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The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92:

The Clinton Converts

Survey X

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CLINTON CONVERTS ONE IN THREE VOTERS BUT MOST STRONGLY QUALIFY THEIR SUPPORT

The American electorate has changed its allegiances more dramatically and rapidly in recent weeks than perhaps ever before in campaign history. However, the size of the shift is so large and the commitment of voters to its recipient, Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas, is so tenuous, that voting intentions could again change dramatically in a relatively short period of time.

Only half of the American electorate holds the same voting intentions it held six weeks ago. According to a new national survey from *The Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press*, twenty-six percent supported George Bush in the first week of June and continue to do so today. A like number, 25% were supporters of Bill Clinton then and are so today.

The other half of the electorate has changed its voting intentions in reaction to Ross Perot's departure from the race and in response to the revitalization of Bill Clinton's personal image. The Clinton\Gore ticket has picked up the support of one in three voters since early June. Most (24% of 32%) are former supporters of independent candidate Ross Perot.

To better understand how and why voters have changed their minds about the candidates, Times Mirror re-interviewed 1023 registered voters from a nationwide survey originally conducted May 28-June 10. The Center has also conducted weekly independent samples of the American electorate since the end of the Democratic Convention to assess the stability of Clinton's post-convention lift.

In contrast to the remarkable surge to Clinton, the Bush/Quayle ticket has won over only about one in four former Perot supporters (9%). But even these gains have been offset to some extent by defections going directly from Bush to Clinton (5%) and by some undecideds (3%) making up their minds in favor of Clinton over this same period.

Clinton's recent converts come from all over the ideological and demographic map. Reminiscent of the Perot voters many once were, Clinton's new supporters seem only united only by their desire for change and dislike for George Bush.

Although a plurality of Clinton converts express more positive personal opinions of the Arkansas Governor than they did in June, there is little indication that this decisive voting bloc has made a firm commitment to the Democratic ticket. The overwhelming majority (71%) consider themselves only weak supporters of Clinton who would vote against the President (55%) rather than for Clinton/Gore (40%).

These qualifications of intention are underscored by the volatility apparent in the responses of these voters to Bill Clinton personally. Although almost all recent converts (88%) say they now have a favorable attitude toward the Democratic nominee, as many as 43% had an unfavorable opinion of him in June and only one in five say they know *a lot* about what Clinton stands for.

Clinton Leads by 20 to 25% Points

The re-interview survey found the Clinton-Gore ticket leading Bush-Quayle by a 57% to 36% margin. The weekly surveys with "fresh" samples of the American public show a somewhat larger and consistent Democratic margin in each of the two weeks following the Democratic Convention and Ross Perot's announced withdrawal from the race - 31% Bush to 58% Clinton in polling July 22-26. A week later Times Mirror found a nearly identical 32% to 57% margin during the July 29-August 2 survey period. All three surveys are based upon nationwide samples of registered voters.

Disaffecteds Move to Clinton

Clinton conversions have occurred in substantial numbers in virtually every social, demographic and political group. However, their patterning reflects traditional Democratic groups coalescing around their candidate and the virtual wholesale shift of Ross Perot's constituency to the Clinton side.

Times Mirror's panel back survey finds over four in ten Independents (43%) and 37% of Democrats moving to Clinton over the period of the study. In terms of the Times Mirror typology, most movement to the Democratic candidate has occurred among core Democratic groups and Independent groups that typically vote Republican. Forty-four percent of ***Disaffected*** voters shifted to Clinton since early June as did 34% of the younger, more politically moderate ***Upbeat*** voters.

Clinton is now winning the support of an unparalleled ninety percent of core Democratic groups, while Bush is only managing to gain the support of 81% of Republican ***Enterprisers*** and 75% of ***Moralists***. As many as 22% of ***Moralist*** Republicans, who are social conservatives, say they now favor Clinton.

The Arkansas Governor leads Bush by nearly 2 to 1 among ***Disaffected*** voters and has a much smaller margin among ***Upbeats***.

CANDIDATE PREFERENCE** BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

	<i>MAY 28-JUNE 10, 1992</i>			<i>JULY 29-AUG 1, 1992</i>	
	<i>THREE WAY CHOICE</i>			<i>TWO WAY CHOICE</i>	
	<i>BUSH</i>	<i>CLINTON</i>	<i>PEROT</i>	<i>BUSH</i>	<i>CLINTON</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	31	27	36	36	57
<i>ENTERPRISERS</i>	65	3	31	81	14
<i>MORALISTS</i>	64	8	26	75	22
<i>UPBEATS</i>	41	14	38	40	48
<i>DISAFFECTEDS</i>	22	21	48	31	59
<i>SECULARS</i>	13	38	46	11	79
<i>60'S DEMOCRATS</i>	12	48	35	2	93
<i>NEW DEALERS</i>	10	44	44	12	87
<i>POCKET BOOK DEMOCRATS</i>	7	61	25	4	93
<i>BYSTANDERS/ OTHER</i>	30	23	39	33	60

***Includes Leaners.*

Clinton Converts Soft Supporters

Although voters are expressing more conviction about their choices than they did in June, most backers of each candidate consider themselves only moderate supporters. Clinton's recent converts are far less likely to be firm supporters (29%) than are voters who had been backing him in early June (58%). But on balance Clinton has slightly more strong support (42%) than Bush (37%).

However, more Bush backers say they support the President for positive reasons (55%) than is the case for Clinton (47%). About as many Clinton supporters (48%) say they are mainly for the Arkansas Governor because they oppose the President. Again, recent Clinton converts show more softness - 55% are backing Clinton for negative reasons, compared to 39% among those longer term adherents.

Similarly, Clinton remains an unknown quantity to much of the electorate, including those who have moved to his side in recent weeks. Just 22% say they know *a lot* about what he stands for. This familiarity indicator is up from 12% in March, but it continues to be quite modest among people who say they would vote for him if the election were being held today.

Just 20% of recent converts to the Clinton\Gore ticket say they know a lot about what Bill Clinton stands for.

Bush Defined By Foreign Policy Achievements and Class Favoritism

Given the play back on what voters say they think George Bush stands for, he may envy his rival's "blank page" image. Forty-seven percent say they know *a lot* about what the President stands for and many go on to make negative comments about him in a question soliciting open-ended responses. Most often (14%) people say that Bush stand for the *"rich, upper classes and monied interests"*. One in ten mention the President's credentials in the foreign policy area and 10% mention the Persian Gulf crisis specifically. Eight percent mention *"negative effect on the economy"*.

In total, 21% mention foreign policy issues in response to what Bush stands for, 18% mention class issues, 15% abortion or family values, 13% the economic problems of the country and 12% mention Bush not keeping his word generally or specifically in response to breaking his no new taxes pledge. Republicans, *Enterprisers* and *Moralists* alike, emphasize Bush's foreign policy achievements and his position on abortion or family values. *Disaffecteds* and Democratic core groups most often define Bush as the representative of a privileged class.

People describe Clinton in terms that are almost the opposite of those used to describe Bush. Eighteen percent mention his being an advocate of the working class, 17% mention his positions on the economy, 11% his personal problems and 11% his pro-choice position.

Clinton Negative Below 40%, Bush Above 50% Level

Over the past two months the personal images of the Presidential candidates have gone in opposite directions. Thirty-six percent of the panel back sample gave Clinton a better favorability rating than in June, while only 13% had a less favorable opinion of him in the second interview. Bush's numbers are quite different. One in four (24%) gave him a lower rating in the current poll and only 15% gave Bush a better rating a month later.

As a result, the Democratic challenger's favorable to unfavorable rating at 63% to 35% now far eclipses the 47% favorable, 52% unfavorable rating achieved by President Bush.

Clinton has repaired his personal image among almost all voting and demographic groups, but he has made his greatest personal gains among political independents and among middle and upper-income people. Typologically, Clinton has erased the most doubts about him personally among *Disaffected* voters and among Democratic-leaning middle class groups - *60's Democrats* and *Seculars*. There is no particular pattern to the growth in Bush's negatives. Almost all political and demographic groups show about one in four giving a lower rating to the President in the current poll than in the June survey.

Voters who have improved their view of Clinton for the most part explain their change of heart in terms of learning more about what Clinton stands for (36%), Clinton's increased media exposure (11%), the candidate's convention speech (10%) and the choice of Al Gore (12%).

The "No Way Clinton" Vote Falls to 26%

The net effect of Clinton's image repair has been to reduce the percentage of voters saying there is no way they would vote for the Arkansas governor from 38% in an early May Times Mirror survey to just 26% in the current poll. At the same time the percentage of voters who say they have made up their minds not to vote for Bush increased from 40% in May to 45% in the current poll.

Looked at another way, 71% now either support Clinton or say there is a chance they might vote for him in November. In contrast, a thin 51% majority either supports Bush now, or can envision the possibility of doing so by election day.

At least for now, voters express more concern about the risks of not making a change in November than worry about changing horses. Only one in five voters think there is a big chance that if Clinton is elected he will make a major mistake, but ***56% of the electorate feels there is no chance that conditions in this country will improve, if Bush is re-elected.*** Both attitudes are about as prevalent as they were in May.

Eight in ten Clinton supporters see no chance of improvement for the country, if the President is re-elected. This attitude is about equally prevalent among newly converted (76%) and longer term supporters (82%). However, Clinton's newest supporters are somewhat more likely than others to see at least some chance that Clinton might make major mistakes in the White House (66% vs. 55%).

Bush/Powell Would Run Slightly Stronger Race

The survey finds two possible sources of small gains in support for Bush. First, the percentage saying they would vote for the President increases to the 40% level when voters are asked to imagine who they might vote for, if they came to see both candidates as equally

qualified. Under those circumstances 42% said they would vote for Bush and 50% for Clinton. Most of the movement to Bush in that scenario would come from people who are now undecided (31%) and from recent Clinton converts (16%).

The same two groups would move in the Bush direction in a more dramatic scenario in which Bush named Colin Powell as his running mate. A Bush/Powell ticket drew the support of 41% of the voters questioned, compared to 55% for Clinton/Gore. Bush gains came from undecideds and recent Clinton converts. In typological terms Bush tests no better among core Republican groups with Powell but attracts somewhat more support from Independent *Upbeats* and *Disaffecteds*.

Perot's Withdrawal Doesn't Dampen Interest

Former supporters of Ross Perot appear to have maintained their interest and enthusiasm for the presidential election at least those who have switched to Bill Clinton.

Prior to his departure from the race, supporters of the independent candidate had shown consistently more interest in the campaign than those who favored either Clinton or Bush. Their level of interest was such that higher turnout in November seemed a distinct possibility.

Times Mirror's panel back survey finds that Perot supporters who switched to Clinton continue to show a high level of interest in the campaign. However, Perot supporters who say they now back Bush have lost interest in the election and don't match the Clinton supporters for attentiveness and enthusiasm.

Eighty percent of Clinton\Perot supporters say they have given quite a lot of thought to the election, compared to 72% among Bush\Perot supporters. Similarly, 44% of Clinton converts from Perot say they have paid *very close* attention to campaign news while only 32% of the Bush converts say so.

The Clinton converts are also more likely to say that they have greater interest in campaign '92 than they had in '88 (67%) than those who support Bush (52%) and show a higher probability of voting.

Sustained interest in the campaign notwithstanding, former Perot supporters, regardless of who they now support, are less satisfied with the choice of candidates than they were in June. However, the Clinton converts are more apt to be satisfied (46%) than those who say they now intend to vote for the President (26%).

	<u>Clinton Supporters</u>			<u>Been With Him in June</u> <u>25%</u>
	<u>Total Bush</u> <u>37%</u>	<u>Total Clinton</u> <u>57%</u>	<u>New Since June</u> <u>32%</u>	
<u>Type of Supporter</u>				
Strong	37	42	29	58
Weak	63	58	71	42
 <u>Direction of Support</u>				
Pro	55	47	40	57
Anti	42	48	55	39
 Knows a lot about what George Bush stands for				
	52	46	46	46
 Knows a lot about what Bill Clinton stands for				
	18	26	20	32
 <u>Impression of what George Bush stands for</u>				
For rich/not for lower or middle class (net)	3	28	30	26
Pro-life/family values (net)	25	8	8	7
Economic problems (net)	3	20	17	23
Foreign policy (net)	32	14	16	11
Trust/raised taxes/says one thing does another (net) 4	18	19	16	
 <u>Impression of what Bill Clinton stands for</u>				
Advocate of working class Change/Different than Bush	2	28	27	31
Pro-Choice	4	24	26	23
Economy/will create jobs/tax reform (net)	15	9	9	10
Personal negatives/scandals/negative perceptions of Hillary (net)	9	22	24	19
	22	4	5	2

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	<u>Total Bush</u> <u>37%</u>	<u>Total Clinton</u> <u>57%</u>	<u>New Since June</u> <u>32%</u>	
<u>Favorability Ratings</u>				
George Bush				
Favorable	94	18	22	13
Unfavorable	6	81	77	86
Ratings higher than in June	16	14	12	17
Ratings lower than in June	16	29	29	28
Bill Clinton				
Favorable	22	92	88	97
Unfavorable	74	8	12	3
Ratings higher than in June	27	43	53	30
Ratings lower than in June	19	8	6	11
Rated Clinton negatively in June	75	28	43	10
<u>Why opinion of Bill Clinton has improved</u>				
Exposure/Increased media exposure/Convention speech was good (net)	40	55	55	55
Better of two evils/Disillusionment with Bush (net)	4	25	30	13
Choice of Al Gore as running mate	10	12	14	8
<u>Chance might vote for Bush</u>				
Yes		20	29	9
No		76	66	88
Can't say		<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
		100	100	100
<u>Chance things will get better if Bush is re-elected</u>				
Yes, chance	69	16	18	14
No chance	21	79	76	83
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100

	<u>Clinton Supporters</u>			
	<u>Total Bush</u>	<u>Total Clinton</u>	<u>New Since June</u>	<u>Been With Him in June</u>
	<u>37%</u>	<u>57%</u>	<u>32%</u>	<u>25%</u>
<u>Chance Clinton will make major mistakes if elected President</u>				
A big chance	41	3	3	2
Some chance	46	61	66	55
Hardly any chance	9	33	29	39
Can't say	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100
<u>If Bush and Clinton are equally qualified by election time who would you vote for</u>				
George Bush	91	11	16	5
Bill Clinton	4	83	76	91
Other/Undecided	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100

**The Pattern of Changes In Voter Support
June - August, 1992
Times Mirror Center Panel Back Survey**

<u>AUGUST PREFERENCES</u>	<u>JUNE PREFERENCES</u>				<u>Total*</u>
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Other/ Undecided</u>	
Bush/Quayle	26	1	9	-	37
Clinton/Gore	5	25	24**	3	57
Other/Undecided	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>
Total*	32	27	37	4	100% (1023)

*Internals may not add to marginals because of rounding error.

**How to read table -- 24% of all voters supported Perot in June but now support Clinton.

Survey Methodology

The survey results are based on telephone re-interviews of 1,023 registered voters from a nationwide survey of adults 18 years and older originally conducted May 28 - June 10, 1992.

Two independent surveys were also conducted among a nationally representative sample of registered voters from July 22-26 (N=743) and July 29-August 2 (N=792).

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 the re-interview sample and plus or minus 5 percentage points for each of the two independent weekly samples. 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%¹).

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.

¹ Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

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.

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

	<i>PERCENT</i>
<i>Enterprisers</i>	11
<i>Moralists</i>	18
<i>Upbeats</i>	13
<i>Disaffecteds</i>	10
<i>Bystanders/Other</i>	9
<i>Seculars</i>	8
<i>60's Democrats</i>	9
<i>New Dealers</i>	6
<i>Pocketbook Dems.</i>	16

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
21ST CENTURY VOTER RE-INTERVIEW
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS
JULY 29-AUGUST 1, 1992
N=1023

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 AGE/SEX of respondent. It will only be a few questions to follow up to the interview we did a month or so ago

MY FIRST QUESTION IS:

Q.1 How much thought have you given to the coming Presidential election quite a lot or only a little?

		June ²
		<u>1992</u>
72	Quite a lot	63
4	Some (VOL)	6
23	Little	29
1	None	1
<u>*</u>	Can't say	<u>1</u>
100		100 (2594)

Q.2 How closely have you been following news about the Presidential election, very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

		May
		<u>1992</u>
36	Very closely	35
51	Fairly closely	43
11	Not too closely,	15
2	Not at ally closely?	7
<u>0</u>	Don't know	<u>*</u>
100		100 (1065)

² All trend is based on registered voters unless otherwise noted.

Q.3 If the presidential election were being held today, would you vote for the Republican ticket of George Bush and Dan Quayle, or for the Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton and Al Gore?

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

Q.5 As of today, do you lean more to Bush and Quayle the Republicans, or more to Clinton and Gore the Democrats?

		July 22-26 <u>1992</u>	July 29- Aug. 2 <u>1992</u>
36	Bush/Quayle	31	32
57	Clinton/Gore	58	57
<u>6</u>	Other/Undecided	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
100		100	100
		(743)	(792)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' GEORGE BUSH OR '2' BILL CLINTON IN Q.3 ASK:

Q.4 Do you support (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.3) strongly or only moderately?

37	Bush/Quayle
14	Strong
23	Weak
57	Clinton/Gore
24	Strong
33	Weak

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.3 AND Q.5 SKIP TO Q.7

Q.6 Would you say that your choice is more a vote for (CANDIDATE FROM Q.3/5) or more a vote against (OTHER CANDIDATE)?

37	Bush/Quayle
20	Bush/Quayle-positive
16	Bush/Quayle-anti-Clinton
1	Bush/Quayle-can't say
57	Clinton/Gore
27	Clinton/Gore-positive
28	Clinton/Gore-anti-Bush
2	Clinton/Gore-can't say

ASK ALL:

Q.7 What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the choices?

		June <u>1992</u>	May ³ <u>1992</u>	Mar <u>1992</u>
11	Very satisfied S)))), /0	25	6	26
42	Fairly satisfied S))-		29	
31	Not too satisfied S)))), /0	72	36	68
15	Not at all satisfied S))-		27	
<u>1</u>	Can't say	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100
		(2594)	(1065)	(1366)

Q.8 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

Q.9 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

		June <u>1992</u>
97	Yes	97
89	Absolutely certain	88
8	Fairly certain	8
*	Not certain	1
1	No	1
<u>2</u>	Can't say	<u>2</u>
100		100
		(2594)

³ In May and March the question was asked, "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?"

Q.10 Are you more interested or less interested in politics this year than you were in 1988?

		June	March
		<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
63	More	54	58
15	Less	23	26
22	Same (VOL)	21	14
<u>*</u>	Can't say	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100
		(2594)	(1366)

Q.11 How much would you say you know about what George Bush stands for? Would you say you know: (**READ CHOICES 1-4**)

		March
		<u>1992</u>
47	A lot	49
29	A little	25
21	Only some	20
3	Nothing	4
<u>*</u>	Don't know	<u>2</u>
100		100
		(1366)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' A LOT '2' A LITTLE OR '3' ONLY SOME IN

Q.11 ASK:

Q.12 What comes to mind when you think about what George Bush stands for?

	March <u>1992</u>
*14 The rich/upper class/Money Has country's best interests 7 at heart	12 7
##8 Negative effect on economy 5 General negative Persian Gulf crisis/	8 7
**10 Military strength	7
**10 Foreign policy strength 3 General positive 2 Positive effects on economy Too much attention	6 5 3
**9 foreign countries 1 Not had good effect on country	3 2
#11 Pro-life/Anti-abortion 9 No direction/Doesn't stand for anything Not for the middle/working/ *8 lower class 7 No domestic agenda	
###7 Raised taxes; "read my lips"	
###6 Says one thing and does another #6 Family values in general ##6 Unemployment 6 Conservative 4 Hands are tied by Congress	
**3 Didn't handle Gulf crisis well Less government spending/ 2 intervention * Savings and Loan issues	
18 NET: class	
21 NET: foreign policy	
15 NET: abortion/family values	
13 NET: economic problems	
12 NET: trust	
2 Other	10
7 Don't know/No answer	36
(992)	(440)

*Make up NET: class
 **Make up NET: foreign policy
 #Make up NET: abortion/family values
 ##Make up NET: economic problems
 ###Make up NET: trust

Q.13 How much would you say you know about what Bill Clinton stands for? Would you say you know: **(READ CHOICES 1-4)**

	March <u>1992</u>
22 A lot	12
39 A little	36
32 Only some	39
7 Nothing	10
<u>*</u> Don't know	<u>3</u>
100	100
(730) ⁴	(1366)

⁴ This question is based on total respondents interviewed 7/30/92-8/2/92.

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' A LOT '2' A LITTLE OR '3' ONLY SOME IN
 Q.13 ASK:

Q.14 What comes to mind when you think about what Bill Clinton
 stands for?

	March <u>1992</u>
18 Advocate for lower/ middle class/Unions	8
**6 Untrustworthy/Slick/ Not sincere	7
**4 Scandals: Affairs/ Draft/Business	7
3 General positive	6
4 General negative	6
*7 Economic policies	5
16 Change/Different than Bush Stands for Liberal/ Democratic ideals	4
7 Tax reform	3
*3 General domestic reform	4
6 Democrat	3
2 Pro-choice	1
11 Will create jobs/improve unemployment	
*9 Increased government spending "Tax & Spend"	
7 Health care reform	
6 No direction/Doesn't stand for anything	
4 Charismatic/Seems like a nice guy Positive impression of Al Gore	
3 Good record in Arkansas	
2 Inexperienced	
**2 Negative perceptions of Hillary	
* Poor record in Arkansas	
17 NET: economy	
11 NET: personal negatives	
1 Other	7
10 Don't know	44
(682)	(419)

*Make up NET: economy

**Make up NET: personal negatives

Q.15 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)

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
a.	George Bush	9	38	32	20	0	1=100
	*July, 1992	12	33	30	22	0	3=100
	*June, 1992	13	38	29	18	0	2=100
	*May, 1992	13	42	25	17	0	3=100
	*March, 1992	18	45	23	13	0	1=100
	*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	
b.	Bill Clinton	16	47	24	11	0	2=100
	*July, 1992	17	42	25	9	0	7=100
	*June, 1992	10	36	33	14	1	6=100
	*May, 1992	11	42	32	10	*	5=100
	*March, 1992	10	43	29	11	1	6=100
	*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
c.	Ross Perot	9	24	34	25	0	8=100
	*July, 1992	18	30	21	14	1	16=100
	*June, 1992	18	35	18	8	5	16=100
	*May, 1992	11	39	20	7	2	21=100
	*March, 1992	11	18	15	6	29	21=100
d.	Al Gore	22	44	15	5	2	12=100
	*July, 1992 ⁵	15	32	14	5	6	28=100

***Based on total sample**

⁵ 461 respondents asked 7/9/92 only

⁶Q.16 In what ways do you have a better opinion of Bill Clinton than you had a few months ago?
PROBE: Can you be more specific? (**PROBE FOR SPECIFICS, NO ONE WORD ANSWERS**)

*36 Learned more about him/Platform
12 Choice of Gore as running mate
**11 Better of two evils
*11 Increased media exposure
*10 Convention speech was good
**8 Disillusionment with Bush/Republicans
6 Staying power/Withstood negative press
6 Sincere/Fighting for what he believes
6 Gut reaction/More confident
5 Not aware rating changed
2 Humble roots/Made something of himself
1 Pro-Choice/Abortion rights
1 Not as liberal as first thought
50 **NET: exposure**
19 **NET: backhanded**
3 Other
7 Don't know/No answer
(375)

⁷Q.17 In what ways do you have a worse opinion of Bill Clinton than you had a few months ago?
PROBE: Can you be more specific? (**PROBE FOR SPECIFICS, NO ONE WORD ANSWERS**)

42 Gut reaction/Less confident
18 Not aware rating changed
10 Too much of a politician
6 No stand/Plan/Developed programs
5 Pro-choice/Abortion
4 Goes back and forth on issues
4 More liberal than first thought
1 Afraid he'll spend too much
8 Other
5 Don't know/No answer
(130)

*Make up NET: exposure
**Make up NET: backhanded

⁶ Asked of people who gave Clinton a higher favorability rating in the current survey than in response to the June survey.

⁷ Asked of people who gave Clinton a lower favorability rating in the current survey than in response to the June survey.

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE BUSH IN Q.3 OR Q.5 ASK:

Q.20 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for George Bush in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

Based on		May
<u>Total Respondents</u>		<u>1992</u>
51	Chance might vote for him of the preference questions) (voted for him in one of preference questions)	55 (voted for him in one
45	Decided not to vote for him	40
<u>4</u>	Can't say	<u>5</u>
100		100 (1065)

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE CLINTON IN Q.3 OR Q.5 ASK:

Q.21 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Bill Clinton in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

Based on		May
<u>Total Respondents</u>		<u>1992</u>
71	Chance might vote for him of the (voted for him in one of the preference questions)	56 (voted for him in one preference questions)
26	Decided not to vote for him	38
<u>3</u>	Can't say	<u>6</u>
100		100 (1065)

Q.22 Do you think there is a chance that if George Bush is re-elected that conditions in this country will get better or don't you think so?

	May
	<u>1992</u>
37	Yes chance 35
56	No chance 52
<u>7</u>	Don't know <u>13</u>
100	100 (1065)

Q.23 How much of a chance is there that if Bill Clinton is elected President that he would make major mistakes that would hurt the country? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

	May
	<u>1992</u>
18 A big chance	16
55 Some chance	50
23 Hardly any chance	20
<u>4</u> Can't say	<u>14</u>
100	100
	(1065)

Q.24 If by election time you were to decide that Bush and Clinton are about equally qualified for the job, who would you probably vote for?

42 George Bush	
50 Bill Clinton	
2 (DO NOT READ) Other	
<u>6</u> (DO NOT READ) Undecided	
100	

JUST A FEW MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT POLITICS....

Q.25 Have heard some talk that George Bush might choose someone other than Dan Quayle as his running mate?

76 Yes	
23 No	
<u>1</u> Don't know	
100	

Q.26 Suppose George Bush were to name General Colin Powell as his Vice Presidential running mate, who would you vote for? George Bush and Colin Powell the Republicans, or Bill Clinton and Al Gore the Democrats?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.26 ASK:

Q.27 As of today, do you lean more to Bush and Powell the Republicans, or more to Clinton and Gore the Democrats?

41 Bush/Powell

55 Clinton/Gore

4 (DO NOT READ) Other/Undecided
100