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### DEMOCRATS RECOVER BUT GOP'S TURNOUT EDGE LOOMS LARGE

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#### DEMOCRATS RECOVER BUT GOP'S TURNOUT EDGE LOOMS LARGE

The latest nationwide Times Mirror Center voter survey reveals considerably more support for Democratic congressional candidates than just a few weeks ago. But the survey continues to show an unprecedented plurality of registered voters inclined to vote Republican. More importantly, as the election nears, it also finds the GOP with a sizeable lead over the Democrats among people most likely to go to the polls.

Times Mirror Center's survey of 1577 registered voters conducted October 20-24 found 47% saying they would vote Republican versus 44% Democratic. Early in the month a comparable nationwide voter survey found the GOP ahead in voting intentions by a wide 52% to 40% margin. When the current survey was narrowed to 995 respondents most likely to vote on election day, based upon expressed intentions to vote and past voting history, the Republican margin swells significantly to 51% to 43%. Further, the survey suggests that turnout may well be as low as it was in 1990 and 1986, when only one in three citizens cast a ballot.

	<b>VOTING INTENTIONS</b>								
	Democratic	Republican	Other/Undecided						
Likely Voters: October 25, 1994	43	51	6						
Registered Voters: October 20-24, 1994 October 6-9, 1994 September 1994 July 1994	44 40 46 47	47 52 48 45	9 8 6 8						

As the congressional campaign hits full stride, Americans are thinking more about local issues, and looking somewhat more favorably on incumbents than earlier in the campaign. Both are important factors in the movement back toward the Democratic Party since early October. However, the poll gives little indication that bottom-line attitudes toward President Clinton have improved enough to provide much help for Democratic congressional candidates.

The latest poll finds that as voters contemplate the congressional races, they are now thinking about state and local issues more often - up from 27% in early October to 38% currently. Relatedly, sentiment for re-electing incumbent Representatives improved from 49% to 55% over the course of the month. Although Clinton is now getting much more positive ratings for his handling of foreign policy and even the economy, his overall approval score is up a modest 3 percentage points (from 38% to 41%) since Times Mirror Center's last survey.

#### Dems Trail In Three Of Four Regions

Since the summer, congressional voting intentions have changed most in the East and in the West. Gubernatorial races in California and New York, states where GOP candidates are either ahead or running about even in the polls, may affect congressional contests there. The Republicans currently hold a 7-point advantage in the Eastern and Western regions. The Democrats now trail the Republicans in every region of the country except the South, where the race is almost dead even (48% Democrat vs. 47% Republican).

The Democratic party also has lost considerable support among middle income voters, and among two stalwart Democratic groups: older people and women. A 10 percentage point lead among female voters enjoyed by Democratic congressional candidates in July has shrunk to 3 points in October (46% Democrat vs. 43% Republican). By comparison, the GOP lead among men has grown to 11 points, 52% to 41%. Similarly a summer-time Democratic advantage among people 50 years and older has been reversed into a 3 point Republican lead. Republicans have also made significant gains among voters with family incomes \$30,000-\$49,999. See Table on p. 9.

#### GOP Consolidates Core Voting Blocs

Analysis of the trend in congressional preferences by Times Mirror voter typology groups<sup>1</sup> shows a steady increase in support for GOP congressional candidates among the two bedrocks of the party: the fiscally conservative Enterprisers and socially conservative Moralists. No such trend toward Democratic congressional candidates is seen among the core groups of the Democratic Party. In fact, among one group of Democrats with a history of defection to GOP candidates -- the socially conservative, unionist New Dealers -- support for Democratic congressional candidates has actually declined since the summer.

In the middle of the electorate, the New Economy Independents, a middle-class group feeling high financial pressure, remain a wild card. They have shifted back toward Democratic congressional candidates, now preferring them by 51% to 38% over GOP candidates. This large, mostly female group could hold the Democrats' fate in its hands. The question is not only *how* they will vote, but whether they will bother to vote at all, given their low level of interest in politics.

The Embittered, a disadvantaged group of Independents with a very skeptical view of government, have shifted toward the Republicans. But they are less important, being relatively small in numbers and less likely to vote.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>For an explanation of the typology, see pp. 20-21.

# CONGRESSIONAL VOTE PREFERENCE (Based on Registered Voters)

	JU	LY	SEPTE	MBER	OC	TOBE	ER
							GOP
	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Lead</u>
Total	45	47	48	46	47	44	3
Enterprisers	88	7	89	7	93	3	90
Moralists	82	12	83	14	85	9	76
Libertarians	73	18	75	21	70	16	54
New Economy							
Independents	39	48	44	44	38	51	-13
Embittered	32	56	36	56	43	37	6
Seculars	15	76	14	80	11	79	-68
New Democrats	17	77	18	75	13	75	-62
New Dealers	11	83	13	81	16	73	-57
Partisan Poor	5	93	7	91	5	89	-84

#### Incumbents More Popular

As congressional incumbents have returned to their home districts to campaign, the historic gap between support for local officeholder and opposition to Congress as an institution has reemerged. Anti-incumbent sentiment has lessened over the course of the month. A majority of registered voters (55%) now support their home district's representative for re-election, up from 49% in early October. But a 56% majority feel that *most* members of Congress don't deserve to be re-elected, identical to the early October result.

Support for congressional incumbents, nonetheless, has still not reached the 62% level recorded by Gallup in a late October survey four years ago. Among those least inclined to favor the incumbent are Independents (48%), regular talk radio listeners (49%), Perot voters (42%), and baby boomers (51% of those aged 30-49 years).

There is little question that the anti-incumbent mood hurts Democrats more than Republicans. Those who want to see their incumbent returned to office prefer Democratic candidates over Republicans by 52% to 42%. In contrast, those who want their representative voted out of office prefer Republican candidates by a two-to-one margin (60% vs. 30%).

Among the various typology groups, anti-incumbent sentiment tends to be limited to Republican- and Independent-oriented groups, with one exception: New Dealers. Half of New Dealer voters (49%), many of whom are defecting to the GOP, feel that most members of Congress do not deserve re-election, and only half (49%) want their own representative re-elected. By comparison, the incumbent is favored by the other three Democratic-oriented groups by margins of 60% to 68%.

In the middle of the electorate, majorities of New Economy Independents (55%) and Embittered voters (54%) support the incumbent, even though similar majorities feel most members of Congress deserve to be defeated.

#### Low Turnout

Survey measures of interest in this year's congressional elections suggest that voter turnout may not exceed the 33% level for the voting-age population recorded in 1990 and 1986. Hotly-contested races for governor or U.S. Senator may spur higher voter participation in some states -- such as California, New York and Texas -- but nationally there is no one factor like a Perot candidacy or televised debates likely to spark the interest of those who are not regular voters.

In the new survey, only about four in ten adults (42%) say they have given "a lot" or "some" thought to the coming election. Half the national adult population (50%) showed such interest four years ago in a Gallup survey taken about a week closer to the election. At a similar time in 1982, half the public (51%) already expressed at least some interest.

At this point, voters who favor GOP candidates show more potential to turn out on election day than those favoring Democrats. By a margin of 58% to 48%, Republicans are more likely than Democrats to have given some thought to the election. Women and blacks -- two groups that tend to vote Democratic -- are also paying less attention than Republican-voting men and whites.

Talk radio shows, whose hosts are generally conservative, may help boost GOP turnout. Almost two-thirds (64%) of those who regularly listen to talk radio have thought about the election compared with 35% of those who hardly ever listen.

Times Mirror Center determines its likely-to-vote respondents based on six questions that measure past voting history, voter registration, intentions to vote, and attentiveness to national issues. For this survey Times Mirror Center used a less restrictive voter screen than it would in the period immediately prior to an election in order not to disadvantage Democrats whose supporters become interested in the campaign at a later point than do GOP supporters.

Even so, this "soft" profile of likely voters, in comparison to the larger pool of registered voters, reveals the uphill battle the Democrats face in mustering their forces. Most notably, while party affiliation is about even in the population as a whole (31% Republicans vs. 32% Democrats), the GOP has a 37% to 32% advantage among likely voters. Times Mirror's value-based typology shows an even greater GOP edge: conservative Enterprisers and Moralists make up 29% of the voting age population, but as much as 39% of likely voters. See Table on p. 11.

#### Clinton And The Clinton Effect

Bill Clinton's recent foreign policy successes have not translated into much improvement in his overall approval rating. As a result, he continues to be a drag on the Democratic Party's prospects in next month's congressional elections. By a margin of 47% to 41%, more Americans disapprove than approve of the way Clinton is handling his job. And the President's ratings are no better among registered voters (48% disapprove, 42% approve).

For the last year or so, Clinton has scored lower approval ratings in the specific areas of foreign policy and the economy than for his overall job performance. That pattern has now been reversed, thanks to larger increases in approval for his handling of those two areas than in his personal rating. This situation may reflect continued doubts about his character offsetting Administration successes, or it may merely require more time for his overall personal rating to catch up.

In any case, to help his party avoid the heavy losses suggested by current survey results, Clinton must find a way in the next two weeks to maximize politically his recent foreign policy accomplishments and the nation's more favorable economic conditions. For Clinton's ratings today are almost identical to those of Ronald Reagan in October 1982, which foreshadowed big

losses for his party in the congressional elections that year. (The Democrats gained 26 House seats, the largest shift in the off-year elections in recent history.)

Times Mirror surveys show that congressional preferences in the midterm elections are much more strongly linked to opinion of President Clinton than they were tied to opinion of President Bush four years ago. In 1990, the election outcome produced very little change in the composition of the House (a nine-seat gain for the Democrats).

One in five registered voters (21%) regards his or her vote for Congress as an expression of anti-Clinton sentiment. Fewer voters (17%) see themselves casting a pro-Clinton vote. The anti-Clinton vote has somewhat of a populist flavor. Among those most likely to say they are motivated to cast a vote against the President are:

- \* Southern whites (27%)
- \* White evangelicals (28%)
- \* Regular talk radio listeners (29%)

#### Not All Bad News For Clinton

The survey is not all bad news for the President, however. As indicated earlier, Clinton's recent success on the international front has not gone unnoticed. His rating for handling foreign policy generally has risen to 50%, from a low of 38% in July 1994.

Getting Saddam Hussein to back off in the Persian Gulf has paid the biggest dividends for Clinton in terms of improving his image: nearly seven in ten adults (69%) approve of the way he is handling "the new Iraqi threat in the Persian Gulf". Six in ten (62%) approve of the way he is handling the situation in the Middle East.

Public opinion has turned around somewhat on Haiti, too. Over half (54%) now approve of the way Clinton is handling the situation there, up from 46% in September. And recent diplomatic efforts to reduce the nuclear threat from North Korea have turned from negative to positive for Clinton. Now, 49% approve and 31% disapprove of the way he is dealing with North Korea. Last June, a similar question in a Newsweek poll showed a plurality disapproval (42% vs. 31% approve).

On the domestic scene too, the President's higher marks for handling the economy suggest that he is finally getting some credit for the nation's improved economic condition. His ratings are still mixed in this respect -- 45% approve vs. 46% disapprove -- although markedly up from the 38% approve/56% disapprove in July.

The Issues And Campaign '94

Once again, crime tops the list of America's most important problems. Almost three in ten (28%) say crime is this country's most pressing problem, little changed from July (26%). Health care is second on the list (10%), halved since June (20%). Jobs/unemployment (9%), public morals, ethics, and values (8%), the budget deficit (8%), and the economy (7%) closely follow on this list.

When all economic issues (including unemployment, budget deficit, and the economy per se) are taken together, they total 27%, which is essentially the same as mentions of crime. But this economy aggregated figure has dropped fully 50 percentage points since January 1992 when 76% cited these economic issues as the nation's most critical problems.

Supporters of Republican congressional candidates are about as likely as supporters of Democratic candidates to name crime as the nation's most important issue (28% vs. 31%). Republican supporters, however, tend to be more concerned about moral and ethical issues (12% vs. 6%), while Democratic supporters are more concerned about health care (15% vs. 7%) and unemployment (11% vs. 7%).

Improving the job situation gets a lower priority as the nation's unemployment rate goes down. When asked to choose one issue among five as President Clinton's top priority, more Americans pick reducing crime (26%) and reducing the budget deficit (23%). But as many as one in five (19%) choose improving the job situation as a top priority despite the economic recovery, more than choose health care reform (15%) and welfare reform (13%).

Supporters of Democratic congressional candidates are more likely than supporters of Republican congressional candidates to give top priority to improving the job situation (21% vs. 16%). Republican supporters are more likely to place the highest priority on the traditional Republican issue of trimming the size of government: 31% of Republican supporters think reducing the budget deficit should be Clinton's top priority, and 17% say welfare reform should be at the top. In comparison, 19% of Democratic supporters choose reducing the budget deficit and only 11% choose welfare reform.

The midterm election climate, featuring low unemployment and a strong economy, tends to favor the Republicans over the Democrats. The Republican Party is seen by more Americans as the one that could do a better job at keeping the country prosperous (45% vs. 33% for Democrats), while the Democrats are seen by a plurality as the party most able to improve the job situation (42% vs. 37% for Republicans). The GOP is also viewed by pluralities of the public as better able to make wise decisions about foreign policy and about dealing with taxes. The Democratic Party has lost a lot, but not all of its advantage on the health care issue; but on dealing with crime, an issue on which Republicans have long enjoyed an edge, the public now divides nearly evenly between the GOP and the Democrats.

#### "INSIDE-THE-BELTWAY" MATTERS

#### The Perot Endorsement

The survey offers very little good news for Ross Perot. He has attempted to influence Campaign '94 by advising his supporters to vote Republican. But only three in ten voters overall (29%), and about the same number of former Perot voters (30%), are even aware of Perot's recommendation.

And worse, Perot's endorsement seems to have backfired. More voters say Perot's endorsement makes them *less* inclined to vote for the GOP than against it (7% vs. 3%). Even among those who voted for Perot in 1992, only 6% have been influenced to support Republican candidates.

There is some consolation for Perot, nonetheless. Whether they heard his recommendation or not, a majority of his former voters do prefer Republicans for Congress, and that majority has increased since the summer.

#### The Republican Contract With America

The much-ballyhooed Republican Contract With America has failed to do much to improve the prospects of GOP candidates this fall. But neither has it boomeranged to the degree many Democrats had hoped. In the new survey, only three in ten (29%) claimed to have heard about this document signed by over 300 Republican congressional candidates last month. Overall about as many voters say it makes them more likely to vote Republican as say less likely (7% vs. 6%).

#### Preaching To The Choir

About four in ten voters (40%) say they are aware of the Christian Coalition's efforts to help "pro-family" candidates get elected. Overall, the impact on voters is mixed: 9% say it makes them more likely to vote Republican; 8% say it makes them more likely to vote Democratic. Among certain target groups, however, the efforts of Pat Robertson's political organization appear to be making a significant difference. Those more likely to vote Republican than Democratic are:

- \* White evangelicals (18% GOP vs. 5% Democratic).
- \* Regular talk radio listeners (17% GOP vs. 7% Democratic).
- \* Regular churchgoers (13% GOP vs. 6% Democratic).
- \* Southern whites (13% GOP vs. 6% Democratic).

## **TABLES**

### **CONGRESSIONAL VOTE PREFERENCE**

		JULY 1994	COD		OCTOBER 1994			
Total	Repub. 45	Democ. 47	GOP Lead -2	Ì	Repub. 47	Democ. 44	GOP Lead 3	GOP Gain 5
Sex Male Female	49 41	43 51	6 -10		52 43	41 46	11 -3	5 7
Race White Black Hispanic*	49 13 34	43 82 54	6 -69 -20		52 13 33	39 81 55	13 -68 -22	7 1 -2
<i>Age</i> 18-29 30-49 50-64 65+	51 45 44 42	43 46 49 48	8 -1 -3 -6		47 48 46 46	50 43 43 42	-3 5 3 4	-11 6 6 10
Education College Grad. Some College High School Grad. < High School	50 50 43 37	42 43 49 56	8 7 -6 -19		48 51 50 33	45 39 43 50	3 12 7 -17	-5 5 13 2
Family Income \$50,000+ \$30,000-\$49,000 \$20,000-\$29,000 < \$20,000	56 45 44 35	37 49 47 56	19 -4 -3 -21		56 51 39 41	38 42 51 48	18 9 -12 -7	-1 13 -9 14
Region East Midwest South West	45 45 45 45	47 46 48 46	-2 -1 -3 -1		48 46 47 49	41 41 48 42	7 5 -1 7	9 6 2 8
Community Size Large City Suburb Small City/Town Rural Area	39 50 44 47	53 44 47 45	-14 6 -3 2		41 53 47 48	50 41 43 40	-9 12 4 8	5 6 7 6

Question: If the 1994 elections for U.S. Congress were being held today, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district? (includes leaners)

	JULY 1994		OCTOBER 1994						
		GOP			GOP	GOP			
Repub.	Democ.	Lead	Repub.	Democ.	Lead	Gain			
92	6	86	91	6	85	-1			
			<del>-</del>			3			
44	40	4	44	39	5	1			
83	12	71	85	11	74	3			
14	81	-67	17	75	-58	3 9			
49	38	11	59	27	32	21			
roval									
20	75	-55	19	75	-56	-1			
71	20	51	75	17	58	7			
30	51	-21	29	41	-12	9			
	92 6 44 83 14 49 roval 20 71	Repub.       Democ.         92       6         6       91         44       40         83       12         14       81         49       38         roval       20       75         71       20	GOP         Repub.       Democ.       Lead         92       6       86         6       91       -85         44       40       4         83       12       71         14       81       -67         49       38       11         roval         20       75       -55         71       20       51	GOP         Repub.       Democ.       Lead       Repub.         92       6       86       91         6       91       -85       7         44       40       4       44         83       12       71       85         14       81       -67       17         49       38       11       59         roval         20       75       -55       19         71       20       51       75	Repub.       Democ.       Lead       Repub.       Democ.         92       6       86       91       6         6       91       -85       7       89         44       40       4       44       39         83       12       71       85       11         14       81       -67       17       75         49       38       11       59       27         roval         20       75       -55       19       75         71       20       51       75       17	Repub.         Democ.         Lead         Repub.         Democ.         Lead           92         6         86         91         6         85           6         91         -85         7         89         -82           44         40         4         44         39         5           83         12         71         85         11         74           14         81         -67         17         75         -58           49         38         11         59         27         32           roval         20         75         -55         19         75         -56           71         20         51         75         17         58			

All percentages based on registered voters

<sup>\*</sup> CAUTION: Small Sample

# PROFILE OF VOTERS, REGISTERED VOTERS AND LIKELY VOTERS

	Voting Age	Registered	Likely
	Population	Voters	Voters
Sex Male Female	48 52	47 53	49 51
Race White Black Hispanic	85 10 5	86 10 4	90 7 3
<i>Age</i> 18-29 30-49 50-64 65+	22	14	10
	40	41	43
	20	23	26
	17	20	20
Education College Grad. Some College High School Grad. < High School	21	25	32
	22	23	23
	39	38	36
	17	14	9
Family Income \$50,000+ \$30,000-\$49,000 \$20,000-\$29,000 < \$20,000	21 26 19 24	24 27 18 20	28 31 17 16
Region East Midwest South West	21	20	21
	25	26	25
	34	34	33
	20	20	21
Community Size Large City Suburb Small City/Town Rural Area	20	19	18
	22	22	24
	37	36	35
	21	22	22
Party ID Republican Democrat Independent	31	34	37
	32	33	32
	33	30	27

	Voting Age	Registered	Likely
	Population	Voters	Voters
Past Vote Bush Clinton Perot	24	30	39
	32	38	46
	10	12	14
Presidential Approval Approve	41	42	42
Disapprove	47	48	51
Don't Know	12	10	7
Listens to Talk Radio Regularly Sometimes Rarely/Never	15	17	21
	26	26	27
	59	56	52
Typology Enterprisers Moralists Libertarians	12	13	20
	17	19	19
	6	7	7
New Economy Independents Embittered Seculars New Democrats New Dealers Partisan Poor	14	15	13
	6	7	6
	8	9	10
	10	11	10
	8	9	8
	9	10	10
What makes the biggest difference in vote for Cong National Issues State/Local Issues Candidate's Party Candidate's Character Other None Don't Know	ress: 22 40 3 27 2 2 4	22 38 3 29 3 1 4	26 37 5 28 2 1
Would like to see own Representative re-elected: Yes No Not Running/Don't Know	53 29 17	55 30 15	57 32 11
Would like to see most men bers of Congress re-elected Yes No Don't Know		31 56 13	29 59 12

## Clinton Approval By Typology Group

	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion
	%	%	%
Total	41	47	12=100
Enterprisers	5	91	4=100
Moralists	17	75	8=100
Libertarians	37	57	6=100
New Economy			
Independents	47	44	9=100
The Embittered	37	47	16=100
Bystanders		37	38
25=100			
Seculars	78	15	7=100
New Democrats	58	28	14=100
New Dealers	50	29	21=100
Partisan Poor	75	16	9=100

## Priorities For The President By Typology Group

	Reducing Crime %	Reducing Deficit %	Improving Job Situation %	Reforming Health Care %	Reforming Welfare %
Total	26	23	19	15	13
Enterprisers	18	42	12	2	21
Moralists	31	23	14	12	17
Libertarians	23	32	16	11	14
New Economy					
Independents	26	23	20	16	12
The Èmbittered	27	16	31	15	5
Bystanders 11		30	16	22	17
Seculars	20	24	19	23	9
New Democrats	31	16	18	18	10
New Dealers	16	22	24	20	15
Partisan Poor	30	13	22	24	7

# PRIORITIES FOR THE PRESIDENT BY DEMOGRAPHICS

	Reducing Crime %	Reducing Deficit %	Improving Job Situation %	Reforming Health Care %	Reforming Welfare %	N
Total	26	23	19	15	13	(2052)
Sex Male Female	23 28	29 18	19 18	13 17	12 14	(987) (1065)
Race White Black Hispanic	25 28 25	25 11 16	17 33 29	15 19 15	14 5 10	(1731) (173) (125)
<i>Age</i> 18-29 30-49 50-64 65+	27 27 23 22	19 25 24 23	22 19 18 15	15 13 22 13	13 13 9 16	(421) (835) (430) (343)
Education College Grad. Some College High School Grad. < H.S. grad.	24 27 25 26	28 25 23 15	15 18 21 21	15 13 13 22	14 14 13 9	(556) (505) (781) (193)
Family Income \$50,000+ \$30,000-\$49,999 \$20,000-\$29,999 < \$20,000	27 27 27 21	29 26 20 21	13 18 22 22	12 15 15 16	17 12 12 13	(479) (549) (383) (425)
Region East Midwest South West	27 25 26 23	18 26 24 24	23 15 18 21	17 15 16 12	12 13 12 15	(421) (508) (713) (410)
Community Large city Suburb Small city/town Rural area	31 29 23 20	19 27 24 23	20 15 18 23	17 13 15 16	9 12 14 14	(400) (472) (743) (408)

Question: In the future, which ONE of the following items should President Clinton give the highest priority to?

	Reducing Crime %	Reducing Deficit %	Improving Job Situation %	Reforming Health Care %	Reforming Welfare %	N
Party Identification Republican Democrat Independent	26 25 25	29 17 24	15 23 20	11 21 13	16 10 13	(650) (631) (689)
1992 Presidential Vote Bush Clinton Perot	24 24 25	35 16 28	13 24 15	7 21 11	17 10 18	(534) (665) (211)
Presidential Job Approval Approve Disapprove Don't Know	27 25 23	19 28 19	21 17 19	21 9 19	10 16 9	(838) (986) (228)
1994 Congressional Vote Preference (Registered Vo Republican Democrat Other/Don't Know	oters) 25 24 25	31 19 24	16 21 13	7 22 19	17 11 10	(764) (679) (109)
Listens To Talk Radio Regularly Sometimes Rarely/Never	24 23 27	28 24 21	15 18 20	13 15 16	14 15 11	(330) (529) (1189)

# **SURVEY METHODOLOGY**

### **ABOUT THIS SURVEY**

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 2,052 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period October 20-24, 1994. 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 2 percentage points. For results based on registered voters only (N=1,577), one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects 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.

#### SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. 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 selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone households in the U.S. 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 three 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.

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.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1992). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

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.

#### ABOUT THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

The Times Mirror Center in 1987 developed a unique voter classification system based on three major elements -- party affiliation, political participation, and personal values and attitudes -- and using the statistical technique called "cluster analysis." The new typology in 1994 is built on the same foundation, with minor modifications.

Thirteen values and attitudes were measured, including attitudes toward government, environmentalism, business, social welfare, social policy issues, religion, race relations, the military, and the place of the United States in world affairs; and feelings of political and of individual alienation, of financial pressure and of xenophobia.

The analysis segmented the American public into ten groups -- three Republican, four Democrat, and three in between:

#### The Divided Right

- <u>Enterprisers</u> (10% of adult population): Affluent, well-educated, and predominantly white. This classic Republican group is mainly characterized as pro-business, anti-government, anti-social welfare, with strong faith in America and moderate to low social tolerance.
- <u>Moralists</u> (18%): Middle-aged, middle-income, predominantly white, religious (four in 10 are Evangelicals). This core Republican group is also socially intolerant and anti-social welfare, militaristic and xenophobic, anti-big business and anti-big government. Former Democrats drawn to the GOP's religious and cultural conservatism have almost doubled its size since 1987.
- <u>Libertarians</u> (4%): Highly-educated, affluent, predominately white male. This group has Republican lineage but is uncomfortable with today's GOP, particularly its religious right. Probusiness, anti-government, anti-social welfare but highly tolerant, very low on religious faith, cynical about politicians.

#### The Detached Center

- New Economy Independents (18%): Average income, very financially pressured, young to middle aged, mostly female. This group, four in ten of whom are working mothers, is unanchored in either party and 1994's most important swing voters. Most supported Perot in 1992, are attracted to a third party in 1994. It has many conflicting values: strongly environmentalist but not believers in government regulation; pro-social welfare but not very sympathetic to blacks; inclined to fundamental religious beliefs but highly tolerant of homosexuals.
- <u>Bystanders</u> (8%): Very young, poorly educated, lowest income, most financially pressured. This group opts out of the political process or are not eligible to vote (high Hispanic concentration). Somewhat more female than male, its only claimed commitment is to environmentalism.
- <u>The Embittered</u> (7%): Low income, low education, very financially pressured, middle-aged. One in four of this group are black, four in ten have children under 18. Half are union members in low-skilled jobs. Old ties to Democrats have eroded but the Embittered feel unwelcome in the GOP. They distrust government, politicians, corporations. They are religious and socially intolerant. They strongly blame discrimination for lack of black progress, but are not strongly in favor of social welfare programs.

#### The "Not So" Left

- <u>Seculars</u> (9%): Highly educated, sophisticated, affluent, mostly white baby boomers and Generation X. The most socially tolerant group, driven by social issues, it is the only one to embrace the "liberal" label. Pro-abortion, very low in religious faith, sympathetic toward minorities and

immigrants. Highly pro-environment, moderately pro-government, distrusting of business. Drifting from the Democrats but not attracted to Republicans. High concentration of Jewish voters (11%).

- <u>New Democrats</u> (10%): Mostly female, average income and education, as many white Evangelical Protestants as white Catholics. Many of these middle-class moderates switched from Bush to Clinton in 1992 but are not committed to Democrats. Religious but not intolerant, more probusiness than other Democratic groups, they reject discrimination as a major barrier to black progress, are pro-government and environmentalist.
- <u>New Dealers</u> (7%): Oldest group of typology (one in three over 65), high concentration of union members, average education, low income but only moderately financially pressured. Once part of FDR's coalition, beneficiary of government programs, this group is now turned off by politics. Strongly conservative on race and social welfare, strong on religion, moderate on social tolerance, pro-America, distrusts politicians and business.
- <u>Partisan Poor</u> (7%): Very poor (44% with household income under \$20,000 a year) and financially pressured, disadvantaged, nearly half in south. This second-oldest typology group, rooted in New Deal coalition, believes more government spending on the poor is needed. Four in ten are non-whites. Heavily blue collar, very religious, socially intolerant.

# THE QUESTIONNAIRE

# TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS PRELUDE TO THE ELECTION OCTOBER 20-24, 1994 N = 2052

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am \_\_\_\_ calling from Princeton Survey Research Associates from 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?)

#### MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

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

		Early Oct Sept July May Mar Ja															
		Oct 1994	Sept 1994	July 1994	May 1994	Mar 1994	Jan <u>1994</u>	Jan <u>1994</u>	Dec 1993	Oct 1993	Sept 1993	Sept 1993	Aug 1993	June 1993	May 1993	April <u>1993</u>	Feb 1993
41	Approve	38	41	45	46	45	51	48	48	44	49	43	39	39	45	49	56
47	Disapprove	47	52	46	42	42	35	35	36	42	35	43	46	43	37	29	25
12 100	Don't know	15 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	12 100	13 100	14 100	17 100	<u>16</u> 100	14 100	<u>16</u> 100	14 100	15 100	18 100	18 100	<u>22</u> 100	<u>19</u> 100

#### ON ANOTHER TOPIC ...

Q.2 Do you happen to read any daily newspaper or newspapers regularly?

		July <u>1994</u>	Feb 1994	Jan <u>1994</u>	June 1992				Nov 1990		July <u>1990</u>	
73	Yes	74	70	71	75	73	70	72	74	72	71	71
27	No	26	30	29	25	27	30	27	26	28	29	29
* 100	Don't know	* 1 <del>0</del> 0	<u>0</u> 100	1 <del>0</del> 0	1 <del>0</del> 0	* 1 <del>0</del> 0	* 1 <del>0</del> 0	100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100

Q.3 Do you happen to watch any TV news programs regularly, or not?

		July 1994	Feb 1994			July 1991	May 1991	Jan <u>1991</u>	Nov 1990		July <u>1990</u>	-
81	Yes	81	84	85	85	84	84	88	80	81	81	80
19	No	19	16	15	15	16	16	12	20	19	19	20
$\frac{*}{100}$	Don't know	$1\overline{00}$	<u>0</u> 100	* 1 <del>0</del> 0	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100					

Q.4 Do you listen to the news on the radio regularly, or not?

		July 1994	Feb 1994	Jan <u>1994</u>	June 1992	July <u>1991</u>	May 1991	Jan <u>1991</u>	Nov 1990	Oct 1990	July <u>1990</u>	May 1990
51	Yes	52	53	52	54	53	53	55	55	54	55	56
49	No	48	47	48	46	47	47	45	45	46	45	44
* 100	Don't know	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	* 1 <del>0</del> 0	<u>0</u> 100	* 1 <del>0</del> 0						

NOW, A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS ...
Q.6 How much thought have you given to the coming November election, quite a lot, or only a little?

		Times Mirror	Gallup			
		Early Oct <u>1994</u>	Oct 25-28 1990	Oct 15-18 1982	Oct 13-16 1978	Sept 22-25 1978
37	A lot	36	43	29	23	21
5	Some (VOL.)	1	7	22	22	18
52	Only a little	58	46	37	39	44
<u>6</u> 100	None/Don't know/Refu	$ \begin{array}{cc} \underline{5} \\ 100 \end{array} $	<u>4</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100

Q.7 THROUGH Q.11 BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS (N=1577):
 Q.7 If the 1994 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?
 Q.8 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

		Early Oct 1994	Sept 1994	July 1994
47	Republican GO TO Q.9	52	48	45
44	Democratic GO TO Q.9	40	46	47
<u>9</u> 100	Undecided/Other candidate (VOL.)	<u>8</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100

What will make the biggest difference in how you vote for Congress in your district -- national issues, local or state issues, the candidate's political party, or the candidate's character or experience? (**If more than one, probe:**) Well, which is most important? Q.9

		<b>Times Mirror</b>	CBS	S/NYT
		Early Oct	Oct 24-28	Sept 28-Oct 1
22	National issue	1994 22	1986 22	$\frac{1986}{20}$
38	State/local issue	27	25	23
3	Political party	5	6	9
29	Character/Experience	39	40	41
3	Other (VOL.)	2	1	3
1	None (VOL.)	1	1	*
$\frac{4}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{4}{100}$	<u>5</u> 100	$\frac{4}{100}$

Q.10 Do you think of your vote for Congress this fall as a vote for Bill Clinton, or as a vote against Bill Clinton, or isn't Bill Clinton much of a factor in your vote?

17	For	<b>Clinton</b> Early Oct <u>1994</u> 17	<b>Bush</b> Oct 28-31 1990 19	Oct 24-28 1986 26	<b>Reagan</b> Sept 28-Oct 1  1986 26	Oct 23-28 1982 23
21	Against	23	15	12	16	21
57	Not a factor	54	61	55	51	51
<u>5</u> 100	Don't know/refused	<u>6</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$	<u>5</u> 100

- Q.11 Generally what is more important to you this year?
  - 31 Having new faces in office OR
  - 57 Having experienced people who know how the government works
  - 10 Don't know
  - $\frac{2}{100}$  Refused

#### ALL RESPONDENTS:

Q.12 What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today? (RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE ONLY FOR CLARITY -- DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION.)

••		July 1994		Mar 1994			June 1993	April 1993	Jan 1992	May 1990	Feb 1989	April <u>1987</u>
28	Crime/Gangs/Justice system	26	22	31	25	15	7	5	3	7	8	3
10	Health care (cost/accessibility)	14	20	14	14	12	11	13	3	3	1	*
9	Unemployment/Lack of jobs	12	12	12	15	23	19	18	22	7	9	13
8	Morality/Ethics/ Family values	9	10	10	6	8	7	3	3	5	2	3
2	Drugs/Alcohol	3	6	10	8	5	5	4	4	37	23	6
5	Dissatisfaction with government/Politics	4	5	5	2	5	5	3	2	2	1	0
8	Deficit/National debt/ Balanced budget	5	4	5	6	9	13	17	4	11	19	12
2	Education	3	4	5	5	4	5	2	2	4	4	0
7	Economy (general)	5	4	4	6	9	17	18	43	5	4	7
2	Taxes	2	1	3	2	3	4	4	1	3	2	0
1	Racism	1	1	3	1	3	2	3	1	2	0	0
4	Homelessness	4	2	3	5	2	5	2	6	8	10	*
2	Poverty	3	2	2	3	2	3	3	1	3	4	6
2	Inflation/Difference between wages/Costs	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3
2	Too much foreign aid/ Spend money at home	2	1	2	1	*	2	2	1	3	1	0
*	Environment/Pollution	1	1	2	1	1	*	2	1	8	2	0
1	Welfare abuse	2	4	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	AIDS	1	2	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

### Q.12 con't ...

										May		April
		1994	1994	1994	1993	1993	1993	<u>1993</u>	1992	1990	<u>1989</u>	<u>1987</u>
*	Issues related to elderly	*	*	1	1	*	2	2	1	2	2	0
0	Other Social Issues	*	0	*	3	4	*	*	*	*	*	*
1	Other domestic	3	1	1	3	1	2	1	10	11	10	21
3	Other international	2	4	1	2	3	3	1	4	6	10	22
4	Other	6	2	2	*	2	4	8	1	5	9	1
5	Don't know/No answer	3	5	4	6	4	2	4	3	1	3	3
27	ECONOMIC (NET)	26	22	26	33	47	53	58	<b>76</b>	26	28	35
7	POVERTY/ HOMELESS (NET)	7	4	6	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
5	DEFENSE/INTER- NATIONAL (NET)	2 (3800)	4 (511)	2 (989)	* (1479)	4 (2000)	* (1507)	* (1011)	* (1220)	* (3004)	* (2048)	* (4244)

Q.13 In the future, which ONE of the following items should President Clinton give the highest priority to...(**READ LIST**)

		July 1994	Mar <u>1994</u>	Jan <u>1994</u>	Dec 1993
19	Improving the job situation	23	26	26	28
15	Reforming health care	15	16	14	14
26	Reducing crime	24	23	22	20
13	Reforming the welfare system, OR	15	12	15	11
23	Reducing the budget deficit?	21	20	20	22
$\frac{4}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	3 100	<u>5</u> 100

Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in Q.15 government and public affairs...(**READ**)

		July <u>1994</u>	May 1990	Feb 1989	May 1988	Jan <u>1988</u>	May 1987
45	Most of the time	46	39	47	37	37	41
35	Some of the time	33	34	34	37	35	35
14	Only now and then	15	18	14	17	18	15
6	Hardly at all	6	9	4	6	8	7
* 100	Don't know	* 100	* 100	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$

Q. 16 & Q.17 BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS (N=1577):
A FEW MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ELECTION ...
Q.16 Would you like to see your Representative in Congress be re-elected in November, or not?

		<b>Times Mirror</b> Early Oct <u>1994</u>	<b>Gallup</b> Oct 25-28 <u>1990</u>
55	Yes	49	62
30	No	29	22
2	Congressman is not running (VOL.)	2	2
$\frac{13}{100}$	No opinion	<u>20</u> 100	$\frac{14}{100}$

Regardless of how you feel about your own Representative, would you like to see most members of Congress re-elected in November or not? Q.17

31	Yes	Early Oct <u>1994</u> 28
56	No	56
13 100	Don't know/refused	<u>16</u> 100

#### **ALL RESPONDENTS:**

- These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register... Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district, or haven't you been able to register so far?

  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? Q.18
- Q.19

		Early Oct 1994	July 1994	June 1992
77	Yes, registered	76	79	76
74 3 0	Absolutely sure Chance Don't know	72 4 *	75 4 0	73 3 0
22	No 23	20	23	
$\frac{1}{100}$	Not sure/Don't know	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	<u>1</u> 100

Q.20 How often would you say you vote? (READ)

		July 1994	June 1992	May 1992	Nov 1991	May 1990	Feb 1989	Jan 1988	May 1987
43	Always	40	47	41	38	33	45	39	34
28	Nearly always	30	26	32	37	35	30	33	37
13	Part of the time	14	10	13	13	12	10	12	11
10	Seldom	11	11	11	9	10	8	8	6
5	(VOL.) Other	*	1	*	0	1	1	1	2
1	(VOL.) Never vote	5	5	3	3	8	6	6	9
* 100	Don't know	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	* 100	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

Q.21	Do y	you, yourself, plan to vote in the election this November, or not?
	83	Yes
	14	No
	<u>3</u> 100	Don't know
Q.22	repr	t, I'd like you to rate your chances of voting in the November election on a scale of 10 to 1. If 10 esents a person who <u>definitely</u> will vote and '1' represents a person who definitely will <u>not</u> vote, re on this scale of 10 to 1 would you place yourself. ( <b>CIRCLE RESPONSE</b> )
	53	10 Definitely will vote
	9	9
	9	8
	5	7
	3	6
	7	5
	2	4
	2	3
	1	2
	8	1 Definitely will not vote
	$\frac{1}{100}$	Don't know

Q.23 In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

		Early Oct <u>1994</u>	July <u>1994</u>	June 1992	May 1990	Feb 1989	May 1988	Jan 1988	May 1987
31	Republican	33	29	28	28	31	28	27	25
32	Democrat	30	33	32	33	38	38	39	37
33	Independent	32	35	36	28	23	26	26	28
3	No preference	-	2	1	9	7	6	6	8
*	Other party	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
$\frac{1}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$

Q.24 Do you consider yourself a STRONG Republican, or NOT a strong Republican?

		July <u>1994</u>	June 1992	May <u>1990</u>		May 1988		May 1987
16	Strong	13	11	13	15	13	12	11
15	Not strong	16	17	15	15	15	15	14
<u>0</u> 31	Don't know	<u>0</u> 29	$\frac{0}{28}$	$\frac{0}{28}$	$\frac{1}{31}$	$\frac{0}{28}$	$\frac{0}{27}$	$\frac{0}{25}$

Q.25 Do you consider yourself a STRONG Democrat, or NOT a strong Democrat?

		July <u>1994</u>	June 1992	May <u>1990</u>	Feb 1989		Jan <u>1988</u>	May <u>1987</u>
18	Strong	15	14	16	17	19	19	18
14	Not strong	18	18	17	19	19	20	19
$\frac{0}{32}$	Don't know	<u>0</u> 33	$\frac{0}{32}$	<u>0</u> 33	$\frac{2}{38}$	$\frac{0}{38}$	<u>0</u> 39	$\frac{0}{37}$

# Q.26 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party? (ASKED OF INDEPENDENTS AND DON'T KNOW/REFUSED IN Q.23)

		July <u>1994</u>	June 1992	May <u>1990</u>	Feb <u>1989</u>	May <u>1988</u>	Jan <u>1988</u>	May 1987
14	Republican	17	14	13	9	12	11	13
12	Democratic	14	13	13	11	12	13	13
$\frac{8}{34}$	Don't know	<u>7</u> 38	13 40	<u>13</u> 39	<u>11</u> 31	<u>10</u> 34	<u>10</u> 34	<u>12</u> 38

Q.27 Next, please tell me if you think the REPUBLICAN Party or the DEMOCRATIC Party could do a better job in each of the following areas... (First,) which party could do a better job of...(**READ AND ROTATE**)

		Republican I Party	Democratic Party	Both <u>Equally</u>	Neither	Don't Know	N
<b>FORM</b>	1	<del></del>					
af1.	Improving the job situation	37	42	6	7	8=100	(1028)
FORM	2						
af2.	Keeping the Country prosperous	45	33	5	7	10=100	(1024)
	Oct $1992^2$	36	45	10	0	9=100	` /
	Oct 1990 <sup>3</sup>	37	35	0	ŏ	28=100	
	OCC 1770	31	33	O	O	20-100	
ASK A	LL						
b.	Reducing crime	38	34	7	10	11=100	(2052)
٠.	riousing time			•	10	11 100	(2002)
c.	Reforming the U.S. health care system	34	41	5	10	10=100	(2052)
	July 1994	34	48	2	8	8=100	
	,		-		_		
d.	Making wise decisions about foreign						
	policy <sup>4</sup>	47	30	7	5	10=100	(2052)
	July 1994	51	31	4	6	8=100	` /
	May 1990	39	28	NA	17	16=100	
	Way 1770	37	20	11/1	1 /	10-100	
e.	Dealing with taxes	43	34	5	9	9=100	(2052)
	-						
f.	Promoting morality and personal						
	responsibility	40	35	6	8	11=100	(2052)
	July 1994	46	34	4	8	8=100	
	-						

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gallup poll conducted Oct. 23-25, 1992 based on registered voters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gallup poll Oct 25-28, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In previous month question was stated as "Making wise decisions about the country's defense policies."

- Q.29 How would you compare Bill Clinton's first two years in office to other presidents? Would you say...
  - 13 He did <u>more</u> than most presidents?
  - 27 He did <u>less</u> than most presidents?
  - He did about <u>as much</u> as most presidents?
  - 2 Don't know/Refused
- Q.30 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling economic conditions in this country?

			Bush	
		July <u>1994</u>		1ay 990
45	Approve	38	40	42
46	Disapprove	56	52	47
<u>9</u> 100	DK/Refused	6 100	$\frac{8}{100}$ 1	<u>11</u> .00

Q.31 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the nation's foreign policy?

	July 1994	Oct 1993	Sept 1993	Aug 1993	Newsweek June 30-July 1  1993
50 Approve	38	39	47	52	49
42 Disapprove	53	46	33	25	35
8 Don't know/Refused	9 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>20</u> 100	<u>23</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100

#### FORM 1

Q.32F1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the new Iraqi threat in the Persian Gulf?

69 Approve

23 Disapprove

 $\frac{8}{100}$  Don't know (N=1028)

Q.33F1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the situation in Haiti?

54	Approve	Newsweek Sept 1994 46
39	Disapprove	47
7 100 (N=1	Don't know 1028)	$1\frac{7}{00}$

#### FORM 2

Q.32F2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the situation in the Mideast?

62	Approve	<b>Bush</b> Aug <u>1990</u> 71
	Disapprove	22
8 100 (N=1	Don't know 1024)	<u>7</u> 100

Q.33F2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is dealing with North Korea?

49	Approve	Newsweek <sup>5</sup> June 1994 31
31	Disapprove	42
20 100 (N=1	Don't know	<u>27</u> 100

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In previous question wording, "handling the situation in North Korea."

#### Q.34 THROUGH Q.39 BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS (N=1577):

Q.34 Did you happen to hear that Ross Perot has suggested to his supporters that they vote for Republican candidates this fall or hadn't you heard about this?

#### IF HEARD ...

- Q.35 Does this make you more likely to vote for Republican candidates this fall, less likely to vote for Republican candidates this fall, or doesn't it matter to you?
  - 29 Heard
  - 3 More likely to vote Republican
  - 7 Less likely to vote Republican
  - 19 No matter
  - Don't know/Refused
  - $\frac{71}{100}$  Didn't hear/DK
- Q.36 Did you happen to hear about Republican congressional candidates signing a Contract with America that pledges them to keep certain campaign promises if they are elected, or hadn't you heard about this?

#### IF HEARD

- Q.37 Does this make you more likely to vote for Republican candidates this fall, less likely to vote for Republican candidates this fall, or doesn't it matter to you?
  - 29 Heard
  - 7 More likely to vote Republican
  - 6 Less likely to vote Republican
  - No matter
  - 1 Don't know/Refused
  - $\frac{71}{100}$  Didn't hear/DK

Q.38 Did you happen to hear about the efforts of a group called the Christian Coalition to help elect "pro family" candidates this fall?

#### IF HEARD

- Q.39 Does this make you more likely to vote for Republican candidates this fall, more likely to vote for Democratic candidates this fall, or doesn't it matter to you?
  - 40 Yes
  - 9 More likely Republican
  - 8 More likely Democrat
  - No matter
  - 1 Don't know
  - $\frac{60}{100}$  No/Don't know

#### ASK ALL ...

- Q.40 How often, if ever, do you listen to radio shows that invite listeners to call in to discuss current events, public issues and politics: regularly, sometimes, rarely or never?
  - 15 Regularly
  - 26 Sometimes
  - 26 Rarely
  - 33 Never
  - $\frac{*}{100}$  Don't know/Refused