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NEW HAMPSHIRE VOTERS FAULT CANDIDATES, MEDIA AND TV ADS

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NEW HAMPSHIRE VOTERS FAULT CANDIDATES, MEDIA AND TV ADS

New Hampshire voters are not very happy these days. Fully 71% are dissatisfied with conditions in the country. Like American voters elsewhere, large majorities are worried about meeting their financial obligations in the future, even though the condition of the economy is not as dominant an issue in the state as it was four years ago, a survey by the Pew Research Center for The People & The Press found.

Granite State voters are also critical of the primary campaign itself. Issues are being discussed less than in previous presidential campaigns, according to 54% of the 902 registered voters questioned in the poll. Campaign press coverage is rated as *only fair or poor* by as many as 43%. And a 64% majority of likely voters think that the candidates' commercials are not helpful in deciding for whom to vote. Pointedly, many more of Senator Bob Dole's supporters are critical of the New Hampshire air wars (77%) than are backers of big spender Steve Forbes (48%).

Most registered voters (70%) take a dim view of the overall field of Republican candidates. A 59% majority of registered Republicans judge the GOP slate as only fair or poor. Independent voters, who are permitted to vote in New Hampshire's Republican primary, are even more dismayed: 73% rated the Republican candidates only fair or poor. This attitude of Independents is significant because, without a meaningful Democratic primary for the first time in 32 years, they are likely to play a larger than usual role in the GOP contest.

Discontent with the process has not translated into lack of interest in this year's election, however. By a margin of 48% to 29%, likely primary voters say they are more interested in politics now than they were in 1992. Registered Republicans were only somewhat more interested (49%) than likely Independent voters (46%). Further, 85% of New Hampshire registered voters say they personally care a good deal who wins the presidential election this year.

Rating the Primary Campaign

	Registered Voters %	Likely Primary Voters %
<i>Discussion of Issues, Compared to Past Presidential Elections...</i>		
More	31	35
Less	54	52
Same	10	9
Don't Know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100
<i>Helpfulness of Commercials ...</i>		
Very Helpful	5	4
Somewhat helpful	25	29
Not too helpful	26	28
Not at all helpful	40	36
Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100

A Conservative Agenda

New Hampshire voters have a fiscally conservative agenda. They want to hear the presidential candidates talk mostly about balancing the budget, cutting taxes and welfare reform. Discussions of economic conditions, or social issues such as health care reform, crime or even the moral crisis facing the nation, take a back seat. Balancing the budget was the issue named twice as frequently as any other when respondents were asked what they most want to hear discussed by the candidates.

Despite such conservative attitudes and despite a long Republican tradition in New Hampshire, the state's voters were unexpectedly equivocal on political matters. They divided equally over whether Bill Clinton or the Republican leadership in Congress has the better position in the budget debate. The President's approval ratings in the state are lower than they are in the nation as a whole (46%), but approval of GOP policies is lower yet (35%).

At 55%, Clinton's favorability rating among all registered voters is better than Dole's (45%), and about the same as popular newcomer Steve Forbes's (53%). Lamar Alexander is the only other GOP contender to achieve a favorable rating from most of the state's likely primary voters. Gingrich, Gramm, and Buchanan were rated unfavorably by majorities of respondents.

Issues the Public Wants Discussed

	New Hamp Jan 1996 %	Nat'l Oct 1995 %
Fiscal Conservatism (Net)	37	28
Balance budget	20	14
Cutting taxes	11	8
Welfare reform	4	8
Downsizing gov't	2	--
Social Policy Issues (Net)	16	26
Health care reform	7	20
Education reform	5	6
Medicare/Medicaid	4	--
Race relations	*	2
Economic Conditions (Net)	15	19
The economy	11	14
The job situation	4	6
Foreign Policy (Net)	3	5
Foreign policy, general	2	5
Bosnia	*	*
Deal with poor/needy	3	--
Social security/Elder care	3	--
Political reform	2	4
Crime	2	9
Abortion	2	--
Moral Crisis	2	8
Environment	1	--
Minimum wage	1	--
Other	9	10
Don't Know	5	6

Balance the Budget, Mr. President

Perhaps reflecting the focus of recent Washington debates, 32% of New Hampshire's registered voters call on the next president to balance the budget as "the most important thing" he can do. The percentage is even higher among all likely primary voters (38%) and registered Republicans (43%). A cluster of four other issues are named next most often -- improving the educational system (13% of registered voters), improving the job situation (also 13%), dealing with the moral breakdown in the country (12%), and dealing with the problems of the Medicare system (11%). Of these issues, registered

Republicans mention moral breakdown more frequently (17%); Independents who are likely primary voters mention the job situation more frequently (15%).

Forbes is judged as the candidate who would do a better job than others of balancing the budget and improving the job situation. Voters were divided between Forbes and Dole on fixing Medicare. Buchanan rivaled the two front runners on dealing with the moral breakdown, while Alexander was cited frequently as the candidate best able to improve the education system.

High ethical standards is the most important personal characteristic or quality sought in the next president, according to 29% of likely primary voters. Saying what one believes, even if unpopular, ranks second (23%). Then comes sound judgement in a crisis (19%), compassion for the average citizen (13%), and forcefulness and decisiveness (11%). Respondents cited Dole as the candidate with whom they most identified three of those qualities (ethical standards, sound judgement, forcefulness), and Forbes was most associated with compassion and saying what one believes.

New Hampshire voters express lukewarm satisfaction with their earnings and, much as voters nationwide, considerable worry about their financial futures. Just one-in-five workers in the state are very satisfied with the amount of money they earn, 43% are somewhat satisfied, and as many as 25% are dissatisfied.

As for their longer term financial concerns, New Hampshire's registered voters are as anxious as the average American with one major exception. They are significantly less concerned about affording health care in the future: 54% are "very concerned," compared to 66% in a national survey three months earlier. Nonetheless, of the various concerns cited, fear of health care costs receives the highest level of anxiety among these respondents. In comparison, and very much like the national levels of an October, 1995 survey, 49% are very concerned that their children would not have good job opportunities; 46% are very concerned about not having enough money for their retirement; 42% are very concerned about being unable to save enough money to put a child through college; 37% are very concerned about losing their home or being unable to afford a home; and 30% are very concerned about losing their job or taking a pay cut.

Other Findings:

- ◆ New Hampshire voters blame mainly "the people themselves" for the way things are going in the country (25%), followed by Republican leaders in Congress (18%), the news media (12%), and the President (11%).

- ◆ By a margin of 61% to 28%, New Hampshire voters oppose changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to obtain an abortion. Opposition to this was only somewhat less among registered Republicans (52% to 35%).

- ◆ Without a contest in the Democratic primary, interest in the GOP contest among Independents is substantially greater than four years ago. In 1992, 30% of unaffiliated registered voters said they planned to vote in the Republican primary. More than twice as many (68%) voice such intentions in 1996.

- ◆ Clinton's strong showing against Dole in New Hampshire reflects Dole's weakness among women as well as Independent voters. Forbes performs better against the President mainly because of his greater appeal among Independents.

TABLES

1996 Presidential Trial Heat
Clinton vs. Dole
 (Based on Registered Voters)

	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	
<i>Total</i>	54	40	6	(902)
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	48	47	5	(472)
Female	60	33	7	(430)
<i>Age</i>				
Under 30	49	46	5	(105)
30-49	51	44	5	(460)
50-64	58	33	9	(198)
65+	61	33	6	(120)
<i>Education</i>				
College Grad.	56	37	7	(377)
Some College	50	45	5	(188)
High School Grad. or less than H.S. Grad	54	39	7	(333)
<i>Family Income</i>				
\$75,000+	45	51	4	(163)
\$50,000-\$74,999	54	41	5	(153)
\$30,000-\$49,999	56	39	5	(287)
<\$30,000	57	35	8	(205)
<i>Religious Preference</i>				
Total White Protestant	47	46	7	(375)
White Prot. Evangelical	26	65	9	(87)
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	54	41	5	(288)
White Catholic	59	35	6	(355)
<i>Party ID</i>				
Republican	19	78	3	(269)
Democrat	92	6	2	(184)
Independent	60	31	9	(438)

Question: 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? (IF OTHER OR DON'T KNOW:) Do you LEAN most to Clinton, the Democrat or Dole, the Republican?

Continued ...

	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	
<i>Total</i>	54	40	6	(902)
<i>Presidential Approval</i>				
Approve	89	8	3	(413)
Disapprove	15	76	9	(402)
No Opinion	61	22	17	(87)
<i>GOP Congress Approval</i>				
Approve	17	79	4	(323)
Disapprove	80	16	4	(470)
No Opinion	48	31	21	(109)

1996 Presidential Trial Heat
Clinton vs. Forbes
 (Based on Registered Voters)

	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Forbes</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	
<i>Total</i>	50	44	6	(902)
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	45	51	4	(472)
Female	55	38	7	(430)
<i>Age</i>				
Under 30	43	55	2	(105)
30-49	48	45	7	(460)
50-64	54	40	6	(198)
65+	53	41	6	(120)
<i>Education</i>				
College Grad.	53	41	6	(377)
Some College	49	47	4	(188)
High School Grad. or less than H.S. Grad	48	46	6	(333)
<i>Family Income</i>				
\$75,000+	46	49	5	(163)
\$50,000-\$74,999	52	44	4	(153)
\$30,000-\$49,999	51	44	5	(287)
<\$30,000	52	44	4	(205)
<i>Religious Preference</i>				
Total White Protestant	40	53	7	(375)
White Prot. Evangelical	17	72	11	(87)
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	47	47	6	(288)
White Catholic	58	39	3	(355)
<i>Party ID</i>				
Republican	22	73	5	(269)
Democrat	88	10	2	(184)
Independent	51	42	7	(438)

Question: 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? (IF OTHER OR DON'T KNOW:) Do you LEAN most to Clinton, the Democrat or Forbes, the Republican?

Continued ...

	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Forbes</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	
<i>Total</i>	50	44	6	(902)
<i>Presidential Approval</i>				
Approve	83	14	3	(413)
Disapprove	17	76	7	(402)
No Opinion	41	45	14	(87)
<i>GOP Congress Approval</i>				
Approve	25	70	5	(323)
Disapprove	68	28	4	(470)
No Opinion	41	41	18	(109)

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted in New Hampshire under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a sample of 902 registered voters, 18 years of age or older, during the period January 25-28, 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 4 percentage points. For results based on likely Republican primary voters (N=543), the margin of error is plus or minus 5 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 state of New Hampshire. 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 stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. The number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone households in the state. 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. Respondents were screened to determine if they are registered to vote. Respondents who reported they are not registered were asked demographic questions, which were used in weighting the data, but they were not given the entire interview.

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.

All respondents, both registered voters and those not registered who were only asked demographic questions, were weighted to bring their demographic characteristics into alignment with the most recently available census data on the age, sex, education and region distribution of the adult population of the state of New Hampshire. The registered voters were then separated out for analysis.

The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters. After an optimum sample balancing solution is reached, the weights were constrained to fall within the range of 1 to 5. This constraint is useful to ensure that individual respondents do not exert an inordinate effect on the survey's overall results.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

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?)**

<u>Registered Voters</u>	<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>		<u>National Jan 1996</u>
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?)**

<u>Registered Voters</u>	<u>Likely Primary Voters</u>		<u>National Jan 1996</u>
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?

Likely Primary Voters	Registered Republicans	Unaffiliated/ Independent		Rep./Lean Rep. National Oct 1995
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?

Registered Voters	Likely Primary Voters	
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?

Likely Primary Voters	Registered Republicans	Unaffiliated/ Independent	
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?

Registered Voters	Likely Primary Voters		National Jan 1996
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")**

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
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
$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	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	$\frac{12}{100}$	$\frac{28}{100}$	$\frac{14}{100}$	$\frac{17}{100}$	$\frac{11}{100}$
	(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**
- $\frac{1}{100}$ 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	$\frac{13}{100}$	$\frac{13}{100}$	$\frac{9}{100}$	$\frac{23}{100}$	$\frac{20}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$
	(N=535)	(N=156)	(N=123)	(N=106)	(N=66)	(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>Registered Voters</u>	<u>Likely 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