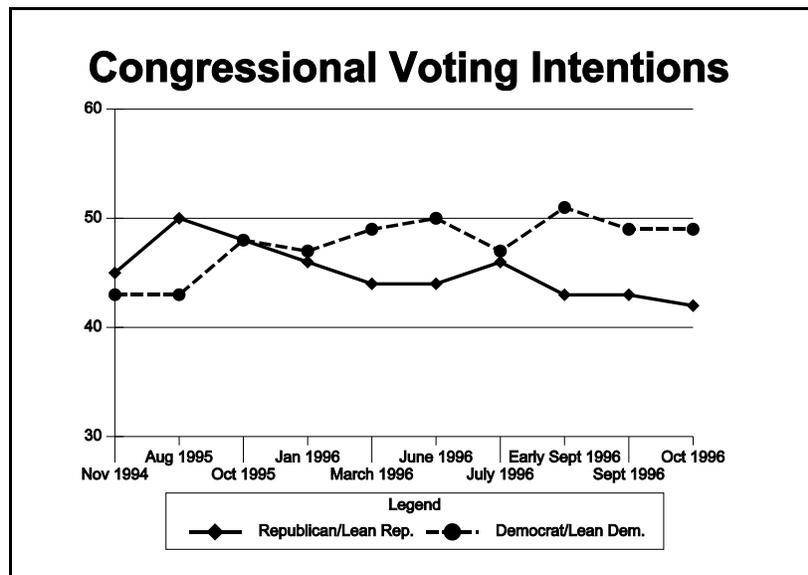
The President is viewed as a strong leader more often than Dole (47% vs. 36%) and credited with good judgment in a crisis by a similar margin. Only on whether he is considered honest and truthful does he lose big (26% vs. 42% for Dole), and marginally on whether he keeps his promises (32% vs. 36% for Dole).

| <b>Gender and Candidate Image</b>   |            |              |
|-------------------------------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>(Based on Registered Voters)</i> |            |              |
|                                     | <u>Men</u> | <u>Women</u> |
|                                     | %          | %            |
| <i>A Strong Leader</i>              |            |              |
| Clinton                             | 39         | 54           |
| Dole                                | 43         | 29           |
| Both/Neither                        | 14         | 11           |
| Don't know                          | <u>4</u>   | <u>6</u>     |
|                                     | 100        | 100          |
| <i>Cares About People</i>           |            |              |
| <i>Like Me</i>                      |            |              |
| Clinton                             | 38         | 52           |
| Dole                                | 35         | 26           |
| Both/Neither                        | 22         | 16           |
| Don't know                          | <u>5</u>   | <u>6</u>     |
|                                     | 100        | 100          |
| <i>Would Use Good</i>               |            |              |
| <i>Judgment In A Crisis</i>         |            |              |
| Clinton                             | 40         | 52           |
| Dole                                | 45         | 30           |
| Both/Neither                        | 11         | 11           |
| Don't know                          | <u>4</u>   | <u>7</u>     |
|                                     | 100        | 100          |
| <i>Keeps His Promises</i>           |            |              |
| Clinton                             | 26         | 37           |
| Dole                                | 43         | 29           |
| Both/Neither                        | 23         | 20           |
| Don't know                          | <u>8</u>   | <u>14</u>    |
|                                     | 100        | 100          |

### *The Race for Congress*

Congressional voting intentions continue to divide closely, with 49% of registered voters saying they favor the Democratic candidate in their district, 42% for the Republican. The race is even narrower among likely voters: 48% for the Democratic candidate, 44% for the Republican.

At this point Democratic Congressional candidates seem to be benefitting from sex and age gaps in the electorate. The gender gap which has been so apparent in the presidential race is equally wide at the Congressional level. Women support Democratic Congressional candidates over Republicans by a margin of 54% to 36%, while men support Republicans over Democrats by a narrow 48% to 43% margin. In a generational divide, seniors favor Democrats over Republicans by nearly 20 percentage points. Among voters under 50, the race is a virtual dead heat.



The strongest supporters of Republicans for Congress are high income voters, white Protestant evangelicals, and white men -- especially non-southern white men. The Democrats run strongest among blacks, low income voters and city dwellers.

While the Democratic Party holds a slight lead in the Congressional generic ballot question, other cross currents in the electorate favor Republicans. Voters are more inclined to say their vote for Congress will be cast on the basis of state and local issues than was the case in 1994. This could bode well for Republican candidates because it suggests a lopsided Clinton victory may not impact badly on GOP Congressional races.

In addition, anti-incumbency sentiment is not as prevalent as it was in 1994. Some 62% of registered voters now say they would like to see their own representative reelected. Only 19% say they would not, a large decrease from October 1994, when 30% said their Congressman did not deserve reelection.

Finally, a slim plurality of voters say that, assuming Bill Clinton is reelected president, they prefer that the Republicans control Congress rather than the Democrats. Even one-in-four Clinton supporters share this interest in keeping the executive and legislative branches of government in separate hands.

The Pew typology also suggests that Republican Congressional candidates may survive this election even if their standard bearer is roundly defeated. The two Republican groups that show only lukewarm support for Dole are considerably more enthusiastic about Republican Congressional candidates. Eight-in-ten Moralists say they would vote for the Republican candidate for Congress from their district; an unimpressive 66% say they will vote for Dole. Libertarians, who actually support Clinton over Dole by a narrow margin, say they would vote Republican at the Congressional level by a margin of 60% to 29%.

The greatest potential danger for GOP Congressional candidates is that these traditionally Republican voters, who either unenthusiastically support Dole or grudgingly support Clinton, may decide to sit out the election altogether.

If Clinton maintains his commanding lead going into election day, the Republicans must count on split-ticket voting to maintain control of the House. The ticket splitters are most likely to come from the ranks of Republicans, namely the Moralists and the Libertarians, and from Independents, especially New Economy Independents.

### ***Campaign Themes***

More than two-thirds of the registered voters (68%) said there is a difference in approach to **Medicare** between Clinton and Dole. Most favor Clinton's plan, 39% to 24%. Among those who see a difference, Clinton's approach is favored among every age group, particularly those 65 years old and older, and among all income categories except those earning \$50,000 a year or more. Significantly, white evangelical Protestants who see a difference in the two approaches are about evenly split between those favoring Dole's plan and those favoring Clinton's (32% and 29%), suggesting that health care has provided an issue on which Clinton has made inroads in Dole's popularity with this fundamentalist group. Along the same line, again among those who see a

#### **If Clinton Wins Who Should Control Congress??**

|                | Early Sept<br>1996<br>% | Oct<br>1996<br>% |
|----------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Prefer:</i> |                         |                  |
| Republicans    | 46                      | 46               |
| Democrats      | 44                      | 42               |
| DK/Refused     | <u>10</u>               | <u>12</u>        |
|                | 100                     | 100              |

difference in approaches, more Republicans favor Clinton's plan than Democrats who favor Dole's plan, 15% vs. 5%. And among voters who said they *might* support Dole in the election, almost three times as many favored Clinton's Medicare approach than favored Dole's (37% vs. 13%).

Dole's promise to cut **taxes** by 15% was, somewhat paradoxically, *avored* by most voters (54%) while at the same time most voters thought it was the *wrong* thing for the country (51%). The tax cut may have been the single proposal which backfired most on his candidacy, for it reversed his long-standing insistence that balanced budgets precede tax cuts, seems to have won over few voters, and was judged not in the national interest by most of the electorate.

All of the Republican and Independent groups among Pew's typology favored the tax cut, led by the wealthy and conservative Enterprisers (83%) and middle-class Moralists (68%), as did a single Democratic group, the New Dealers (51%), an older conservative classification. The other three Democratic groups, including the Partisan Poor, a very poor and disadvantaged older category of voters, opposed it. *Only* the Enterprisers said the tax cut would be the right thing for the country. Almost one in three Republicans (32%) said it would be wrong, as did more than half of Independents. Among Dole supporters, 22% said it would be wrong, and among Dole swing voters<sup>2</sup>, 52% said it would be wrong.

The electorate was equally divided on whether the person elected president can make a difference in dealing with rising drug use among teenagers: 48% yes, 48% no. But these gross figures mask major variations in attitude by age and sex. Young women were much more likely than young men to believe the president can make a difference: 52% vs. 39% of those under 30 years old. On the other hand, men 50 years old and older were more likely than women of the same age to believe the president can make a difference: 55% vs. 48%. Among religious denominations, white evangelical Protestants were more likely than non-evangelical white Protestants to see the President making a difference (53% vs. 44%). In partisan terms, Republicans saw the president making a difference more than did Democrats or Independents (55% vs. 49% and 42%, respectively), as did Dole supporters more than Clinton or Perot supporters (55% vs. 46% and 40%, respectively).

### ***Voter Fulfillment***

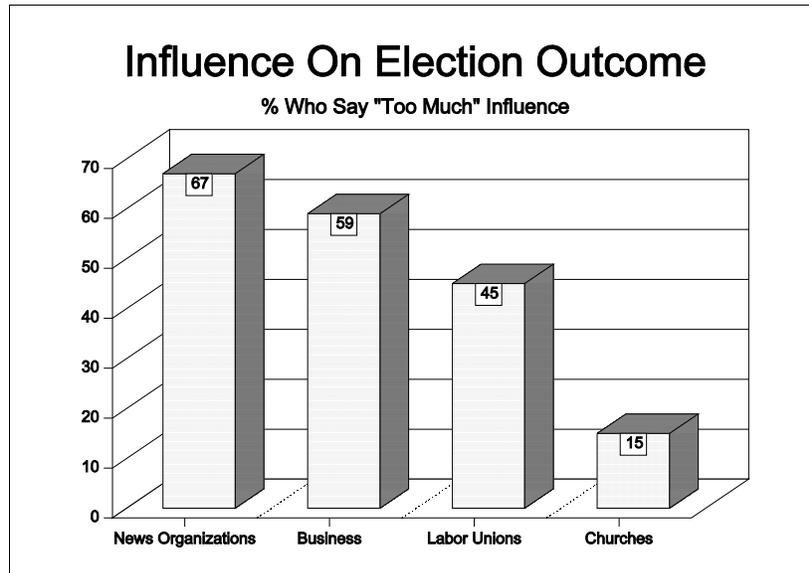
A strong majority of the electorate, 59%, is satisfied that important issues have been discussed by the Presidential candidates. One in three (35%), however, said important matters have been overlooked in the campaign. These are chiefly social issues, such as education and health care, followed by economic matters. Independents are less satisfied than Republicans or Democrats with the issues covered, as are Perot supporters compared to those favoring Clinton and Dole. Clinton supporters who are dissatisfied in this regard wanted to hear more about health care and education, while Dole's supporters wanted more about foreign policy and a balanced budget, and Perot's wanted

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<sup>2</sup> Registered voters who said there was "a chance" they might vote for Dole.

more on education and foreign policy.

A huge majority of voters (67%) believe that among four leadership groups in the country, the news media exerts too much **influence** on which candidate becomes president, followed by business corporations (59%), labor unions (45%) and the churches (15%). All of the Republican and Independent groups of the typology cited the media most often, led by the Enterprisers, 85% of whom saw the press in this light. A majority of New Democrats (54%) joined in this implicitly critical judgment of the media, while the three other Democratic groups most often saw business corporations as having too much influence on presidential elections.



### ***Less Anger At Government!***

The electorate appears to have a less negative view of government as the election nears. A decreased majority feels the government is almost always wasteful and inefficient now compared to recent years (56% vs. 64% in October 1994). The public is now split between those who believe government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest and those who believe government regulation usually does more harm than good (45% vs. 46%), but this is a significant and steady improvement since 1994 when a majority of 55% felt regulation does more harm than good and only 38% said it was in the public interest. Somewhat more Americans now believe most elected officials care what people like them think (38%, up steadily from 29% two years ago). And finally, marginally fewer Americans believe that elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly, again compared to two years ago.

This gentler attitude does not extend to blacks. A majority of voters (58%) believe African Americans who can't get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition, up marginally from 53% and 54% in the past two years; a comparably marginal drop was found in those who believe racial discrimination is the main reason why African Americans can't get ahead (29% vs. 37% in October 1995 and 34% in October 1994).

| <b>Changing Attitudes<br/>Toward Government and the Poor</b> |                  |                  |                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
|                                                              | <u>Oct. '94</u>  | <u>Oct. '95</u>  | <u>Oct. '96</u>  |
| Gov't almost always wasteful and inefficient OR              | 64               | 63               | 56               |
| Gov't does a better job than credited                        | 32               | 34               | 39               |
| Neither/DK                                                   | <u>4</u><br>100  | <u>3</u><br>100  | <u>5</u><br>100  |
| Gov't regulation of business is necessary OR                 | 38               | 45               | 45               |
| Gov't reg. more harm than good                               | 55               | 50               | 46               |
| Neither/DK                                                   | <u>7</u><br>100  | <u>5</u><br>100  | <u>9</u><br>100  |
| Poor people have it easy OR                                  | 48               | 54               | 46               |
| Poor people have hard lives                                  | 41               | 36               | 40               |
| Neither/DK                                                   | <u>11</u><br>100 | <u>10</u><br>100 | <u>14</u><br>100 |

## TYPOLOGY GROUPS -- AT A GLANCE

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | ----- Voting Preference ----- |           |                      |            | Likely         | Principal          |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|------------|----------------|--------------------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | <u>Presidential</u>           |           | <u>Congressional</u> |            | <u>Voters*</u> | <u>Vote Motive</u> |
| <p><b><i>ENTERPRISERS</i></b><br/>           12% OF ADULTS<br/>           97% ARE REPUBLICANS/LEAN REP</p> <p>Classic Republicans: Affluent, well-educated, mostly white; pro-business, anti-government, anti-social welfare.</p>                             | 6%                            | Clinton   | 4%                   | Democrat   | 82%            | Oppose Clinton     |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 88%                           | Dole      | 92%                  | Republican |                |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 3%                            | Perot     | 4%                   | Undecided  |                |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | <u>3%</u>                     | Undecided | 100                  |            |                |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 100                           |           |                      |            |                |                    |
| <p><b><i>MORALISTS</i></b><br/>           15% OF ADULTS<br/>           96% ARE REPUBLICANS/LEAN REP</p> <p>White middle-aged, middle-income, religious (mostly Evangelicals); socially conservative, anti-big business and anti-government.</p>               | 20%                           | Clinton   | 10%                  | Democrat   | 64%            | Oppose Clinton     |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 66%                           | Dole      | 80%                  | Republican |                |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 7%                            | Perot     | <u>10%</u>           | Undecided  |                |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | <u>7%</u>                     | Undecided | 100                  |            |                |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 100                           |           |                      |            |                |                    |
| <p><b><i>LIBERTARIANS</i></b><br/>           7% OF ADULTS<br/>           56% ARE REPUBLICANS/LEAN REP</p> <p>Affluent, white male; pro-business, anti-government, liberal on social issues, cynical about politicians.</p>                                    | 39%                           | Clinton   | 29%                  | Democrat   | 54%            | Oppose Dole        |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 34%                           | Dole      | 60%                  | Republican |                |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 12%                           | Perot     | <u>11%</u>           | Undecided  |                |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | <u>15%</u>                    | Undecided | 100                  |            |                |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 100                           |           |                      |            |                |                    |
| <p><b><i>NEW ECONOMY INDEPENDENTS</i></b><br/>           14% OF ADULTS<br/>           59% ARE INDEPENDENTS</p> <p>Mostly female, high school graduates, financial pressure, low party commitment, conflicting values -- anti-government, pro-environment.</p> | 53%                           | Clinton   | 54%                  | Democrat   | 42%            | Oppose Dole        |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 14%                           | Dole      | 27%                  | Republican |                |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 16%                           | Perot     | <u>19%</u>           | Undecided  |                |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | <u>17%</u>                    | Undecided | 100                  |            |                |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 100                           |           |                      |            |                |                    |

\* Among Registered Voters.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                        | ----- Voting Preference ----- |           |                      |             | Likely Voters* | Principal Presidential Vote Motive |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|-------------|----------------|------------------------------------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <u>Presidential</u>           |           | <u>Congressional</u> |             |                |                                    |
| <b><i>THE EMBITTERED</i></b><br>6% OF ADULTS<br>49% ARE INDEPENDENTS<br><br>Lower socio-economic, heavily minority; distrust government, politicians, corporations; religious and socially intolerant. | 45%                           | Clinton   | 57%                  | Democrat    | 58%            | Oppose Clinton and Dole            |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 37%                           | Dole      | 30%                  | Republican  |                |                                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 11%                           | Perot     | <u>13%</u>           | Independent |                |                                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <u>7%</u>                     | Undecided | 100                  |             |                |                                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 100                           |           |                      |             |                |                                    |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |           |           |           |             |     |             |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----|-------------|
| <b><i>SECULARS</i></b><br>7% OF ADULTS<br>93% ARE DEMOCRATS/LEAN DEM<br><br>Highly educated, affluent, mostly white young to middle aged; tolerant, driven by social issues, embraces "liberal" label, very low on religious faith. | 90%       | Clinton   | 84%       | Democrat    | 68% | Dem loyalty |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 2%        | Dole      | 8%        | Republican  |     |             |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 2%        | Perot     | <u>8%</u> | Independent |     |             |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <u>6%</u> | Undecided | 100       |             |     |             |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 100       |           |           |             |     |             |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                           |           |           |           |            |     |                          |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----|--------------------------|
| <b><i>NEW DEMOCRATS</i></b><br>12% OF ADULTS<br>87% ARE DEMOCRATS/LEAN DEM<br><br>White, average education; religious, many Evangelicals and Catholics; pro-business; pro-government and pro-environment. | 86%       | Clinton   | 79%       | Democrat   | 59% | Oppose Dole; Dem loyalty |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 5%        | Dole      | 13%       | Republican |     |                          |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 4%        | Perot     | <u>8%</u> | Undecided  |     |                          |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                           | <u>5%</u> | Undecided | 100       |            |     |                          |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 100       |           |           |            |     |                          |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                   |           |           |            |            |     |                          |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|-----|--------------------------|
| <b><i>NEW DEALERS</i></b><br>8% OF ADULTS<br>95% ARE DEMOCRATS/LEAN DEM<br><br>Older, pro-union, religious, strongly conservative on race and social welfare; distrusts politicians and business. | 74%       | Clinton   | 80%        | Democrat   | 70% | Oppose Dole; Dem loyalty |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 10%       | Dole      | 9%         | Republican |     |                          |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 12%       | Perot     | <u>11%</u> | Undecided  |     |                          |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <u>4%</u> | Undecided | 100        |            |     |                          |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 100       |           |            |            |     |                          |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                               |           |           |           |            |     |             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----|-------------|
| <b><i>PARTISAN POOR</i></b><br>9% OF ADULTS<br>91% ARE DEMOCRATS/LEAN DEM<br><br>Disadvantaged, largely southern, non-whites; want more government spending on poor; very religious and socially insensitive. | 92%       | Clinton   | 90%       | Democrat   | 72% | Dem loyalty |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 4%        | Dole      | 9%        | Republican |     |             |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 3%        | Perot     | <u>1%</u> | Undecided  |     |             |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                               | <u>1%</u> | Undecided | 100       |            |     |             |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 100       |           |           |            |     |             |

# APPENDIX

## About the Typology

The Times Mirror Center in 1987 developed a unique voter classification system based on three major elements -- party affiliation, political participation, and personal values and attitudes -- and using the statistical technique called "cluster analysis." The new typology developed in 1995 is built on the same foundation, with minor modifications.

Nine values and attitudes were measured, including attitudes toward government, environmentalism, business, social welfare, social policy issues, religion, race relations, the military, and feelings of political alienation.

The analysis segmented the American public into ten groups -- three Republican, four Democrat, and three in between:

### *The Divided Right*

- Enterprisers (12% of adult population): Affluent, well-educated, and predominantly white. This classic Republican group is mainly characterized as pro-business, anti-government, anti-social welfare.

- Moralists (15%): Middle-aged, middle-income, predominantly white, religious (more than half are Evangelicals). This core Republican group is also socially intolerant and anti-social welfare, militaristic, anti-big business and anti-big government. Former Democrats drawn to the GOP's religious and cultural conservatism have increased in size substantially since 1987.

- Libertarians (7%): Highly-educated, affluent, predominately white male. This group has Republican lineage but is uncomfortable with today's GOP, particularly its religious right. Pro-business, anti-government, anti-social welfare but highly tolerant, very low on religious faith, cynical about politicians.

### *The Detached Center*

- New Economy Independents (14%): Average income, young to middle aged, mostly female. This group is unanchored in either party and many supported Perot in 1992. It has many conflicting values: strongly environmentalist but not believers in government regulation; pro-social welfare but not very sympathetic to blacks; inclined to fundamental religious beliefs (highest white Catholic group) but highly tolerant of homosexuals.

- Bystanders (10%): Very young, poorly educated, with low income. This group opts out of the political process or are not eligible to vote (highest Hispanic concentration). Slightly more female than male, its only claimed commitment is to environmentalism.

- The Embittered (6%): Low income, low education, middle-aged. One in five of this group are black, one in three have children under 18. Old ties to Democrats have eroded but the Embittered feel unwelcome in the GOP. They distrust government, politicians, corporations. They are religious and socially intolerant. They strongly blame discrimination for lack of black progress, but are not strongly in favor of social welfare programs.

**The "Not So" Left**

- Seculars (7%): Highly educated, sophisticated, affluent, mostly white baby boomers and Generation X. The most socially tolerant group, driven by social issues, it is the only one to embrace the "liberal" label. Very low in religious faith. Highly pro-environment, pro-government, distrusting of business.

- New Democrats (12%): Mostly female, below average income and average education, includes a high proportion of white Catholics (30%) but also many white Evangelical Protestants (19%). Religious but not intolerant, more pro-business than other Democratic groups, they reject discrimination as a major barrier to black progress, are pro-government and environmentalist.

- New Dealers (8%): One of the oldest groups in the typology (three in ten over 65), below average education and low income. Once part of FDR's coalition, beneficiary of government programs, this group is now turned off by politics. Strongly conservative on race and social welfare, strong on religion, moderate on social tolerance, pro-America, distrustful of politicians and business.

- Partisan Poor (9%): Very poor (26% with household income under \$20,000 a year), disadvantaged, about one in three in the south. Rooted in New Deal coalition, this group believes more government spending on the poor is needed. More than one-third are non-whites. Very religious and socially conservative.

**The Times Mirror Typology**

|                      | -----% of Adult Population----- |                            |                             |                            |                            | % of Registered Voters | % of Likely Voters |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
|                      | <u>July</u><br><u>1994</u>      | <u>Oct.</u><br><u>1994</u> | <u>April</u><br><u>1995</u> | <u>Oct.</u><br><u>1995</u> | <u>Oct.</u><br><u>1996</u> |                        |                    |
| <i>Enterprisers</i>  | 10                              | 12                         | 15                          | 13                         | 12                         | 15                     | 19                 |
| <i>Moralists</i>     | 18                              | 17                         | 12                          | 16                         | 15                         | 17                     | 18                 |
| <i>Libertarians</i>  | 4                               | 6                          | 6                           | 8                          | 7                          | 8                      | 7                  |
| <i>New Economy</i>   |                                 |                            |                             |                            |                            |                        |                    |
| <i>Independents</i>  | 19                              | 14                         | 17                          | 13                         | 14                         | 16                     | 10                 |
| <i>Embittered</i>    | 7                               | 6                          | 7                           | 9                          | 6                          | 6                      | 5                  |
| <i>Bystanders</i>    | 8                               | 9                          | 11                          | 8                          | 10                         | 0                      | 0                  |
| <i>Seculars</i>      | 9                               | 8                          | 8                           | 8                          | 7                          | 8                      | 9                  |
| <i>New Democrats</i> | 11                              | 10                         | 9                           | 12                         | 12                         | 12                     | 12                 |
| <i>New Dealers</i>   | 7                               | 8                          | 7                           | 8                          | 8                          | 9                      | 10                 |
| <i>Partisan Poor</i> | <u>7</u>                        | <u>10</u>                  | <u>8</u>                    | <u>5</u>                   | <u>9</u>                   | <u>9</u>               | <u>10</u>          |
|                      | 100                             | 100                        | 100                         | 100                        | 100                        | 100                    | 100                |

# TABLES

## PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEATS\*

(Based on Registered Voters)

|                      | -----Late September 1996----- |             |              |                  | ----- October 1996----- |             |              |                  |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|
|                      | <u>Clinton</u>                | <u>Dole</u> | <u>Perot</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Clinton</u>          | <u>Dole</u> | <u>Perot</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |
|                      | %                             | %           | %            | %                | %                       | %           | %            | %                |
| <b>Total</b>         | 51                            | 35          | 7            | 7=100            | 51                      | 34          | 8            | 7=100            |
| <b>Sex</b>           |                               |             |              |                  |                         |             |              |                  |
| Male                 | 46                            | 38          | 10           | 6                | 45                      | 39          | 9            | 7                |
| Female               | 55                            | 33          | 5            | 7                | 57                      | 29          | 7            | 7                |
| <b>Race</b>          |                               |             |              |                  |                         |             |              |                  |
| White                | 47                            | 39          | 8            | 6                | 47                      | 37          | 8            | 8                |
| Non-white            | 83                            | 8           | 4            | 5                | 80                      | 13          | 2            | 5                |
| Black                | 88                            | 5           | 2            | 5                | 87                      | 8           | 1            | 4                |
| <b>Race/Sex</b>      |                               |             |              |                  |                         |             |              |                  |
| White Men            | 43                            | 41          | 10           | 6                | 39                      | 43          | 10           | 8                |
| White Women          | 50                            | 38          | 5            | 7                | 54                      | 32          | 7            | 7                |
| <b>Age</b>           |                               |             |              |                  |                         |             |              |                  |
| Under 30             | 50                            | 38          | 9            | 3                | 51                      | 32          | 9            | 8                |
| 30-49                | 49                            | 36          | 8            | 7                | 51                      | 35          | 8            | 6                |
| 50-64                | 52                            | 34          | 8            | 6                | 48                      | 37          | 8            | 7                |
| 65+                  | 57                            | 34          | 2            | 7                | 55                      | 30          | 6            | 9                |
| <b>Education</b>     |                               |             |              |                  |                         |             |              |                  |
| College Grad         | 50                            | 39          | 5            | 6                | 51                      | 39          | 4            | 6                |
| Some College         | 48                            | 37          | 6            | 9                | 47                      | 35          | 10           | 8                |
| High School Grad     | 47                            | 38          | 9            | 6                | 51                      | 32          | 9            | 8                |
| < H.S. Grad          | 72                            | 18          | 7            | 3                | 60                      | 25          | 7            | 8                |
| <b>Family Income</b> |                               |             |              |                  |                         |             |              |                  |
| \$75,000+            | 46                            | 43          | 6            | 5                | 47                      | 43          | 6            | 4                |
| \$50,000 - \$74,999  | 49                            | 37          | 8            | 6                | 45                      | 47          | 3            | 5                |
| \$30,000 - \$49,999  | 50                            | 38          | 7            | 5                | 51                      | 36          | 9            | 4                |
| \$20,000 - \$29,999  | 51                            | 38          | 6            | 5                | 54                      | 31          | 8            | 7                |
| < \$20,000           | 62                            | 24          | 8            | 6                | 61                      | 19          | 11           | 9                |

\* Includes leaners

Question: If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton and Al Gore, for the Republican ticket of Bob Dole and Jack Kemp, or for the Reform party ticket of Ross Perot and Pat Choate?

As of TODAY, do you lean more to Clinton and Gore, the Democrats; more to Dole and Kemp, the Republicans; or more to Perot, the Reform party candidate?

**Continued ...**

|                               | -----Late September 1996----- |             |              |                  | -----October 1996----- |             |              |                  |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|
|                               | <u>Clinton</u>                | <u>Dole</u> | <u>Perot</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Clinton</u>         | <u>Dole</u> | <u>Perot</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |
|                               | %                             | %           | %            | %                | %                      | %           | %            | %                |
| <b>Total</b>                  | 51                            | 35          | 7            | 7=100            | 51                     | 34          | 8            | 7=100            |
| <b>Region</b>                 |                               |             |              |                  |                        |             |              |                  |
| East                          | 60                            | 26          | 6            | 8                | 60                     | 21          | 9            | 10               |
| Midwest                       | 50                            | 37          | 7            | 6                | 51                     | 33          | 9            | 7                |
| South                         | 50                            | 38          | 6            | 6                | 50                     | 36          | 7            | 7                |
| West                          | 46                            | 39          | 9            | 6                | 46                     | 42          | 8            | 4                |
| <b>Race/Region</b>            |                               |             |              |                  |                        |             |              |                  |
| White South                   | 43                            | 46          | 6            | 5                | 43                     | 42          | 8            | 7                |
| White Non-South               | 49                            | 36          | 8            | 7                | 49                     | 34          | 9            | 8                |
| <b>Race/Region/Sex</b>        |                               |             |              |                  |                        |             |              |                  |
| White Men South               | 38                            | 47          | 9            | 6                | 38                     | 46          | 9            | 7                |
| White Men Non-South           | 45                            | 38          | 11           | 6                | 40                     | 41          | 11           | 8                |
| White Women South             | 46                            | 45          | 3            | 6                | 47                     | 38          | 7            | 8                |
| White Women Non-South         | 53                            | 34          | 6            | 7                | 56                     | 29          | 8            | 7                |
| <b>Community Size</b>         |                               |             |              |                  |                        |             |              |                  |
| Large City                    | 56                            | 32          | 6            | 6                | 60                     | 26          | 7            | 7                |
| Suburb                        | 48                            | 40          | 6            | 6                | 52                     | 35          | 5            | 8                |
| Small City/Town               | 55                            | 31          | 7            | 7                | 53                     | 34          | 7            | 6                |
| Rural Area                    | 45                            | 40          | 9            | 6                | 41                     | 39          | 12           | 8                |
| <b>Religious Affiliation</b>  |                               |             |              |                  |                        |             |              |                  |
| Total White Protestant        | 41                            | 46          | 7            | 6                | 41                     | 42          | 9            | 8                |
| White Prot. Evangelical       | 32                            | 54          | 8            | 6                | 34                     | 53          | 8            | 5                |
| White Prot. Non-Evang.        | 48                            | 39          | 7            | 6                | 48                     | 33          | 9            | 10               |
| White Catholic                | 56                            | 31          | 7            | 6                | 53                     | 32          | 8            | 7                |
| <b>Party ID</b>               |                               |             |              |                  |                        |             |              |                  |
| Republican                    | 12                            | 78          | 5            | 5                | 18                     | 73          | 4            | 5                |
| Democrat                      | 89                            | 4           | 4            | 3                | 89                     | 4           | 4            | 3                |
| Independent                   | 51                            | 29          | 12           | 8                | 42                     | 30          | 18           | 10               |
| Lean Republican               | 16                            | 68          | 11           | 5                | 13                     | 66          | 15           | 6                |
| Lean Democrat                 | 82                            | 4           | 8            | 6                | 80                     | 5           | 11           | 4                |
| <b>1992 Presidential Vote</b> |                               |             |              |                  |                        |             |              |                  |
| Clinton                       | 85                            | 9           | 3            | 3                | 83                     | 9           | 3            | 5                |
| Bush                          | 12                            | 77          | 4            | 7                | 14                     | 76          | 5            | 5                |
| Perot                         | 32                            | 34          | 27           | 7                | 26                     | 38          | 29           | 7                |

**CANDIDATE'S FAVORABILITY RATING**  
(Clinton and Dole)

|                             | ----- Clinton -----        |                              |                            |                              | ----- Dole -----           |                              |                            |                              | (N)    |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------|
|                             | July 1994 *                |                              | October 1996               |                              | July 1994*                 |                              | October 1996               |                              |        |
|                             | Favor-<br><u>able</u><br>% | Unfavor-<br><u>able</u><br>% | Favor-<br><u>able</u><br>% | Unfavor-<br><u>able</u><br>% | Favor-<br><u>able</u><br>% | Unfavor-<br><u>able</u><br>% | Favor-<br><u>able</u><br>% | Unfavor-<br><u>able</u><br>% |        |
| <b>Total</b>                | 58                         | 41                           | 57                         | 41                           | 59                         | 28                           | 43                         | 54                           | (834)  |
| <b>Typology Groups</b>      |                            |                              |                            |                              |                            |                              |                            |                              |        |
| Enterprisers                | 20                         | 80                           | 5                          | 94                           | 85                         | 10                           | 86                         | 13                           | (129)  |
| Moralists                   | 36                         | 64                           | 26                         | 73                           | 78                         | 14                           | 74                         | 24                           | (135)  |
| Libertarians                | 42                         | 58                           | 53                         | 40                           | 72                         | 19                           | 35                         | 57                           | (**70) |
| New Economy<br>Independents | 58                         | 41                           | 63                         | 34                           | 54                         | 30                           | 26                         | 71                           | (119)  |
| Embittered                  | 56                         | 41                           | --                         | --                           | 46                         | 36                           | --                         | --                           | (**39) |
| Seculars                    | 84                         | 16                           | 94                         | 3                            | 37                         | 54                           | 22                         | 74                           | (90)   |
| New Democrats               | 83                         | 16                           | 91                         | 7                            | 52                         | 34                           | 35                         | 62                           | (105)  |
| New Dealers                 | 78                         | 22                           | 75                         | 23                           | 48                         | 43                           | 19                         | 80                           | (**69) |
| Partisan Poor               | 87                         | 13                           | 88                         | 10                           | 51                         | 35                           | 19                         | 80                           | (78)   |

\* July figures based on total sample, not registered voters.

\*\* NOTE: Small sample size.

Question: Would you say your overall opinion of Bill Clinton/Bob Dole is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

## ECONOMIC ANXIETY

(% Of Registered Voters Who Are "Very Concerned")

|                               | <i>Not Having Enough<br/>Money for Retirement</i> |                          | <i>Being Unable to Save<br/>Enough to Put Child<br/>Through College</i> |                          | <i>Being Unable to Afford<br/>Health Care When<br/>Family Member Gets Sick</i> |                          |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
|                               | <u>Oct<br/>1995</u><br>%                          | <u>Oct<br/>1996</u><br>% | <u>Oct<br/>1995</u><br>%                                                | <u>Oct<br/>1996</u><br>% | <u>Oct<br/>1995</u><br>%                                                       | <u>Oct<br/>1996</u><br>% |
| <b><i>Total</i></b>           | 47                                                | 56                       | 41                                                                      | 46                       | 63                                                                             | 61                       |
| <b><i>Typology Groups</i></b> |                                                   |                          |                                                                         |                          |                                                                                |                          |
| Enterprisers                  | 29                                                | 36                       | 26                                                                      | 30                       | 34                                                                             | 34                       |
| Moralists                     | 48                                                | 59                       | 43                                                                      | 48                       | 63                                                                             | 59                       |
| Libertarians                  | 33                                                | 41                       | 25                                                                      | 30                       | 49                                                                             | 45                       |
| New Economy Independents      | 59                                                | 67                       | 50                                                                      | 58                       | 74                                                                             | 71                       |
| The Embittered                | 60                                                | 68                       | 56                                                                      | 59                       | 79                                                                             | 71                       |
| Seculars                      | 40                                                | 44                       | 34                                                                      | 40                       | 64                                                                             | 55                       |
| New Democrats                 | 46                                                | 55                       | 42                                                                      | 41                       | 69                                                                             | 64                       |
| New Dealers                   | 61                                                | 64                       | 56                                                                      | 55                       | 88                                                                             | 80                       |
| Partisan Poor                 | 47                                                | 68                       | 35                                                                      | 61                       | 83                                                                             | 78                       |

Question: Now I'd like you to think about some concerns that people may have. How concerned are you, if at all, about (INSERT ITEM: ROTATE)? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned about this? What about (NEXT ITEM)...?

Not having enough money for your retirement?

Being unable to save enough money to put a child through college?

Being unable to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick?

## CONGRESSIONAL VOTING INTENTIONS\*

(Based On Registered Voters)

|                      | -----Late September 1996----- |                 |                  | -----October 1996----- |                 |                  | (N)    |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------------|-----------------|------------------|--------|
|                      | <u>Republican</u>             | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Republican</u>      | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |        |
|                      | %                             | %               | %                | %                      | %               | %                |        |
| <b>Total</b>         | 43                            | 49              | 8=100            | 42                     | 49              | 9=100            | (1546) |
| <b>Sex</b>           |                               |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| Male                 | 49                            | 43              | 8                | 48                     | 43              | 9                | (754)  |
| Female               | 38                            | 54              | 8                | 36                     | 54              | 10               | (792)  |
| <b>Race</b>          |                               |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| White                | 48                            | 44              | 8                | 45                     | 45              | 10               | (1319) |
| Non-white            | 13                            | 83              | 4                | 21                     | 74              | 5                | (212)  |
| Black                | 9                             | 87              | 4                | 16                     | 80              | 4                | (127)  |
| <b>Race/Sex</b>      |                               |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| White Men            | 53                            | 39              | 8                | 53                     | 37              | 10               | (643)  |
| White Women          | 43                            | 49              | 8                | 39                     | 51              | 10               | (676)  |
| <b>Age</b>           |                               |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| Under 30             | 46                            | 47              | 7                | 44                     | 46              | 10               | (245)  |
| 30-49                | 46                            | 47              | 7                | 45                     | 48              | 7                | (662)  |
| 50-64                | 41                            | 52              | 7                | 41                     | 48              | 11               | (352)  |
| 65+                  | 36                            | 54              | 10               | 35                     | 54              | 11               | (265)  |
| <b>Education</b>     |                               |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| College Grad         | 47                            | 45              | 8                | 48                     | 48              | 4                | (538)  |
| Some College         | 48                            | 45              | 7                | 47                     | 43              | 10               | (369)  |
| High School Grad     | 45                            | 46              | 9                | 41                     | 48              | 11               | (522)  |
| < H.S. Grad          | 23                            | 71              | 6                | 28                     | 60              | 12               | (110)  |
| <b>Family Income</b> |                               |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| \$75,000 +           | 57                            | 35              | 8                | 58                     | 39              | 3                | (221)  |
| \$50,000 - \$74,999  | 46                            | 47              | 7                | 56                     | 40              | 4                | (247)  |
| \$30,000 - \$49,999  | 46                            | 49              | 5                | 45                     | 47              | 8                | (403)  |
| \$20,000 - \$29,999  | 47                            | 48              | 5                | 33                     | 53              | 14               | (232)  |
| < \$20,000           | 28                            | 64              | 8                | 28                     | 60              | 12               | (294)  |
| <b>Region</b>        |                               |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| East                 | 37                            | 53              | 10               | 41                     | 49              | 10               | (319)  |
| Midwest              | 42                            | 49              | 9                | 41                     | 50              | 9                | (393)  |
| South                | 44                            | 50              | 6                | 40                     | 50              | 10               | (557)  |
| West                 | 48                            | 45              | 7                | 47                     | 43              | 10               | (277)  |

\* Includes leaners.

Question: Suppose the 1996 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?  
As of TODAY, do you lean more to the Republican or the Democrat?

**Continued ...**

|                                     | -----Late September 1996----- |                 |                  | -----October 1996----- |                 |                  | (N)    |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------------|-----------------|------------------|--------|
|                                     | <u>Republican</u>             | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Republican</u>      | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |        |
|                                     | %                             | %               | %                | %                      | %               | %                |        |
| <b>Total</b>                        | 43                            | 49              | 8=100            | 42                     | 49              | 9=100            | (1546) |
| <b>Race/Region</b>                  |                               |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| White South                         | 52                            | 41              | 7                | 45                     | 44              | 11               | (454)  |
| White Non-South                     | 46                            | 45              | 9                | 45                     | 45              | 10               | (865)  |
| <b>Race/Region/Sex</b>              |                               |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| White Men South                     | 57                            | 36              | 7                | 49                     | 41              | 10               | (221)  |
| White Men Non-South                 | 51                            | 40              | 9                | 54                     | 36              | 10               | (422)  |
| White Women South                   | 47                            | 46              | 7                | 41                     | 48              | 11               | (233)  |
| White Women Non-South               | 42                            | 50              | 8                | 38                     | 52              | 10               | (443)  |
| <b>Community Size</b>               |                               |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| Large City                          | 40                            | 52              | 8                | 33                     | 59              | 8                | (273)  |
| Suburb                              | 47                            | 45              | 8                | 42                     | 47              | 11               | (409)  |
| Small City/Town                     | 41                            | 51              | 8                | 45                     | 47              | 8                | (524)  |
| Rural Area                          | 45                            | 48              | 7                | 45                     | 44              | 11               | (323)  |
| <b>Religious Affiliation</b>        |                               |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| Total White Protestant              | 54                            | 38              | 8                | 50                     | 41              | 9                | (794)  |
| White Prot. Evangelical             | 60                            | 30              | 10               | 55                     | 35              | 10               | (366)  |
| White Prot. Non-Evang.              | 49                            | 44              | 7                | 46                     | 45              | 9                | (428)  |
| White Catholic                      | 40                            | 51              | 9                | 41                     | 48              | 11               | (369)  |
| <b>Party ID</b>                     |                               |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| Republican                          | 92                            | 5               | 3                | 88                     | 8               | 4                | (500)  |
| Democrat                            | 6                             | 91              | 3                | 6                      | 90              | 4                | (548)  |
| Independent                         | 39                            | 46              | 15               | 40                     | 41              | 19               | (432)  |
| Lean Republican                     | 81                            | 11              | 8                | 74                     | 15              | 11               | (187)  |
| Lean Democrat                       | 11                            | 80              | 9                | 17                     | 73              | 10               | (179)  |
| <b>1992 Presidential Vote</b>       |                               |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| Clinton                             | 14                            | 80              | 6                | 15                     | 76              | 9                | (600)  |
| Bush                                | 85                            | 10              | 5                | 79                     | 15              | 6                | (445)  |
| Perot                               | 52                            | 37              | 11               | 52                     | 35              | 13               | (173)  |
| <b>1996 Presidential Preference</b> |                               |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| Clinton/Lean Clinton                | 14                            | 81              | 5                | 16                     | 78              | 6                | (773)  |
| Dole/Lean Dole                      | 88                            | 9               | 3                | 85                     | 10              | 5                | (542)  |
| Perot/Lean Perot                    | 49                            | 36              | 15               | 38                     | 45              | 17               | (117)  |

## CONGRESSIONAL VOTING INTENTIONS\*

(Based On Registered Voters)

|                             | -----September 1994----- |                 |                  | -----October 1996----- |                 |                  | (N)    |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------------|-----------------|------------------|--------|
|                             | <u>Republican</u>        | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Republican</u>      | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Undecided</u> |        |
|                             | %                        | %               | %                | %                      | %               | %                |        |
| <b>Total</b>                | 48                       | 46              | 6=100            | 42                     | 49              | 9=100            | (1546) |
| <b>Typology Groups</b>      |                          |                 |                  |                        |                 |                  |        |
| Enterprisers                | 89                       | 7               | 4                | 92                     | 4               | 4                | (241)  |
| Moralists                   | 83                       | 14              | 3                | 80                     | 10              | 10               | (274)  |
| Libertarians                | 75                       | 21              | 4                | 60                     | 29              | 11               | (124)  |
| New Economy<br>Independents | 44                       | 44              | 12               | 27                     | 54              | 19               | (228)  |
| Embittered                  | 36                       | 56              | 8                | 30                     | 57              | 13               | (84)   |
| Seculars                    | 14                       | 80              | 6                | 8                      | 84              | 8                | (145)  |
| New Democrats               | 18                       | 75              | 7                | 13                     | 79              | 8                | (189)  |
| New Dealers                 | 13                       | 81              | 6                | 9                      | 80              | 11               | (128)  |
| Partisan Poor               | 7                        | 91              | 2                | 9                      | 90              | 1                | (133)  |

\* Includes leaners.

Question: Suppose the 1994/1996 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district? As of TODAY, do you lean more to the Republican or the Democrat?

**Percent Who Say Each Has "Too Much Influence"**  
(Based on Registered Voters)

|                      | <u>Business<br/>Corporations</u><br>% | <u>Labor<br/>Unions</u><br>% | <u>Churches</u><br>% | <u>News<br/>Organizations</u><br>% |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| <b>Total</b>         | 59                                    | 45                           | 15                   | 67                                 |
| <b>Sex</b>           |                                       |                              |                      |                                    |
| Male                 | 63                                    | 49                           | 17                   | 69                                 |
| Female               | 56                                    | 42                           | 14                   | 66                                 |
| <b>Race</b>          |                                       |                              |                      |                                    |
| White                | 59                                    | 47                           | 16                   | 69                                 |
| Non-white            | 58                                    | 32                           | 14                   | 58                                 |
| Black                | 55                                    | 33                           | 12                   | 58                                 |
| <b>Race/Sex</b>      |                                       |                              |                      |                                    |
| White Men            | 63                                    | 52                           | 17                   | 72                                 |
| White Women          | 56                                    | 43                           | 14                   | 66                                 |
| <b>Age</b>           |                                       |                              |                      |                                    |
| Under 30             | 52                                    | 32                           | 20                   | 72                                 |
| 30-49                | 60                                    | 49                           | 15                   | 70                                 |
| 50-64                | 66                                    | 50                           | 18                   | 66                                 |
| 65+                  | 56                                    | 43                           | 10                   | 60                                 |
| <b>Education</b>     |                                       |                              |                      |                                    |
| College Grad         | 60                                    | 53                           | 20                   | 72                                 |
| Some College         | 64                                    | 46                           | 16                   | 75                                 |
| High School Grad     | 58                                    | 44                           | 14                   | 67                                 |
| < H. S. Grad         | 52                                    | 31                           | 12                   | 46                                 |
| <b>Family Income</b> |                                       |                              |                      |                                    |
| \$75,000+            | 55                                    | 52                           | 20                   | 74                                 |
| \$50,000 - \$74,999  | 67                                    | 52                           | 19                   | 75                                 |
| \$30,000 - \$49,999  | 60                                    | 47                           | 15                   | 70                                 |
| \$20,000 - \$29,999  | 59                                    | 47                           | 12                   | 63                                 |
| < \$20,000           | 59                                    | 35                           | 15                   | 61                                 |

Question: How much influence do you think (INSERT ITEM: ROTATE) have on which candidate becomes the President: too much, too little or about the right amount? What about (NEXT ITEM)... ?

**Continued ...**

**Percent Who Say Each Has "Too Much Influence"**  
(Based on Registered Voters)

|                                      | <u>Business<br/>Corporations</u><br>% | <u>Labor<br/>Unions</u><br>% | <u>Churches</u><br>% | <u>News<br/>Organizations</u><br>% |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| <b><i>Total</i></b>                  | 59                                    | 45                           | 15                   | 67                                 |
| <b><i>Region</i></b>                 |                                       |                              |                      |                                    |
| East                                 | 61                                    | 42                           | 15                   | 62                                 |
| Midwest                              | 60                                    | 50                           | 15                   | 68                                 |
| South                                | 57                                    | 41                           | 12                   | 69                                 |
| West                                 | 60                                    | 48                           | 22                   | 69                                 |
| <b><i>Race/Region</i></b>            |                                       |                              |                      |                                    |
| White South                          | 56                                    | 44                           | 11                   | 71                                 |
| White Non-South                      | 61                                    | 48                           | 18                   | 68                                 |
| <b><i>Race/Region/Sex</i></b>        |                                       |                              |                      |                                    |
| White Men South                      | 64                                    | 50                           | 11                   | 74                                 |
| White Men Non-South                  | 63                                    | 52                           | 20                   | 71                                 |
| White Women South                    | 49                                    | 38                           | 12                   | 68                                 |
| White Women Non-South                | 59                                    | 45                           | 16                   | 65                                 |
| <b><i>Community Size</i></b>         |                                       |                              |                      |                                    |
| Large City                           | 60                                    | 41                           | 19                   | 64                                 |
| Suburb                               | 59                                    | 46                           | 17                   | 68                                 |
| Small City/Town                      | 56                                    | 46                           | 14                   | 66                                 |
| Rural Area                           | 65                                    | 45                           | 14                   | 73                                 |
| <b><i>Religious Affiliation</i></b>  |                                       |                              |                      |                                    |
| Total White Protestant               | 57                                    | 47                           | 11                   | 69                                 |
| White Prot. Evangelical              | 53                                    | 47                           | 5                    | 71                                 |
| White Prot. Non-Evangelical          | 60                                    | 47                           | 17                   | 68                                 |
| White Catholic                       | 62                                    | 51                           | 15                   | 68                                 |
| <b><i>Party Id</i></b>               |                                       |                              |                      |                                    |
| Republican                           | 55                                    | 60                           | 12                   | 77                                 |
| Democrat                             | 64                                    | 32                           | 16                   | 56                                 |
| Independent                          | 59                                    | 45                           | 20                   | 69                                 |
| Lean Republican                      | 55                                    | 58                           | 12                   | 76                                 |
| Lean Democrat                        | 63                                    | 34                           | 18                   | 60                                 |
| <b><i>1992 Presidential Vote</i></b> |                                       |                              |                      |                                    |
| Clinton                              | 61                                    | 37                           | 16                   | 57                                 |
| Bush                                 | 56                                    | 64                           | 12                   | 83                                 |
| Perot                                | 72                                    | 52                           | 21                   | 75                                 |

# SURVEY METHODOLOGY

## **ABOUT THIS SURVEY**

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,938 adults (1,546 registered voters), 18 years of age or older, during the period October 14-20, 1996. For results based on the total sample one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. For results based on the 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. For results based on the likely voters one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=769) or Form 2 (N=777), the sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

## **SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL**

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone households in the U.S. Estimates of the number of telephone households within each county are derived from 1990 Census data on residential telephone incidence that have been updated with state-level information on new telephone installations and county-level projections of the number of households. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample.

At least four attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home". If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who lives in the household". This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1994). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

# THE QUESTIONNAIRE

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS**  
**OCTOBER 1996 PRE-ELECTION TYPOLOGY SURVEY**  
**-- FINAL TOPLINE --**  
**October 14 - 20, 1996**  
**N = 1,938 General Public**  
**N = 1,546 Registered Voters**

Hello, I am \_\_\_\_\_ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates in Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and TV stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home. **[IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?]**

**ALL NUMBERS IN SURVEY, INCLUDING TREND FIGURES, ARE BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS EXCEPT WHERE NOTED**

**ASK ALL:**

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

|                 |               | Late            | Early           |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 | ----- Gallup ----- |                 |                 |                 |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                 |               | Sept            | Sept            | July            | June            | Oct             | Sept            | Aug             | June            | Nov                | Oct             | Aug             | Sept            |
|                 |               | <u>1996</u>     | <u>1996</u>     | <u>1996</u>     | <u>1996</u>     | <u>1992</u>     | <u>1992</u>     | <u>1992</u>     | <u>1992</u>     | <u>1988</u>        | <u>1988</u>     | <u>1988</u>     | <u>1988</u>     |
| 65              | Quite a lot   | 61              | 56              | 55              | 50              | 77              | 69              | 72              | 63              | 73                 | 69              | 61              | 57              |
| 7               | Some (VOL)    | 7               | 3               | 3               | 5               | 5               | 3               | 4               | 6               | 8                  | 9               | 10              | 18              |
| 26              | Only a little | 29              | 36              | 41              | 41              | 16              | 26              | 23              | 29              | 17                 | 20              | 27              | 23              |
| 1               | None (VOL)    | 2               | 4               | 1               | 3               | 1               | 1               | 1               | 1               | 2                  | 2               | 2               | 2               |
| <u>1</u><br>100 | DK/Refused    | <u>1</u><br>100 | <u>1</u><br>100 | <u>*</u><br>100 | <u>1</u><br>100 | <u>1</u><br>100 | <u>1</u><br>100 | <u>*</u><br>100 | <u>1</u><br>100 | <u>0</u><br>100    | <u>0</u><br>100 | <u>0</u><br>100 | <u>0</u><br>100 |

Q.4 Do you happen to know where people in your neighborhood go to vote?

|                  |                                 |                 | --- Gallup ---   |                  |
|------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|
|                  |                                 | Nov             | Nov              | Oct              |
|                  |                                 | <u>1994</u>     | <u>1988</u>      | <u>1988</u>      |
| 85               | Yes -- gives answer             | 93              | 89               | 88               |
| <u>15</u><br>100 | No/Don't Know/Refused/No answer | <u>7</u><br>100 | <u>11</u><br>100 | <u>12</u><br>100 |

Q.5 Generally speaking, how much interest would you say you have in politics: a great deal, a fair amount, only a little, or no interest at all?

|                 |               | Late<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | --- Gallup ---<br>Nov <u>1988</u> Oct <u>1988</u> |                 |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 25              | Great deal    | 25                          | 29                                                | 27              |
| 50              | Fair amount   | 50                          | 51                                                | 53              |
| 22              | Only a little | 22                          | 17                                                | 17              |
| 3               | None          | 3                           | 3                                                 | 3               |
| $\frac{*}{100}$ | DK/Refused    | $\frac{*}{100}$             | $\frac{*}{100}$                                   | $\frac{*}{100}$ |

Q.6 How often would you say you vote... **(READ)**

|                 |                         | Late<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | June<br><u>1996</u> | Feb<br><u>1996</u> | Oct<br><u>1995</u> | April<br><u>1995</u> | Nov<br><u>1994</u> | Oct<br><u>1994</u> | July<br><u>1994</u> | June<br><u>1992</u> | May<br><u>1992</u> | Nov<br><u>1991</u> | May<br><u>1990</u> | --- Gallup ---<br>Nov <u>1988</u> Oct <u>1988</u> May <u>1988</u> Jan <u>1988</u> May <u>1987</u> |                 |                 |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 52              | Always                  | 52                          | 52                  | 42                 | 53                 | 53                   | 58                 | 55                 | 52                  | 60                  | 50                 | 46                 | 42                 | 57                                                                                                | 56              | 43              | 49              | 43              |
| 30              | Nearly always           | 31                          | 33                  | 41                 | 35                 | 34                   | 28                 | 32                 | 34                  | 29                  | 35                 | 41                 | 42                 | 26                                                                                                | 26              | 41              | 39              | 43              |
| 9               | Part of the time        | 10                          | 9                   | 11                 | 7                  | 9                    | 8                  | 10                 | 10                  | 7                   | 10                 | 9                  | 11                 | 10                                                                                                | 12              | 11              | 9               | 9               |
| 5               | Seldom                  | 4                           | 4                   | 4                  | 4                  | 4                    | 5                  | 3                  | 4                   | 3                   | 4                  | 4                  | 4                  | 4                                                                                                 | 4               | 3               | 2               | 3               |
| 2               | <b>(VOL)</b> Other      | 1                           | 1                   | 1                  | *                  | *                    | 1                  | *                  | *                   | 1                   | *                  | 0                  | *                  | 2                                                                                                 | 1               | 1               | *               | 1               |
| 2               | <b>(VOL)</b> Never vote | 2                           | 1                   | 1                  | 1                  | *                    | *                  | *                  | *                   | *                   | 1                  | *                  | 1                  | 1                                                                                                 | 1               | 2               | 1               | 1               |
| $\frac{*}{100}$ | Don't know              | $\frac{*}{100}$             | $\frac{*}{100}$     | $\frac{*}{100}$    | $\frac{*}{100}$    | $\frac{*}{100}$      | $\frac{0}{100}$    | $\frac{*}{100}$    | $\frac{*}{100}$     | $\frac{*}{100}$     | $\frac{*}{100}$    | $\frac{*}{100}$    | $\frac{*}{100}$    | $\frac{*}{100}$                                                                                   | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ | $\frac{*}{100}$ |

- Q.7 If the presidential election were being held today, would you vote for the Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton and Al Gore, for the Republican ticket of Bob Dole and Jack Kemp, or for the Reform party ticket of Ross Perot and Pat Choate **(INTERVIEWER: CHOATE RHYMES WITH BOAT)**?
- Q.7a Do you support **(INSERT CHOICE FROM Q. 7)** strongly or only moderately?
- Q.7b As of TODAY, do you lean more to Clinton, the Democrat, more to Dole, the Republican, or more to Perot, the Reform party candidate?

|                 |                                        | Late<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | Early<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | July<br><u>1996</u> | March<br><u>1996</u> | Sept<br><u>1995</u> | July<br><u>1994</u> |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 51              | Clinton/Lean Clinton                   | 51                          | 52                           | 44                  | 44                   | 42                  | 39                  |
| 25              | Strongly                               | 26                          | 26                           | n/a                 | n/a                  | n/a                 | n/a                 |
| 26              | Only moderately                        | 25                          | 26                           | n/a                 | n/a                  | n/a                 | n/a                 |
| *               | Don't know                             | *                           | 0                            | n/a                 | n/a                  | n/a                 | n/a                 |
| 34              | Dole/Lean Dole                         | 35                          | 34                           | 34                  | 35                   | 36                  | 36                  |
| 17              | Strongly                               | 16                          | 17                           | n/a                 | n/a                  | n/a                 | n/a                 |
| 16              | Only moderately                        | 18                          | 17                           | n/a                 | n/a                  | n/a                 | n/a                 |
| 1               | Don't know                             | 1                           | *                            | n/a                 | n/a                  | n/a                 | n/a                 |
| 8               | Perot/Lean Perot                       | 7                           | 8                            | 16                  | 16                   | 19                  | 20                  |
| 3               | Strongly                               | 3                           | 3                            | n/a                 | n/a                  | n/a                 | n/a                 |
| 5               | Only moderately                        | 4                           | 5                            | n/a                 | n/a                  | n/a                 | n/a                 |
| *               | Don't know                             | *                           | *                            | n/a                 | n/a                  | n/a                 | n/a                 |
| <u>7</u><br>100 | Undecided/Other Candidate <b>(VOL)</b> | <u>7</u><br>100             | <u>6</u><br>100              | <u>6</u><br>100     | <u>5</u><br>100      | <u>3</u><br>100     | <u>5</u><br>100     |

**ASK ALL:**

- Q.8 Suppose the 1996 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?
- Q.9 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

|                 |                              | Late<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | Early<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | July<br><u>1996</u> | June<br><u>1996</u> | March<br><u>1996</u> | Jan<br><u>1996</u> | Oct<br><u>1995</u> | Aug<br><u>1995</u> | Nov<br><u>1994</u> | Oct<br><u>1994</u> | Early<br>Oct<br><u>1994</u> | Sept<br><u>1994</u> | July<br><u>1994</u> |
|-----------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 42              | Republican/Lean Rep          | 43                          | 43                           | 46                  | 44                  | 44                   | 46                 | 48                 | 50                 | 45                 | 47                 | 52                          | 48                  | 45                  |
| 49              | Democrat/Lean Dem            | 49                          | 51                           | 47                  | 50                  | 49                   | 47                 | 48                 | 43                 | 43                 | 44                 | 40                          | 46                  | 47                  |
| <u>9</u><br>100 | Other/Undecided <b>(VOL)</b> | <u>8</u><br>100             | <u>6</u><br>100              | <u>7</u><br>100     | <u>6</u><br>100     | <u>7</u><br>100      | <u>7</u><br>100    | <u>4</u><br>100    | <u>7</u><br>100    | <u>12</u><br>100   | <u>9</u><br>100    | <u>8</u><br>100             | <u>6</u><br>100     | <u>8</u><br>100     |

**IF RESPONDENT CHOSE A CANDIDATE IN Q.7 OR Q.7b ASK:  
NOW THINKING ABOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AGAIN...**

Q.10 Would you say that your choice is more a vote for (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.7 OR Q.7b-- CLINTON, DOLE, PEROT) OR more a vote against (INSERT NAMES OF OTHER TWO PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES)?

| <u>Direction Of Support</u> |                                      | Early Sept<br><u>1996</u> |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 51                          | Clinton                              | 52                        |
|                             | 33 Pro-Clinton -- <b>GO TO Q.10a</b> | 35                        |
|                             | 16 Anti-Others -- <b>GO TO Q.11</b>  | 15                        |
|                             | 2 Undecided -- <b>GO TO Q.11</b>     | 2                         |
| 34                          | Dole                                 | 34                        |
|                             | 15 Pro-Dole -- <b>GO TO Q.10a</b>    | 16                        |
|                             | 18 Anti-Others -- <b>GO TO Q.11</b>  | 17                        |
|                             | 1 Undecided -- <b>GO TO Q.11</b>     | 1                         |
| 8                           | Perot                                | 8                         |
|                             | 4 Pro-Perot -- <b>GO TO Q.10a</b>    | 3                         |
|                             | 4 Anti-Others -- <b>GO TO Q.11</b>   | 5                         |
|                             | * Undecided -- <b>GO TO Q.11</b>     | 0                         |
| <u>7</u>                    | Don't know/Refused                   | <u>6</u>                  |
| 100                         |                                      | 100                       |

**IF "VOTE FOR" IN Q.10 ASK:**

Q.10a Is your choice more a vote for (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.7 OR Q.7b) personally or more a vote for his party?

**IF "PERSONALLY" IN Q.10a ASK:**

Q.10b Do you support him more because of his personal characteristics and abilities OR more because of what he stands for politically?

Major Reason For Support

|          |                         |
|----------|-------------------------|
| 55       | Clinton                 |
|          | 15 Party                |
|          | 4 Personality/Abilities |
|          | 12 Political Stands     |
|          | 17 Oppose Opponent      |
|          | 7 Total Other/Undecided |
| 36       | Dole                    |
|          | 6 Party                 |
|          | 3 Personality/Abilities |
|          | 4 Political Stands      |
|          | 19 Oppose Opponent      |
|          | 4 Total Other/Undecided |
| 9        | Perot                   |
|          | 1 Party                 |
|          | * Personality/Abilities |
|          | 2 Political Stands      |
|          | 5 Oppose Opponent       |
|          | 1 Total Other/Undecided |
| <u>0</u> | Don't know/Refused      |
| 100      |                         |

**IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '9' UNDECIDED IN Q.7b, THEN READ: "NOW THINKING ABOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AGAIN..."**

**IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE CLINTON IN Q. 7 OR Q. 7b ASK:**

Q.11 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Bill Clinton in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

|                |                             | Late<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | Early<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | July<br><u>1996</u> | Sept<br><u>1992</u> | July<br><u>1992</u> | May<br><u>1992</u> |
|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 10             | Chance might vote for him   | 11                          | 10                           | 8                   | 13                  | 14                  | 11                 |
| 35             | Decided not to vote for him | 35                          | 34                           | 36                  | 28                  | 26                  | 37                 |
| $\frac{4}{49}$ | Don't know/Refused          | $\frac{3}{49}$              | $\frac{4}{48}$               | $\frac{4}{48}$      | $\frac{6}{47}$      | $\frac{3}{43}$      | $\frac{7}{55}$     |

**IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE DOLE IN Q. 7 OR Q.7b ASK:**

Q.12 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Bob Dole in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

|                |                             | Late<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | Early<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | July<br><u>1996</u> | ----- <b>Bush</b> -----<br>Sept<br><u>1992</u> | July<br><u>1992</u> | May<br><u>1992</u> |
|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 11             | Chance might vote for him   | 16                          | 14                           | 15                  | 12                                             | 15                  | 7                  |
| 51             | Decided not to vote for him | 44                          | 47                           | 40                  | 44                                             | 45                  | 40                 |
| $\frac{4}{66}$ | Don't know/Refused          | $\frac{5}{65}$              | $\frac{5}{66}$               | $\frac{3}{58}$      | $\frac{6}{62}$                                 | $\frac{4}{64}$      | $\frac{6}{53}$     |

**IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE PEROT IN Q. 7 OR Q.7b ASK:**

Q.13 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Ross Perot in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

|                |                             | Late<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | Early<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> |
|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 11             | Chance might vote for him   | 12                          | 11                           |
| 77             | Decided not to vote for him | 77                          | 78                           |
| $\frac{4}{92}$ | Don't know/Refused          | $\frac{4}{93}$              | $\frac{3}{92}$               |

**ASK ALL:  
ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...**

Q.14 I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is... **(READ AND ROTATE) AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE:** Do you feel **STRONGLY** about that, or not?

**-- THIS SERIES AND TREND FIGURES ARE BASED ON TOTAL GENERAL PUBLIC --**

|    |           |                                                         | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1995</u>   | <u>April</u><br><u>1995</u> | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1994</u>   | <u>July</u><br><u>1994</u> |                            |
|----|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. | 56        | Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient    | 63                          | 63                          | 64                          | 66                         |                            |
|    | 48        | Strongly                                                | 53                          | 51                          | 54                          | 54                         |                            |
|    | 8         | Not Strongly                                            | 10                          | 12                          | 10                          | 12                         |                            |
|    |           | Government often does a better job than people give     |                             |                             |                             |                            |                            |
|    | 39        | it credit for                                           | 34                          | 34                          | 32                          | 31                         |                            |
|    | 25        | Strongly                                                | 20                          | 19                          | 19                          | 17                         |                            |
|    | 14        | Not Strongly                                            | 14                          | 15                          | 13                          | 14                         |                            |
|    | <u>5</u>  | Neither/Don't know                                      | <u>3</u>                    | <u>3</u>                    | <u>4</u>                    | <u>3</u>                   |                            |
|    | 100       |                                                         | 100                         | 100                         | 100                         | 100                        |                            |
| b. |           | Government regulation of business is necessary to       |                             |                             |                             |                            |                            |
|    | 45        | protect the public interest                             | 45                          | 43                          | 38                          | 41                         |                            |
|    | 29        | Strongly                                                | 28                          | 25                          | 24                          | 24                         |                            |
|    | 16        | Not Strongly                                            | 17                          | 18                          | 14                          | 17                         |                            |
|    |           | Government regulation of business usually does more     |                             |                             |                             |                            |                            |
|    | 46        | harm than good                                          | 50                          | 51                          | 55                          | 54                         |                            |
|    | 33        | Strongly                                                | 37                          | 38                          | 41                          | 39                         |                            |
|    | 13        | Not Strongly                                            | 13                          | 13                          | 14                          | 15                         |                            |
|    | <u>9</u>  | Neither/Don't know                                      | <u>5</u>                    | <u>6</u>                    | <u>7</u>                    | <u>5</u>                   |                            |
|    | 100       |                                                         | 100                         | 100                         | 100                         | 100                        |                            |
| c. |           | Poor people today have it easy because they can get     |                             |                             |                             |                            |                            |
|    | 46        | government benefits without doing anything in return    | 54                          | 52                          | 48                          | 53                         |                            |
|    | 35        | Strongly                                                | 36                          | 37                          | 35                          | 37                         |                            |
|    | 11        | Not Strongly                                            | 18                          | 15                          | 13                          | 16                         |                            |
|    |           | Poor people have hard lives because government          |                             |                             |                             |                            |                            |
|    | 40        | benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently | 36                          | 39                          | 41                          | 39                         |                            |
|    | 28        | Strongly                                                | 25                          | 28                          | 31                          | 27                         |                            |
|    | 12        | Not Strongly                                            | 11                          | 11                          | 10                          | 12                         |                            |
|    | <u>14</u> | Neither/Don't know                                      | <u>10</u>                   | <u>9</u>                    | <u>11</u>                   | <u>8</u>                   |                            |
|    | 100       |                                                         | 100                         | 100                         | 100                         | 100                        |                            |
| d. |           | The government should do more to help needy             | <u>April</u><br><u>1996</u> | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1995</u>   | <u>April</u><br><u>1995</u> | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1994</u>  | <u>July</u><br><u>1994</u> |
|    | 46        | Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt      | 49                          | 47                          | 46                          | 50                         | 48                         |
|    | 36        | Strongly                                                | 42                          | 35                          | 33                          | 39                         | 35                         |
|    | 10        | Not Strongly                                            | 7                           | 12                          | 13                          | 11                         | 13                         |
|    |           | The government today can't afford to do much            |                             |                             |                             |                            |                            |
|    | 44        | more to help the needy                                  | 44                          | 47                          | 47                          | 43                         | 47                         |
|    | 31        | Strongly                                                | 34                          | 31                          | 34                          | 31                         | 32                         |
|    | 13        | Not Strongly                                            | 10                          | 16                          | 13                          | 12                         | 15                         |
|    | <u>10</u> | Neither/Don't know                                      | <u>7</u>                    | <u>6</u>                    | <u>7</u>                    | <u>7</u>                   | <u>5</u>                   |
|    | 100       |                                                         | 100                         | 100                         | 100                         | 100                        | 100                        |

**Q.14 con't ...**

|    |           | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1995</u> | <u>April</u><br><u>1995</u> | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1994</u> | <u>July</u><br><u>1994</u> |
|----|-----------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| e. |           |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    | 73        |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    |           | 69                        | 70                          | 67                        | 72                         |
|    |           | 57                        | 52                          | 50                        | 52                         |
|    |           | 16                        | 18                          | 17                        | 20                         |
|    | 21        |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    |           | 27                        | 26                          | 27                        | 25                         |
|    |           | 16                        | 19                          | 20                        | 18                         |
|    |           | 5                         | 7                           | 7                         | 7                          |
|    | <u>6</u>  | <u>4</u>                  | <u>4</u>                    | <u>6</u>                  | <u>3</u>                   |
|    | 100       | 100                       | 100                         | 100                       | 100                        |
| f. |           |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    | 28        |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    |           | 37                        | 34                          | 34                        | 32                         |
|    |           | 19                        | 21                          | 24                        | 20                         |
|    |           | 9                         | 13                          | 10                        | 12                         |
|    | 58        |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    |           | 53                        | 56                          | 54                        | 59                         |
|    |           | 45                        | 40                          | 40                        | 43                         |
|    |           | 13                        | 16                          | 14                        | 16                         |
|    | <u>14</u> | <u>10</u>                 | <u>10</u>                   | <u>12</u>                 | <u>9</u>                   |
|    | 100       | 100                       | 100                         | 100                       | 100                        |
| i. |           |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    | 36        |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    |           | 36                        | 35                          | 40                        | 36                         |
|    |           | 30                        | 27                          | 32                        | 28                         |
|    |           | 6                         | 8                           | 8                         | 8                          |
|    | 53        |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    |           | 59                        | 58                          | 52                        | 58                         |
|    |           | 44                        | 46                          | 43                        | 46                         |
|    |           | 9                         | 12                          | 9                         | 12                         |
|    | <u>11</u> | <u>5</u>                  | <u>7</u>                    | <u>8</u>                  | <u>6</u>                   |
|    | 100       | 100                       | 100                         | 100                       | 100                        |
| j. |           |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    | 46        |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    |           | 49                        | 49                          | 47                        | 52                         |
|    |           | 39                        | 39                          | 39                        | 43                         |
|    |           | 7                         | 10                          | 8                         | 9                          |
|    | 47        |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    |           | 48                        | 47                          | 47                        | 45                         |
|    |           | 39                        | 38                          | 37                        | 35                         |
|    |           | 8                         | 9                           | 10                        | 10                         |
|    | <u>7</u>  | <u>3</u>                  | <u>4</u>                    | <u>6</u>                  | <u>3</u>                   |
|    | 100       | 100                       | 100                         | 100                       | 100                        |
| m. |           |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    | 75        |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    |           | 77                        | 75                          | 73                        | 76                         |
|    |           | 61                        | 59                          | 58                        | 59                         |
|    |           | 14                        | 16                          | 15                        | 17                         |
|    | 18        |                           |                             |                           |                            |
|    |           | 18                        | 20                          | 20                        | 19                         |
|    |           | 10                        | 10                          | 10                        | 9                          |
|    |           | 8                         | 10                          | 10                        | 10                         |
|    | <u>7</u>  | <u>5</u>                  | <u>5</u>                    | <u>7</u>                  | <u>5</u>                   |
|    | 100       | 100                       | 100                         | 100                       | 100                        |

**Q.14 con't ...**

|    |          |                                                                                 | <u>Oct</u>   | <u>April</u> | <u>Oct</u>   | <u>July</u> |
|----|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
|    |          |                                                                                 | <u>1995</u>  | <u>1995</u>  | <u>1994</u>  | <u>1994</u> |
| n. | 51       | Business corporations make too much profit                                      | 53           | 51           | 50           | 52          |
|    | 43       | Strongly                                                                        | 44           | 42           | 40           | 43          |
|    | 8        | Not Strongly                                                                    | 9            | 9            | 10           | 9           |
|    | 42       | Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit                   | 43           | 44           | 44           | 43          |
|    | 27       | Strongly                                                                        | 27           | 26           | 28           | 27          |
|    | 15       | Not Strongly                                                                    | 16           | 18           | 16           | 16          |
|    | <u>7</u> | Neither/Don't know                                                              | <u>4</u>     | <u>5</u>     | <u>6</u>     | <u>5</u>    |
|    | 100      |                                                                                 | 100          | 100          | 100          | 100         |
|    |          |                                                                                 | <u>April</u> | <u>Oct</u>   | <u>April</u> | <u>Oct</u>  |
|    |          |                                                                                 | <u>1996</u>  | <u>1995</u>  | <u>1995</u>  | <u>1994</u> |
| o. | 69       | Elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly       | 72           | 73           | 76           | 74          |
|    | 58       | Strongly                                                                        | 59           | 60           | 64           | 61          |
|    | 11       | Not Strongly                                                                    | 13           | 13           | 12           | 13          |
|    | 25       | Elected officials in Washington try hard to stay in touch with voters back home | 23           | 24           | 21           | 22          |
|    | 15       | Strongly                                                                        | 14           | 14           | 12           | 13          |
|    | 10       | Not Strongly                                                                    | 9            | 10           | 9            | 9           |
|    | <u>6</u> | Neither/Don't know                                                              | <u>5</u>     | <u>3</u>     | <u>3</u>     | <u>4</u>    |
|    | 100      |                                                                                 | 100          | 100          | 100          | 100         |
|    |          |                                                                                 | <u>Oct</u>   | <u>April</u> | <u>Oct</u>   | <u>July</u> |
|    |          |                                                                                 | <u>1995</u>  | <u>1995</u>  | <u>1994</u>  | <u>1994</u> |
| p. | 38       | Most elected officials care what people like me think                           | 33           | 32           | 29           | 34          |
|    | 23       | Strongly                                                                        | 18           | 18           | 17           | 18          |
|    | 15       | Not Strongly                                                                    | 15           | 14           | 12           | 16          |
|    | 58       | Most elected officials don't care what people like me think                     | 64           | 64           | 68           | 64          |
|    | 48       | Strongly                                                                        | 53           | 53           | 56           | 51          |
|    | 10       | Not Strongly                                                                    | 11           | 11           | 12           | 13          |
|    | <u>4</u> | Neither/Don't know                                                              | <u>3</u>     | <u>4</u>     | <u>3</u>     | <u>2</u>    |
|    | 100      |                                                                                 | 100          | 100          | 100          | 100         |

**ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...**

Q.15 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

**IF YES, ASK:**

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

|                 |                    | Late Sept<br><u>1996</u> | Early Sept<br><u>1996</u> | July<br><u>1996</u> | June<br><u>1996</u> | Oct<br><u>1992</u> | Sept<br><u>1992</u> | Aug<br><u>1992</u> | June<br><u>1992</u> | --- Gallup ---<br>Nov<br><u>1998</u> Oct<br><u>1988</u> |                 |
|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 98              | Yes                | 98                       | 96                        | 95                  | 96                  | 98                 | 98                  | 97                 | 97                  | 97                                                      | 98              |
| 87              | Absolutely certain | 89                       | 83                        | 82                  | 84                  | 91                 | 85                  | 89                 | 88                  | 87                                                      | 85              |
| 10              | Fairly certain     | 8                        | 11                        | 12                  | 11                  | 6                  | 11                  | 8                  | 8                   | 9                                                       | 12              |
| 1               | Not certain        | 1                        | 2                         | 1                   | 1                   | 1                  | 2                   | *                  | 1                   | 1                                                       | 1               |
| 1               | No                 | 1                        | 2                         | 3                   | 2                   | 1                  | 1                   | 1                  | 1                   | 2                                                       | 1               |
| <u>1</u><br>100 | Don't know/Refused | <u>1</u><br>100          | <u>2</u><br>100           | <u>2</u><br>100     | <u>2</u><br>100     | <u>1</u><br>100    | <u>1</u><br>100     | <u>2</u><br>100    | <u>2</u><br>100     | <u>1</u><br>100                                         | <u>1</u><br>100 |

**ASK ALL:**

Q.17 I'd like you to rate your chance of voting in November on a scale of 10 to 1. If 10 represents a person who definitely will vote and 1 represents a person who definitely will not vote, where on this scale of 10 to 1 would you place yourself?

|                 |                               | Late Sept<br><u>1996</u> | ----- Gallup -----<br><u>Sept 1992</u> <u>Nov 1988</u> <u>Oct 1988</u> |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 77              | 10 -- Definitely will vote    | 78                       | 77                                                                     | 77              | 73              |
| 9               | 9                             | 10                       | 5                                                                      | 7               | 8               |
| 7               | 8                             | 6                        | 4                                                                      | 6               | 7               |
| 2               | 7                             | 2                        | 3                                                                      | 2               | 3               |
| 2               | 6                             | 1                        | 2                                                                      | 1               | 2               |
| 2               | 5                             | 1                        | 4                                                                      | 3               | 3               |
| *               | 4                             | *                        | *                                                                      | *               | 1               |
| *               | 3                             | *                        | 1                                                                      | *               | *               |
| *               | 2                             | *                        | *                                                                      | *               | *               |
| 1               | 1 -- Definitely will not vote | 1                        | 4                                                                      | 2               | 1               |
| <u>*</u><br>100 | Don't know                    | <u>1</u><br>100          | <u>*</u><br>100                                                        | <u>2</u><br>100 | <u>2</u><br>100 |

**ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...**

Q.18 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?

|                 |                      | Late<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | June<br><u>1996</u> | Oct<br><u>1992</u> | Aug<br><u>1992</u> | June<br><u>1992</u> |
|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 11              | Very satisfied       | 11                          | 10                  | 10                 | 11                 | 6                   |
| 48              | Fairly satisfied     | 50                          | 37                  | 41                 | 42                 | 29                  |
| 27              | Not too satisfied    | 26                          | 31                  | 33                 | 31                 | 36                  |
| 11              | Not at all satisfied | 10                          | 18                  | 14                 | 15                 | 27                  |
| <u>3</u><br>100 | Don't know/Refused   | <u>3</u><br>100             | <u>4</u><br>100     | <u>2</u><br>100    | <u>1</u><br>100    | <u>2</u><br>100     |

**ASK Q.18a AND Q.18b ONLY IF INTERVIEW DATE IS AFTER 10/16/96: [N=834]**

**ROTATE Q.18a AND Q.18b**

Q.18a Would you say your overall opinion of Bill Clinton is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? (INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")

|                | Very<br>Favor-<br><u>able</u> | Mostly<br>Favor-<br><u>able</u> | Mostly<br>Unfavor-<br><u>able</u> | Very<br>Unfavor-<br><u>able</u> | Never<br>Heard<br><u>of</u> | Can't<br><u>Rate</u> |
|----------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| October, 1996  | 12                            | 45                              | 22                                | 19                              | 0                           | 2=100                |
| June, 1996     | 15                            | 45                              | 23                                | 15                              | 0                           | 2=100                |
| April, 1996    | 17                            | 40                              | 25                                | 16                              | 0                           | 3=100                |
| February, 1996 | 19                            | 34                              | 23                                | 22                              | 0                           | 2=100                |
| January, 1996  | 13                            | 43                              | 27                                | 16                              | 0                           | 1=100                |
| August, 1995   | 14                            | 35                              | 30                                | 19                              | 2                           | *=100                |
| December, 1994 | 18                            | 34                              | 24                                | 22                              | 0                           | 2=100                |
| July, 1994     | 16                            | 42                              | 25                                | 17                              | *                           | 1=100                |
| July, 1992     | 18                            | 43                              | 23                                | 9                               | 0                           | 7=100                |
| June, 1992     | 10                            | 36                              | 34                                | 14                              | 1                           | 5=100                |
| May, 1992      | 11                            | 43                              | 32                                | 10                              | *                           | 4=100                |
| March, 1992    | 10                            | 44                              | 30                                | 10                              | 1                           | 5=100                |
| February, 1992 | 16                            | 44                              | 24                                | 7                               | 2                           | 7=100                |
| November, 1991 | 5                             | 25                              | 9                                 | 2                               | 37                          | 22=100               |

Q.18b Would you say your overall opinion of Bob Dole is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? (INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")

|                | Very Favorable | Mostly Favorable | Mostly Unfavorable | Very Unfavorable | Never Heard of | Can't Rate |
|----------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------|------------|
| October, 1996  | 8              | 35               | 36                 | 18               | *              | 3=100      |
| June, 1996     | 11             | 42               | 28                 | 14               | *              | 5=100      |
| April, 1996    | 11             | 38               | 28                 | 16               | *              | 6=100      |
| February, 1996 | 14             | 45               | 23                 | 14               | *              | 4=100      |
| January, 1996  | 7              | 47               | 28                 | 14               | *              | 4=100      |
| August, 1995   | 13             | 41               | 26                 | 11               | 1              | 8=100      |
| December, 1994 | 18             | 42               | 19                 | 10               | 3              | 8=100      |
| July, 1994     | 15             | 46               | 20                 | 10               | 3              | 6=100      |
| May, 1990      | 8              | 49               | 15                 | 5                | 9              | 14=100     |
| May, 1987      | 9              | 51               | 11                 | 3                | 9              | 17=100     |

Q.19 As I read a list of phrases tell me if you think this phrase better describes Bill Clinton or if it better describes Bob Dole. (READ AND ROTATE)

|                                        | Bill Clinton | Bob Dole | (VOL) Both | (VOL) Neither | Don't Know |
|----------------------------------------|--------------|----------|------------|---------------|------------|
| a. Would use good judgment in a crisis | 46           | 37       | 8          | 3             | 6=100      |
| Early September, 1996                  | 48           | 37       | 7          | 3             | 5=100      |
| July, 1996                             | 44           | 37       | 11         | 2             | 6=100      |
| March, 1996                            | 44           | 42       | 4          | 4             | 6=100      |
| b. Personally likable                  | 66           | 20       | 7          | 4             | 3=100      |
| Early September, 1996                  | 65           | 23       | 5          | 5             | 2=100      |
| July, 1996                             | 63           | 21       | 8          | 4             | 4=100      |
| March, 1996                            | 66           | 22       | 4          | 5             | 3=100      |
| c. Honest and truthful                 | 26           | 42       | 4          | 20            | 8=100      |
| Early September, 1996                  | 27           | 40       | 4          | 21            | 8=100      |
| July, 1996                             | 24           | 42       | 5          | 21            | 8=100      |
| March, 1996                            | 32           | 42       | 2          | 17            | 7=100      |
| d. Has new ideas                       | 51           | 28       | 3          | 12            | 6=100      |
| Early September, 1996                  | 52           | 29       | 5          | 9             | 5=100      |
| July, 1996                             | 51           | 26       | 5          | 12            | 6=100      |
| March, 1996                            | 43           | 32       | 2          | 13            | 4=100      |
| e. Cares about people like me          | 46           | 31       | 5          | 13            | 5=100      |
| Early September, 1996                  | 50           | 32       | 4          | 9             | 5=100      |
| July, 1996                             | 47           | 31       | 5          | 13            | 4=100      |
| March, 1996                            | 53           | 28       | 2          | 13            | 4=100      |
| f. Keeps his promises                  | 32           | 36       | 2          | 19            | 11=100     |
| Early September, 1996                  | 34           | 32       | 1          | 23            | 0=100      |
| July, 1996                             | 27           | 37       | 3          | 23            | 10=100     |
| March, 1996                            | 30           | 36       | 1          | 24            | 9=100      |

**Q.19 con't ...**

|    |                                       | <u>Bill<br/>Clinton</u> | <u>Bob<br/>Dole</u> | <b>(VOL)</b><br><u>Both</u> | <b>(VOL)</b><br><u>Neither</u> | <u>Don't<br/>Know</u> |
|----|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| g. | Shares my values                      | 42                      | 40                  | 2                           | 10                             | 6=100                 |
|    | Early September, 1996                 | 46                      | 40                  | 3                           | 8                              | 3=100                 |
|    | July, 1996                            | 43                      | 39                  | 2                           | 11                             | 5=100                 |
|    | March, 1996                           | 46                      | 39                  | 2                           | 9                              | 4=100                 |
| h. | Connects well with ordinary Americans | 65                      | 21                  | 4                           | 5                              | 5=100                 |
|    | Early September, 1996                 | 67                      | 22                  | 3                           | 4                              | 4=100                 |
|    | July, 1996                            | 64                      | 22                  | 4                           | 6                              | 4=100                 |
| i. | A strong leader                       | 47                      | 36                  | 4                           | 8                              | 5=100                 |
|    | Early September, 1996                 | 48                      | 39                  | 5                           | 4                              | 4=100                 |

**ASK Q.20 ONLY IF INTERVIEW DATE IS AFTER 10/16/96: [N=834]**

**ON A RELATED SUBJECT . . .**

Q.20 Which one of the following is most important to you in your overall evaluation of Bill Clinton . . . **(READ AND ROTATE)?**

|                 |                                                                        | <u>July<br/>1996</u> |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 56              | His record as President?                                               | 52                   |
| 22              | What he has prevented the Republican Congress from doing? OR           | 21                   |
| 18              | The charges that have been made about his personal life and character? | 22                   |
| <u>4</u><br>100 | <b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't Know/Refused                                | <u>5</u><br>100      |

**ASK Q. 21 OF FORM 1 RESPONDENTS ONLY: [N=769]**

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

Q.21F1 What will make the biggest difference in how you vote for Congress in your district -- national issues, local or state issues, the candidate's political party, or the candidate's character or experience? **(IF MORE THAN ONE, PROBE:)** Well, which is most important?

|                 |                                  | Late<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | Early<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | Nov<br><u>1994</u> | Oct<br><u>1994</u> | Early<br>Oct<br><u>1994</u> | ---CBS/NTY---<br>Oct 24-28<br><u>1986</u> | Sept 28-Oct 1<br><u>1986</u> |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 19              | National issues                  | 25                          | 18                           | 22                 | 22                 | 22                          | 22                                        | 20                           |
| 45              | State/Local issues               | 38                          | 42                           | 38                 | 38                 | 27                          | 25                                        | 23                           |
| 7               | Candidate's Political party      | 6                           | 6                            | 5                  | 3                  | 5                           | 6                                         | 9                            |
| 26              | Candidate's Character/Experience | 24                          | 30                           | 30                 | 29                 | 39                          | 40                                        | 41                           |
| 1               | Other (VOL)                      | 2                           | 1                            | 1                  | 3                  | 2                           | 1                                         | 3                            |
| 1               | None (VOL)                       | *                           | *                            | *                  | 1                  | 1                           | 1                                         | *                            |
| <u>1</u><br>100 | Don't know/Refused               | <u>5</u><br>100             | <u>3</u><br>100              | <u>4</u><br>100    | <u>4</u><br>100    | <u>4</u><br>100             | <u>5</u><br>100                           | <u>4</u><br>100              |

**ASK Q. 22 OF FORM 1 RESPONDENTS ONLY: [N=769]**

Q.22F1 If Bill Clinton is re-elected President in November, would it be better for the Republicans to control Congress or the Democrats to control Congress?

|                  |                    | Early Sept<br><u>1996</u> |
|------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 46               | Republicans        | 46                        |
| 42               | Democrats          | 44                        |
| <u>12</u><br>100 | Don't know/Refused | <u>10</u><br>100          |

**ASK Q. 23 OF FORM 2 RESPONDENTS ONLY: [N=777]**

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

Q. 23F2 Would you like to see your Representative in Congress be re-elected in November, or not?

|                  |                                  | Late<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | Early<br>Sept<br><u>1996</u> | Nov<br><u>1994</u> | Oct<br><u>1994</u> | Early Oct<br><u>1994</u> | ---Gallup---<br>Oct 25-28<br><u>1990</u> |
|------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 62               | Yes                              | 55                          | 62                           | 58                 | 55                 | 49                       | 62                                       |
| 19               | No                               | 17                          | 19                           | 25                 | 30                 | 29                       | 22                                       |
| 2                | Congressman is not running (VOL) | 2                           | 2                            | 1                  | 2                  | 2                        | 2                                        |
| <u>17</u><br>100 | No opinion                       | <u>26</u><br>100            | <u>17</u><br>100             | <u>16</u><br>100   | <u>13</u><br>100   | <u>20</u><br>100         | <u>14</u><br>100                         |

**ASK Q. 24 OF FORM 2 RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWERED '1' CLINTON IN QUESTION 7 OR 7b:**

Q.24F2 One last question about how you intend to vote. . . What are the chances that you will vote only for Democratic candidates in November? Is there an excellent chance of this, a good chance, some chance or no chance?

|                            |                    | Late Sept<br><u>1996</u>   |
|----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| 39                         | Excellent chance   | 38                         |
| 31                         | Good chance        | 32                         |
| 18                         | Some chance        | 21                         |
| 11                         | No chance          | 8                          |
| $\frac{1}{100}$<br>(N=390) | Don't know/Refused | $\frac{1}{100}$<br>(N=762) |

**ASK Q. 25 OF FORM 2 RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWERED '2' DOLE IN QUESTION 7 OR 7b:**

Q.25F2 One last question about how you intend to vote. . . What are the chances that you will vote only for Republican candidates in November? Is there an excellent chance of this, a good chance, some chance or no chance?

|                            |                    | Late Sept<br><u>1996</u>   |
|----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| 44                         | Excellent chance   | 42                         |
| 26                         | Good chance        | 29                         |
| 16                         | Some chance        | 19                         |
| 12                         | No chance          | 8                          |
| $\frac{2}{100}$<br>(N=269) | Don't know/Refused | $\frac{2}{100}$<br>(N=550) |

**ASK ALL:**

**IF RESPONDENT IS RECEIVING THE FULL QUESTIONNAIRE, READ: "ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT:"**

Q.26 Aside from weddings and funerals how often do you attend religious services... more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never?

|                 |                       | June<br>1996    |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 15              | More than once a week | 15              |
| 30              | Once a week           | 28              |
| 16              | Once or twice a month | 17              |
| 18              | A few times a year    | 20              |
| 13              | Seldom                | 12              |
| 7               | Never                 | 7               |
| <u>1</u><br>100 | Don't know/Refused    | <u>1</u><br>100 |

**ASK Q.27-28 ONLY OF THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH (Q.26=1,2,3):**

Q.27 Recently, has information on political parties or candidates for the upcoming election been made available in your place of worship, or not?

|                            |                    |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 22                         | Yes                |
| 75                         | No                 |
| <u>3</u><br>100<br>(N=931) | Don't know/Refused |

Q.28 And have the clergy at your place of worship or any other religious groups urged you to vote a particular way in the November election, or not?

**IF '1' YES IN Q.28, ASK:**

Q.29 Were you being urged to vote for a particular candidate or party in the Presidential race, a Congressional race, a state race, or a local race? [ACCEPT MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE]

|                 |                                         |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 6               | Yes                                     |
| 3               | Presidential                            |
| 1               | Congressional                           |
| 2               | State                                   |
| 2               | Local                                   |
| 2               | Don't know/Refused                      |
| 93              | No -- <b>GO TO Q.30</b>                 |
| <u>1</u><br>100 | Don't know/Refused -- <b>GO TO Q.30</b> |

**ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...**

Q.30 Now I'd like you to think about some concerns that people may have. How concerned are you, if at all, about **(INSERT ITEM: ROTATE)**? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned about this? What about **(NEXT ITEM)**...?

|    |                                                                                 | Very<br>Con-<br>cerned | Somewhat<br>Con-<br>cerned | Not too<br>Con-<br>cerned | Not at<br>all Con-<br>cerned | Does<br>Not<br>Apply<br><b>(VOL)</b> | Don't<br>Know |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| a. | Not having enough money for your retirement?                                    | 56                     | 24                         | 11                        | 7                            | 1                                    | 1=100         |
|    | March, 1996                                                                     | 58                     | 22                         | 10                        | 8                            | 2                                    | *=100         |
|    | October, 1995                                                                   | 47                     | 29                         | 11                        | 8                            | 5                                    | *=100         |
|    | March, 1994                                                                     | 40                     | 30                         | 15                        | 12                           | 2                                    | 1=100         |
|    | May, 1988                                                                       | 32                     | 37                         | 14                        | 9                            | 5                                    | 3=100         |
| b. | Being unable to save enough money to<br>put a child through college?            | 47                     | 18                         | 9                         | 13                           | 12                                   | 1=100         |
|    | October, 1995                                                                   | 42                     | 18                         | 8                         | 14                           | 18                                   | *=100         |
|    | March, 1994                                                                     | 35                     | 16                         | 8                         | 13                           | 28                                   | *=100         |
|    | May, 1988                                                                       | 21                     | 22                         | 11                        | 11                           | 31                                   | 4=100         |
| c. | Being unable to afford necessary health care<br>when a family member gets sick? | 61                     | 18                         | 12                        | 7                            | 1                                    | 1=100         |
|    | March, 1996                                                                     | 65                     | 17                         | 11                        | 7                            | *                                    | 0=100         |
|    | October, 1995                                                                   | 64                     | 18                         | 10                        | 7                            | 1                                    | *=100         |
|    | March, 1994                                                                     | 48                     | 23                         | 16                        | 11                           | 1                                    | 1=100         |

**ASK ALL:**

Q.32 Now I'm going to read you some more pairs of statements. As I read each pair, tell me whether the **FIRST** statement or the **SECOND** statement comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is... **(READ AND ROTATE)** **(AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE)**: Do you feel **STRONGLY** about that, or not?

**-- THIS SERIES AND TREND FIGURES ARE BASED ON TOTAL GENERAL PUBLIC --**

|          |                                                                            | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1995</u> | <u>April</u><br><u>1995</u> | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1994</u> | <u>July</u><br><u>1994</u> |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| q.       | This country should do whatever it takes to protect<br>the environment     | 77                        | 74                          | 77                        | 78                         |
| 77       | 66 Strongly                                                                | 65                        | 63                          | 65                        | 62                         |
|          | 11 Not Strongly                                                            | 12                        | 11                          | 12                        | 16                         |
|          | This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect<br>the environment | 20                        | 22                          | 19                        | 19                         |
| 18       | 13 Strongly                                                                | 13                        | 15                          | 13                        | 12                         |
|          | 5 Not Strongly                                                             | 7                         | 7                           | 6                         | 7                          |
| <u>5</u> | Neither/Don't know                                                         | <u>3</u>                  | <u>4</u>                    | <u>4</u>                  | <u>3</u>                   |
| 100      |                                                                            | 100                       | 100                         | 100                       | 100                        |

Q.32 con't ...

|          |                                                                                     | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1995</u>   | <u>April</u><br><u>1995</u> | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1994</u>   | <u>July</u><br><u>1994</u> |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| r.       |                                                                                     |                             |                             |                             |                            |
| 30       | Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy | 35                          | 39                          | 32                          | 33                         |
|          | 22 Strongly                                                                         | 23                          | 28                          | 23                          | 21                         |
|          | 8 Not Strongly                                                                      | 12                          | 11                          | 9                           | 12                         |
| 63       | Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost                      | 61                          | 57                          | 62                          | 62                         |
|          | 51 Strongly                                                                         | 47                          | 44                          | 49                          | 45                         |
|          | 12 Not Strongly                                                                     | 14                          | 13                          | 13                          | 17                         |
| <u>7</u> | Neither/Don't know                                                                  | <u>4</u>                    | <u>4</u>                    | <u>6</u>                    | <u>5</u>                   |
| 100      |                                                                                     | 100                         | 100                         | 100                         | 100                        |
|          |                                                                                     | <u>April</u><br><u>1996</u> | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1995</u>   | <u>April</u><br><u>1995</u> | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1994</u>  |
| u.       |                                                                                     |                             |                             |                             |                            |
| 44       | Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society                   | 44                          | 45                          | 47                          | 46                         |
|          | 32 Strongly                                                                         | 29                          | 29                          | 30                          | 33                         |
|          | 12 Not Strongly                                                                     | 15                          | 16                          | 17                          | 20                         |
| 49       | Homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged by society                | 49                          | 50                          | 48                          | 49                         |
|          | 42 Strongly                                                                         | 42                          | 41                          | 40                          | 41                         |
|          | 7 Not Strongly                                                                      | 7                           | 9                           | 8                           | 8                          |
| <u>7</u> | Neither/Don't know                                                                  | <u>7</u>                    | <u>5</u>                    | <u>5</u>                    | <u>6</u>                   |
| 100      |                                                                                     | 100                         | 100                         | 100                         | 100                        |
|          |                                                                                     | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1995</u>   | <u>April</u><br><u>1995</u> | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1994</u>   | <u>July</u><br><u>1994</u> |
| v.       |                                                                                     |                             |                             |                             |                            |
| 44       | Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries    | 46                          | 45                          | 42                          | 46                         |
|          | 39 Strongly                                                                         | 37                          | 40                          | 36                          | 37                         |
|          | 5 Not Strongly                                                                      | 9                           | 5                           | 6                           | 9                          |
| 52       | Public school libraries should be allowed to carry any books they want              | 52                          | 53                          | 55                          | 51                         |
|          | 43 Strongly                                                                         | 41                          | 44                          | 47                          | 39                         |
|          | 9 Not Strongly                                                                      | 11                          | 9                           | 8                           | 12                         |
| <u>4</u> | Neither/Don't know                                                                  | <u>2</u>                    | <u>2</u>                    | <u>3</u>                    | <u>3</u>                   |
| 100      |                                                                                     | 100                         | 100                         | 100                         | 100                        |
| w.       |                                                                                     |                             |                             |                             |                            |
| 85       | Miracles are performed by the power of God                                          | 84                          | 83                          | 82                          | 84                         |
|          | 77 Strongly                                                                         | 75                          | 76                          | 73                          | 72                         |
|          | 8 Not Strongly                                                                      | 9                           | 7                           | 9                           | 12                         |
| 10       | There is no such thing as a miracle performed by God                                | 11                          | 12                          | 12                          | 12                         |
|          | 6 Strongly                                                                          | 7                           | 7                           | 8                           | 7                          |
|          | 4 Not Strongly                                                                      | 4                           | 5                           | 4                           | 5                          |
| <u>5</u> | Neither/Don't know                                                                  | <u>5</u>                    | <u>5</u>                    | <u>6</u>                    | <u>4</u>                   |
| 100      |                                                                                     | 100                         | 100                         | 100                         | 100                        |

**Q.32 con't ...**

|          |                                                                          | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1995</u>   | <u>April</u><br><u>1995</u> | <u>Oct</u><br><u>1994</u> | <u>July</u><br><u>1994</u> |
|----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| x.       | We will all be called before God on Judgment Day to answer for our sins  | 83                          | 81                          | 80                        | 80                         |
| 81       | 74 Strongly                                                              | 76                          | 75                          | 74                        | 71                         |
|          | 7 Not Strongly                                                           | 7                           | 6                           | 6                         | 9                          |
|          | I don't believe we will have to answer for our sins on Judgment Day      | 13                          | 14                          | 14                        | 16                         |
| 13       | 9 Strongly                                                               | 9                           | 9                           | 10                        | 9                          |
|          | 4 Not Strongly                                                           | 4                           | 5                           | 4                         | 7                          |
| <u>6</u> | Neither/Don't know                                                       | <u>4</u>                    | <u>5</u>                    | <u>6</u>                  | <u>4</u>                   |
| 100      |                                                                          | 100                         | 100                         | 100                       | 100                        |
|          |                                                                          | <u>April</u><br><u>1996</u> | <u>July</u><br><u>1994</u>  |                           |                            |
| y.       | I'm generally satisfied with the way things are going for me financially | 57                          | 56                          |                           |                            |
| 57       | 43 Strongly                                                              | 44                          | 36                          |                           |                            |
|          | 14 Not Strongly                                                          | 13                          | 20                          |                           |                            |
| 41       | I'm not very satisfied with my financial situation                       | 42                          | 43                          |                           |                            |
|          | 36 Strongly                                                              | 37                          | 33                          |                           |                            |
|          | 5 Not Strongly                                                           | 5                           | 10                          |                           |                            |
| <u>2</u> | Neither/Don't know                                                       | <u>1</u>                    | <u>1</u>                    |                           |                            |
| 100      |                                                                          | 100                         | 100                         |                           |                            |

**ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...**

Q.33 Have the Presidential candidates been talking about the issues that are important to you in this campaign, or not?

|          |                                         |
|----------|-----------------------------------------|
| 59       | Yes -- <b>GO TO Q.35</b>                |
| 35       | No                                      |
| <u>6</u> | Don't know/Refused -- <b>GO TO Q.35</b> |
| 100      |                                         |

**IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '2' NO IN Q.33, ASK: [N= ]**

Q.34 Which important issues do you feel they are overlooking? [OPEN-END. ACCEPT UP TO 3 RESPONSES.]

- 16 SOCIAL ISSUES (NET)**
  - 5 EDUCATION (NET)
    - 4 Quality of education/What's going on in schools
    - 1 Cost of education
  - 4 Health care/High cost of health insurance
  - 3 Morality/Family values
  - 3 Fear of crime/Violence
  - 2 Welfare
  - 2 Environment
  - 2 Abortion
  - 1 Homosexuality/Gay rights
  - 1 Racial issues
  - 1 Affirmative action
  - \* Women's issues/Rights
  - \* Child care
  
- 12 ECONOMY/BUDGET (NET)**
  - 4 Economy/Budget (general)
  - 3 Taxes/High taxes
  - 3 Government spending/Balancing the budget
  - 3 National debt/Deficit
  - 1 Low paying jobs
  - 1 Unemployment
  
  - 4 Foreign policy/Defense
  
- 3 ELDER PROGRAMS (NET)**
  - 2 Social security
  - 2 Medicare
  
  - 2 Government/Government corruption
  - 3 Other
  - 6 Don't know

**ASK ALL:**

Q.35 Do you think there is a difference between Bob Dole's approach to the Medicare issue and Bill Clinton's approach to the Medicare issue?

**IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q.35, ASK:**

Q.36 Whose approach to Medicare do you favor -- Bob Dole's or Bill Clinton's?

|           |                                            |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------|
| 68        | Yes                                        |
| 24        | Favor Dole's                               |
| 39        | Favor Clinton's                            |
| 5         | Don't know/Refused                         |
| 15        | No -- <b>GO TO Q.37</b>                    |
| <u>17</u> | Don't know/Refused -- -- <b>GO TO Q.37</b> |
| 100       |                                            |

**ASK Q.37 OF FORM 1 ONLY: [N=769]**

Q.37F1 Do you think cutting EVERYONE'S federal income tax by 15 percent is the right thing for the country or the wrong thing for the country?

|           |                    | ---CBS/NYT---    |
|-----------|--------------------|------------------|
|           |                    | <u>Sept 1996</u> |
| 37        | Right thing        | 31               |
| 51        | Wrong thing        | 54               |
| <u>12</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>15</u>        |
| 100       |                    | 100              |

**ASK Q.38 OF FORM 2 ONLY: [N=777]**

Q.38F2 Would you favor or oppose cutting EVERYONE'S federal income tax by 15 percent?

|          |                    | ---CBS/NYT---    |
|----------|--------------------|------------------|
|          |                    | <u>Sept 1996</u> |
| 54       | Favor              | 58               |
| 38       | Oppose             | 34               |
| <u>8</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>8</u>         |
| 100      |                    | 100              |

**ASK ALL:**

Q.39 Thinking about the problem of rising teenage drug use, do you think the person elected President can make a difference in dealing with this problem or not?

48 Yes

48 No

$\frac{4}{100}$  Don't know/Refused

**ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...**

Q.40 How much influence do you think (INSERT ITEM: ROTATE) have on which candidate becomes the President: too much, too little or about the right amount? What about (NEXT ITEM) . . . ?

|    |                       | <u>Too<br/>Much</u> | <u>Too<br/>Little</u> | <u>Right<br/>Amount</u> | <u>DK<br/>/Ref</u> |
|----|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| a. | Business corporations | 59                  | 6                     | 29                      | 6=100              |
| b. | Labor unions          | 45                  | 11                    | 34                      | 10=100             |
| c. | Churches              | 15                  | 29                    | 45                      | 11=100             |
| d. | News organizations    | 67                  | 4                     | 25                      | 4=100              |

**IF RESPONDENT IS RECEIVING THE ABBREVIATED VERSION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, READ "ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT..."**

Q.41 Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs. . . (READ)

|                 |                   | <u>Oct<br/>1995</u> | <u>April<br/>1995</u> | <u>Nov<br/>1994</u> | <u>Oct<br/>1994</u> | <u>July<br/>1994</u> | <u>May<br/>1990</u> | <u>May<br/>1988</u> | <u>Jan<br/>1988</u> | <u>May<br/>1987</u> |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 43              | Most of the time  | 52                  | 49                    | 57                  | 52                  | 51                   | 43                  | 42                  | 42                  | 47                  |
| 37              | Some of the time  | 33                  | 34                    | 30                  | 34                  | 32                   | 36                  | 37                  | 35                  | 35                  |
| 13              | Only now and then | 11                  | 13                    | 10                  | 10                  | 13                   | 15                  | 15                  | 17                  | 13                  |
| 6               | Hardly at all     | 4                   | 4                     | 3                   | 4                   | 4                    | 6                   | 4                   | 5                   | 4                   |
| $\frac{1}{100}$ | Don't know        | $\frac{*}{100}$     | $\frac{*}{100}$       | $\frac{*}{100}$     | $\frac{0}{100}$     | $\frac{*}{100}$      | $\frac{*}{100}$     | $\frac{2}{100}$     | $\frac{1}{100}$     | $\frac{1}{100}$     |