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Voter Typology

DOLE FAILS WITH POPULISTS, GOP MODERATES

CLINTON UNITES DEMS, GAINS WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENTS

Also Inside ...

- * Age and sex gaps divide Congressional vote.
- * Moderate Reps, Populists split tickets.
- * Less anger at government.
- * Media has 'too much influence' on election.

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CLINTON UNITES DEMS, GAINS WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENTS

After two presidential debates and six weeks of the general campaign Bill Clinton's lead over Bob Dole is as large as it was in early September. The course of the race has changed little with the passing of each important campaign milestone. The only observable consequence of the debates is that the percentage of voters who say they might switch to Bob Dole is lower than it was just prior to the first debate (11% vs. 16%). The Pew voter typology, which divides the electorate by core values, finds Dole unable to forge a coalition of staunch conservatives, moderates and populists.

Presidential Voting Intentions

	---Registered Voters---				--- Likely Voters ---		
	Early		Late		Early	Late	
	<u>July</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Oct</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Clinton	44	52	51	51	50	50	50
Dole	34	34	35	34	38	38	38
Perot	16	8	7	8	7	6	6
DK/Other	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

The unchanged standings also reflect the breadth of the Clinton coalition. The President is getting strong support from the left, right and center of his own party and has won over working class Independents who had big doubts about him as recently as a year ago.

In stark contrast, Dole has not only failed to attract Independents, but he has been unable to rally key Republican segments. His support is weak among economically squeezed populist conservatives. He has also turned off moderate economic conservatives, with whom Bill Clinton has made inroads. Dole only gets overwhelming support from Republicans who are *both* economically *and* socially conservative.

The Pew Research Center's voter classification system (typology) categorizes voters based on their political values, party affiliation, and political participation into ten groups -- four Democratic, three Independent and three Republican.¹ In the summer of 1994 when voter support was about equally divided between Clinton (39%) and Dole (36%), and when Perot had a larger following (20%), moderate Democratic groups were not enthusiastic about the President.

¹ The Typology is described in an appendix to this report (see pages 14-15).

But in the current survey, right-of-center Democrats give Clinton a strong vote of confidence. Fully 86% of moderate New Democrats say they would vote for Clinton if the election were being held today, as do 74% of older, socially conservative New Dealers. More liberal groups are even more enthusiastic. Nine out of ten voters among the liberal Seculars and among the disadvantaged Partisan Poor favor Clinton.

A profile of left of center groups in this election follows.

New Democrats (moderate on economic issues, strong environmentalists) Clinton has gained 25 % points with this group since 1994. Opinions of Dole have turned sharply negative (62% unfavorable now vs. 34% in 1994). Clinton is not seen as weak on personal character. His record and presidential attributes impress this group.

New Dealers (older, unionist, socially conservative) Clinton's support is weakest and hostility to him strongest (23% unfavorable) here among all Democratic groups. But New Dealers have also turned against Dole (80% unfavorable, vs. 43% in 1994). The character issue dogs Clinton with this group, but he wins points on Medicare (by 57% to 5%, they prefer his position over Dole's). A key attraction for many is that Clinton sidetracked GOP Congressional efforts. New Dealers, who often defected to Ronald Reagan, are the Democratic group least satisfied with the quality of the presidential candidates this year. One in three (30%) would prefer a GOP Congress if Clinton is re-elected.

Seculars (tolerant, progressive, low religious practice) These affluent liberals are most likely to cite party (perhaps a surrogate for ideology) as their main reason for backing Clinton. Worried that health care, education and other social issues are being overlooked, Seculars prefer Clinton over Dole on Medicare by a margin of 65% to 4%. Three-quarters (74%) think Dole's tax cut would be the wrong thing for the country. The group is most likely to express anti-incumbent sentiment in the race for Congress.

Left of Center Groups		
	July <u>1994</u> %	Oct <u>1996</u> %
<i>Seculars:</i>		
Clinton	73	90
Dole	10	2
Perot	14	2
DK	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100
<i>New Democrats:</i>		
Clinton	61	86
Dole	15	5
Perot	18	4
DK	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100
<i>New Dealers:</i>		
Clinton	65	74
Dole	14	10
Perot	19	12
DK	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100
<i>Partisan Poor:</i>		
Clinton	71	92
Dole	10	4
Perot	16	3
DK	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100

Partisan Poor (disadvantaged, pro-social welfare) This reliably Democratic group now supports Clinton at the same level as it does Democratic Congressional candidates (90%). It cares little about the character issue. Instead, like New Dealers, it is more likely to prefer Clinton because he stymied GOP Congressional efforts. Economically anxious and concerned about the safety net, this group prefers Clinton's position on Medicare over Dole's, 73% to 6%.

Fractious Republicans

There is much less unity among Republican groups. Only two in three populists (Moralists) are backing Dole. The former Senate Majority leader has actually lost a lot of ground among Libertarians since 1994, and is trailing Clinton among them. However, hardcore conservatives, who intensely dislike the President, are solidly behind Dole.

Enterprisers (affluent economic and social conservatives) This is one of two groups in which Dole has gained ground since 1994. Although strongly anti-Clinton (61% very unfavorable opinion), even this classic GOP group lacks enthusiasm for the GOP presidential nominee: nearly half (44%) say they are voting for Dole mainly because they don't like his opponents. Enterprisers are the only group in the electorate with a majority (61%) believing the Dole tax cut is good for the country.

Moralists (social conservatives, critical of big business and big government) The most economically anxious group among Republicans, Moralists are not convinced they will be better off with Dole in the White House. They don't think a 15% tax cut would be good for the country. They believe labor unions and business corporations have too much influence on who becomes President (57% and 62%, respectively). One-in-three (33%) have very unfavorable views of the President.

Libertarians (socially tolerant, conservatives) These moderates are unimpressed by Dole and his tax proposal. In fact, more of them have a favorable opinion of Clinton than Dole (53% vs. 35%), and more believe a 15% tax cut would be the wrong rather than the right thing for the country (50% vs. 40%). Moral appeals and Clinton's character problems have little impact on Libertarians. Two-thirds (67%) say Clinton's record is what matters most, while only 16% think character is most important. Among Republican groups Libertarians feel most strongly that churches have *too much* influence on who gets elected President.

Right of Center Groups		
	July 1994	Oct 1996
	%	%
<i>Enterprisers:</i>		
Clinton	7	6
Dole	79	88
Perot	10	3
DK	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100
<i>Moralists:</i>		
Clinton	11	20
Dole	63	66
Perot	22	7
DK	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100
<i>Libertarians:</i>		
Clinton	20	39
Dole	57	34
Perot	17	12
DK	<u>6</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100

Independents

While party unity and the lack of it are big factors in the race, the President's success in wooing the working class Independents represents the biggest percentage turn around since 1994. Perhaps with an assist from GOP Congressional leader Newt Gingrich, he has succeeded with the waitress moms and double shift dads who have no firm anchor in either party. Clinton has also held his own with the most distrustful and alienated voter group, the Embittered, whose natural tendency is to vote against incumbents.

New Economy Independents (middle income, weak party ties, female, mixed liberal/conservative values) These voters are far more likely to have favorable views of Clinton than Dole now (63% vs. 26%), whereas two years ago the two men were rated about evenly (Clinton 58%, Dole 54%). Economic anxiety remains high among them. They worry about the social safety net; by a margin of 47% to 11%, they prefer Clinton's approach to Medicare over Dole's. They want to hear more from the candidates about social issues, including education and health care. In their view, Clinton's *presidential* character (i.e. performance in office) outweighs concerns about his *personal* character. They give Clinton a big edge over Dole as the candidate who would use good judgment in a crisis (58% vs. 22%), is a strong leader (53% vs. 26%), cares about people like me (50% vs. 19%) and shares my values (49% vs. 28%).

Center Groups		
	July	Oct
	<u>1994</u>	<u>1996</u>
	%	%
<i>New Economy</i>		
<i>Independents:</i>		
Clinton	37	53
Dole	27	14
Perot	30	16
DK	<u>6</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100
<i>Embittered:</i>		
Clinton	49	45
Dole	22	37
Perot	25	11
DK	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100

The Embittered (cynical, distrustful, low income) A majority of this group holds an unfavorable opinion of *both* presidential candidates. It is the only non-Republican group in which Dole appears to have gained any ground since 1994. Attacks on Clinton's character have taken a toll on Clinton's image in this group, which is economically pressured and supports Dole's 15 % tax cut proposal.

Dole's Image

The respective campaign success and failure of Clinton and Dole with various constituencies emerges more clearly in the public's assessment of each candidate's personal character, attitudes and performance. In these measurements, Dole has lost ground or has not improved for the most part compared to seven months ago. For example, fewer voters now believe Dole, a man who spent a generation as a Senate leader, would use good judgment in a crisis, 37% vs. 42%. Since March he has dropped 10 percentage points among women on this measure and dropped 13 percentage points among voters 65 and older.

Clinton, on the other hand, has improved a great deal in one key performance measure, although the GOP campaign attacks on his character have also taken their toll. A majority now believes he has new ideas (51% vs. 43% last March). But his standing has dropped on the question of being honest and truthful (26% now vs. 32%) and on caring about people (46% now vs. 53%).

Beyond the trends, Clinton is evaluated better on most dimensions, often overwhelmingly, when the two candidates are compared directly in the latest Pew poll. Three times more voters say he is personally likeable, 66% vs. 20% for Dole; and by the same three-fold margin voters believe he connects well with ordinary Americans, 65% vs.

21% for Dole. Almost twice as many voters say he has new ideas (51% vs. 28% for Dole). Clinton is far better regarded than Dole in these respects among working class Independents and even among Republican-leaning Libertarians.

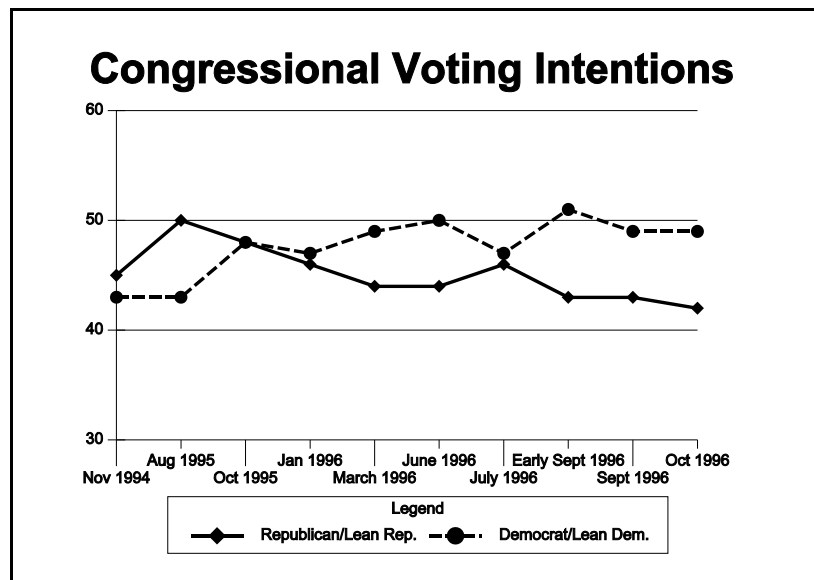
The President is viewed as a strong leader more often than Dole (47% vs. 36%) and credited with good judgment in a crisis by a similar margin. Only on whether he is considered honest and truthful does he lose big (26% vs. 42% for Dole), and marginally on whether he keeps his promises (32% vs. 36% for Dole).

Gender and Candidate Image		
<i>(Based on Registered Voters)</i>		
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
	%	%
<i>A Strong Leader</i>		
Clinton	39	54
Dole	43	29
Both/Neither	14	11
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100
<i>Cares About People</i>		
<i>Like Me</i>		
Clinton	38	52
Dole	35	26
Both/Neither	22	16
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100
<i>Would Use Good</i>		
<i>Judgment In A Crisis</i>		
Clinton	40	52
Dole	45	30
Both/Neither	11	11
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100
<i>Keeps His Promises</i>		
Clinton	26	37
Dole	43	29
Both/Neither	23	20
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100

The Race for Congress

Congressional voting intentions continue to divide closely, with 49% of registered voters saying they favor the Democratic candidate in their district, 42% for the Republican. The race is even narrower among likely voters: 48% for the Democratic candidate, 44% for the Republican.

At this point Democratic Congressional candidates seem to be benefitting from sex and age gaps in the electorate. The gender gap which has been so apparent in the presidential race is equally wide at the Congressional level. Women support Democratic Congressional candidates over Republicans by a margin of 54% to 36%, while men support Republicans over Democrats by a narrow 48% to 43% margin. In a generational divide, seniors favor Democrats over Republicans by nearly 20 percentage points. Among voters under 50, the race is a virtual dead heat.



The strongest supporters of Republicans for Congress are high income voters, white Protestant evangelicals, and white men -- especially non-southern white men. The Democrats run strongest among blacks, low income voters and city dwellers.

While the Democratic Party holds a slight lead in the Congressional generic ballot question, other cross currents in the electorate favor Republicans. Voters are more inclined to say their vote for Congress will be cast on the basis of state and local issues than was the case in 1994. This could bode well for Republican candidates because it suggests a lopsided Clinton victory may not impact badly on GOP Congressional races.

In addition, anti-incumbency sentiment is not as prevalent as it was in 1994. Some 62% of registered voters now say they would like to see their own representative reelected. Only 19% say they would not, a large decrease from October 1994, when 30% said their Congressman did not deserve reelection.

Finally, a slim plurality of voters say that, assuming Bill Clinton is reelected president, they prefer that the Republicans control Congress rather than the Democrats. Even one-in-four Clinton supporters share this interest in keeping the executive and legislative branches of government in separate hands.

The Pew typology also suggests that Republican Congressional candidates may survive this election even if their standard bearer is roundly defeated. The two Republican groups that show only lukewarm support for Dole are considerably more enthusiastic about Republican Congressional candidates. Eight-in-ten Moralists say they would vote for the Republican candidate for Congress from their district; an unimpressive 66% say they will vote for Dole. Libertarians, who actually support Clinton over Dole by a narrow margin, say they would vote Republican at the Congressional level by a margin of 60% to 29%.

The greatest potential danger for GOP Congressional candidates is that these traditionally Republican voters, who either unenthusiastically support Dole or grudgingly support Clinton, may decide to sit out the election altogether.

If Clinton maintains his commanding lead going into election day, the Republicans must count on split-ticket voting to maintain control of the House. The ticket splitters are most likely to come from the ranks of Republicans, namely the Moralists and the Libertarians, and from Independents, especially New Economy Independents.

Campaign Themes

More than two-thirds of the registered voters (68%) said there is a difference in approach to **Medicare** between Clinton and Dole. Most favor Clinton's plan, 39% to 24%. Among those who see a difference, Clinton's approach is favored among every age group, particularly those 65 years old and older, and among all income categories except those earning \$50,000 a year or more. Significantly, white evangelical Protestants who see a difference in the two approaches are about evenly split between those favoring Dole's plan and those favoring Clinton's (32% and 29%), suggesting that health care has provided an issue on which Clinton has made inroads in Dole's popularity with this fundamentalist group. Along the same line, again among those who see a

If Clinton Wins Who Should Control Congress??

	Early Sept 1996 %	Oct 1996 %
<i>Prefer:</i>		
Republicans	46	46
Democrats	44	42
DK/Refused	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100

difference in approaches, more Republicans favor Clinton's plan than Democrats who favor Dole's plan, 15% vs. 5%. And among voters who said they *might* support Dole in the election, almost three times as many favored Clinton's Medicare approach than favored Dole's (37% vs. 13%).

Dole's promise to cut **taxes** by 15% was, somewhat paradoxically, *avored* by most voters (54%) while at the same time most voters thought it was the *wrong* thing for the country (51%). The tax cut may have been the single proposal which backfired most on his candidacy, for it reversed his long-standing insistence that balanced budgets precede tax cuts, seems to have won over few voters, and was judged not in the national interest by most of the electorate.

All of the Republican and Independent groups among Pew's typology favored the tax cut, led by the wealthy and conservative Enterprisers (83%) and middle-class Moralists (68%), as did a single Democratic group, the New Dealers (51%), an older conservative classification. The other three Democratic groups, including the Partisan Poor, a very poor and disadvantaged older category of voters, opposed it. *Only* the Enterprisers said the tax cut would be the right thing for the country. Almost one in three Republicans (32%) said it would be wrong, as did more than half of Independents. Among Dole supporters, 22% said it would be wrong, and among Dole swing voters², 52% said it would be wrong.

The electorate was equally divided on whether the person elected president can make a difference in dealing with rising drug use among teenagers: 48% yes, 48% no. But these gross figures mask major variations in attitude by age and sex. Young women were much more likely than young men to believe the president can make a difference: 52% vs. 39% of those under 30 years old. On the other hand, men 50 years old and older were more likely than women of the same age to believe the president can make a difference: 55% vs. 48%. Among religious denominations, white evangelical Protestants were more likely than non-evangelical white Protestants to see the President making a difference (53% vs. 44%). In partisan terms, Republicans saw the president making a difference more than did Democrats or Independents (55% vs. 49% and 42%, respectively), as did Dole supporters more than Clinton or Perot supporters (55% vs. 46% and 40%, respectively).

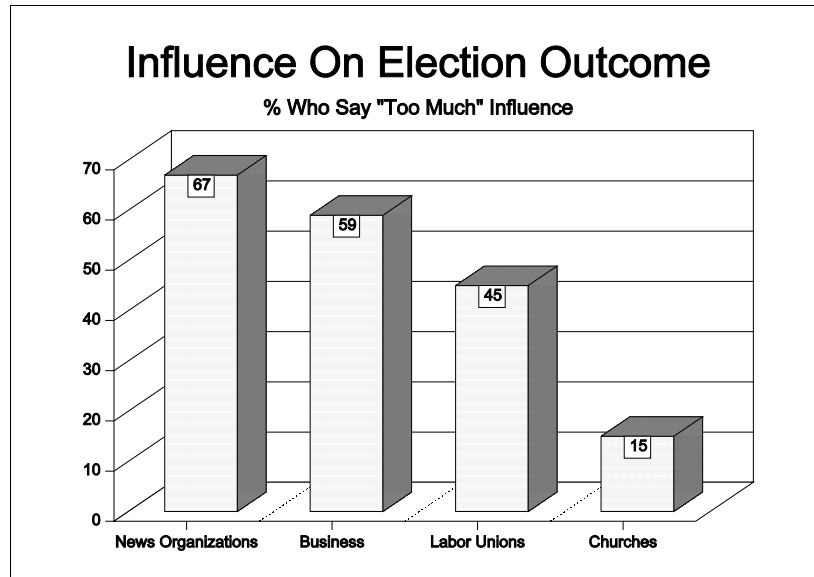
Voter Fulfillment

A strong majority of the electorate, 59%, is satisfied that important issues have been discussed by the Presidential candidates. One in three (35%), however, said important matters have been overlooked in the campaign. These are chiefly social issues, such as education and health care, followed by economic matters. Independents are less satisfied than Republicans or Democrats with the issues covered, as are Perot supporters compared to those favoring Clinton and Dole. Clinton supporters who are dissatisfied in this regard wanted to hear more about health care and education, while Dole's supporters wanted more about foreign policy and a balanced budget, and Perot's wanted

² Registered voters who said there was "a chance" they might vote for Dole.

more on education and foreign policy.

A huge majority of voters (67%) believe that among four leadership groups in the country, the news media exerts too much **influence** on which candidate becomes president, followed by business corporations (59%), labor unions (45%) and the churches (15%). All of the Republican and Independent groups of the typology cited the media most often, led by the Enterprisers, 85% of whom saw the press in this light. A majority of New Democrats (54%) joined in this implicitly critical judgment of the media, while the three other Democratic groups most often saw business corporations as having too much influence on presidential elections.



Less Anger At Government!

The electorate appears to have a less negative view of government as the election nears. A decreased majority feels the government is almost always wasteful and inefficient now compared to recent years (56% vs. 64% in October 1994). The public is now split between those who believe government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest and those who believe government regulation usually does more harm than good (45% vs. 46%), but this is a significant and steady improvement since 1994 when a majority of 55% felt regulation does more harm than good and only 38% said it was in the public interest. Somewhat more Americans now believe most elected officials care what people like them think (38%, up steadily from 29% two years ago). And finally, marginally fewer Americans believe that elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly, again compared to two years ago.

This gentler attitude does not extend to blacks. A majority of voters (58%) believe African Americans who can't get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition, up marginally from 53% and 54% in the past two years; a comparably marginal drop was found in those who believe racial discrimination is the main reason why African Americans can't get ahead (29% vs. 37% in October 1995 and 34% in October 1994).

Changing Attitudes Toward Government and the Poor			
	<u>Oct. '94</u>	<u>Oct. '95</u>	<u>Oct. '96</u>
Gov't almost always wasteful and inefficient OR	64	63	56
Gov't does a better job than credited	32	34	39
Neither/DK	<u>4</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100
Gov't regulation of business is necessary OR	38	45	45
Gov't reg. more harm than good	55	50	46
Neither/DK	<u>7</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100
Poor people have it easy OR	48	54	46
Poor people have hard lives	41	36	40
Neither/DK	<u>11</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100

TYPOLOGY GROUPS -- AT A GLANCE

	----- Voting Preference -----				Likely	Principal
	<u>Presidential</u>		<u>Congressional</u>		<u>Voters*</u>	<u>Vote Motive</u>
<p><i>ENTERPRISERS</i> 12% OF ADULTS 97% ARE REPUBLICANS/LEAN REP</p> <p>Classic Republicans: Affluent, well-educated, mostly white; pro-business, anti-government, anti-social welfare.</p>	6%	Clinton	4%	Democrat	82%	Oppose Clinton
	88%	Dole	92%	Republican		
	3%	Perot	4%	Undecided		
	<u>3%</u>	Undecided	100			
	100					
<p><i>MORALISTS</i> 15% OF ADULTS 96% ARE REPUBLICANS/LEAN REP</p> <p>White middle-aged, middle-income, religious (mostly Evangelicals); socially conservative, anti-big business and anti-government.</p>	20%	Clinton	10%	Democrat	64%	Oppose Clinton
	66%	Dole	80%	Republican		
	7%	Perot	<u>10%</u>	Undecided		
	<u>7%</u>	Undecided	100			
	100					
<p><i>LIBERTARIANS</i> 7% OF ADULTS 56% ARE REPUBLICANS/LEAN REP</p> <p>Affluent, white male; pro-business, anti-government, liberal on social issues, cynical about politicians.</p>	39%	Clinton	29%	Democrat	54%	Oppose Dole
	34%	Dole	60%	Republican		
	12%	Perot	<u>11%</u>	Undecided		
	<u>15%</u>	Undecided	100			
	100					
<p><i>NEW ECONOMY INDEPENDENTS</i> 14% OF ADULTS 59% ARE INDEPENDENTS</p> <p>Mostly female, high school graduates, financial pressure, low party commitment, conflicting values -- anti-government, pro-environment.</p>	53%	Clinton	54%	Democrat	42%	Oppose Dole
	14%	Dole	27%	Republican		
	16%	Perot	<u>19%</u>	Undecided		
	<u>17%</u>	Undecided	100			
	100					

* Among Registered Voters.

	----- Voting Preference -----				Likely Voters*	Principal Presidential Vote Motive
	<u>Presidential</u>		<u>Congressional</u>			
<i>THE EMBITTERED</i> 6% OF ADULTS 49% ARE INDEPENDENTS Lower socio-economic, heavily minority; distrust government, politicians, corporations; religious and socially intolerant.	45%	Clinton	57%	Democrat	58%	Oppose Clinton and Dole
	37%	Dole	30%	Republican		
	11%	Perot	<u>13%</u>	Independent		
	<u>7%</u>	Undecided	100			
	100					
<i>SECULARS</i> 7% OF ADULTS 93% ARE DEMOCRATS/LEAN DEM Highly educated, affluent, mostly white young to middle aged; tolerant, driven by social issues, embraces "liberal" label, very low on religious faith.	90%	Clinton	84%	Democrat	68%	Dem loyalty
	2%	Dole	8%	Republican		
	2%	Perot	<u>8%</u>	Independent		
	<u>6%</u>	Undecided	100			
	100					
<i>NEW DEMOCRATS</i> 12% OF ADULTS 87% ARE DEMOCRATS/LEAN DEM White, average education; religious, many Evangelicals and Catholics; pro-business; pro-government and pro-environment.	86%	Clinton	79%	Democrat	59%	Oppose Dole; Dem loyalty
	5%	Dole	13%	Republican		
	4%	Perot	<u>8%</u>	Undecided		
	<u>5%</u>	Undecided	100			
	100					
<i>NEW DEALERS</i> 8% OF ADULTS 95% ARE DEMOCRATS/LEAN DEM Older, pro-union, religious, strongly conservative on race and social welfare; distrusts politicians and business.	74%	Clinton	80%	Democrat	70%	Oppose Dole; Dem loyalty
	10%	Dole	9%	Republican		
	12%	Perot	<u>11%</u>	Undecided		
	<u>4%</u>	Undecided	100			
	100					
<i>PARTISAN POOR</i> 9% OF ADULTS 91% ARE DEMOCRATS/LEAN DEM Disadvantaged, largely southern, non-whites; want more government spending on poor; very religious and socially insensitive.	92%	Clinton	90%	Democrat	72%	Dem loyalty
	4%	Dole	9%	Republican		
	3%	Perot	<u>1%</u>	Undecided		
	<u>1%</u>	Undecided	100			
	100					

APPENDIX

About the 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 developed in 1995 is built on the same foundation, with minor modifications.

Nine values and attitudes were measured, including attitudes toward government, environmentalism, business, social welfare, social policy issues, religion, race relations, the military, and feelings of political alienation.

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

The Divided Right

- Enterprisers (12% of adult population): Affluent, well-educated, and predominantly white. This classic Republican group is mainly characterized as pro-business, anti-government, anti-social welfare.

- Moralists (15%): Middle-aged, middle-income, predominantly white, religious (more than half are Evangelicals). This core Republican group is also socially intolerant and anti-social welfare, militaristic, anti-big business and anti-big government. Former Democrats drawn to the GOP's religious and cultural conservatism have increased in size substantially since 1987.

- Libertarians (7%): Highly-educated, affluent, predominately white male. This group has Republican lineage but is uncomfortable with today's GOP, particularly its religious right. Pro-business, anti-government, anti-social welfare but highly tolerant, very low on religious faith, cynical about politicians.

The Detached Center

- New Economy Independents (14%): Average income, young to middle aged, mostly female. This group is unanchored in either party and many supported Perot in 1992. 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 (highest white Catholic group) but highly tolerant of homosexuals.

- Bystanders (10%): Very young, poorly educated, with low income. This group opts out of the political process or are not eligible to vote (highest Hispanic concentration). Slightly more female than male, its only claimed commitment is to environmentalism.

- The Embittered (6%): Low income, low education, middle-aged. One in five of this group are black, one in three have children under 18. 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

- Seculars (7%): 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. Very low in religious faith. Highly pro-environment, pro-government, distrusting of business.

- New Democrats (12%): Mostly female, below average income and average education, includes a high proportion of white Catholics (30%) but also many white Evangelical Protestants (19%). Religious but not intolerant, more pro-business than other Democratic groups, they reject discrimination as a major barrier to black progress, are pro-government and environmentalist.

- New Dealers (8%): One of the oldest groups in the typology (three in ten over 65), below average education and low income. 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, distrustful of politicians and business.

- Partisan Poor (9%): Very poor (26% with household income under \$20,000 a year), disadvantaged, about one in three in the south. Rooted in New Deal coalition, this group believes more government spending on the poor is needed. More than one-third are non-whites. Very religious and socially conservative.

The Times Mirror Typology

	-----% of Adult Population-----					% of Registered Voters	% of Likely Voters
	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Oct.</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct.</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct.</u> <u>1996</u>		
<i>Enterprisers</i>	10	12	15	13	12	15	19
<i>Moralists</i>	18	17	12	16	15	17	18
<i>Libertarians</i>	4	6	6	8	7	8	7
<i>New Economy</i>							
<i>Independents</i>	19	14	17	13	14	16	10
<i>Embittered</i>	7	6	7	9	6	6	5
<i>Bystanders</i>	8	9	11	8	10	0	0
<i>Seculars</i>	9	8	8	8	7	8	9
<i>New Democrats</i>	11	10	9	12	12	12	12
<i>New Dealers</i>	7	8	7	8	8	9	10
<i>Partisan Poor</i>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLES

PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEATS*

(Based on Registered Voters)

	-----Late September 1996-----				----- October 1996-----			
	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	51	35	7	7=100	51	34	8	7=100
Sex								
Male	46	38	10	6	45	39	9	7
Female	55	33	5	7	57	29	7	7
Race								
White	47	39	8	6	47	37	8	8
Non-white	83	8	4	5	80	13	2	5
Black	88	5	2	5	87	8	1	4
Race/Sex								
White Men	43	41	10	6	39	43	10	8
White Women	50	38	5	7	54	32	7	7
Age								
Under 30	50	38	9	3	51	32	9	8
30-49	49	36	8	7	51	35	8	6
50-64	52	34	8	6	48	37	8	7
65+	57	34	2	7	55	30	6	9
Education								
College Grad	50	39	5	6	51	39	4	6
Some College	48	37	6	9	47	35	10	8
High School Grad	47	38	9	6	51	32	9	8
< H.S. Grad	72	18	7	3	60	25	7	8
Family Income								
\$75,000+	46	43	6	5	47	43	6	4
\$50,000 - \$74,999	49	37	8	6	45	47	3	5
\$30,000 - \$49,999	50	38	7	5	51	36	9	4
\$20,000 - \$29,999	51	38	6	5	54	31	8	7
< \$20,000	62	24	8	6	61	19	11	9

* Includes leaners

Question: If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton and Al Gore, for the Republican ticket of Bob Dole and Jack Kemp, or for the Reform party ticket of Ross Perot and Pat Choate?

As of TODAY, do you lean more to Clinton and Gore, the Democrats; more to Dole and Kemp, the Republicans; or more to Perot, the Reform party candidate?

Continued ...

	-----Late September 1996-----				-----October 1996-----			
	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	51	35	7	7=100	51	34	8	7=100
Region								
East	60	26	6	8	60	21	9	10
Midwest	50	37	7	6	51	33	9	7
South	50	38	6	6	50	36	7	7
West	46	39	9	6	46	42	8	4
Race/Region								
White South	43	46	6	5	43	42	8	7
White Non-South	49	36	8	7	49	34	9	8
Race/Region/Sex								
White Men South	38	47	9	6	38	46	9	7
White Men Non-South	45	38	11	6	40	41	11	8
White Women South	46	45	3	6	47	38	7	8
White Women Non-South	53	34	6	7	56	29	8	7
Community Size								
Large City	56	32	6	6	60	26	7	7
Suburb	48	40	6	6	52	35	5	8
Small City/Town	55	31	7	7	53	34	7	6
Rural Area	45	40	9	6	41	39	12	8
Religious Affiliation								
Total White Protestant	41	46	7	6	41	42	9	8
White Prot. Evangelical	32	54	8	6	34	53	8	5
White Prot. Non-Evang.	48	39	7	6	48	33	9	10
White Catholic	56	31	7	6	53	32	8	7
Party ID								
Republican	12	78	5	5	18	73	4	5
Democrat	89	4	4	3	89	4	4	3
Independent	51	29	12	8	42	30	18	10
Lean Republican	16	68	11	5	13	66	15	6
Lean Democrat	82	4	8	6	80	5	11	4
1992 Presidential Vote								
Clinton	85	9	3	3	83	9	3	5
Bush	12	77	4	7	14	76	5	5
Perot	32	34	27	7	26	38	29	7

CANDIDATE'S FAVORABILITY RATING
(Clinton and Dole)

	----- Clinton -----				----- Dole -----				(N)
	July 1994 *		October 1996		July 1994*		October 1996		
	<u>Favor- able</u>	<u>Unfavor- able</u>	<u>Favor- able</u>	<u>Unfavor- able</u>	<u>Favor- able</u>	<u>Unfavor- able</u>	<u>Favor- able</u>	<u>Unfavor- able</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	58	41	57	41	59	28	43	54	(834)
Typology Groups									
Enterprisers	20	80	5	94	85	10	86	13	(129)
Moralists	36	64	26	73	78	14	74	24	(135)
Libertarians	42	58	53	40	72	19	35	57	(**70)
New Economy Independents	58	41	63	34	54	30	26	71	(119)
Embittered	56	41	--	--	46	36	--	--	(**39)
Seculars	84	16	94	3	37	54	22	74	(90)
New Democrats	83	16	91	7	52	34	35	62	(105)
New Dealers	78	22	75	23	48	43	19	80	(**69)
Partisan Poor	87	13	88	10	51	35	19	80	(78)

* July figures based on total sample, not registered voters.

** NOTE: Small sample size.

Question: Would you say your overall opinion of Bill Clinton/Bob Dole is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

ECONOMIC ANXIETY

(% Of Registered Voters Who Are "Very Concerned")

	<i>Not Having Enough Money for Retirement</i>		<i>Being Unable to Save Enough to Put Child Through College</i>		<i>Being Unable to Afford Health Care When Family Member Gets Sick</i>	
	<u>Oct 1995</u> %	<u>Oct 1996</u> %	<u>Oct 1995</u> %	<u>Oct 1996</u> %	<u>Oct 1995</u> %	<u>Oct 1996</u> %
<i>Total</i>	47	56	41	46	63	61
<i>Typology Groups</i>						
Enterprisers	29	36	26	30	34	34
Moralists	48	59	43	48	63	59
Libertarians	33	41	25	30	49	45
New Economy Independents	59	67	50	58	74	71
The Embittered	60	68	56	59	79	71
Seculars	40	44	34	40	64	55
New Democrats	46	55	42	41	69	64
New Dealers	61	64	56	55	88	80
Partisan Poor	47	68	35	61	83	78

Question: Now I'd like you to think about some concerns that people may have. How concerned are you, if at all, about (INSERT ITEM: ROTATE)? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned about this? What about (NEXT ITEM)...?

Not having enough money for your retirement?

Being unable to save enough money to put a child through college?

Being unable to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick?

CONGRESSIONAL VOTING INTENTIONS*

(Based On Registered Voters)

	-----Late September 1996-----			-----October 1996-----			(N)
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	43	49	8=100	42	49	9=100	(1546)
Sex							
Male	49	43	8	48	43	9	(754)
Female	38	54	8	36	54	10	(792)
Race							
White	48	44	8	45	45	10	(1319)
Non-white	13	83	4	21	74	5	(212)
Black	9	87	4	16	80	4	(127)
Race/Sex							
White Men	53	39	8	53	37	10	(643)
White Women	43	49	8	39	51	10	(676)
Age							
Under 30	46	47	7	44	46	10	(245)
30-49	46	47	7	45	48	7	(662)
50-64	41	52	7	41	48	11	(352)
65+	36	54	10	35	54	11	(265)
Education							
College Grad	47	45	8	48	48	4	(538)
Some College	48	45	7	47	43	10	(369)
High School Grad	45	46	9	41	48	11	(522)
< H.S. Grad	23	71	6	28	60	12	(110)
Family Income							
\$75,000 +	57	35	8	58	39	3	(221)
\$50,000 - \$74,999	46	47	7	56	40	4	(247)
\$30,000 - \$49,999	46	49	5	45	47	8	(403)
\$20,000 - \$29,999	47	48	5	33	53	14	(232)
< \$20,000	28	64	8	28	60	12	(294)
Region							
East	37	53	10	41	49	10	(319)
Midwest	42	49	9	41	50	9	(393)
South	44	50	6	40	50	10	(557)
West	48	45	7	47	43	10	(277)

* Includes leaners.

Question: Suppose the 1996 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?
As of TODAY, do you lean more to the Republican or the Democrat?

Continued ...

	-----Late September 1996-----			-----October 1996-----			(N)
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	43	49	8=100	42	49	9=100	(1546)
Race/Region							
White South	52	41	7	45	44	11	(454)
White Non-South	46	45	9	45	45	10	(865)
Race/Region/Sex							
White Men South	57	36	7	49	41	10	(221)
White Men Non-South	51	40	9	54	36	10	(422)
White Women South	47	46	7	41	48	11	(233)
White Women Non-South	42	50	8	38	52	10	(443)
Community Size							
Large City	40	52	8	33	59	8	(273)
Suburb	47	45	8	42	47	11	(409)
Small City/Town	41	51	8	45	47	8	(524)
Rural Area	45	48	7	45	44	11	(323)
Religious Affiliation							
Total White Protestant	54	38	8	50	41	9	(794)
White Prot. Evangelical	60	30	10	55	35	10	(366)
White Prot. Non-Evang.	49	44	7	46	45	9	(428)
White Catholic	40	51	9	41	48	11	(369)
Party ID							
Republican	92	5	3	88	8	4	(500)
Democrat	6	91	3	6	90	4	(548)
Independent	39	46	15	40	41	19	(432)
Lean Republican	81	11	8	74	15	11	(187)
Lean Democrat	11	80	9	17	73	10	(179)
1992 Presidential Vote							
Clinton	14	80	6	15	76	9	(600)
Bush	85	10	5	79	15	6	(445)
Perot	52	37	11	52	35	13	(173)
1996 Presidential Preference							
Clinton/Lean Clinton	14	81	5	16	78	6	(773)
Dole/Lean Dole	88	9	3	85	10	5	(542)
Perot/Lean Perot	49	36	15	38	45	17	(117)

CONGRESSIONAL VOTING INTENTIONS*

(Based On Registered Voters)

	-----September 1994-----			-----October 1996-----			(N)
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	48	46	6=100	42	49	9=100	(1546)
Typology Groups							
Enterprisers	89	7	4	92	4	4	(241)
Moralists	83	14	3	80	10	10	(274)
Libertarians	75	21	4	60	29	11	(124)
New Economy Independents	44	44	12	27	54	19	(228)
Embittered	36	56	8	30	57	13	(84)
Seculars	14	80	6	8	84	8	(145)
New Democrats	18	75	7	13	79	8	(189)
New Dealers	13	81	6	9	80	11	(128)
Partisan Poor	7	91	2	9	90	1	(133)

* Includes leaners.

Question: Suppose the 1994/1996 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? As of TODAY, do you lean more to the Republican or the Democrat?

Percent Who Say Each Has "Too Much Influence"
(Based on Registered Voters)

	<u>Business Corporations</u> %	<u>Labor Unions</u> %	<u>Churches</u> %	<u>News Organizations</u> %
Total	59	45	15	67
Sex				
Male	63	49	17	69
Female	56	42	14	66
Race				
White	59	47	16	69
Non-white	58	32	14	58
Black	55	33	12	58
Race/Sex				
White Men	63	52	17	72
White Women	56	43	14	66
Age				
Under 30	52	32	20	72
30-49	60	49	15	70
50-64	66	50	18	66
65+	56	43	10	60
Education				
College Grad	60	53	20	72
Some College	64	46	16	75
High School Grad	58	44	14	67
< H. S. Grad	52	31	12	46
Family Income				
\$75,000+	55	52	20	74
\$50,000 - \$74,999	67	52	19	75
\$30,000 - \$49,999	60	47	15	70
\$20,000 - \$29,999	59	47	12	63
< \$20,000	59	35	15	61

Question: How much influence do you think (INSERT ITEM: ROTATE) have on which candidate becomes the President: too much, too little or about the right amount? What about (NEXT ITEM)... ?

Continued ...

Percent Who Say Each Has "Too Much Influence"
(Based on Registered Voters)

	<u>Business Corporations</u> %	<u>Labor Unions</u> %	<u>Churches</u> %	<u>News Organizations</u> %
<i>Total</i>	59	45	15	67
<i>Region</i>				
East	61	42	15	62
Midwest	60	50	15	68
South	57	41	12	69
West	60	48	22	69
<i>Race/Region</i>				
White South	56	44	11	71
White Non-South	61	48	18	68
<i>Race/Region/Sex</i>				
White Men South	64	50	11	74
White Men Non-South	63	52	20	71
White Women South	49	38	12	68
White Women Non-South	59	45	16	65
<i>Community Size</i>				
Large City	60	41	19	64
Suburb	59	46	17	68
Small City/Town	56	46	14	66
Rural Area	65	45	14	73
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>				
Total White Protestant	57	47	11	69
White Prot. Evangelical	53	47	5	71
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	60	47	17	68
White Catholic	62	51	15	68
<i>Party Id</i>				
Republican	55	60	12	77
Democrat	64	32	16	56
Independent	59	45	20	69
Lean Republican	55	58	12	76
Lean Democrat	63	34	18	60
<i>1992 Presidential Vote</i>				
Clinton	61	37	16	57
Bush	56	64	12	83
Perot	72	52	21	75

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 1,938 adults (1,546 registered voters), 18 years of age or older, during the period October 14-20, 1996. For results based on the total sample one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. For results based on the registered voters 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 the likely voters 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 either Form 1 (N=769) or Form 2 (N=777), the sampling error is plus or minus 4 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 four attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home". If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who lives in the household". This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

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 1994). 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.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
OCTOBER 1996 PRE-ELECTION TYPOLOGY SURVEY
-- FINAL TOPLINE --
October 14 - 20, 1996
N = 1,938 General Public
N = 1,546 Registered Voters

Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates in Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and TV stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home. **[IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?]**

ALL NUMBERS IN SURVEY, INCLUDING TREND FIGURES, ARE BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS EXCEPT WHERE NOTED

ASK ALL:

Q.3 How much thought have you given to the coming Presidential election . . .quite a lot or only a little?

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Early Sept <u>1996</u>	July <u>1996</u>	June <u>1996</u>	Oct <u>1992</u>	Sept <u>1992</u>	Aug <u>1992</u>	June <u>1992</u>	----- Gallup -----			
										Nov <u>1988</u>	Oct <u>1988</u>	Aug <u>1988</u>	Sept <u>1988</u>
65	Quite a lot	61	56	55	50	77	69	72	63	73	69	61	57
7	Some (VOL)	7	3	3	5	5	3	4	6	8	9	10	18
26	Only a little	29	36	41	41	16	26	23	29	17	20	27	23
1	None (VOL)	2	4	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
<u>1</u> 100	DK/Refused	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	* 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	* 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100

Q.4 Do you happen to know where people in your neighborhood go to vote?

			--- Gallup ---	
		Nov <u>1994</u>	Nov <u>1988</u>	Oct <u>1988</u>
85	Yes -- gives answer	93	89	88
<u>15</u> 100	No/Don't Know/Refused/No answer	<u>7</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100

Q.5 Generally speaking, how much interest would you say you have in politics: a great deal, a fair amount, only a little, or no interest at all?

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>	--- Gallup --- Nov <u>1988</u> Oct <u>1988</u>	
25	Great deal	25	29	27
50	Fair amount	50	51	53
22	Only a little	22	17	17
3	None	3	3	3
<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	DK/Refused	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>

Q.6 How often would you say you vote... **(READ)**

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>	June <u>1996</u>	Feb <u>1996</u>	Oct <u>1995</u>	April <u>1995</u>	Nov <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	July <u>1994</u>	June <u>1992</u>	May <u>1992</u>	Nov <u>1991</u>	May <u>1990</u>	--- Gallup --- Nov <u>1988</u> Oct <u>1988</u> May <u>1988</u> Jan <u>1988</u> May <u>1987</u>				
52	Always	52	52	42	53	53	58	55	52	60	50	46	42	57	56	43	49	43
30	Nearly always	31	33	41	35	34	28	32	34	29	35	41	42	26	26	41	39	43
9	Part of the time	10	9	11	7	9	8	10	10	7	10	9	11	10	12	11	9	9
5	Seldom	4	4	4	4	4	5	3	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	3	2	3
2	(VOL) Other	1	1	1	*	*	1	*	*	1	*	0	*	2	1	1	*	1
2	(VOL) Never vote	2	1	1	1	*	*	*	*	*	1	*	1	1	1	2	1	1
<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	Don't know	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>0</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>

Q.7 If the presidential election were being held today, would you vote for the Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton and Al Gore, for the Republican ticket of Bob Dole and Jack Kemp, or for the Reform party ticket of Ross Perot and Pat Choate **(INTERVIEWER: CHOATE RHYMES WITH BOAT)**?

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

Q.7b As of TODAY, do you lean more to Clinton, the Democrat, more to Dole, the Republican, or more to Perot, the Reform party candidate?

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Early Sept <u>1996</u>	July <u>1996</u>	March <u>1996</u>	Sept <u>1995</u>	July <u>1994</u>
51	Clinton/Lean Clinton	51	52	44	44	42	39
25	Strongly	26	26	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
26	Only moderately	25	26	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
*	Don't know	*	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
34	Dole/Lean Dole	35	34	34	35	36	36
17	Strongly	16	17	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
16	Only moderately	18	17	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1	Don't know	1	*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
8	Perot/Lean Perot	7	8	16	16	19	20
3	Strongly	3	3	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
5	Only moderately	4	5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
*	Don't know	*	*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<u>7</u> 100	Undecided/Other Candidate (VOL)	<u>7</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100

ASK ALL:

Q.8 Suppose the 1996 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.9 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Early Sept <u>1996</u>	July <u>1996</u>	June <u>1996</u>	March <u>1996</u>	Jan <u>1996</u>	Oct <u>1995</u>	Aug <u>1995</u>	Nov <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	Early Oct <u>1994</u>	Sept <u>1994</u>	July <u>1994</u>
42	Republican/Lean Rep	43	43	46	44	44	46	48	50	45	47	52	48	45
49	Democrat/Lean Dem	49	51	47	50	49	47	48	43	43	44	40	46	47
<u>9</u> 100	Other/Undecided (VOL)	<u>8</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100

**IF RESPONDENT CHOSE A CANDIDATE IN Q.7 OR Q.7b ASK:
NOW THINKING ABOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AGAIN...**

Q.10 Would you say that your choice is more a vote for (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.7 OR Q.7b-- CLINTON, DOLE, PEROT) OR more a vote against (INSERT NAMES OF OTHER TWO PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES)?

<u>Direction Of Support</u>		Early Sept <u>1996</u>
51	Clinton	52
	33 Pro-Clinton -- GO TO Q.10a	35
	16 Anti-Others -- GO TO Q.11	15
	2 Undecided -- GO TO Q.11	2
34	Dole	34
	15 Pro-Dole -- GO TO Q.10a	16
	18 Anti-Others -- GO TO Q.11	17
	1 Undecided -- GO TO Q.11	1
8	Perot	8
	4 Pro-Perot -- GO TO Q.10a	3
	4 Anti-Others -- GO TO Q.11	5
	* Undecided -- GO TO Q.11	0
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>
100		100

IF "VOTE FOR" IN Q.10 ASK:

Q.10a Is your choice more a vote for (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.7 OR Q.7b) personally or more a vote for his party?

IF "PERSONALLY" IN Q.10a ASK:

Q.10b Do you support him more because of his personal characteristics and abilities OR more because of what he stands for politically?

Major Reason For Support

55	Clinton
	15 Party
	4 Personality/Abilities
	12 Political Stands
	17 Oppose Opponent
	7 Total Other/Undecided
36	Dole
	6 Party
	3 Personality/Abilities
	4 Political Stands
	19 Oppose Opponent
	4 Total Other/Undecided
9	Perot
	1 Party
	* Personality/Abilities
	2 Political Stands
	5 Oppose Opponent
	1 Total Other/Undecided
<u>0</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '9' UNDECIDED IN Q.7b, THEN READ: "NOW THINKING ABOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AGAIN..."

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE CLINTON IN Q. 7 OR Q. 7b ASK:

Q.11 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Bill Clinton in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Early Sept <u>1996</u>	July <u>1996</u>	Sept <u>1992</u>	July <u>1992</u>	May <u>1992</u>
10	Chance might vote for him	11	10	8	13	14	11
35	Decided not to vote for him	35	34	36	28	26	37
$\frac{4}{49}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{3}{49}$	$\frac{4}{48}$	$\frac{4}{48}$	$\frac{6}{47}$	$\frac{3}{43}$	$\frac{7}{55}$

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE DOLE IN Q. 7 OR Q.7b ASK:

Q.12 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Bob Dole in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Early Sept <u>1996</u>	July <u>1996</u>	----- Bush ----- Sept <u>1992</u>	July <u>1992</u>	May <u>1992</u>
11	Chance might vote for him	16	14	15	12	15	7
51	Decided not to vote for him	44	47	40	44	45	40
$\frac{4}{66}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{5}{65}$	$\frac{5}{66}$	$\frac{3}{58}$	$\frac{6}{62}$	$\frac{4}{64}$	$\frac{6}{53}$

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE PEROT IN Q. 7 OR Q.7b ASK:

Q.13 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Ross Perot in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Early Sept <u>1996</u>
11	Chance might vote for him	12	11
77	Decided not to vote for him	77	78
$\frac{4}{92}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{4}{93}$	$\frac{3}{92}$

**ASK ALL:
ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...**

Q.14 I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is... **(READ AND ROTATE) AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE:** Do you feel **STRONGLY** about that, or not?

-- THIS SERIES AND TREND FIGURES ARE BASED ON TOTAL GENERAL PUBLIC --

			<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	
a.	56	Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient	63	63	64	66	
	48	Strongly	53	51	54	54	
	8	Not Strongly	10	12	10	12	
		Government often does a better job than people give					
	39	it credit for	34	34	32	31	
	25	Strongly	20	19	19	17	
	14	Not Strongly	14	15	13	14	
	<u>5</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	
	100		100	100	100	100	
b.		Government regulation of business is necessary to					
	45	protect the public interest	45	43	38	41	
	29	Strongly	28	25	24	24	
	16	Not Strongly	17	18	14	17	
		Government regulation of business usually does more					
	46	harm than good	50	51	55	54	
	33	Strongly	37	38	41	39	
	13	Not Strongly	13	13	14	15	
	<u>9</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	
	100		100	100	100	100	
c.		Poor people today have it easy because they can get					
	46	government benefits without doing anything in return	54	52	48	53	
	35	Strongly	36	37	35	37	
	11	Not Strongly	18	15	13	16	
		Poor people have hard lives because government					
	40	benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently	36	39	41	39	
	28	Strongly	25	28	31	27	
	12	Not Strongly	11	11	10	12	
	<u>14</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	
	100		100	100	100	100	
d.		The government should do more to help needy	<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
	46	Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt	49	47	46	50	48
	36	Strongly	42	35	33	39	35
	10	Not Strongly	7	12	13	11	13
		The government today can't afford to do much					
	44	more to help the needy	44	47	47	43	47
	31	Strongly	34	31	34	31	32
	13	Not Strongly	10	16	13	12	15
	<u>10</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.14 con't ...

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
e.					
	73				
		69	70	67	72
		57	52	50	52
		16	18	17	20
	21				
		27	26	27	25
		16	19	20	18
		5	7	7	7
	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
f.					
	28				
		37	34	34	32
		19	21	24	20
		9	13	10	12
	58				
		53	56	54	59
		45	40	40	43
		13	16	14	16
	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
i.					
	36				
		36	35	40	36
		30	27	32	28
		6	8	8	8
	53				
		59	58	52	58
		44	46	43	46
		9	12	9	12
	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
j.					
	46				
		49	49	47	52
		39	39	39	43
		7	10	8	9
	47				
		48	47	47	45
		39	38	37	35
		8	9	10	10
	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
m.					
	75				
		77	75	73	76
		61	59	58	59
		14	16	15	17
	18				
		18	20	20	19
		10	10	10	9
		8	10	10	10
	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

Q.14 con't ...

			<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
			<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
n.	51	Business corporations make too much profit	53	51	50	52
	43	Strongly	44	42	40	43
	8	Not Strongly	9	9	10	9
	42	Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit	43	44	44	43
	27	Strongly	27	26	28	27
	15	Not Strongly	16	18	16	16
	<u>7</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100		100	100	100	100
			<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>
			<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>
o.	69	Elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly	72	73	76	74
	58	Strongly	59	60	64	61
	11	Not Strongly	13	13	12	13
	25	Elected officials in Washington try hard to stay in touch with voters back home	23	24	21	22
	15	Strongly	14	14	12	13
	10	Not Strongly	9	10	9	9
	<u>6</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100		100	100	100	100
			<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
			<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
p.	38	Most elected officials care what people like me think	33	32	29	34
	23	Strongly	18	18	17	18
	15	Not Strongly	15	14	12	16
	58	Most elected officials don't care what people like me think	64	64	68	64
	48	Strongly	53	53	56	51
	10	Not Strongly	11	11	12	13
	<u>4</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
	100		100	100	100	100

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.15 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

IF YES, ASK:

Q.16 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Early Sept <u>1996</u>	July <u>1996</u>	June <u>1996</u>	Oct <u>1992</u>	Sept <u>1992</u>	Aug <u>1992</u>	June <u>1992</u>	--- Gallup --- Nov <u>1998</u> Oct <u>1988</u>	
98	Yes	98	96	95	96	98	98	97	97	97	98
87	Absolutely certain	89	83	82	84	91	85	89	88	87	85
10	Fairly certain	8	11	12	11	6	11	8	8	9	12
1	Not certain	1	2	1	1	1	2	*	1	1	1
1	No	1	2	3	2	1	1	1	1	2	1
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100

ASK ALL:

Q.17 I'd like you to rate your chance of voting in November on a scale of 10 to 1. If 10 represents a person who definitely will vote and 1 represents a person who definitely will not vote, where on this scale of 10 to 1 would you place yourself?

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>	----- Gallup ----- Sept <u>1992</u> Nov <u>1988</u> Oct <u>1988</u>		
77	10 -- Definitely will vote	78	77	77	73
9	9	10	5	7	8
7	8	6	4	6	7
2	7	2	3	2	3
2	6	1	2	1	2
2	5	1	4	3	3
*	4	*	*	*	1
*	3	*	1	*	*
*	2	*	*	*	*
1	1 -- Definitely will not vote	1	4	2	1
<u>*</u> 100	Don't know	<u>1</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.18 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?

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>	June <u>1996</u>	Oct <u>1992</u>	Aug <u>1992</u>	June <u>1992</u>
11	Very satisfied	11	10	10	11	6
48	Fairly satisfied	50	37	41	42	29
27	Not too satisfied	26	31	33	31	36
11	Not at all satisfied	10	18	14	15	27
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100

ASK Q.18a AND Q.18b ONLY IF INTERVIEW DATE IS AFTER 10/16/96: [N=834]

ROTATE Q.18a AND Q.18b

Q.18a Would you say your overall opinion of Bill Clinton is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? (INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")

	Very Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Never Heard <u>of</u>	Can't <u>Rate</u>
October, 1996	12	45	22	19	0	2=100
June, 1996	15	45	23	15	0	2=100
April, 1996	17	40	25	16	0	3=100
February, 1996	19	34	23	22	0	2=100
January, 1996	13	43	27	16	0	1=100
August, 1995	14	35	30	19	2	*=100
December, 1994	18	34	24	22	0	2=100
July, 1994	16	42	25	17	*	1=100
July, 1992	18	43	23	9	0	7=100
June, 1992	10	36	34	14	1	5=100
May, 1992	11	43	32	10	*	4=100
March, 1992	10	44	30	10	1	5=100
February, 1992	16	44	24	7	2	7=100
November, 1991	5	25	9	2	37	22=100

Q.18b Would you say your overall opinion of Bob Dole is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? (INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
October, 1996	8	35	36	18	*	3=100
June, 1996	11	42	28	14	*	5=100
April, 1996	11	38	28	16	*	6=100
February, 1996	14	45	23	14	*	4=100
January, 1996	7	47	28	14	*	4=100
August, 1995	13	41	26	11	1	8=100
December, 1994	18	42	19	10	3	8=100
July, 1994	15	46	20	10	3	6=100
May, 1990	8	49	15	5	9	14=100
May, 1987	9	51	11	3	9	17=100

Q.19 As I read a list of phrases tell me if you think this phrase better describes Bill Clinton or if it better describes Bob Dole. (READ AND ROTATE)

	Bill Clinton	Bob Dole	(VOL) Both	(VOL) Neither	Don't Know
a. Would use good judgment in a crisis	46	37	8	3	6=100
Early September, 1996	48	37	7	3	5=100
July, 1996	44	37	11	2	6=100
March, 1996	44	42	4	4	6=100
b. Personally likable	66	20	7	4	3=100
Early September, 1996	65	23	5	5	2=100
July, 1996	63	21	8	4	4=100
March, 1996	66	22	4	5	3=100
c. Honest and truthful	26	42	4	20	8=100
Early September, 1996	27	40	4	21	8=100
July, 1996	24	42	5	21	8=100
March, 1996	32	42	2	17	7=100
d. Has new ideas	51	28	3	12	6=100
Early September, 1996	52	29	5	9	5=100
July, 1996	51	26	5	12	6=100
March, 1996	43	32	2	13	4=100
e. Cares about people like me	46	31	5	13	5=100
Early September, 1996	50	32	4	9	5=100
July, 1996	47	31	5	13	4=100
March, 1996	53	28	2	13	4=100
f. Keeps his promises	32	36	2	19	11=100
Early September, 1996	34	32	1	23	0=100
July, 1996	27	37	3	23	10=100
March, 1996	30	36	1	24	9=100

Q.19 con't ...

		<u>Bill Clinton</u>	<u>Bob Dole</u>	(VOL) <u>Both</u>	(VOL) <u>Neither</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
g.	Shares my values	42	40	2	10	6=100
	Early September, 1996	46	40	3	8	3=100
	July, 1996	43	39	2	11	5=100
	March, 1996	46	39	2	9	4=100
h.	Connects well with ordinary Americans	65	21	4	5	5=100
	Early September, 1996	67	22	3	4	4=100
	July, 1996	64	22	4	6	4=100
i.	A strong leader	47	36	4	8	5=100
	Early September, 1996	48	39	5	4	4=100

ASK Q.20 ONLY IF INTERVIEW DATE IS AFTER 10/16/96: [N=834]

ON A RELATED SUBJECT . . .

Q.20 Which one of the following is most important to you in your overall evaluation of Bill Clinton . . . **(READ AND ROTATE)?**

		<u>July 1996</u>
56	His record as President?	52
22	What he has prevented the Republican Congress from doing? OR	21
18	The charges that have been made about his personal life and character?	22
<u>4</u> 100	(DO NOT READ) Don't Know/Refused	<u>5</u> 100

ASK Q. 21 OF FORM 1 RESPONDENTS ONLY: [N=769]

NOW THINKING AGAIN ABOUT YOUR VOTE FOR CONGRESS THIS FALL. . .

Q.21F1 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?

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Early Sept <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	Early Oct <u>1994</u>	---CBS/NTY--- Oct 24-28 <u>1986</u>	Sept 28-Oct 1 <u>1986</u>
19	National issues	25	18	22	22	22	22	20
45	State/Local issues	38	42	38	38	27	25	23
7	Candidate's Political party	6	6	5	3	5	6	9
26	Candidate's Character/Experience	24	30	30	29	39	40	41
1	Other (VOL)	2	1	1	3	2	1	3
1	None (VOL)	*	*	*	1	1	1	*
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100

ASK Q. 22 OF FORM 1 RESPONDENTS ONLY: [N=769]

Q.22F1 If Bill Clinton is re-elected President in November, would it be better for the Republicans to control Congress or the Democrats to control Congress?

		Early Sept <u>1996</u>
46	Republicans	46
42	Democrats	44
<u>12</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>10</u> 100

ASK Q. 23 OF FORM 2 RESPONDENTS ONLY: [N=777]

NOW THINKING AGAIN ABOUT YOUR VOTE FOR CONGRESS THIS FALL...

Q. 23F2 Would you like to see your Representative in Congress be re-elected in November, or not?

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Early Sept <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	Early Oct <u>1994</u>	---Gallup--- Oct 25-28 <u>1990</u>
62	Yes	55	62	58	55	49	62
19	No	17	19	25	30	29	22
2	Congressman is not running (VOL)	2	2	1	2	2	2
<u>17</u> 100	No opinion	<u>26</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>20</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100

ASK Q. 24 OF FORM 2 RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWERED '1' CLINTON IN QUESTION 7 OR 7b:

Q.24F2 One last question about how you intend to vote. . . What are the chances that you will vote only for Democratic candidates in November? Is there an excellent chance of this, a good chance, some chance or no chance?

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>
39	Excellent chance	38
31	Good chance	32
18	Some chance	21
11	No chance	8
$\frac{1}{100}$ (N=390)	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{1}{100}$ (N=762)

ASK Q. 25 OF FORM 2 RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWERED '2' DOLE IN QUESTION 7 OR 7b:

Q.25F2 One last question about how you intend to vote. . . What are the chances that you will vote only for Republican candidates in November? Is there an excellent chance of this, a good chance, some chance or no chance?

		Late Sept <u>1996</u>
44	Excellent chance	42
26	Good chance	29
16	Some chance	19
12	No chance	8
$\frac{2}{100}$ (N=269)	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{2}{100}$ (N=550)

ASK ALL:

IF RESPONDENT IS RECEIVING THE FULL QUESTIONNAIRE, READ: "ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT:"

Q.26 Aside from weddings and funerals how often do you attend religious services... more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never?

		June 1996
15	More than once a week	15
30	Once a week	28
16	Once or twice a month	17
18	A few times a year	20
13	Seldom	12
7	Never	7
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u> 100

ASK Q.27-28 ONLY OF THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH (Q.26=1,2,3):

Q.27 Recently, has information on political parties or candidates for the upcoming election been made available in your place of worship, or not?

22	Yes
75	No
<u>3</u> 100 (N=931)	Don't know/Refused

Q.28 And have the clergy at your place of worship or any other religious groups urged you to vote a particular way in the November election, or not?

IF '1' YES IN Q.28, ASK:

Q.29 Were you being urged to vote for a particular candidate or party in the Presidential race, a Congressional race, a state race, or a local race? [ACCEPT MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE]

6	Yes
3	Presidential
1	Congressional
2	State
2	Local
2	Don't know/Refused
93	No -- GO TO Q.30
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know/Refused -- GO TO Q.30

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.30 Now I'd like you to think about some concerns that people may have. How concerned are you, if at all, about **(INSERT ITEM: ROTATE)**? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned about this? What about **(NEXT ITEM)**...?

		Very Con- cerned	Somewhat Con- cerned	Not too Con- cerned	Not at all Con- cerned	Does Not Apply (VOL)	Don't Know
a.	Not having enough money for your retirement?	56	24	11	7	1	1=100
	March, 1996	58	22	10	8	2	*=100
	October, 1995	47	29	11	8	5	*=100
	March, 1994	40	30	15	12	2	1=100
	May, 1988	32	37	14	9	5	3=100
b.	Being unable to save enough money to put a child through college?	47	18	9	13	12	1=100
	October, 1995	42	18	8	14	18	*=100
	March, 1994	35	16	8	13	28	*=100
	May, 1988	21	22	11	11	31	4=100
c.	Being unable to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick?	61	18	12	7	1	1=100
	March, 1996	65	17	11	7	*	0=100
	October, 1995	64	18	10	7	1	*=100
	March, 1994	48	23	16	11	1	1=100

ASK ALL:

Q.32 Now I'm going to read you some more pairs of statements. As I read each pair, tell me whether the **FIRST** statement or the **SECOND** statement comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is... **(READ AND ROTATE)** **(AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE)**: Do you feel **STRONGLY** about that, or not?

-- THIS SERIES AND TREND FIGURES ARE BASED ON TOTAL GENERAL PUBLIC --

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
q.	This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment	77	74	77	78
77	66 Strongly	65	63	65	62
	11 Not Strongly	12	11	12	16
	This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment	20	22	19	19
18	13 Strongly	13	15	13	12
	5 Not Strongly	7	7	6	7
<u>5</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100

Q.32 con't ...

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
r.					
	30				
		35	39	32	33
	22	23	28	23	21
	8	12	11	9	12
	63				
		61	57	62	62
	51	47	44	49	45
	12	14	13	13	17
	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
		<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>
					<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
u.					
	44				
		44	45	47	46
	32	29	29	30	33
	12	15	16	17	13
	49				
		49	50	48	48
	42	42	41	40	41
	7	7	9	8	7
	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
			<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>
					<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
v.					
	44				
		46	45	42	46
	39	37	40	36	37
	5	9	5	6	9
	52				
		52	53	55	51
	43	41	44	47	39
	9	11	9	8	12
	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
w.					
	85				
		84	83	82	84
	77	75	76	73	72
	8	9	7	9	12
	10				
		11	12	12	12
	6	7	7	8	7
	4	4	5	4	5
	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

Q.32 con't ...

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
x.	We will all be called before God on Judgment Day to answer for our sins	83	81	80	80
81	74 Strongly	76	75	74	71
	7 Not Strongly	7	6	6	9
	I don't believe we will have to answer for our sins on Judgment Day	13	14	14	16
13	9 Strongly	9	9	10	9
	4 Not Strongly	4	5	4	7
	Neither/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>6</u>		100	100	100	100
100					
		<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>		
y.	I'm generally satisfied with the way things are going for me financially	57	56		
57	43 Strongly	44	36		
	14 Not Strongly	13	20		
41	I'm not very satisfied with my financial situation	42	43		
	36 Strongly	37	33		
	5 Not Strongly	5	10		
	Neither/Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>		
<u>2</u>		100	100		
100					

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.33 Have the Presidential candidates been talking about the issues that are important to you in this campaign, or not?

59	Yes -- GO TO Q.35
35	No
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused -- GO TO Q.35
100	

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '2' NO IN Q.33, ASK: [N=]

Q.34 Which important issues do you feel they are overlooking? [OPEN-END. ACCEPT UP TO 3 RESPONSES.]

16	SOCIAL ISSUES (NET)
5	EDUCATION (NET)
4	Quality of education/What's going on in schools
1	Cost of education
4	Health care/High cost of health insurance
3	Morality/Family values
3	Fear of crime/Violence
2	Welfare
2	Environment
2	Abortion
1	Homosexuality/Gay rights
1	Racial issues
1	Affirmative action
*	Women's issues/Rights
*	Child care
12	ECONOMY/BUDGET (NET)
4	Economy/Budget (general)
3	Taxes/High taxes
3	Government spending/Balancing the budget
3	National debt/Deficit
1	Low paying jobs
1	Unemployment
4	Foreign policy/Defense
3	ELDER PROGRAMS (NET)
2	Social security
2	Medicare
2	Government/Government corruption
3	Other
6	Don't know

ASK ALL:

Q.35 Do you think there is a difference between Bob Dole's approach to the Medicare issue and Bill Clinton's approach to the Medicare issue?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q.35, ASK:

Q.36 Whose approach to Medicare do you favor -- Bob Dole's or Bill Clinton's?

68	Yes
24	Favor Dole's
39	Favor Clinton's
5	Don't know/Refused
15	No -- GO TO Q.37
<u>17</u>	Don't know/Refused -- -- GO TO Q.37
100	

ASK Q.37 OF FORM 1 ONLY: [N=769]

Q.37F1 Do you think cutting EVERYONE'S federal income tax by 15 percent is the right thing for the country or the wrong thing for the country?

		---CBS/NYT--- <u>Sept 1996</u>
37	Right thing	31
51	Wrong thing	54
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>15</u>
100		100

ASK Q.38 OF FORM 2 ONLY: [N=777]

Q.38F2 Would you favor or oppose cutting EVERYONE'S federal income tax by 15 percent?

		---CBS/NYT--- <u>Sept 1996</u>
54	Favor	58
38	Oppose	34
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>
100		100

ASK ALL:

Q.39 Thinking about the problem of rising teenage drug use, do you think the person elected President can make a difference in dealing with this problem or not?

48 Yes

48 No

$\frac{4}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.40 How much influence do you think (INSERT ITEM: ROTATE) have on which candidate becomes the President: too much, too little or about the right amount? What about (NEXT ITEM) . . . ?

		<u>Too Much</u>	<u>Too Little</u>	<u>Right Amount</u>	<u>DK /Ref</u>
a.	Business corporations	59	6	29	6=100
b.	Labor unions	45	11	34	10=100
c.	Churches	15	29	45	11=100
d.	News organizations	67	4	25	4=100

IF RESPONDENT IS RECEIVING THE ABBREVIATED VERSION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, READ "ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT..."

Q.41 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 government and public affairs. . . (READ)

		<u>Oct 1995</u>	<u>April 1995</u>	<u>Nov 1994</u>	<u>Oct 1994</u>	<u>July 1994</u>	<u>May 1990</u>	<u>May 1988</u>	<u>Jan 1988</u>	<u>May 1987</u>
43	Most of the time	52	49	57	52	51	43	42	42	47
37	Some of the time	33	34	30	34	32	36	37	35	35
13	Only now and then	11	13	10	10	13	15	15	17	13
6	Hardly at all	4	4	3	4	4	6	4	5	4
$\frac{1}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{0}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$