

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
 JANUARY 1996 NEW HAMPSHIRE SURVEY
 -- FINAL TOPLINE --
 January 25 - 28, 1996
 N= 902 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?]**

Q.A Are you now registered to vote in your precinct or election district?
 Yes -- **CONTINUE**
 No/DK -- **GO TO D.1**

Q.B Are you absolutely certain you are registered to vote, or is there a chance your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?
 Absolutely certain
 Chance registration has lapsed -- **GO TO D.1**
 Don't know/Refused -- **GO TO D.1**

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president? **(IF "DON'T KNOW," ENTER AS CODE 9. IF "DEPENDS," PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president?)**

Registered Voters	Likely Primary Voters		National Jan 1996
46	33	Approve	50
44	59	Disapprove	43
<u>10</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	Don't know	<u>7</u> 100

Q.1a Do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Republican leaders in Congress? **(IF DON'T KNOW," ENTER AS CODE 9. IF "DEPENDS," PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Republican leaders in Congress?)**

Registered Voters	Likely Primary Voters		National Jan 1996
35	50	Approve	36
53	40	Disapprove	54
<u>12</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>10</u> 100

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

<u>Registered Voters</u>	<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>		<u>National Oct 1995</u>
24	19	Satisfied	23
71	76	Dissatisfied	73
$\frac{5}{100}$	$\frac{5}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{4}{100}$

BASED ON THOSE WHO SAID "DISSATISFIED" IN Q.2

Q.2a Generally, who do you think is most responsible for the way things are going in this country? (**READ LIST AND ROTATE**)

<u>Registered Voters</u>	<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>	
25	25	The people themselves
18	14	Republican leaders in Congress
12	13	The news media
11	13	The President
6	7	Business corporations
3	3	Wall Street banks and investment companies
3	2	The entertainment industry
18	19	Or who? (SPECIFY)
$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$	Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)

--NO QUESTION 3 OR 4--

ASK ALL:

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.5 Are you now registered in your precinct or election district as a Republican, as a Democrat, or haven't you declared a party affiliation?

Registered
Voters

36	Registered Republican
24	Registered Democrat -- GO TO Q.9
8	Other party (VOL) -- GO TO Q.6
30	Haven't declared party affiliation/Independent -- GO TO Q.6
$\frac{2}{100}$	Not sure -- GO TO Q.6

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' REGISTERED REPUBLICAN

Q.5a Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the February 20 Republican primary?

Registered
Voters

90	Yes -- GO TO Q.7
7	No -- GO TO Q.7
$\frac{3}{100}$	Not sure -- GO TO Q.7

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER PARTY, '4' INDEPENDENT, OR '9' NOT SURE IN Q. 5, ASK:

Q.6 Do you plan to vote in the February 20 Republican primary?

Registered
Voters

68	Yes
22	No -- GO TO Q.9
$\frac{10}{100}$	Not sure -- GO TO Q.9

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' REGISTERED REPUBLICAN IN Q. 5 OR '1' IN Q. 6, ASK:

Q.7 Suppose the Republican Primary election were being held today. If you had to choose among (**READ LIST -- ROTATE**), which candidate would you vote for?

Q.7a Do you support (**INSERT RESPONSE FROM Q.7**) strongly or only moderately?

IF '10' OTHER OR '99' DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER IN Q. 7 ASK:

Q.8 Well as of today, to whom do you most lean? (**REREAD LIST IF NECESSARY**)

BASED ON LIKELY GOP PRIMARY VOTERS:

Likely Primary Voters	Registered Republicans	Unaffiliated/ Independent	
29	24	34	Steve Forbes (total)
7	7	6	Strong
22	17	28	Moderate/Lean
24	31	17	Robert Dole (total)
6	10	2	Strong
18	21	15	Moderate/Lean
11	11	11	Lamar Alexander (total)
2	2	2	Strong
9	9	9	Moderate/Lean
11	10	11	Pat Buchanan (total)
5	5	3	Strong
6	5	8	Moderate/Lean
10	12	9	Phil Gramm (total)
2	4	0	Strong
8	8	9	Moderate/Lean
3	2	3	Richard Lugar (total)
2	1	1	Strong
1	1	2	Moderate/Lean
3	2	5	Morry Taylor (total)
--	--	--	Strong
--	--	--	Moderate/Lean
*	1	0	Robert Dornan (total)
--	--	--	Strong
--	--	--	Moderate/Lean
*	*	0	Alan Keyes (total)
--	--	--	Strong
--	--	--	Moderate/Lean
1	*	1	Other (DO NOT READ) -- GO TO Q.8
<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	Don't Know/No answer (DO NOT READ) -- GO TO Q.8
100	100	100	

Q.7b At this point, why would you vote for (INSERT RESPONSE FROM Q.7)? (OPEN-ENDED-- PROBE, ACCEPTING UP TO TWO RESPONSES. THEN GO TO Q.9)

BASED ON LIKELY GOP PRIMARY VOTERS: [N=543]

	<u>Forbes</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Alexander</u>	<u>Gramm</u>	<u>Buchanan</u>
Issue Positions (General)	23	24	33	24	48
Flat tax proposal	30	2	6	15	0
Character	5	7	21	25	16
"Less of all evils"/Dislike this candidate the least of them all	9	13	12	13	6
New ideas/Will bring change	16	6	4	6	5
Washington outsider/Will reform system	17	1	10	0	7
Experience in public office/Washington	0	22	8	2	2
Best promise of ability/Most qualifications	3	14	3	7	5
Businessman	10	0	0	0	2
Strong leader/Can get things done	2	7	2	2	7
To register a vote against Bob Dole/Out of dislike for Dole	8	0	1	2	0
Personality	1	1	8	0	0
Has country's/American people's best interest in mind	1	3	5	2	5
Have followed/supported candidate for years	1	4	4	0	3
Conservative values	1	3	0	3	1
Electability	2	2	1	3	0
Position on abortion	*	0	0	3	9
Will balance budget	1	1	1	6	0
Strong foreign policy	2	0	0	0	4
Will reduce size of government/Send power to the states	0	0	1	0	0
Other -- (SPECIFY)	3	11	8	3	3
Don't Know/Refused	3	5	3	6	8

ASK ALL:

Q.9 All in all, how would you rate the job the press has done in covering the presidential campaign so far; excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

<u>Registered Voters</u>	<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>	
7	6	Excellent
46	46	Good
31	31	Only fair
12	14	Poor
$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	Don't Know

Q.10 Are you more interested or less interested in politics this year than you were in 1992?

<u>Registered Voters</u>	<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>	
45	48	More
32	29	Less
22	22	Same (VOL.)
$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	Don't Know/Refused

Q.11 Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care a good deal who wins the 1996 presidential election OR that you don't care very much?

<u>Registered Voters</u>	<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>		<u>Registered Voters National Oct 1995</u>
85	87	Care a good deal	83
14	12	Don't care very much	15
$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{2}{100}$

Q.12-Q.14 BASED ON LIKELY GOP PRIMARY VOTERS:

Q.12 Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the Republican presidential nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates or poor candidates?

<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>	<u>Registered Republicans</u>	<u>Unaffiliated/ Independent</u>		<u>Rep./Lean Rep. National Oct 1995</u>
5	8	1	Excellent	5
29	33	23	Good	43
48	46	51	Fair	42
16	11	22	Poor	6
<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u> 100

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

<u>Registered Voters</u>	<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>	
31	35	More
54	52	Less
10	9	Same (VOL)
<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	Don't Know/Refused

Q.14 How helpful have the candidate's commercials been to you in deciding which candidate to vote for? Would you say they have been very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful?

<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>	<u>Registered Republicans</u>	<u>Unaffiliated/ Independent</u>	
4	5	3	Very helpful
29	25	35	Somewhat helpful
28	32	22	Not too helpful
36	34	39	Not at all helpful
<u>3</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	Don't Know/Refused

ROTATE QUESTIONS 15/15a AND 16/16a

- Q.15 Suppose the 1996 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were Bill Clinton, the Democrat and Bob Dole, the Republican. Who would you vote for?
Q.15a Do you LEAN most to Clinton, the Democrat or Dole, the Republican?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

<u>Registered Voters</u>	<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>		<u>National Jan 1996</u>
54	38	Clinton/Lean Clinton	53
40	57	Dole/Lean Dole	41
$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{5}{100}$	Other/Don't Know/Refused	$\frac{6}{100}$

ASK ALL:

- Q.16 Suppose the 1996 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were Bill Clinton, the Democrat and Steve Forbes, the Republican. Who would you vote for?
Q.16a Do you LEAN most to Clinton, the Democrat or Forbes, the Republican?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

<u>Registered Voters</u>	<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>		
50	36	Clinton/Lean Clinton	
44	59	Forbes/Lean Forbes	
$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{5}{100}$	Other/Don't Know/Refused	

ASK ALL:

Q.17 What one issue would you most like to hear presidential candidates talk about? (**OPEN-ENDED: ACCEPT UP TO THREE MENTIONS**)

<u>Registered Voters</u>	<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>		<u>National Oct 1995</u>
20	23	Balancing the budget	14
11	13	Cutting taxes	8
11	11	The economy	14
7	5	Health care reform	20
5	4	Education/Education reform	6
4	5	Welfare reform	8
4	3	The job situation	6
4	3	Medicare	--
3	3	Dealing with problems of poor & needy	--
3	2	Social Security/Elder care	--
2	3	Reforming/Cleaning up the political system/ Term limits/Campaign finance reform	4
2	3	Foreign Policy	5
2	2	Downsizing government (general)	--
2	2	Crime	9
2	2	The moral crisis in this country	8
2	2	Abortion	--
1	1	Environment	--
1	1	Minimum wage	--
*	*	Bosnia	*
*	0	Race relations	2
9	7	Other (SPECIFY)	10
5	5	Don't know/Refused	6
0	0	None	3
3	3	FOREIGN POLICY (NET)	
37	43	DOWNSIZING GOVERNMENT (NET)	
16	13	SOCIAL ISSUES (NET)	
15	14	ECONOMIC CONDITIONS (NET)	

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.17a From what you know about it, whose position on the budget issue comes closer to your own...Bill Clinton's or the Republicans' in Congress?

<u>Registered Voters</u>	<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>		<u>National Jan 1996</u>
43	28	Bill Clinton	48
43	60	Republicans	42
4	4	Neither (VOL.)	3
<u>10</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u> 100

Q.18 Now I'd like your views on some people and things in the news. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... (**INSERT ITEM. ROTATE**) is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? (**INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND CAN'T RATE**)

		<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never Heard of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>
a.	Bill Clinton						
	Registered Voters	16	39	23	20	0	2=100
	Likely Primary Voters	9	32	30	28	0	1=100
	National: Jan 1996	13	43	27	15	0	2=100
b.	Bob Dole						
	Registered Voters	7	38	31	21	*	3=100
	Likely Primary Voters	10	46	27	14	0	3=100
	National: Jan 1996	8	44	28	15	*	5=100
c.	Newt Gingrich						
	Registered Voters	8	21	28	36	2	5=100
	Likely Primary Voters	12	28	29	25	1	5=100
	National: Aug 1995	9	21	29	25	4	12=100
d.	Steve Forbes						
	Registered Voters	12	41	24	12	1	10=100
	Likely Primary Voters	13	46	23	9	*	9=100
	National: Jan 1996	5	25	21	10	18	21=100
e.	Phil Gramm						
	Registered Voters	6	32	33	16	2	11=100
	Likely Primary Voters	7	37	33	10	1	12=100
	Gallup, National: Jan 1996		24		29	24	23=100

Q.18 con't ...

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
f.	Pat Buchanan						
	Registered Voters	9	26	35	24	*	6=100
	Likely Primary Voters	10	31	36	17	0	6=100
	Gallup, National: Jan 1996		25		49	10	16=100
g.	Lamar Alexander						
	Registered Voters	8	38	24	9	5	16=100
	Likely Primary Voters	8	43	23	5	5	16=100
	Gallup, National: Jan 1996		13		16	50	21=100
h.	Richard Lugar						
	Registered Voters	5	16	24	11	14	30=100
	Likely Primary Voters	6	18	25	8	12	31=100
	Gallup, National: Jan 1996		11		12	58	19=100

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.19 Now, as I read from a list, tell me which ONE of the following items is the most important thing for the next President to do? Please wait until I read the entire list before you respond. **(INSERT ITEM: READ AND ROTATE)**

Registered Voters	Likely Primary Voters	
32	38	Balance the budget
13	12	Improve the job situation
13	10	Improve the educational system
12	15	Deal with the moral breakdown in the country
11	9	Deal with the problems of the Medicare system
9	6	Deal with the problems of poor and needy people
5	5	Work to reduce crime
1	1	Deal with racial tensions
2	2	Other (DO NOT READ: SPECIFY)
*	0	None of the above (DO NOT READ) -- GO TO Q.20
<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	Don't know (DO NOT READ) -- GO TO Q.20

QUESTIONS 19a, 20 AND 20a: ASK REGISTERED REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS WHO PLAN TO VOTE IN GOP PRIMARY ONLY (Q.5=1 OR Q.6=1)

Q.19a Thinking of the candidates who are running for the Republican nomination for President in 1996, who do you think would do the best job of (INSERT ITEM FROM Q.19, ADDING "ING" TO EACH VERB. DO NOT READ CATEGORIES UNLESS RESPONDENT ASKS.)

BASED ON LIKELY GOP PRIMARY VOTERS:

	<u>Balance Budget</u>	<u>Improve Education System</u>	<u>Improve Job Situation</u>	<u>Moral Breakdown</u>	<u>Medicare Problems</u>
Steve Forbes	32	19	27	13	22
Bob Dole	23	9	14	17	19
Lamar Alexander	7	18	16	14	3
Pat Buchanan	9	4	7	19	0
Phil Gramm	10	5	11	9	7
Richard Lugar	1	5	3	3	7
Morry Taylor	2	1	1	1	6
Alan Keyes	0	0	0	2	0
Other	3	2	3	0	8
None	1	9	4	5	17
Don't know	<u>12</u> 100	<u>28</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100
	(N=219)	(N=58)	(N=66)	(N=78)	(N=42)

Q.20 Now I'm going to read you a list of personal characteristics or qualities. Please tell me which ONE you think is the most important quality for a President to have. (READ AND ROTATE)

BASED ON LIKELY GOP PRIMARY VOTERS:

Likely
Primary
Voters

29	High ethical standards
23	Saying what one believes, even if unpopular
19	Sound judgement in a crisis
13	Compassion for the average citizen
11	Forcefulness and decisiveness
4	Experience in public office
*	None (DO NOT READ) -- GO TO Q.21
<u>1</u> 100	Don't Know/Refused (DO NOT READ) -- GO TO Q.21

Q.20a Thinking of the candidates who are running for the Republican nomination for President in 1996, who do you most identify with (INSERT RESPONSE FROM Q.20)? (DO NOT READ CATEGORIES, UNLESS RESPONDENT ASKS)

BASED ON LIKELY GOP PRIMARY VOTERS:

	<u>Total</u>	<u>High Ethical Standards</u>	<u>Says What Believes</u>	<u>Sound Judgment</u>	<u>Compassion for Average Citizen</u>	<u>Forcefulness and Decisiveness</u>
Bob Dole	25	22	15	35	12	27
Steve Forbes	18	19	23	6	27	18
Phil Gramm	8	12	7	8	6	11
Lamar Alexander	10	13	9	10	12	4
Pat Buchanan	13	12	19	7	5	17
Richard Lugar	2	1	3	5	1	2
Robert Dornan	*	0	0	0	0	2
Alan Keyes	2	3	3	0	0	1
Morry Taylor	2	*	4	0	5	5
Other	2	0	2	4	5	3
None	5	5	6	2	7	3
Don't know/Refused	$\frac{13}{100}$ (N=535)	$\frac{13}{100}$ (N=156)	$\frac{9}{100}$ (N=123)	$\frac{23}{100}$ (N=106)	$\frac{20}{100}$ (N=66)	$\frac{7}{100}$ (N=63)

**ASK ALL:
ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...**

Q.21 In your opinion...does our political system need a major shake up or do you think that our political system is basically sound and only needs some reform?¹

<u>Likely Registered Voters</u>	<u>Primary Voters</u>		<u>National Sept 1995</u>
48	49	Major Changes	48
51	51	Sound, needs some reform	48
*	*	No change needed (VOL)	*
$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{4}{100}$

¹ In January 1992 the question was asked, "Do you think our political system needs a major shake up or do you think that our political system is basically sound and only needs some new leaders?"

Q.22 Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion?

<u>Registered Voters</u>	<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>		<u>National June 1993</u>
15	17	Strongly favor	15
13	13	Favor	17
24	25	Oppose	35
37	34	Strongly oppose	25
<u>11</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u> 100

Q.23 Now I'd like to ask how things are going in your personal life today. Some of these things may not apply to you. First, how satisfied are with... **(INSERT ITEM: ROTATE STARTING POINT)**: Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not too satisfied or not at all satisfied?

	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Some-what Satisfied</u>	<u>Not too Satisfied</u>	<u>Not at all Satisfied</u>	<u>Does Not Apply</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. The amount of money you earn?						
Registered Voters	23	43	14	11	8	1=100
Likely Primary Voters	26	44	13	10	6	1=100
National: Oct 1995	17	43	19	14	7	*=100
b. Your ability to balance your job and your family life?						
Registered Voters	41	31	9	4	14	1=100
Likely Primary Voters	42	31	9	4	13	1=100
National: Oct 1995	38	35	10	5	12	*=100

Q.24 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)**...?

		<u>Very Con- cerned</u>	<u>Somewhat Con- cerned</u>	<u>Not too Con- cerned</u>	<u>Not at all Con- cerned</u>	<u>Does Not Apply</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a.	Not having enough money for your retirement?						
	Registered Voters	46	27	14	9	3	1=100
	Likely Primary Voters	44	29	15	9	3	*=100
	National: Oct 1995	48	29	10	8	4	1=100
b.	Being unable to save enough money to put a child through college?						
	Registered Voters	42	20	7	8	23	*=100
	Likely Primary Voters	40	21	7	9	22	1=100
	National: Oct 1995	44	19	9	12	15	1=100
c.	Losing your home because you can't afford to keep it or Being able to own your own home						
	Registered Voters	37	17	17	22	6	1=100
	Likely Primary Voters	34	18	18	22	6	2=100
	National: Oct 1995	38	19	20	19	4	*=100
d.	Losing your job or taking a cut in pay?						
	Registered Voters	30	20	16	15	18	1=100
	Likely Primary Voters	30	21	16	16	16	1=100
	National: Oct 1995	34	17	16	17	16	*=100
e.	Being unable to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick?						
	Registered Voters	54	19	14	10	2	1=100
	Likely Primary Voters	52	19	17	10	2	*=100
	National: Oct 1995	66	17	9	7	1	*=100
f.	Your children not having good job opportunities?						
	Registered Voters	49	23	10	7	11	*=100
	Likely Primary Voters	46	24	11	7	11	1=100
	National: Oct 1995	57	23	6	4	10	0=100