

FOR RELEASE: FRIDAY, APRIL 3, 1992, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics
Campaign '92
Electability: Bush, Clinton & Congress

Survey IV

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Donald S. Kellermann, Director
Andrew Kohut, Director of Surveys
Carol Bowman, Research Director
Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press
202/293-3126

GOP Campaign Can "Dukakis" Clinton

ENGAGED PUBLIC ANGRY AT CANDIDATES AND CHECK KITERS

The American political landscape is marked by what appears to be the early stages of a massive voter rebellion against their presidential choices and their check kiting Congressmen. *Times Mirror's* latest survey finds that discontent with Congress as an institution is coming home to affect individual incumbent members of Congress. Thirty-nine percent of the public believe their own representative has bounced checks and 61 percent of the public say they are inclined to vote against their member of Congress if he or she has kited as few as ten checks.

As 66 percent of the voters say they are dissatisfied with all of the presidential candidates, the Democratic front runner, Gov. Bill Clinton, has been severely damaged by the intense media scrutiny of his personal life and record of public service. Eighty-six percent of the public is aware of the issues raised against Clinton by both the national media and by his surviving opponent, former Gov. Jerry Brown of California. But, despite an increasingly broad based negative assessment of Clinton's personal qualities, both he and Brown are still within striking distance of President Bush.

In test elections against Bush the two Democrats run even with each other. Each of them receives 43 percent against the President. Bush, with a job approval rating of only 38%, profits from the 40% of the public which gives negative personal ratings to each of the two Democratic candidates.

The capital's bouncing check escapades are deadly serious to voters back home. Public opinion polling going back to 1965 fails to match current levels of dissatisfaction with Congress and with the check kitters in particular. Those who believe their own congressmen did not bounce checks approve his or her job performance by 53% to 34%. But among those who think their representative is one of the offenders, overall job approval level dips to 40% approval and 45% disapproval.

Perhaps the finding with most dangerous implications for incumbent check bouncers is the public's overwhelming belief that the offenders *were not being careless and forgetful but deliberately overdrew their accounts (62% deliberate vs. 26% careless)*. The bad news gets worse for those Congressmen who bounced one hundred checks or more. Fully half of their constituents say they'll "*definitely*" vote to throw out anyone with a record like that. Inasmuch as a House Ethics Committee Report states that 355 congressional representatives have been charged with bouncing from least one check to hundreds, a major election issue is very much in the making. This is a bipartisan scandal as far as the public is concerned. Seventy-six percent say "*both parties are equally to blame*". Another 10% hold the Democrats responsible and 3% blame the Republicans.

A Test of Candidate Vulnerabilities

A Republican campaign attack on Bill Clinton's personal character would likely damage his election chances a considerably greater degree than would a Democratic attack on George Bush's record. This is the principal conclusion of a survey experiment conducted by the *Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press*.

Times Mirror questioned three independent nationwide samples of the public about their election preferences for George Bush and Bill Clinton. In one of the samplings, prior to questioning people about their election preferences, respondents were first asked a series of questions about George Bush's handling of the economy, his failure to depose Saddam Hussein and his breaking of his "no new taxes" pledge. In a second independent sampling respondents

were first asked a series of questions about Bill Clinton's personal character, including questions about his alleged marital affairs, conflicts of interest and the controversy about his draft status during the Vietnam era.

In the third neutral sampling respondents were polled about their preferences for Bush and Clinton in the usual way - without being first exposed to any other evaluative information about the candidates.

A comparison of the results of the three samplings reveals that Bush's lead over Clinton expands from seven points (50% to 43%) to 15 points in the sampling in which Clinton character issues were raised (54% to 39%). In the sampling in which Bush's job performance failures were raised the test election results (Bush 48%, Clinton 45%) were within the margin of error of Bush's 50% to 43% victory in the neutral sample.

Analysis of the survey reveals that if Republicans were to raise the character issue in the general election it would hurt Clinton's prospects most among women, less well-educated people, among older people, among Democrats and people in the South. These are among Clinton's strongest constituencies.

TABLE 1
CANDIDATE SUPPORT
(Demographics)

	EXPOSED TO CLINTON NEGATIVES				NEUTRAL			
	N=	(Form 1)			N=	(Form 2)		
*Support For:				*Support For:				
		Bush	Clinton	Other		Bush	Clinton	Other
Total	557	54	39	7	557	50	43	7
<i>Gender</i>								
Men	275	54	41	5	280	52	41	7
Women	282	54	38	8	277	48	45	7
<i>Education</i>								
College Grad.	189	60	34	6	188	58	35	7
Some College	142	63	31	6	141	52	37	11
≤ High School	222	48	45	7	225	45	49	6
<i>Age</i>								
18-29	138	60	38	2	121	54	42	4
30-49	243	53	39	8	271	53	39	8
50+	172	51	40	9	162	42	49	9
<i>Income</i>								
< 20K	133	50	44	6	129	35	60	5
20K-29K	94	50	39	11	105	55	41	4
30K-49K	151	58	39	3	149	46	43	11
50+K	133	62	30	8	125	67	26	7
<i>Region</i>								
East	136	55	39	6	135	51	38	11
Midwest	147	50	44	6	161	45	49	6
South	203	55	40	5	176	47	48	5
West	71	57	32	11	85	57	34	9
<i>Party Id</i>								
Republican	175	90	7	3	166	90	9	1
Democrat	181	24	68	8	181	18	77	5
Independent	185	54	39	7	191	50	37	13

***Note: The percentages of support for Bush and Clinton include those who said they support the two candidates and those who said they lean towards them.**

When the test election scores are assessed in the context of the Times Mirror political typology* a familiar pattern emerges. Core Republican groups give Bush 90% of their support, while defections among core Democratic groups run as high as 27%. As many as one in three Independent *Seculars* support Bush despite their Democratic inclinations. (Seculars are well-informed voters who agree with the Democratic Party's positions on most issues, but are very skeptical of the competency of Democratic leaders). Angry *Disaffecteds* divide evenly between Bush and Clinton, even though only 33% approve of Bush's performance in office.

TABLE 2
CANDIDATE SUPPORT BY TYPOLOGY GROUP
(All Three Forms Combined)

	CANDIDATE PREFERENCE		
	BUSH	CLINTON	OTHER
TOTAL	51	42	7
<i>ENTERPRISERS</i>	93	5	2
<i>MORALISTS</i>	90	8	2
<i>UPBEATS</i>	62	31	7
<i>DISAFFECTEDS</i>	46	43	11
<i>SECULARS</i>	33	60	7
<i>60'S DEMOCRATS</i>	27	65	8
<i>NEW DEALERS</i>	24	63	13
<i>POCKET BOOK DEMS</i>	15	81	4
<i>BYSTANDERS/OTHER</i>	53	34	13

*For a description of the Times Mirror Typology groups, see pages 13-15.

Clinton and Brown's Unfavorable Scores Even Out

Times Mirror monthly surveys have shown a steady and substantial increase in the percentage of the public holding unfavorable opinions of Bill Clinton since the beginning of the campaign. In early January, Clinton's favorable to unfavorable ratio was 37% to 15%. In late February this margin swelled to 59% to 31%, while in the current survey Clinton's favorable score fell to 53% as his unfavorable rating increased to 40%.

A comparably large percentage of the public has consistently held an unfavorable opinion of Jerry Brown since the onset of the campaign. However, in the past month Brown's favorable score has improved as more people have formed an opinion of him. In the current survey the former California governor's favorable to unfavorable ratio improved to 49% to 41% from 37% to 44% in February of 1992.

Significant percentages of the national public have held unfavorable opinions of Jerry Brown for a long time. Poll ratings of Brown in the 1980 campaign found as many Americans rating Brown negatively as do currently.

Clinton's trouble with the voters reflects the extraordinary levels of public awareness of the character issues raised in this campaign and the doubts that the public has about Clinton's response to these charges. Eighty-six percent said they had heard of questions about Bill Clinton's character. In a more specific question, 79% said they were aware of accusations of conflict of interest charges relative to Hillary Clinton's law firm.

The public divided more or less evenly as to whether Clinton has been truthful and honest in the way he has handled the charges against him. Thirty-six percent said that he had been truthful and honest in the way he responded to charges about alleged extra-marital affairs, while 39% said they did not think so. On the draft controversy, 40% responded truthful and honest and 35% disagreed.

Over the past month Clinton's personal image has declined among people from all walks of life, but the biggest changes in opinion about the Arkansas governor have occurred among groups of people who follow campaign news *most closely*: better educated, older and more affluent people. The current survey finds half of people with some college training and half of people in affluent households saying that they have an unfavorable opinion of Bill Clinton.

In terms of the Times Mirror typology, Clinton's personal image has been most damaged among Independent groups who he needs to woo away from George Bush. Among young "*Upbeats*" who are moderate Republicans - Clinton's unfavorable rating doubled from 19% in February to 38% in the current survey. Similarly, his unfavorable rating increased to 39% among angry "*Disaffecteds*" who voted for Bush in 1988, but have been strongly critical of his job performance ever since.

Opinion of Clinton has also deteriorated among "*Seculars*," the Independents who lean to the Democratic party, and among "*60's Democrats*" who are a core Democratic group. Both of these groups represent the more affluent and better educated elements in the Democratic party. Among Seculars as many as 43% said they had an unfavorable opinion of Clinton (up from 26% in February), while 29% of 60's Democrats do (16% in February).

TABLE 3
TREND IN
CLINTON'S UNFAVORABLE RATINGS
(Percent Rating Clinton Very or Mostly Unfavorable)

	<u>March</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>February</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
Total	40	31	+9
Male	39	32	+7
Female	40	30	+10
18-29	32	26	+6
30-49	43	34	+9
50+	40	30	+10
Coll grad	51	32	+19
Some coll.	49	36	+13
HS grad	33	30	+3
Some HS	26	25	+1
50K+	52	34	+18
30-49K	45	36	+9
20-29K	36	29	+7
>20K	30	26	+4
East	40	37	+3
Midwest	34	29	+5
South	32	29	+3
West	58	29	+29
Republican	57	44	+13
Democrat	22	22	-
Independent	44	26	+18

CONTINUED....

	<u>March</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>February</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
Total	40	31	+9
Enterpriser	67	50	+17
Moralist	56	45	+11
Upbeat	38	19	+19
Disaffected	39	34	+5
Secular	43	26	+17
60s Dem	29	16	+13
New Dealer	26	45	-19
Pocketbook	18	20	-2
Bystanders	41	26	+15

Bush Still Seen As Not Doing Enough

As troubled as Clinton's candidacy is and despite Jerry Brown's high negatives, George Bush defeats his would-be Democratic challengers by a thin seven percentage points (in the neutral sub-sample). At the core of the public's problem with the President is the unchanged belief that he is not doing enough to improve economic conditions. The poll found 76% subscribing to this view, compared to 21% feeling that George Bush is doing all he can to improve the economy. These percentages are identical to those found in response to this question in an early January Times Mirror survey.

The only good news for the White House in this regard is that since January there has been a small increase in the percentage of the public describing the economy as in recovery (16%, up from 7% in the previous poll). However, the vast majority of the public continues to see the economy either as in recession (41%), or depression (40%).

Unease with the Democratic nominees and discontent with the President's job performance translates into an extremely fluid and volatile electorate. The vast majority of the public say they are only moderate supporters of either Bush or Clinton in response to the test election question. Only 19% of the 50% who support Bush say they support him strongly while 31% term themselves moderate supporters of the President. Of the 43% who prefer Clinton only 9% said they were strong supporters.

Looking at voter motivations more closely, Bush supporters have a more positive outlook on their choice than do Clinton supporters. *A majority of Bush supporters say they prefer the President because of their views about him rather than because they oppose Bill Clinton. In contrast, a majority of Clinton's support is anti-Bush not pro-Clinton.*

TABLE 4
REASONS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT

<i>Major Reason for Support</i>	<i>Neutral*</i>
George Bush	50
Repub. party loyalty/preference	12
Bush's political stands	8
Bush's personality/abilities	11
Oppose Clinton	15
Other reason	2
Can't say	2
 Bill Clinton	 43
Demo. party loyalty/preference	6
Clinton's political standS	3
Clinton's personality/abilities	2
Oppose Bush	28
Other reason	2
Can't say	<u>2</u>
	100

*Form 2 (F2) of the questionnaire

Candidate Imagery

When participants in the survey were asked to explain their preferences for the two candidates in their own words Bush supporters most often affirmed the President's job performance in general (14%) or mentioned his experience (8%) or the Persian Gulf crisis (6%), but as many as 12% volunteered that the President was the lesser of two evils.

The most frequent reasons offered by Clinton supporters focused principally on the need for change (36%), while fewer mentioned the belief that Clinton would be a better President for poor and middle class people (10%) or loyalty to the Democratic party (9%).

The devastation done to Bill Clinton's personal image is underscored by the fact that most people say they know little about him as a man or little about what he stands for, but what little the public does know is heavily accented with negative description. Just 11% say they know a lot about what he stands for and 8% say they know a lot about him personally.

When asked what comes to mind about what Bill Clinton stands for, 8% mentioned his being an advocate of the middle class, but nearly as many mentioned his being personally untrustworthy (7%) and 7% cite the scandals that have plagued his campaign. In total, 19% made some negative comment in response to what Clinton stands for, while 31% made a neutral or positive comment.

Obviously the President is well known to the public, but the content of the playback on what he stands for was even more negative than comments made about Clinton. The most frequent response to what Bush stands for was that he represents rich people, the upper class (11%). Nine percent were positive in saying that he had the best interest of the country at heart, while 7%

mentioned his poor performance on the economy. In total 28% of the playback on the President was negative and 28% was positive or neutral.

The image profile of the two likely fall candidates reflects the problems that Clinton has had in his nomination campaign so far and personal assets that the President can bring to bear against a candidate like Clinton. By a 72% to 9% margin respondents said the phrase "*good family man*" better described Bush than Clinton. "*Good judgment in a crisis*" was attributed to Bush over Clinton by a 68% to 15% margin. The President was also more often seen as personally likable (44% to 33%), honest and truthful (46% to 18%), intelligent (48% to 17%) and better able to think long range (50% to 26%).

Clinton was more often seen as being better able to bring about change (46% to 30%). Tellingly, the public made no clear candidate association with the phrase "*a typical politician*" - 37% said it better fit Clinton and 35% Bush. But as much as 22% of the sample volunteered that the phrase applied equally to *both* men.

Time Mirror's interviewees were somewhat more likely to say that the phrase "*cares about people like me*" applied to Clinton than to Bush (36% vs. 33%); however, as many as 16% volunteered that it applied to *neither* candidate.

Bi-partisan Discontent With Candidates

These perceptions and evaluations of the candidates reflect the discontent that voters expressed about the choice available to them this year and their resulting frustration with the primary process. Dissatisfaction with both the candidates and the primary process is bi-partisan. Sixty-one percent of Republicans, 65% of Democrats and 72% of Independents voiced unhappiness with the choices this year. Unhappiness with the candidates was highest (81%) among well-informed Seculars who lean Democratic, and almost as high among Disaffecteds who lean Republican (72%).

Unhappiness with the primaries selection system is much higher than it was in 1988 or even than it was in 1980 when, in a somewhat comparable situation, the public was disillusioned with incumbent Carter and had reservations about then challenger, Reagan¹. In the current survey 59% of the public said they did *not* believe that the primary process has been a good way of determining the best qualified candidates, while 31% endorsed it. In June of 1988 the balance of opinion was positive about the primary system (48% to 37%), while in 1980 40% said the primary system was an effective one, compared to 48% who said it was not.

¹ A June 1980 Gallup Poll found Jimmy Carter with 70% positive, 27% negative personal rating, while Ronald Reagan was rated positively by 70% and negatively by 28%.

Public Doesn't Blame the Press

Although the public is critical of both the primary system and the candidates, criticism of the press coverage of the campaign has not increased despite the strongly negative coverage of the Clinton story. In the current poll 63% of the public rated the campaign coverage positively (*excellent or good*) compared to 56% in February. When asked about bias in covering the Democratic campaign only 15% saw the press as biased *against* a particular candidate and 16% as biased in *favor* of a candidate. In a follow-up question just 11% volunteered that the press was biased against Bill Clinton.

When questioned directly about press coverage of each of the candidates, most people said they felt the press was being fair in the way they covered these men. Seventy-eight percent of the sample judged coverage of Bush's campaign as fair, while only 13% saw it as unfair. Coverage of Clinton was seen as fair by a margin of 68% to 23% and Brown by 68% to 19%.

Voter Interest High

Despite the frustrations with the candidates and the campaign, public interest in the election is substantially higher than it was a month ago and people say they are more interested in this election than they were in the 1988 election campaign. The percentage of people saying they were paying close attention to the Democratic race jumped from 19% in February to 35% in March. Twenty-four percent of the sample said they were paying close attention to the Republican race. News about the Democratic race was most frequently cited (by 30%) as the story being followed most closely by the American public in *Times Mirror's News Interest Index*. The number two story was the Congressional check bouncing scandal (mentioned by 23%).

A majority of the sample (57%) said they were more interested in politics this year than they had been in 1988. Democrats spoke of greater interest in politics this year more often than did Republicans (63% vs 54%).

Perot Is Noticed

In response to a campaign information question, an impressive 31% of respondents correctly volunteered that Perot was the "*prominent businessman considering running for President as a third party candidate.*" However, in a follow-up favorability question, the Texas businessman received only mixed grades -- 29% favorable and 21% unfavorable from the 50% of the sample who voiced an opinion of Perot.

In the Times Mirror typology, Perot receives his highest ratings from Enterprisers (41%-18%, Favorable/Unfavorable). His ratings are somewhat less positive from other Republican leaning groups - Upbeats (38%-23%), and Moralists (32-22%). Core Democratic groups such as the 60's Democrats (20%-32%) and Pocket Book Democrats (21%-23%) give Perot much lower scores.

Perot also showed more potential among two quite divergent Independent groups. Seculars who lean Democratic gave him a positive rating (32%-15%) as did Disaffecteds (31%-19%), who lean Republican.

TABLE 5
BELIEFS ABOUT CONGRESSIONAL CHECK BOUNCING

	Believe Own Congressman Bounced Checks	Would Definitely Vote Against Congressman If They Bounced Checks	
		10	100
Total	39	30	49
<i>Gender</i>			
Men	43	39	49
Women	35	21	48
<i>Age</i>			
18-29	31	24	56
30-49	42	25	49
50+	41	40	43
<i>Education</i>			
< High School	29	52	40
H.S. Graduate	40	28	55
Some College	41	26	58
College Grad.	44	19	36
<i>Region</i>			
East	34	33	47
Midwest	45	30	42
South	37	34	52
West	41	20	56
<i>Party Id</i>			
Republican	41	37	54
Democrat	36	31	44
Independent	40	24	51

TABLE 6
BELIEFS ABOUT CONGRESSIONAL CHECK BOUNCING

<u>Approval Rating of Own Congressman</u>	<u>Total</u>	Believe Own Congressman Bounced Checks		
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Approve	45	40	53	42
Disapprove	37	45	34	30
Don't Know/No Answer	18	15	13	28

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 1,668 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of March 26-29, 1992. 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 3 percentage points. For results based on *only* Form 1 (N=557) *or* Form 2 (N=557) *or* Form 3 (N=554), the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 5 percentage points. For results based on Form 1 *and* Form 2 (N=1,114) *or* Form 1 *and* Form 3 (N=1,111) *or* Form 2 *and* Form 3 (N=1,111), the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

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

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in *THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990*. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year the *Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press* has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research.

There are two core Republican groups:

Enterprisers: Enterprisers are fiscal conservatives who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. Enterprisers are much less likely than other Americans to agree with the popular notion that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer (43% vs. 81%). Their pro-business stance leads them to differ with most Americans on the idea that too much power is concentrated in the hands of big companies. While 82% of other Americans feel that this is true, only 48% of Enterprisers agree. Enterprisers are also less likely to completely agree that society should make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity (55% vs. 41%).

Moralists: Moralists are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older, and many live in the South. A vast majority of Moralists agree that books with dangerous ideas should be banned from public schools, which sets them firmly to the right of the rest of the public on the issue of censorship (89% vs. 39%).

There are three core Democratic groups:

Sixties Democrats: Sixties Democrats are strong believers in peace and social justice. More than any other segment of the population, they disagree with the idea that the best way to preserve peace is through military strength (88% vs. 44%). And two-thirds (65%) of Sixties Democrats completely agree that society should guarantee everyone an equal opportunity. This is a heavily female, middle class, middle-aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers: New Dealers are older Democrats who experience little financial pressure and are more socially conservative than the national Democratic Party. Drawn heavily from the South, many of these old-time Democrats have party roots that go back to Roosevelt. Despite the end of the Cold War, New Dealers still universally agree that the best way to insure peace is through military strength (96%²).

Pocketbook Democrats: Pocketbook Dems overwhelmingly agree that they don't have enough money to make ends meet (98%). They are very concerned with social justice, and they believe that government should take an active role in the solution of the socio-economic problems that plague them. One-third of Pocketbook Dems are minorities (32%), and many have less than a high school education.

There are three typology groups that are basically Independent:

Seculars: Seculars lean to the Democratic party, but some identify more closely with the GOP on certain issues. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms. Seculars are well-informed, relatively affluent, and more often found on the East and West coasts. Their defining characteristic is an almost total lack of religious conviction. While 87% of the rest of the public says that prayer is an important part of their daily life, only one in ten (12%) Seculars hold this view. Their support for personal freedoms is best reflected in their feelings about censorship: 97% disagree with banning books containing dangerous ideas from public school libraries, compared with 48% of other Americans.

Two of the Independent groups lean to the Republican party:

Disaffecteds: Disaffecteds are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle-aged, lower-middle income group contains many blue collar workers. Disaffecteds are nearly twice as likely as others to agree that hard work offers little guarantee of success (69% vs. 36%). Their political distrust is such that three-quarters (77%) disagree that elected officials care what people like them think.

Upbeats: Upbeats are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats are primarily young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values: 88% of Upbeats agree that Americans can always solve their problems, while only 55% of others agree.

Finally, there is one typology group that is by definition apolitical:

Bystanders: Bystanders have an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles. Forty-six percent of Bystanders say they seldom vote.

² Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

	<i>PERCENT</i>
<i>Enterprisers</i>	13
<i>Moralists</i>	11
<i>Upbeats</i>	7
<i>Disaffecteds</i>	17
<i>Bystanders/Other</i>	15
<i>Seculars</i>	8
<i>60's Democrats</i>	7
<i>New Dealers</i>	4
<i>Pocketbook Dems.</i>	17

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
 POLITICAL SURVEY IV - NATIONAL
 MARCH 26-29, 1992
 N=1,668

SEX: 1[]Male 2[]Female INTERVIEWER'S NAME: _____
 TIME STARTED: _____ INTERVIEWER'S I.D.: _____
 TIME FINISHED: _____ PAGE NUMBER: _____
 LENGTH: _____ REPLICATE NUMBER: _____
 REGION: 1 East STRATUM: 1 Stratum One
 2 Midwest 2 Stratum Two
 3 South 3 Remainder
 4 West
 DATE: _____

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of 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?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q. 1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

		NEWS INTEREST INDEX						
March <u>1992</u>		<u>Feb 1992</u>	<u>Jan 1992</u>	<u>Nov 1991</u>	<u>Oct 1991</u>	<u>July 1991</u>	<u>May 1991</u>	<u>March 1991</u>
38	Approve	39	46	55	61	67	77	84
52	Disapprove	53	43	33	28	23	16	10
<u>10</u> 100	Don't know	<u>8</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100

Q. 1a Do you approve or disapprove of the way your own representative to the US House in Congress is handling his or her job?

Mar <u>1992</u> 45	Approve	Dec* <u>1991</u> 60
37	Di sapprove	28
<u>18</u> 100	Don' t know	<u>12</u> 100

* Source = Washington Post

Q. 3 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. (READ AND ROTATE LIST)

	<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not Not too Closely</u>	<u>at all Closely</u>	<u>DK</u>
e. The Congressional check bouncing scandal	36	41	15	8	*=100
g. The race for the Democratic Presidential nomination	35	40	16	9	*=100
h. The race for the Republican presidential nomination	24	40	22	13	1=100

THINKING ABOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SPECIFICALLY...

Q.7 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?

Mar <u>1992</u>		Feb <u>1992</u>
12	Excellent	11
51	Good	45
28	Only Fair	32
6	Poor	7
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know	<u>5</u> 100

Q.8 Are you more interested or less interested in politics this year than you were in 1988?

Mar <u>1992</u>		<u>1980*</u>	<u>1976*</u>
57	More	56	42
27	Less	17	29
14	Same - (Vol)	24	28
<u>2</u> 100	Can't say	<u>3</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100

***Source = Newsweek Poll**

Q.9F1,2 Thinking about the presidential primaries so far, generally do you think they have been a good way of determining who the best qualified nominees are or not?

Mar <u>1992</u>		<u>1988*</u>	<u>1980**</u>
31	Yes	48	40
59	No	37	48
<u>10</u> 100	Don't know	<u>15</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100

***Source = Gallup Poll**

****Source = Newsweek Poll**

Q.10F1,2 In their coverage of the Democratic presidential candidates so far, do you think news organizations have been biased in favor of a candidate, biased against a candidate or do you think they have shown no bias in their coverage?

Q.11F1,2 Which candidate or candidates have they been biased against?

16 Biased in favor

15 Biased against

4 Paul Tsongas
1 Robert Kerrey
2 Tom Harkin
5 Jerry Brown
11 Bill Clinton
4 Other
1 Can't say

12 Biased in favor and against

47 No bias

10 Don't know

100

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT SOME THINGS THAT HAVE BEEN IN THE NEWS - NOT EVERYONE WILL HAVE HEARD ABOUT THEM

Q. 12F1, 3 In the elections last week do you happen to know did the whites in South Africa vote to keep the apartheid system or did they vote to dismantle it?

7 Keep apartheid

43 Dismantle it

50 Don't know

100

N=1111

Q. 13F1, 3 Do you happen to know which candidate has criticized President Bush for his support of the National Endowment on the Arts? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

17 Pat Buchanan

8 Other

75 Can't say

100

N=1111

Q. 14F1, 3 Do you happen to know which candidate has said that he doesn't take campaign contributions of more than \$100 and asks voters to call an 800 number to make a pledge? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

41 Jerry Brown

4 Other

55 Can't say

100

N=1111

Q. 15F1, 3 A prominent businessman is said to be considering running for President as a third party candidate, do you happen to know who he is? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

31 H. Ross Perot

3 Other

66 Can't say

100

N=1111

Q. 16F1, 3 Last week one of the top Democratic contenders for the presidential nomination dropped out of the race - do you happen to know who that was? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

57 Paul Tsongas

5 Other answer

38 Can't say

100

N=1111

Q. 17F1 Have you heard that some critics have questioned Bill Clinton's personal honesty and integrity?

86 Yes

11 No

3 Don't know

100

N=557

Q. 17aF3 Do you happen to know which candidate has most criticized President Bush for breaking his "read my lips no new taxes" pledge? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

25 Pat Buchanan

20 Other

55 Don't know

100

N=554

Q. 18F1 Did you happen to hear that Bill Clinton has been accused of a conflict of interest in steering state business to his wife Hillary's law firm?

79 Yes

18 No

3 Don't know

100

N=557

Q. 18aF3 Do you happen to know which candidate has most criticized President Bush for ending the War in the Gulf too soon and failing to remove Saddam Hussein from power? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

- 14 Pat Buchanan
- 5 Bill Clinton
- 4 Jerry Brown
- 3 Other
- 1 All of them

73 Don't know
100
N=554

Q. 19F1 As you may know Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton has been charged with having had extra marital affairs in the past, do you think he has been truthful and honest in the way he has handled these charges or not?

- 36 Truthful
- 39 No

25 Can't say
100
N=557

Q. 19aF3 **ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...**
 How would you describe economic conditions would you say the economy is now recovering, or that we are in a recession that will pass fairly soon or that we are in an economic depression that will last a long time?

<u>Mar</u> <u>1992</u>		<u>Jan</u> <u>1992</u>
<u>16</u>	Recovery	<u>7</u>
41	Recession	51
40	Depression	38
<u>3</u>	Can't say	<u>4</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>
N=554		

Q. 20F1 As you may know Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton has been charged with joining ROTC as a way of avoiding the draft, do you think he has been truthful and honest in the way he handled these charges or not?

40 Truthful

35 No

25 Can't say

100

N=557

Q. 20aF3 In your opinion is President Bush doing as much as he can to improve economic conditions or do you think he could be doing more?

Mar

1992

21

Doing all he can

Jan

1992

21

76 Could be doing more

76

3 Can't say

100

N=554

3

100

On a different subject...

Q.21 How have you been getting most of your news about the Presidential election campaign? From television, from newspapers, from radio or from magazines? (ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS)

Q.22 Do you get most of your news about the presidential campaign from network tv news, from local tv news, or from CNN ? (ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS)

Mar <u>1992</u>		Feb <u>1992</u>
83	Television	80
41	Network	40
32	Local	37
30	CNN	29
2	(DO NOT READ) Other	2
<u>2</u>	Can't say	<u>1</u>
107*		109*
48	Newspapers	49
14	Radio	18
4	Magazines	4
3	Other	3
<u>*</u>	Can't say	<u>1</u>
152**		155**

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

**Total exceeds 100% due to multiple responses

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..

Q.23 Who would you most like to see nominated as the Democratic party's Presidential candidate? (ROTATE LIST)

IF ANSWERED '6' OTHER OR '7' DON'T KNOW IN Q.23 ASK:

Q.24 Well, as of today, to whom do you most lean? (REREAD LIST, IF NECESSARY)

BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND LEANERS

	Exposed to Clinton's <u>Vul ner.</u> *	Exposed to Bush's <u>Vul ner.</u> ***	<u>Neutral</u> **
Former California Governor Jerry Brown	34	34	37
Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton	52	57	47
(DO NOT READ) Other	6	3	5
(DO NOT READ) Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100
	N=262	N=230	N=263

*Form 1 (F1) of the questionnaire

**Form 2 (F2) of the questionnaire

***Form 3 (F3) of the questionnaire

Q. 25 Suppose the 1992 Presidential election were being held today. If George Bush was the Republican candidate and Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton were the Democratic candidate who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q. 25 ASK:

Q. 27 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican or do you lean more to Bill Clinton the Democrat?

	Exposed to Clinton's <u>Vulner. *</u>	Exposed to Bush's <u>Vulner. ***</u>	<u>Neutral **</u>
George Bush - with Leaners	54	47	50
Bill Clinton - with Leaners	39	45	43
Other/Undecided	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{8}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$
	N=557	N=554	N=557

Q. 26 Do you support (insert choice from Q. 25) strongly or only moderately?

	Exposed to Clinton's <u>Vulner. *</u>	Exposed to Bush's <u>Vulner. ***</u>	<u>Neutral **</u>
<u>Strength of Support</u>			
George Bush	54	47	50
Strongly	19	16	19
Only moderately	35	31	31
Bill Clinton	39	45	43
Strongly	7	11	9
Only moderately	32	34	34
Other/undecided	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{8}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$
	N=557	N=554	N=557

*Form 1 (F1) of the questionnaire

**Form 2 (F2) of the questionnaire

***Form 3 (F3) of the questionnaire

Q. 28 What is the main reason why you would like to see (choice from Q. 25 or Q. 27) win the presidential election?

BASED ON NEUTRAL FORM OF QUESTIONNAIRE

	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Bush</u>
Doing job so far/things going well	0	14
Lesser of two evils/better option	6	12
Had more experience	1	8
Persian Gulf crisis/Strong defense	0	6
Support Republican Party	0	5
Support Democratic Party	9	0
Strong foreign policy	*	4
Position on economy/will improve the economy	6	4
Don't like Clinton's/Bush's morals/ Can't trust	1	4
Image/Just like him better	4	3
Is moral person/good character/ Trust	1	3
Need more time	*	3
Like conservative stance	*	2
Need a change	36	1
Like his stand on morality/ Ethics	1	*
Better for middle/lower class	10	0
Other	6	6
Don't know	29	32
	N=225	N=296

Q. 29 Would you say that your choice is more a vote for (choice from Q. 25 or Q. 27) or more a vote against (other candidate)?

	Exposed to Clinton's Vul ner. *	Exposed to Bush's Vul ner. ***	Neutral **
<u>Direction of Support</u>			
George Bush	54	48	50
Pro-Bush	32	33	33
Anti-Clinton	19	12	15
Undecided	3	3	2
Bill Clinton	39	45	43
Pro-Clinton	13	14	13
Anti-Bush	23	28	28
Undecided	3	3	2

If A 'VOTE FOR' in Q. 29, ASK:

Q. 30 Is your choice more a vote for (choice from Q. 25 or Q. 27) personally or more a vote for his party?

If "PERSONALLY" in Q. 30, ASK:

Q. 31 Do you support him more because of his personal characteristics and abilities or more because of what he stands for politically?

	Exposed to Clinton's Vul ner. *	Exposed to Bush's Vul ner. ***	Neutral **
<u>Major Reason for Support</u>			
George Bush	54	48	50
Repub. party loyalty/preference	9	9	12
Bush's political stand	11	9	8
Bush's personality/abilities	10	10	11
Oppose opponent	19	12	15
Other/undesigned	3	5	2
Can't say	2	3	2
Bill Clinton	39	45	43
Demo. party loyalty/preference	6	8	6
Clinton's political stand	4	3	3
Clinton's personality/abilities	1	2	2
Oppose opponent	23	28	28
Other/undesigned	2	1	2
Can't say	3	3	2

*Form 1 (F1) of the questionnaire

**Form 2 (F2) of the questionnaire

***Form 3 (F3) of the questionnaire

Q. 31aF2 Suppose the 1992 Presidential election were being held today. If George Bush was the Republican candidate and former California Governor Jerry Brown were the Democratic candidate who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q. 31aF2 ASK:

Q. 31bF2 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican or do you lean more to Jerry Brown the Democrat?

51 George Bush - with leaners

43 Jerry Brown - with leaners

1 (DO NOT READ) Other

5 (DO NOT READ) Undecided

100

N=557

ASK ALL:

Q. 32 What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year would you say that you are satisfied with the choices or not satisfied with the choices?

28 Satisfied

66 Not satisfied

6 Can't say

100

Q.33 Why do you feel that way?

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Can't Say</u>
Want specific other/Better candidates	2	9	1
Candidates are not well qualified	*	9	2
No differentiation/No real change	2	8	1
Lack of integrity/Can't be trusted	1	7	3
General negative (Democrats)	2	6	1
No substance/Not addressing issues	*	7	0
Need a change/Get Bush out	7	4	0
Negative campaign/Mudslinging	2	5	1
General negative (Both parties)	1	5	2
No leadership qualities/Political stature	1	5	2
Clinton scandals/Character	1	4	0
General positive (Both parties)	9	*	4
General positive (Democrats)	8	1	1
Things going well/Doing good job	8	1	2
General positive (Republicans)	5	*	2
No competition against Bush	1	2	1
No one can improve economy	1	2	1
Dissatisfied with selection process	1	2	2
General negative (Republicans)	1	2	1
Money influences campaign too much	*	2	0
Lack of ethics/Morals	0	2	0
Candidates well qualified	3	0	0
Positive about Clinton's record	1	0	2
Other	8	3	4
Don't know/No answer	43	29	70

Q. 34F1,2 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered George Bush's election campaign?

78 Fair

13 Unfair

$\frac{9}{100}$ Don't know

N=1114

Q. 35F1,2 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered Bill Clinton's election campaign?

68 Fair

23 Unfair

$\frac{9}{100}$ Don't know

N=1114

Q. 36F1,2 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered Jerry Brown's election campaign?

68 Fair

19 Unfair

$\frac{13}{100}$ Don't know

N=1114

Q. 37 How much would you say you know about what Bill Clinton stands for?
Would you say you know: (read choices 1-4)

11 A lot - (F2 - GO TO Q. 38F2)

36 A little - (F2 - GO TO Q. 38F2)

38 Only some - (F2 - GO TO Q. 38F2)

13 Nothing

$\frac{2}{100}$ Don't know

F2 - IF ANSWER 1,2, OR 3 IN Q.37, ASK:

Q.38F2 What comes to mind when you think about what Bill Clinton stands for?

- 8 Advocate for lower/middle class/Unions
- 7 Untrustworthy/Slick/Not sincere
- 7 Scandals: Affairs/Draft/Business
- 6 General positive
- 6 General negative
- 5 Economic policies
- 4 Change/Different than Bush
- 3 Stands for Liberal/Democratic ideals
- 3 Tax reform
- 3 General domestic reform
- 2 Democrat
- 8 Other
- 44 Don't know

Q.39 How much would you say you know about what George Bush stands for?
Would you say you know: (read choices 1-4)

- 45 A lot - (F2 - GO TO Q.40F2)
- 26 A little - (F2 - GO TO Q.40F2)
- 22 Only some - (F2 - GO TO Q.40F2)
- 5 Nothing
- $\frac{2}{100}$ Don't know

F2 - IF ANSWER 1,2, OR 3 IN Q.39, ASK:

Q.40F2 What comes to mind when you think about what George Bush stands for?

- 11 The rich/upper class/Money
- 9 Has country's best interests at heart
- 7 Negative effect on economy
- 6 General negative
- 6 Persian Gulf crisis/Military strength
- 6 Foreign policy strength
- 5 General positive
- 4 Positive effects on economy
- 3 Too much attention foreign countries
- 2 Not had good effect on country
- 10 Other
- 36 Don't know/No answer

N=518

Q. 41 How much would you say you know about what kind of man Bill Clinton is? Would you say you know: (read choices 1-4)

8 A lot
 35 A little
 35 Only some
 17 Nothing
 $\frac{5}{100}$ Don't know

Q. 42 How much would you say you know about what kind of man George Bush is? Would you say you know: (read choices 1-4)

40 A lot
 29 A little
 23 Only some
 5 Nothing
 $\frac{3}{100}$ Don't know

Q. 43 As I read a list of phrases tell me if you think this phrase better describes George Bush or if it better describes Bill Clinton?
 (ROTATE)

	<u>George Bush</u>	<u>Bill Clinton</u>	<u>(VOL) Both</u>	<u>(VOL) Neither</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Would use good judgment in a crisis	68	15	4	4	9=100
b. Personally likable	44	33	13	5	5=100
c. A typical politician	35	37	22	1	5=100
d. Can bring about change	30	46	5	11	8=100
e. Honest and truthful	46	18	4	21	11=100
f. Can think long range	50	26	4	7	13=100
g. Is a good family man	72	9	8	2	9=100
h. Intelligent	48	17	26	3	6=100
i. Cares about people like me	33	36	5	16	10=100

Q. 44F2 Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the coming presidential election - George Bush or a Democratic candidate?

Mar <u>1992</u> 71	Bush	Feb <u>1992</u> 65	Oct <u>1991</u> 76	Oct <u>1988</u> 68
19	Democratic candidate	25	12	14
<u>10</u> 100	Can't say	<u>10</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100
N=557				

NOW, A FEW MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT CONGRESS AND CHECK BOUNCING:

Q. 46 Based on what you have heard or read, has the Congressman from your district bounced checks or hasn't he or she been named as one of the check bouncers?

39	Yes, a check bouncer
37	No
<u>24</u> 100	Don't know

Q. 47F2 In general, who's more responsible for the check bouncing scandal the Democrats in Congress, the Republicans in Congress or are both parties equally to blame?

3	Republicans
10	Democrats
76	Both equally
<u>11</u> 100	Can't say
N=557	

Q. 48F2 Do you think that most Congressmen who bounced checks were just being careless and forgetful or do you think they were deliberately overdrawing their accounts?

26	Careless
62	Deliberate
<u>12</u> 100	Can't say
N=557	

Q. 49F2 Do you favor or oppose criminal prosecution of those
Congressmen who bounced a large number of checks?

66 Favor

27 oppose

$\frac{7}{100}$ Can't say

N=557

Q. 50F1 What would be your reaction if you learned that your Congressman had
bounced **10** checks - would you definitely vote against him or her ,
probably vote against him or her or wouldn't it matter that much to
you?

30 Definitely vote against him

31 Probably vote against him

33 Wouldn't matter

$\frac{6}{100}$ Can't say

N=557

Q. 50F2 What would be your reaction if you learned that your congressman had
bounced **100** checks - would you definitely vote against him or her ,
probably vote against him or her or wouldn't it matter that much to
you?

49 Definitely vote against him or her

29 Probably vote against him or her

15 Wouldn't matter

$\frac{7}{100}$ Can't say

N=557

Q. 51F1,2 I'd like your opinion of some people. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who I name. First, would you describe your opinion of **(ITEM)** as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable? **(ROTATE)**

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>(VOL) Never Heard Of</u>	<u>(VOL) Can't Rate</u>
a. George Bush	18	45	23	13	0	1=100(N=1114)
February, 1992	26	38	20	14	0	2=100
January, 1992	20	43	22	13	0	2=100
November, 1991	25	46	17	9	0	3=100
May, 1990	24	52	15	7	0	2=100
January, 1989	24	54	9	4		9=100
*October, 1988	23	35	20	17		5=100
*September, 1988	19	40	20	17		4=100
*August, 1988	25	40	18	12		5=100
May, 1988	11	40	25	17		7=100
January, 1988	11	41	26	13		9=100
September, 1987	18	51	19	8		4=100
May, 1987	11	56	19	7		7=100
e. Bill Clinton	10	43	29	11	1	6=100(N=1114)
February, 1992	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
f. Jerry Brown	9	40	29	12	2	8=100(N=1114)
February, 1992	8	29	30	14	5	14=100
January, 1992	8	30	24	13	11	14=100
h. Pat Buchanan	6	25	34	19	3	13=100(N=1114)
February, 1992	12	44	20	10	2	12=100
January, 1992	6	27	21	9	18	19=100
i. H. Ross Perot	11	18	15	6	29	21=100(N=1114)

*Registered voters only.

DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS:

Q.900 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	(VOL) <u>Don't Know</u>
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	19	35	31	13	2=100
b. Most elected officials care what people like me think	6	34	41	17	2=100
c. Hard work offers little guarantee of success	15	30	30	22	3=100
d. The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives	33	39	23	4	1=100
e. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	8	31	41	18	2=100
f. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	37	42	16	3	2=100
g. As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	13	45	30	10	2=100
h. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed	54	38	6	1	1=100
i. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	21	33	28	13	5=100
j. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	18	33	33	13	3=100

	<u>Compl etely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Di sagree</u>	<u>Compl etely Di sagree</u>	<u>(VOL) Don' t Know</u>
k. Prayer is an important part of my daily life	48	33	12	6	1=100
l. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	25	18	23	30	4=100
m. There are clear guide- lines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	30	39	17	10	4=100
n. Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	41	39	15	4	1=100
o. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	27	29	31	12	1=100
p. I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	35	53	8	3	1=100
q. I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	42	33	13	7	5=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..

Q. 901 How often would you say you vote; always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

38	Always
33	Nearly always
13	Part of the time
13	Seldom
*	(DO NOT READ) Other (SPECIFY)
2	(DO NOT READ) Never vote
$\frac{1}{100}$	Don't know/no answer