

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
 NOVEMBER 1996 RE-INTERVIEW SURVEY
 -- FINAL TOPLINE--
 November 7 - 10, 1996
 N= 1,012 Voters

Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates in Princeton, New Jersey. (IF OCTOBER: A month or so ago...; IF JUNE: A few months ago...) we were conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and TV stations around the country, and we spoke with a (INSERT SEX AND AGE) in your household. I'd like to ask (HIM/HER) a few additional questions to follow up on that previous interview. Is (HE/SHE) available?

IF PEW RESPONDENT DOES NOT ANSWER THE PHONE, USE THE FOLLOWING INTRODUCTION WHEN HE OR SHE DOES GET ON THE LINE:

Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates in Princeton, New Jersey. (IF OCTOBER: A month or so ago...; IF JUNE: A few months ago...) you participated in a telephone opinion survey we were conducting for leading newspapers and TV stations around the country. I'd like to ask you a few additional questions to follow up on that previous interview.

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

- Q.1 A lot of people have been telling us they didn't get a chance to vote in the election on November 5. How about you... did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?
 Yes, voted -- **CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW**
 No, did not vote -- **THANK RESPONDENT AND END**
 Don't remember -- **THANK RESPONDENT AND END**
 Refused -- **THANK RESPONDENT AND END**

Q.1a All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

51 Satisfied
 42 Dissatisfied
 $\frac{7}{100}$ No Opinion

NOW, THINKING ABOUT THE RECENT ELECTION...

Q.2 Did you happen to vote for Bill Clinton, for Bob Dole or for Ross Perot for President?

		<u>Nov</u> 1992	<u>Nov</u> 1988
45	Bill Clinton	45	43 ¹
39	Bob Dole	32 ²	53
7	Ross Perot	17	n/a
$\frac{9}{100}$	Other/Don't know/Can't remember	$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$

¹ These percentages refer to Dukakis/Bentsen in 1988.

² These percentages refer to Bush/Qualye in 1992 and 1988.

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE CLINTON, DOLE OR PEROT IN Q.2 ASK:

Q.3 Would you say that your vote was more a vote FOR (INSERT CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.2) or more a vote AGAINST (INSERT NAMES OF OTHER TWO PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES)?

		<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1988</u>
45	<u>Clinton Supporters</u>	45	43 ³
	31 Pro-Clinton	33	25
	13 Anti-Others	10	16
	1 Undecided	2	2
39	<u>Dole Supporters</u>	32 ⁴	53
	17 Pro-Dole	21	39
	20 Anti-Others	10	12
	2 Undecided	1	2
7	<u>Perot Supporters</u>	17	n/a
	2 Pro-Perot	13	n/a
	5 Anti-Others	4	n/a
	* Undecided	*	n/a
<u>9</u> 100	Other/Don't know/Can't remember	<u>6</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100

IF "VOTE FOR" IN Q.3 ASK:

Q.3a Was your choice more a vote for (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.2) personally or more a vote for his party?

IF "PERSONALLY" IN Q.3a ASK:

Q.3b What do you like most about (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.2), his personality and character, his leadership ability, his experience or his stand on issues?

	----- 1996 -----			----- 1992 -----		
	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>
Total positive support	69	44	34	66	72	77
Candidate total personal qualities	39	24	21	43	43	77
Personality and character	5	5	4	7	6 ⁵	10 ⁶
Leadership	12	6	1	12	6	14
Experience	2	4	4	10	2	9
Stand on issues	18	9	9	14	27	43
Other/Can't say	2	*	3	--	--	--
Party	26	19	13	19	26	n/a
Other/Can't say	4	1	0	4	3	0

3 These percentages refer to Dukakis/Bentsen in 1988.

4 These percentages refer to Bush/Qualye in 1992 and 1988.

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

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

ASK ONLY THOSE WHO CHOSE EITHER CLINTON OR DOLE IN Q.2 AND ANSWERED '2' OR '5' AGAINST OTHER CANDIDATES IN Q.3

Q.4 Was your choice more of a vote against (INSERT NAME OF MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATE NOT CHOSEN IN Q.2 -- CLINTON/DOLE) personally, more of a vote against his running mate, or more of a vote against the (INSERT APPROPRIATE PARTY -- DEMOCRATIC/REPUBLICAN) party?

	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>
Total negative support	28	51
More against other opponent personally	13	38
More against opponent's running mate	*	*
More against opponent's party	14	11
None of the above (VOL)	0	0
Vote against Perot (VOL)	0	0
Other/Can't say	1	2

ASK ALL EXCEPT THOSE WHO ANSWERED '9' DON'T KNOW/CAN'T REMEMBER IN Q.2:

Q.5 When did you make up your mind definitely to vote for (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.2; IF 'OTHER' IN Q.2 INSERT 'THE CANDIDATE OF YOUR CHOICE')? (Open-end) (INTERVIEWER: GET TIME AS SPECIFICALLY AS POSSIBLE)

<u>Total</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>		<u>Nov 1992</u>	<u>Nov 1988</u>
6	2	2	1	On Election Day	9	6
3	1	1	1	On Monday (day before the election)	4	3
2	*	1	*	Over the last week-end	4	2
6	3	2	1	In the last week	8	4
3	2	1	*	During or just after the Presidential debates	12	--
0	0	0	0	After the Vice-Presidential debate	1	1
12	5	5	1	In September, after the Conventions	4	17
1	1	*	0	During or after the Democratic Convention	6	--
7	1	6	*	During or after the Republican Convention	3	--
13	6	6	1	This year, before the summer, during the primaries	18	20
39	22	14	2	Before 1996	12	9
1	1	0	0	Other	8	--
2	1	1	*	Don't know/Can't remember	2	2

NO QUESTION 6 OR 7

ASK ALL:

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

		<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1988</u>
18	Very satisfied	24	26
33	Fairly satisfied	37	36
24	Not very satisfied	21	20
22	Not at all satisfied	16	17
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100

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

		<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1988</u>
75	Learned enough to make an informed choice	77	59
23	Did not learn enough from the campaign	20	39
<u>2</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100

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

		<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1988</u>
13	Very helpful	31	13
28	Somewhat helpful	39	35
23	Not too helpful	11	24
25	Not at all helpful	13	25
10	Did not watch the debates (VOL)	5	3
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100

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

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. The press	6	22	33	19	18	2=100
November 1992	11	25	29	16	15	4=100
November 1988	8	22	33	19	16	2=100
b. The pollsters	11	23	29	11	10	16=100
November 1992	15	31	27	9	6	12=100
November 1988	13	29	29	12	11	6=100
c. The talk show hosts	6	15	25	13	16	25=100
November 1992	10	29	25	8	9	19=100
d. The campaign consultants	4	18	33	11	8	26=100
November 1992	7	26	31	7	4	25=100
November 1988	5	20	37	14	8	16=100
e. The Republican Party	4	23	39	18	13	3=100
November 1992	4	25	34	18	15	4=100
November 1988	11	34	31	12	10	2=100
f. The Democratic Party	12	36	29	11	9	3=100
November 1992	18	40	26	6	6	4=100
November 1988	7	26	45	13	7	2=100
g. Bill Clinton	20	37	22	8	11	2=100
November 1992	26	38	21	7	5	3=100
DUKAKIS: November 1988	9	29	40	13	7	1=100
h. Bob Dole	7	26	34	20	12	1=100
BUSH: November 1992	4	26	33	18	16	3=100
BUSH: November 1988	15	34	26	13	11	1=100
i. Ross Perot	8	18	30	20	17	7=100
November 1992	17	30	27	13	10	3=100
j. The voters	12	27	29	13	10	9=100
November 1992	32	29	20	5	5	9=100
November 1988	18	31	28	10	7	6=100

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

		<u>Nov 1992</u>
4	Very helpful	10
21	Somewhat helpful	28
27	Not too helpful	28
46	Not at all helpful	31
<u>2</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u> 100

Q.13 Compared to past presidential elections, would you say there was more discussion of issues in this campaign or less discussion of issues?

		<u>Nov 1992</u>
25	More	59
65	Less	34
6	Same (VOL)	4
<u>4</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u> 100

Q.14 Compared to past presidential elections, would you say there was MORE mud slinging or negative campaigning in this campaign or LESS mud slinging or negative campaigning in this campaign?

		<u>Nov 1992</u>
49	More	68
36	Less	16
12	Same (VOL)	14
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u> 100

Q.15 How did you get most of your news about the Presidential election campaign? From television, from newspapers, from radio, from magazines or from computer on-line sources? (ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS. IF ONLY ONE RESPONSE IS GIVEN, PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSE)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' TELEVISION IN Q.15 ASK:

Q.15a Did you get most of your news about the presidential campaign from network TV news, from local TV news, or from CNN? (ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS; DO NOT PROBE)

		Nov <u>1992</u>
72	Television	82
	36 Network	55
	23 Local	29
	21 CNN	29
	4 Other (VOL)	2
	2 Can't say	1
60	Newspapers	57
19	Radio	12
11	Magazines	9
3	On-line sources	--
4	Other	6
1	Can't say	1

ASK ALL EXCEPT THOSE WHO ANSWERED '5' ON-LINE SOURCES IN Q.15

Q.15b Did you happen to get any news or information about the 1996 elections from computer on-line sources, or not?

7	Yes
90	No
$\frac{*}{97}$	Don't know/Refused

ASK ALL:

Q.16 Which gave you a better idea of where the presidential candidates stood on issues -- news reports OR TV commercials and advertisements about the candidates?

		Nov <u>1992</u>	Nov <u>1990</u>
77	News reports	74	63
16	Candidates' commercials and advertisements	22	28
$\frac{7}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{9}{100}$

Q.17 Which gave you a better idea of what the candidates were like personally... news reports OR candidates' TV commercials and advertisements?

		<u>Nov 1992</u>	<u>Nov 1990</u>
67	News reports	58	53
26	Candidates' commercials and advertisements	35	38
<u>7</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100

Q.18 How much influence do you think news organizations had on the outcome of this year's presidential election... too much, too little or about the right amount?

		<u>Nov 1992</u>
47	Too much	46
4	Too little	2
46	About the right amount	49
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u> 100

ROTATE Q.19 AND Q.20

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

		<u>Nov 1992</u>
73	Fair	77
24	Unfair	19
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u> 100

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

		BUSH <u>Nov 1992</u>
65	Fair	61
32	Unfair	35
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u> 100

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

		Nov <u>1992</u>
46	Fair	67
44	Unfair	27
<u>10</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u> 100

Q.22 Now thinking about your vote for Congress... Did you happen to vote for the Republican Party's candidate OR the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

50	Republican
41	Democrat
2	Other candidate (VOL)
1	Didn't vote for Congress (VOL)
<u>6</u> 100	Don't know/Can't remember

ASK Q.23 ONLY OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED '1' REPUBLICAN IN Q.22

Q.23 Would you say your vote for the Republican from your district was mostly a vote for him or her personally, for the Republican Party, or was it a vote to try to control President Clinton's power?

53	Personally
21	Party
22	Control Clinton's power
3	None of the above (VOL)
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know/Refused

(N=515)

ROTATE Q. 24 AND Q.25
ASK ALL: GENERALLY...

Q.24 Are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party maintained control of the U.S. Congress?

Based on General Public
Dec 1994⁷

65	Happy	57
27	Unhappy	31
$\frac{8}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{12}{100}$

Q.25 Are you happy or unhappy that Bill Clinton was reelected as President?

53	Happy
42	Unhappy
$\frac{5}{100}$	Don't know/Refused

Q.26 Who in Washington do you think should take the lead in solving the nation's problems -- President Clinton, or the Republican Congressional leaders?

Based on General Public
Dec 1994

45	President Clinton	39
30	Republican Congressional leaders	43
19	Both (VOL)	10
$\frac{6}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{8}{100}$

⁷

In trend question was asked, "Generally, are you happy or unhappy the Republican party won control of the U.S. Congress?"

Q.27 Next year should the Democratic leaders in Washington... **(READ)**
BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS:

		<i>Based on General Public</i>	
		<u>Dec 1994</u>	
<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
		Try as best they can to work with Republican leaders to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some groups of Democratic supporters?	
63	73	61	69
OR			
		Should they stand up to the Republicans on issues that are important to Democratic supporters, even if it means less gets done in Washington?	
29	22	33	24
<u>8</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	
(N=349)	(N=292)	<u>6</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100
		(N=442)	(N=471)

Q.28 Now some questions about the future... As I name a problem, tell me whether you think the country will make progress on this problem over the next four years, whether it will lose ground on the problem over the next four years, or whether things will stay about the same. (First,) **(READ AND ROTATE)**... do you think the country will make progress, lose ground, or will things stay about the same?

		<u>Make</u> <u>Progress</u>	<u>Lose</u> <u>Ground</u>	<u>Stay</u> <u>Same</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	Drug abuse	28	29	40	3=100
b.	The way the health care system works	32	22	43	3=100
c.	Reforming the tax system	23	17	56	4=100
d.	Families staying together	24	23	48	5=100
e.	Protecting the Medicare system	39	19	40	2=100
f.	Poverty, hunger and homelessness in the U.S.	28	21	48	3=100
g.	Crime	31	27	40	2=100
h.	The quality of public education	42	18	38	2=100
i.	The availability of a good paying job	31	23	43	3=100
j.	The budget deficit	40	23	35	2=100
k.	Reforming the campaign finance system	32	13	51	4=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.29 Do you think Congress has gone too far or not far enough in investigating ethical charges against the Clinton administration, or has Congress handled this about right?

30 Too far

31 Not far enough

35 About right

4 Don't know/Refused
100

Q.29a You may have heard stories in the news about charges of improper campaign contributions made to the Democratic Party. Do you think a special committee should be set up in Congress to investigate these charges, or not?

54 Yes

42 No

4 Don't know/Refused
100

**ASK Q.30-Q.32 ONLY OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO SAID IN PREVIOUS INTERVIEW THAT THEY ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH (JUNE 1996 Q.25=1,2,3; OCTOBER 1996 Q.26=1,2,3)
IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT FIT THAT DESCRIPTION, SKIP TO D.1.**

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.30 Was information on political parties or candidates for the recent election made available in your place of worship, or not?

BASED ON THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH: [N=630]

28 Yes

69 No

3 Don't know/Refused
100

Q.31 And did the clergy at your place of worship or any other religious groups urge you to vote a particular way in the recent election, or not?

IF '1' YES IN Q.31, ASK:

Q.32 Were you 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**)

BASED ON THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH: [N=630]

7	Yes
5	Presidential
3	Congressional
3	State
3	Local
2	Don't know/Refused

91 No

2 Don't know/Refused
100