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Hansen

## **ECONOMICS AND THE VOTE -- ECONOMIC CONDITIONS**

### **Personal Income**

Since 1948, the economic factor that most influences presidential voting has been personal income. The vote for president has varied more closely with the number of dollars in individuals' pocketbooks than it has with employment, inflation, the aggregate performance of the national economy, or the accumulation of wealth by individuals.

In the twelve months leading up to the 1992 election, real disposable personal income per capita grew by 0.9%. Voters have returned no incumbent or his party to the White House when their income has grown this little in the year prior to election.

Regression analysis shows that 1.5% growth in personal income was needed for the President to be able to win re-election. While this seems tantalizingly close to the rate of growth that was experienced, only once in President Bush's term, during the second quarter of 1990, did personal income growth over the previous twelve months reach 1.5%.

An analysis of economic data since 1948 indicates that there is no correlation between the vote for president or the party in power and personal income growth over the full term of the incumbent. While personal income grew less during the President's full term than in any other post-war term, this did not directly spell his defeat. If income growth of better than 1.5% could have been reached in the year prior to the election, the President still could have had a chance to win even with growth over the full term as low as what was experienced (-0.7%).

It follows then that voters did not reject President Bush because a rational evaluation of their personal prosperity failed to find that they were better off today than they were four years ago. The President could have been hurt politically by peoples' disappointment over the policies and images of his economic leadership, but this effect should be understood as due to an emotional response rather than an economic condition.

### **National Economic Growth**

Aggregate national economic growth affects the vote for president only indirectly in that it drives personal income. National economic growth is reflected only in part in the same time period it occurs in simultaneous growth of personal income. However, most of its effect on personal income lags by between one and three quarters.

Models predicting vote results based solely on concurrent measures of GNP have been moderately successful only because some of the personal income growth associated with it has occurred simultaneously with GNP growth. This year there was no growth in income accompanying the weak recovery in GNP, and those models fared poorly in their predictions of 1992 vote (for example, one economist's concurrent GNP model predicted a nine point Bush victory).

The academicians using GNP to predict the vote most accurately, Lewis-Beck and Rice, lag its effect by one to three quarters<sup>1</sup>, which happens to be the same amount of time personal income has historically followed GNP. They error in finding that lagged GNP predicts presidential voting without precluding that concurrent measurement of personal income is the more direct predictor variable and the true explanatory factor for presidential voting.

### **Developing Political Definitions For Economic Growth**

Personal income growth is a better intuitive fit than aggregate national economic growth as a motive in voting for president. Of course, no individual experiences directly the growth of the country's economy during a year, while anyone can examine what has happened to the real value of their income over the course of year and is likely to have frequent opportunities and reasons to do so. Between these two situations, a person's perception of prosperity is more likely to be developed through direct, personal observation of their income.

While economists may define recession and recovery in terms of aggregate economic growth, the public does not. Political leaders ought to adopt a definition of the economic condition more in tune with people's personal financial hardships or successes. Following the old definition can put them out of step with public perceptions and undermine their credibility and authority to lead in economic matters. If nothing else, 1992 shows that their electoral success depends on discarding the old definition.

### **Wealth, Inflation, and Unemployment**

Some observers had suggested that this year's election was a referendum on wealth, not income, and cited evidence of the collapsed home values this year and the turning out of incumbents in the high inflation period of the seventies. A correlation analysis of historical data on the value of private residential wealth finds a weak association with presidential voting between 1960 and 1988. However, when other economic factors are controlled for, wealth does is not significantly related to the vote.

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<sup>1</sup>That is, Lewis-Beck and Rice correlate the growth of the economy from the fourth quarter of the year prior to the election through the second quarter of the election year with the vote.

Inflation was found to be weakly correlated, and employment (both the absolute rate and the change in the rate of employment) not at all correlated with the vote for president. These findings have been documented in other studies over the past twenty years.

### Modelling Presidential Voting

Four models featuring variables measuring one or more economic conditions had varying success at predicting the 1992 vote.

#### Model 1 -- Tufte Model

Uses only the ~~one~~ <sup>of the</sup> year, October to October change in real disposable personal income prior to the election to predict the two-party vote for president. It is the purest economic model and the most accurate published model this year with a forecast of 48.6% two-party vote for President Bush. (Since October's data for this model and Model 4 have yet to be released, the September to September year is used. The forecast is not likely to change by more than a tenth of a percent when the final data become available.)

#### Model 2 -- Fair Model

Uses two variables, the growth in per capita GNP in the second and third quarters of the election year, and the rate of inflation in the two year period before the election. As discussed above, by using concurrent measurement of aggregate national economic growth, this model failed to gauge the impact the poor economy had on people and misread which way the economic verdict would fall this year. This model predicted a 56% to 44% victory for President Bush.

#### Model 3 -- Lewis-Beck and Rice Model

This model tempers economic determinism with the political idiosyncracies of each election year. It predicts the two-party vote by using the mid-summer Gallup approval for the incumbent president and the outcome of the midterm House of Representatives elections for the incumbent party together with GNP growth between the third and first quarter prior to the election. As I have been able to recreate it, the standardized regression coefficients show that this model is more a political one with some economic input than an economic model with political input. This model predicted 49.7% vote support for President Bush.

#### Model 4 -- Hansen Model

Combining personal income growth with the midsummer Gallup presidential approval, we were hoping to add to the best economic predictor a variable to capture something of the voters' evaluations of the character and competence of the candidates. As it turns out, this model is a bit more robust than Tufte's, and somewhat more accurate for this year. It 'predicted' 46.8% support for President Bush, just over his 46.6% actual two-party vote.

**Forecasting Presidential Voting Using Economic Data:  
Four Models' Predictions of Two-Party Popular Vote for Incumbent President or Party**

Year	Actual	Method 1: Tufte		Method 2: Fair		Method 3: Lewis-Beck/Rice		Method 4: Hansen	
		<i>predicted</i>	<i>deviation</i>	<i>predicted</i>	<i>deviation</i>	<i>predicted</i>	<i>deviation</i>	<i>predicted</i>	<i>deviation</i>
1992	46.6	48.6	2.0	56.0	9.4	49.7	3.1	46.8	0.2
1988	53.9	52.8	-1.1	53.2	-0.7	57.0	3.1	53.5	-0.4
1984	59.2	59.8	0.6	58.3	-0.9	57.0	-2.2	59.4	0.2
1980	44.7	45.3	0.6	44.6	-0.1	42.5	-2.2	42.5	-2.2
1976	48.9	52.3	3.4	50.4	1.5	51.3	2.4	52.1	3.2
1972	61.8	56.3	-5.5	60.2	-1.6	58.8	-3.0	57.2	-4.6
1968	49.6	53.6	4.0	51.3	1.7	49.9	0.3	52.1	2.5
1964	61.3	61.3	0.0	54.2	-7.1	60.6	-0.7	61.7	0.4
1960	49.9	46.1	-3.8	50.8	0.9	53.7	3.8	50.6	0.7
1956	57.8	52.8	-5.0	56.2	-1.6	56.3	-1.5	56.7	-1.1
1952	44.6	49.1	4.5	45.7	1.1	46.0	1.4	47.3	2.7
1948	52.4	54.8	2.4	51.4	-1.0	47.8	-4.6	52.9	0.5
<b>Summary</b> Average vote for incumbent or party 1948 - 1992: 52.6 Average absolute deviation		52.9	2.8	52.7	2.3	52.8	2.4	52.7	1.6

1992 data for Tufte and Hansen models are preliminary. October's personal income figures are due next month.

November 24, 1992

## PERCEPTIONS OF THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

*The charge that the Republican Convention hurt the President outright, by portraying the Republican party as too captive of extreme conservative forces, is confirmed by the survey data. However, the injury to the President's vote support was not decisive by itself.*

*The charge that the Convention failed the President indirectly by not giving him a sufficient bounce in support is not confirmed by survey data. The Democrats won a nearly unprecedented bounce in support for their candidate from their convention. The only sense that the 1992 Republican convention failed the President was that the boost it gave was just average when an equally unprecedented bounce might have been called for. This factor cannot be considered decisive either -- convention bounces are not predictors or precursors of victory in November.*

### Election Day Perceptions of the Republican Convention

Twenty-five percent of voters said that "the Republican Convention showing the Republican Party was TOO right-wing" was very much on their minds when they were deciding on how to vote in the RNC's post-election study. This ranked the issue twenty-fifth of thirty-three in importance. 25%

While this is not very high up the list, it did rank as least as relevant as issues that were important to the President's campaign against Clinton: "doubts about Clinton's moral character and integrity" and "The stories about Clinton's evasion of the draft." Critics who blame the Republican convention for hurting the President won't be able to have both ways -- if they think the Convention was relevant to voters, than they would have to admit that Clinton's morality and truthfulness were also relevant.

It appears that the Republican Convention may have cost the President between one and one-half and two points of overall vote support. Based on their partisanship, Bush should have won 30% of the vote from those targetable voters who said that the Convention was very much on their mind when they voted<sup>1</sup>. The President won only 18% of this vote, with most of his lost vote apparently going to Perot, who also won 18%. Clinton performed a only a little better than expected in winning 62% vote support.

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<sup>1</sup>Targetable voters here are those who were not strong Democrats or non-Republican blacks or Jews. "Targetable voters who had the Convention very much on their mind" totaled 16% of the electorate.

The damage of the Convention to the President was not decisive in itself. Since most of the two points he lost went to Perot, and not Clinton, the President would have still fallen short in the popular vote by 40% to 43% if the Convention's portrayal of the Party as being too right-wing was not on people's minds at all.

### The Relevance of the Republican Convention

*Here are some things people have told us were on their minds when they were deciding on how to vote. Some are reservations people had about the candidate they eventually voted for. We'd like to know if you shared any these thoughts. So, for each one, please tell me if it was something that was VERY MUCH on your mind, PARTLY on your mind, just SLIGHTLY on your mind or NOT AT ALL on your mind in deciding how to vote this year for President...The Republican Convention showing the Republican Party was TOO right-wing.<sup>2</sup>*

	All Voters	Reps.	Dems.
Very much .....	25%	12%	36%
Partly .....	15	17	14
Slightly .....	21	25	19
Not at all on mind .....	36	44	28
Don't Know/Refused .....	3	3	4

### Comparative Convention Bounces

The Republican National Convention in 1992 won President Bush a bounce of 5 points. The average bounce in Gallup Polling since 1960 has been 6.7 point for Republicans prior to this year. This size of this year's convention boost compares favorably to that won by Republicans eventually successful in the general election, for example, Reagan in 1984 (4 points) or Nixon in 1968 (5 points).

This year's Convention suffered in comparison to the nearly unprecedented success that the Democratic Convention was for Bill Clinton. Clinton's boost from that convention was 16 points, the largest ever measured in Gallup polling. Still, large boosts are no guarantee of success in November as seen in Nixon in 1960 (14 point boost) or Carter in 1980 (10).

Neither are large net differences between the two party's conventions predictive of the outcome of the election. Nixon lost by a slim margin in 1960 when he won a bounce 8 points larger than that won by Kennedy's. He won by a landslide in 1972 when his bounce was 7 points larger than McGovern's. The Republican National Convention this year failed only to deliver to the President the same kind of bounce that the Democratic nominee won from his

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<sup>2</sup>From the RNC Post-Election Survey, question Q82, page 16.

convention. However, since election outcomes do not appear to be related to convention success, assertions that this year's Convention contributed importantly to the defeat of the President are only speculations unsupported by opinion and vote data.

#### Post-Convention Bounces in Gallup Polls since 1960

	Republican Bounce	Democrat Bounce	PDI <sup>3</sup>
1992 Bush vs. Clinton . . . . .	+ 5	+16	-11
1988 Bush vs. Dukakis . . . . .	+ 6	+ 7	- 1
1984 Reagan vs. Mondale . . . . .	+ 4	+ 9	- 5
1980 Reagan vs. Carter . . . . .	+ 8	+10	- 2
1976 Ford vs. Carter . . . . .	+ 5	+ 9	- 4
1972 Nixon vs. McGovern . . . . .	+ 7	0	+ 7
1968 Nixon vs. Humphrey . . . . .	+ 5	+ 2	+ 3
1964 Goldwater vs. Johnson . . . . .	+ 5	+ 3	+ 2
1960 Nixon vs. Kennedy . . . . .	+14	+ 6	+ 8
<b>Averages, 1960-1992:</b> . . . . .	<b>+6.5</b>	<b>+6.9</b>	<b>4.8<sup>4</sup></b>

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<sup>3</sup>Percentage Difference Index: the Republican bounce in percentage points minus the Democrat bounce.

<sup>4</sup>Average of absolute values of convention bounce differences.



**ABORTION AND THE VOTE FOR PRESIDENT**

**The President's position on abortion cost him a net of one percentage point in total vote support.**

This is calculated by...

- 1) Ignoring the 22% of the electorate who make up the hardest core of Democrats and who would contribute virtually nothing to a winning coalition for the President.
- 2) From the remaining 78%, look at the voters who said that Bush's position on abortion "was very much on their minds" when they voted -- they make up 33% of the total electorate.
- 3) Among these voters were supporters of the President who said that his opposition to abortion made them more likely to vote for him. They total 11% of the overall electorate.
- 4) Among these voters who had Bush's abortion stand on their mind were those who both said that his opposition to it made them less likely to vote for him and had in fact voted for Clinton or Perot. They total 12% of the overall electorate.
- 5) Netted out then, among the voters for whom he had a chance to win votes and who had abortion very much on their minds when then went to polls, President Bush won one less point from those who were more likely to vote for him because of his opposition to abortion than his opponents won from those who were less likely to vote for Bush because of his abortion position.

Here are the details of the percentage calculations:

<i>Step</i>	<i>Description</i>
1) 78%	the share of electorate not strong Democrats or not blacks or Jews who are at least non-Republicans
2) $78\% \times 42\% = 33\%$	one-third of the electorate remain when looking at the 42% who say that Bush's abortion position was very much on their minds when they went to the polls
3) $33\% \times 34\% = 11\%$	Just over a third of this pool of voters said both that Bush's opposition to abortion made them more likely to vote for him, and that they did vote for him.

4)  $33\% \times 36\% = 12\%$

Again, over a third of the abortion-voting Bush target voters said that Bush's opposition made them less likely to vote him, and that they had voted for Clinton or Perot.

5)  $11\% - 12\% = 1\%$

The President's opposition to abortion won him 11 percentage points overall and cost him 12 for a net loss of one point.

Clinton won 9 points of the anti-Bush abortion vote while Perot won 3 points.

This analysis takes into account voters for whom the President's abortion stand could actually make a difference in their vote. It is not confounded by voters who claim that abortion was their motivation for voting against Bush even though their Democrat orientation is so strong that Bush's abortion position is actually irrelevant to their vote.

It is important to note that in the VRS exit poll, of the 12% who cited abortion as one or two of the most important issues in deciding their vote for President in 1992, a majority (55%) voted for President Bush.

**The 1992 Post-Election study asked voters three questions about their abortion attitudes:**

**A direct measure of issue importance...**

*Here are some things people have told us were on their minds when they were deciding on how to vote. Some are reservations people had about the candidate they eventually voted for. We'd like to know if you shared any these thoughts. So, for each one, please tell me if it was something that was VERY MUCH on your mind, PARTLY on your mind, just SLIGHTLY on your mind or NOT AT ALL on your mind in deciding how to vote this year for President...Bush's position on abortion?*

Very much	42%
Partly	15
Slightly	15
Not at all on mind	27
Don't Know/Refused	1

Overall, this issue ranked 13th of 33 tested in the post election study. Its 42% "very much on mind" placed it 10 points behind the most important rated issue, "Bush would not do anything differently" (52% said this was very much on their mind when they voted). It was 29 points more important than the lowest rank issue "Stories about Clinton's extra-marital affairs" (13% said this issue was very on their mind).

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<sup>1</sup>From the RNC's 1992 Post-Election Study, question Q62, page 15.

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Among women, however, this issue ranked second, and was very much on the mind of 50% of them when they went to the polls. The greater interest in the abortion issue on the part of women is interpreted by conventional wisdom to mean that they are more likely to vote pro-choice than men. However, this is not borne out when the abortion voting analysis described above is run on women only. The President again loses votes among women when everything is netted out, but the loss, at about three-quarters of one percent, is the same proportion as that found for both men and women abortion issue voters.

**A question to measure the direction of abortion issue voting...**

*Did George Bush's opposition to abortion make you more likely or less likely to vote for him? Would that be much (more/less) likely or just somewhat (more/less) likely?*<sup>2</sup>

Much more likely	20%
Somewhat more likely	8
No difference (volunteered)	29
Somewhat less likely	18
Much less likely	25
Don't know/Refused	1
<i>Collapsed</i>	
More likely	27%
Less likely	43

One-fifth of the Perot vote may be out of reach of Clinton at he tries to woo them because of his position on abortion. Though they did not vote for the President, 22% of Perot voters said that Bush's opposition to abortion made them more likely to for Bush.

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<sup>2</sup>RNC's Post-Election Study, question Q109, page 21.

**And a question asking of voters' abortion issue self-labeling...**

*In the debate over abortion policy, do you consider yourself pro-life, pro-choice, or somewhere in between? Would that be strongly (pro-life/pro-choice) or just somewhat (pro-life/pro-choice)?<sup>3</sup>*

Strongly pro-life . . . . .	19%
Somewhat pro-life . . . . .	5
In between . . . . .	33
Somewhat pro-choice . . . . .	7
Strongly pro-choice . . . . .	35
Don't know/refused . . . . .	1

<i>Collapsed</i>	
Pro-life . . . . .	23%
pro-choice . . . . .	43

People may be trending away from seeing themselves as pro-life: 24% called themselves strongly pro-life, and 29% were pro-life overall in an RNC survey of March, 1990.

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<sup>3</sup>RNC's Post-Election Study, question Q120, page 24.

## **THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AFTER THE 1992 ELECTION**

*Republican party identification remains relatively strong considering the recession and the image of defeat at the national level. The Party needs to find its feet quickly, however. Many measures of popular confidence in the Republican Party are extremely soft. They tell of a vulnerability of the Party and its progress of the 80's. If the Party is able to put defeat behind it and articulate to the public its strengths and advantages, these measures of popular confidence need not portend significant losses of voter support.*

### **Partisanship of the Electorate**

Defeat at the presidential level has not led to a significant weakening in the allegiance of Republican voters to the Party. The media's exit survey found that among voters nationally, Republicans trailed Democrats by just three points, 35% to 38%. Public Opinion Strategies in a post-election survey of registered voters found party identification to be 31% Republican, 37% Democrat.

These are both consistent with RNC and BQ-92 polling which has found Republican party affiliation generally trailing the Democrats by 6 points or less since the recession began in October of 1990.

Two comparisons put these numbers into context. In victory at the national level, after the 1988 elections, Republican affiliation still trailed the Democrats' by one point, so a post-election deficit in the mid-single digits does not yet signal significant defections from the Party.

Second, during the 1982-83 recession Republican party identification trailed Democrat identification by 19 points at its worst (34% Republican, 53% Democrat in March of 1982) and by 13 points on average (38% to 51%).

(The post-election poll conducted by Market Strategies found a twelve point Republican deficit, 38% to 50%, after weighting for critical demographics such as race and age. The fielding of the survey during and after the many election post-mortems in the media probably contributed to this poor Republican result. Steeper chose to weight by party and so he is reporting a 5 point Republican deficit in his post-election poll, or, 43% Republican, 48% Democrat.)

An opportunity for the Party to have won greater allegiance than the Democrats was probably lost during the Bush years. At the end of 1989 and through the first three quarters of 1990 indications of movement toward the Party could be found in polling conducted by the RNC. By 1990 Republican pluralities were found in four of six surveys (with one survey showing parity between the parties) the RNC conducted prior to the third week in October.

By the third week of October, perceptions of a deteriorating economy, frustration over the budget deficit reduction negotiations, anxiety over Desert Shield, and not the least, disappointment with the President's leadership in these issues led to enough of a drop in support for the Republican Party that it once again fell slightly behind the Democrats in party allegiance.

<b>Party Identification in Post-Election Polls</b>			
	<b>1992</b>	<b>1988</b>	<b>1984</b>
Strong Republican	15%	18%	17%
Weak Republican	14	15	13
Independent Republican	15	12	18
Independent	8	8	10
Independent Democrat	15	11	11
Weak Democrat	14	16	13
Strong Democrat	17	19	17
<b>Collapsed Codes</b>			
Republican	43%	45%	48%
Independent	8	8	10
Democrat	48	46	41

Some important voter groups which appear to be remaining loyal to the Republican Party are: younger voters, especially men 18-39 (and including 18-24 year-olds -- contrary to the media exit polling we do not find Clinton winning these voters, though Perot did do very well with them), southern whites, northern Protestants.

Important voters groups which appear to be weakening in their attraction to the Party are: Northern Catholics, women 18-39, men 40 and over, and the Northern union vote.

The economy may have cost the Party support with older men and union voters, but not southern whites. Abortion, on the other hand, may have hurt Republican party identification with younger women, but it did not overcome the cross-pressure a poor economy had on Catholics.

### **Party Confidence**

As the Clinton administration prepares to take office, Americans have greater confidence in the Democratic party than in the Republican party to solve important national problems. The Democrat plurality is nearly identical to that the Republican party enjoyed after the 1988 election.

The Republican party faces defections by three in ten Republican voters (29%) who fail to find more confidence in the GOP to handle the country's problems. Meanwhile, Democrat rank and file have as much confidence in their party's leadership qualities as Republicans had in theirs in 1988 (80%). Swing voters now favor the Democrat party by 44%, with 29% for the Republican party.

The 1992 election and President Bush's term are not entirely responsible for the decline in public confidence in the Party's leadership. Between the 1984 and 1988 elections, confidence in the Republicans had declined by 5 percentage points while confidence in the Democrats had risen by 7. Economic recession and electoral defeat may have only added to a trend of diminishing success of Republican political leadership at holding voters' confidence after a highwater mark in 1984. The Democrats should also be credited for articulating an alternative to Republican policies, especially to their rank and file members in 1992.

### Party Confidence in Post-Election Polls

*Do you have more confidence in the policies and programs of the Republican party or of the Democratic party to solve the problems facing the country?<sup>1</sup>*

	1992	1988	1984
Republican Party	34%	45%	50%
Democratic Party	46	36	29
Both equally [VOL]	4	3	4
Neither [VOL]	11	10	10

If an 11 point advantage in party confidence only produces a 1 point deficit in party identification, as was the case in 1988, then a 12 point deficit in party confidence is a sign that Republican party identification could easily fall in coming months.

### Party Favorability

While Bill Clinton's victory may have won respect for the Democrat's approach to national problems, it did not win new favorability for the Democrat party. The public rates the Democrat party an average of 55 on a 0-to-100 scale where 0 indicates a cold, unfavorable impression and 100 a warm, favorable feeling. This is a decrease of two points from 1988.

The Republican party, with a average 49 rating on a 0-to-100 scale is now viewed less favorably by the public than it was after either the 1984 or 1988 elections. More importantly, there is now a six point favorability gap between the two parties to the disadvantage of the Republicans. The Republican party held a 3 point lead in 1984 and trailed by one point in 1988.

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<sup>1</sup>RNC's Post-Election Study, question Q11, page 4.

## Party Favorability in Post-Election Polls

*I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people and groups in the news using a zero-to-one-hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person or group, just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.<sup>2</sup>*

	1992	1988	1984
<b>Republican Party (average rating)</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>60</b>
Favorable (rating of 51-100)	37%	47%	53%
Neutral (50)	27	27	26
Unfavorable (0-49)	35	26	21
<b>Democratic Party (average rating)</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>57</b>
Favorable (rating of 51-100)	46%	45%	45%
Neutral (50)	24	29	31
Unfavorable (0-49)	29	26	24

The loss of favorability suffered by the Party is more serious than what the overall average indicates. Since minorities and hard-core Democrats already thought poorly of the Republican party in 1988, their opinions could not become any worse in 1992 and they contribute little to the overall decline between the two elections. Instead, the decline in Republican party favorability comes from voter groups normally a part the Party's base of support as well as those that are swing groups the Party must be competitive with in order to win.

For example, among northern Protestants, who have formed the backbone of the Party since it was founded, Republican party favorability declined from 60 to 52. Among non-minority women, who are only slight Democratic-leaning and are an important source of swing votes, it declined from 58 to 49.

Again, southern whites remain comparatively loyal to the Party. Their favorability declined by only 5 points, from 62 to 57. Despite the two southerners on the Democrat ticket and an election focusing on our vulnerability with southerners (the economy) instead on our strong point (ideology), our Party's strength in the South is still relatively in place.

## Issue Handling

The public's perceptions of the issue handling ability of the Republican party were closely tied to those of the President's during his term. Unfortunately,

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<sup>2</sup>RNC's Post-Election Survey, questions Q6 and Q9, pages 3 and 4.



Clinton was more convincing of both his domestic and fiscal abilities than was President Bush, and the Party is left trailing the Democrats badly in four of the six most important issues at this time.

Handling of education serves as an example of how the Party's job ratings both rose and fell with the President's fortunes. In January of 1989, the Republican party trailed the Democratic party by 15 points in people's perceptions of which party could better handle the issue of education. By March of 1990, after the Education Summit had demonstrated the President's attentiveness to and willingness to provide leadership on a domestic issue, the Republican party trailed the Democratic by just 3 points. Today, after President Bush lost his credibility in most all domestic policy areas, the Republican party trails the Democratic by 30 points on handling education.

According to a regression analysis, specific issue handling perceptions drive about half of voters' overall party self-identification and the strength of that identification. The two single issue perceptions of the six tested which contribute the most to voters' party affiliations are best handle foreign policy and best handle taxes. This is a sign of hope for the Republican party as these two areas probably offer the best opportunities the Party to demonstrate clear, positive contrast between its policies and the Democrats'.

Again, some credit should go to the Democrats for re-establishing their credibility in important issue areas. For example, the net movement toward the Democratic party in the areas of education and the economy is a result of that party winning over voters who previously saw no convincing differences between how the two parties would handle an issue.

### Selected Party Issue Handling During President Bush's Term in Office

Here are some issues and problems. For each one, please tell me whether you think the Republican party or the Democratic party would do a better job handling it...<sup>3</sup>

Issue	Rep.	Dem.	Both/ Neither/ DK	PDI <sup>4</sup>
Foreign Policy <i>November 1992</i>	68%	25	7	+43
Taxes <i>November 1992</i>	45%	46	8	-1
<i>October 1989</i>	55%	27	18	+28
The economy <i>November 1992</i>	33%	58	8	-25
<i>October 1990</i>	38%	35	27	+3
The budget deficit <i>November 1992</i>	27%	52	11	-25
<i>April 1989</i>	50%	31	20	+19
Education <i>November 1992</i>	31%	61	8	-30
<i>March 1990</i>	37%	40	23	-3
Health Care <i>November 1992</i>	27%	65	8	-38

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<sup>3</sup>RNC's Post-Election Survey, questions Q121-Q126, page 25.

<sup>4</sup>Percentage Difference Index: Republican percent minus Democratic percent.

## ABORTION AS A VOTING ISSUE IN THE 1992 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION<sup>1</sup>

	All Voters	Partisanship		Non-Core Democrats	
		Core Dem <sup>2</sup>	All Others	Men	Women
For Bush <sup>3</sup>	15%	3%	18%	15%	22%
Against Bush <sup>4</sup>	17	25	15	12	19
Not a voting issue	68	72	67	73	59

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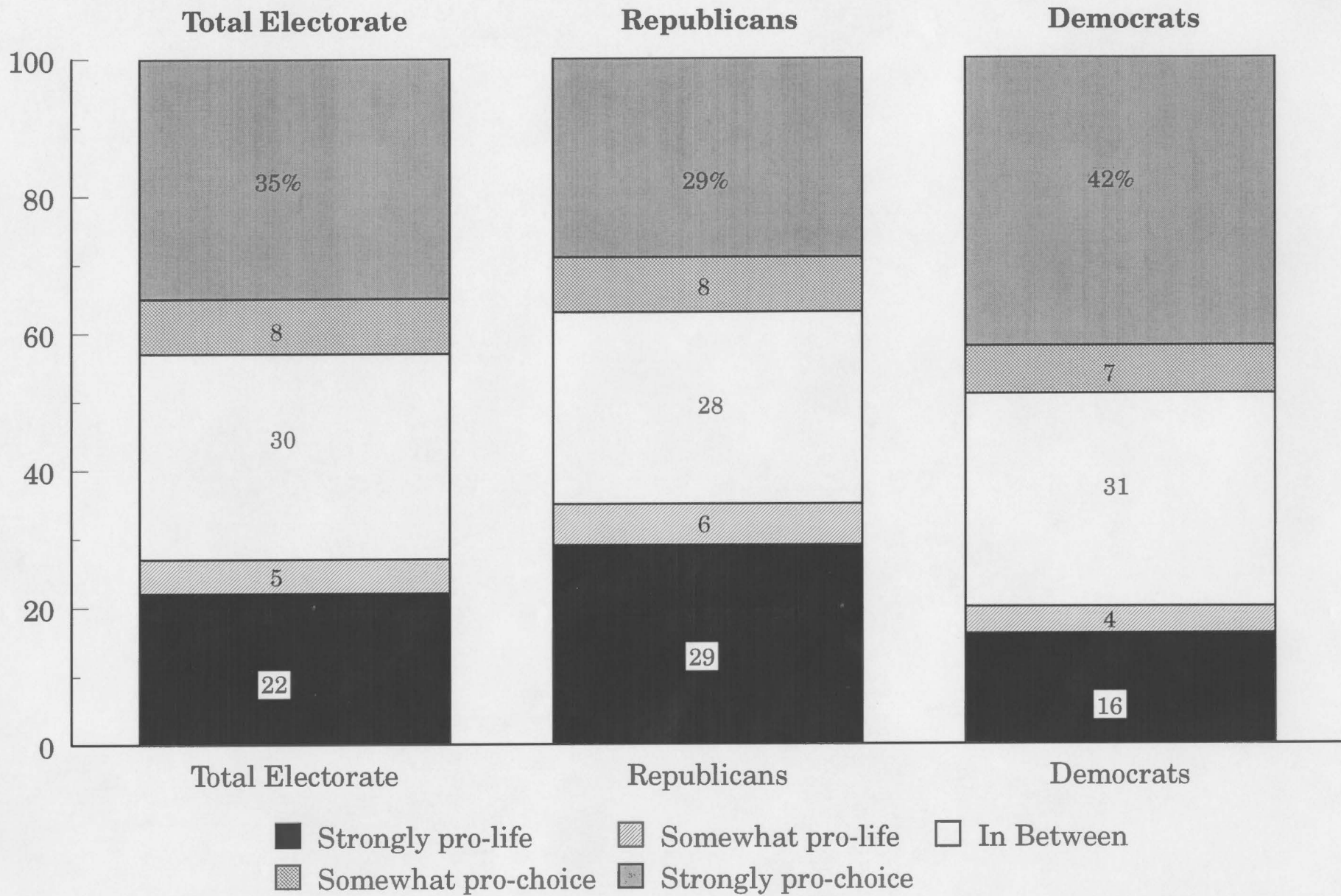
<sup>1</sup>RNC (MSI) Post-Election Survey.

<sup>2</sup>22% of all voters (Strong Democrats and non-Republican minority voters).

<sup>3</sup>Bush's position on abortion was "very much on your mind" in the election (Q62) and made you "much more likely" to vote for him (Q109).

<sup>4</sup>Bush's position on abortion was "very much on your mind" in the election (Q62) and made you "much less likely" to vote for him (Q109).

*On the issue of abortion, do you consider yourself pro-life or pro-choice?*



Source: RNC/BQ Surveys. Dec 1991, May 1992, August 1992.

Notes

**US National Post Election  
Question Results  
November Post, 1992**

Q1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

	<u>Right Direc.</u>	<u>Wrong Track</u>	<u>DK/ Ref.</u>
November Post, 1992	27%	67	5
October 27-November 1, 1992	22%	72	6
October 19-26, 1992	19%	76	5
October 11-18, 1992	18%	77	6
October 3, 7-10, 1992	15%	80	6
September 26-28, 1992	16%	80	4
September 8-10, 1992	20%	75	5
August 29 - September 1, 1992	17%	78	5
August 13, 1992	18%	78	4
July 31-Aug. 2, 1992	17%	80	3
July 24-26, 1992	16%	79	5
July 6-8, 1992	15%	79	6
May 11-17, 1992	17%	77	7
April 22-27, 1992	19%	76	5
February 23-26, 1992	17%	78	6
January 29-30, 1992	21%	75	5
December 1991	19%	73	8
February 25-27, 1991	62%	30	8
January 28-February 24, 1991 <sup>1</sup>	56%	35	9
January 17-21, 1991	63%	27	9
January 16, 1991	48%	39	13
January 4-12, 1991	28%	63	9
December 7-12, 1990	31%	59	9
October 26-31, 1990	20%	74	6
October 17-18, 1990	27%	66	7
October 13-14, 1990	26%	65	9
October 4-7, 1990	25%	64	10
June 29-30, 1990	38%	54	8
June 1-17 1990	41%	49	9
May, 1990	39%	54	7
March, 1990	39%	54	7
October, 1989	40%	51	9
April, 1989	46%	41	13
January, 1989	53%	37	10

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<sup>1</sup>Gulf War tracking average.

Q2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

	<u>Str.</u> <u>App.</u>	<u>Smw.</u> <u>App.</u>	<u>Smw.</u> <u>Dis.</u>	<u>Str.</u> <u>Dis.</u>	<u>DK/</u> <u>Ref.</u>	<u>Tot</u> <u>App.</u>	<u>Tot</u> <u>Dis.</u>
November Post, 1992	15%	30	22	29	4	45%	51
September 26-28, 1992	14%	20	22	41	4	34%	63
September 8-10, 1992	16%	22	22	36	4	38%	58
August 29 - September 1, 1992	15%	23	22	37	4	38%	59
August 13, 1992	12%	19	26	39	4	31%	65
July 31-Aug. 2, 1992	12%	21	26	39	3	33%	65
July 24-26, 1992	13%	21	24	37	5	34%	61
July 6-8, 1992	7%	26	25	35	7	33%	60
May 11-17, 1992	10%	32	21	30	6	43%	51
April 22-27, 1992	12%	32	25	29	2	44%	54
February 23-26, 1992	12%	30	23	31	3	42%	54
January 29-30, 1992	14%	29	24	28	5	43%	53
December 1991	14%	32	20	26	8	46%	46
February 25-27, 1991	na	na	na	na	na	84%	12
January 28-February 24, 1991 <sup>2</sup>	na	na	na	na	na	78%	16
January 17-21, 1991	na	na	na	na	na	80%	15
January 16, 1991	na	na	na	na	na	71%	21
January 4-12, 1991	28%	35	15	16	6	62%	31
December 7-12, 1990	22%	37	17	17	7	59%	34
October 26-31, 1990	20%	33	20	21	7	52%	41
October 17-18, 1990	22%	36	21	17	4	58%	38
October 13-14, 1990	19%	41	19	13	7	60%	33
October 4-7, 1990	31%	36	15	11	6	68%	26
June 29-30, 1990	23%	40	15	13	9	63%	28
June 1-17 1990	23%	49	13	8	8	71%	21
May, 1990	23%	46	12	10	9	69%	22
March, 1990	33%	44	11	6	6	77%	17
October, 1989	29%	45	10	8	8	75%	18
April, 1989	27%	43	11	8	12	70%	19

Q3. What do you think are the most important problems facing the country at the present time? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

<sup>2</sup>Gulf War tracking average.

Now, I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in the news on a zero-to-one-hundred scale with one-hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number on the scale, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person. If you've never heard of the person, just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.

Rank ordered on mean. (Items were randomized)	Warm 51-100	Neut 50	Cold 0-49	DK/Ref. Never Heard of	Mean
<b>Q4. Bill Clinton</b>					
November Post, 1992	54%	18	17	2	58
October 27-November 1, 1992	47%	15	37	*	53
October 19-26, 1992	48%	13	37	1	53
October 11-18, 1992	48%	15	35	2	53
October 3, 7-10, 1992	43%	19	34	4	51
Sep. 26-28, 1992	49%	17	33	2	54
Aug. 29-Sept. 1, 1992	50%	19	28	2	56
August 13, 1992	49%	18	31	2	55
July 24-26, 1992	54%	15	29	3	58
July 6-8, 1992	34%	23	38	5	47
May 11-17, 1992	28%	27	39	6	45
<b>Q5. Al Gore</b>					
November Post, 1992	45%	22	26	7	56
October 13-14, 1992	46%	18	29	8	56
Sep. 26-28, 1992	43%	21	25	11	55
Aug. 29-Sept. 1, 1992	45%	20	20	15	58
August 13, 1992	42%	23	19	14	58
July 24-26, 1992	47%	18	21	14	59
<b>6. Democratic Party</b>					
November Post, 1992	46%	24	29	1	55
October 4-7, 1990	42%	28	26	4	54
March 1990	42%	29	25	4	55
October 1989	41%	30	26	4	55
April 1989	46%	21	30	3	55
January 1989	43%	26	29	2	54
<b>Q7. George Bush</b>					
November Post, 1992	46%	19	36	*	52
October 27-November 1, 1992	40%	17	43	1	48
October 19-26, 1992	39%	17	44	1	47
October 11-18, 1992	38%	16	45	1	46
October 3,7-10 1992	36%	18	43	3	46
Sep. 26-28, 1992	40%	17	42	*	48
Aug. 29-Sept. 1, 1992	44%	17	39	*	51
August 13, 1992	42%	21	42	*	47
July 24-26, 1992	43%	17	40	*	49
July 6-8, 1992	40%	19	41	*	48
May 11-17, 1992	47%	20	33	*	53
Oct. 4-7, 1990	61%	17	21	1	62
March, 1990	67%	19	13	1	67



(Rank ordered on mean.  
Items were randomized)

	<u>Warm 51-100</u>	<u>Neut 50</u>	<u>Cold 0-49</u>	<u>DK/Ref. Never Heard of</u>	<u>Mean</u>
<b>Q8. Ross Perot</b>					
November Post, 1992	43%	20	35	1	52
October 27-November 1, 1992	34%	21	44	2	45
October 19-26, 1992	38%	22	37	3	49
October 11-18, 1992	31%	21	44	4	44
October 3,7-10 1992	14%	17	62	7	30
Sep. 26-28, 1992	19%	19	56	5	34
July 24-26, 1992	22%	18	55	5	36
July 6-8, 1992	41%	19	31	9	52
May 11-17, 1992	30%	18	21	30	53
<b>Q9. Republican Party</b>					
November Post, 1992	37%	27	35	1	49
October 4-7, 1990	45%	26	25	4	54
March 1990	45%	27	25	3	56
October 1989	43%	26	27	4	55
April 1989	50%	19	29	3	56
January 1989	47%	22	29	3	54
<b>Q10. Dan Quayle</b>					
November Post, 1992	31%	20	40	1	43
October 13-14, 1992	33%	13	52	2	41
Sep. 26-28, 1992	28%	17	53	2	39
Aug. 29-Sept. 1, 1992	30%	17	51	1	42
August 13, 1992	21%	18	59	2	36
July 24-26, 1992	25%	20	54	1	38
July 6-8, 1992	25%	18	55	2	37
October 4-7, 1990	25%	28	40	8	42
March 1990	27%	28	40	5	44

Q11. Do you have more confidence in the policies and programs of (ROTATE: the Republican party or the Democratic party) to solve the problems facing the country?

	<u>Rep Party</u>	<u>Dem Party</u>	<u>Both Equ.</u>	<u>Nei.</u>	<u>DK/ Ref.</u>
November Post, 1992	34%	46	4	11	5
February 23-26, 1992	35%	35	6	16	8
January 29-30, 1992	34%	35	6	15	10
December 1991	36%	33	5	15	12
January 4-7, 1991	36%	29	7	20	8
December 7-12, 1990	31%	29	9	19	12
October 26-31, 1990	32%	32	8	17	12
October 13-14, 1990	35%	29	8	16	13
October 4-7, 1990	36%	26	9	17	13
June 29-30, 1990	37%	32	9	11	11
March 1990	41%	29	12	10	9
October 1989	38%	30	10	12	11
April 1989	43%	33	8	11	7
January 1989	47%	33	6	10	5
November 1983	32%	37	9	13	9

We'd like your opinions about the Presidential election this year. First...

Q12. In talking with people, we found that some people weren't able to vote in the elections on November 3rd. How about you, did you vote in the election, or did something keep you from voting?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1984</u>
Did vote	77%	80%	82%
Did not vote	23	20	18
Refused/NA	--	*	*

---

{IF Q12=DID NOT VOTE GO TO Q13, OTHERWISE GO TO Q16 FILTER}

Q13. Did you not vote mainly because you did not like the choices for President or for some other reason?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1992</u>
Did not like the choices	19%
Some other reason	80
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	--

---

Q14. How many national elections have you voted in before this year -- none, one, two, or more than two?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1992</u>
None	45%
One	14
Two	9
More than two	31
Don't know	*
Refused/NA	--

---

Q15. If you had voted in the election for President, would you have voted for (ROTATE: George Bush the Republican, Bill Clinton the Democrat, or Ross Perot an independent)

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1992</u>
George Bush, Republican	25%
Bill Clinton, Democrat	45
Ross Perot, Independent	24
Other [VOL]	2
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	1

---

{IF Q12=DID VOTE ASK Q16, OTHERWISE GO TO PARTYID}

Q16. How many national elections have you voted in before this year -- one, two, more than two, or is this the first national election you have voted in?

	<b>Nov. 1992</b>
First national election	9%
One	6
Two	7
More than two	78
Don't know	--
Refused/NA	--

---

Q17. In the election November 3rd, did you vote by absentee ballot or did you vote at your polling place?

	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Nov. 1988</b>	<b>Nov. 1984</b>
Voted by absentee ballot	9%	7%	9%
Voted at polling place	91	93	90
Don't know	--	*	*
Refused/NA	--	*	*

---

Q18. Some states allow a voter to vote a straight party ticket, that is, for all the candidates of ONE party, by marking or punching ONE spot on the ballot or pulling ONE lever on the machine. Did you vote a straight party ticket this year or not?

	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Nov. 1988</b>	<b>Nov. 1984</b>
Did vote a straight party ticket	24%	34%	36%
Did not vote a straight party ticket	76	63	61
Voted in just one or two races [VOL]	*	1	1
Don't know	*	1	1
Refused/NA	1	1	1

---

Q19. (If straight ticket) Did you vote (ROTATE: straight Democratic or straight Republican?)

	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Nov. 1988</b>	<b>Nov. 1984</b>
Straight Democrat	58%	55%	49%
Straight Republican	38	42	49
Don't know	1	--	--
Refused/NA	2	3	2

---



Q20. (If split ticket) Which of the following answers best describe how you voted in the races in (RESTORE STATE NAME FROM QB) this year?

(ALTERNATE READING CODES 1-5 FROM TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1984</u>
Mostly Democratic	27%	24%	23%
A few more Democrats than Republicans	14	12	10
About equally for both parties	20	22	24
A few more Republicans than Democrats	11	12	12
Mostly Republican	25	25	26
Don't know	1	2	--
Refused/NA	1	3	5

Q21. In the elections for U.S. Congress, that is for the U.S. House of Representatives, did you vote for (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate) in your district?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1984</u>
Republican candidate	44%	40%	43%
Democratic candidate	47	49	44
Other [VOL]	2	2	1
Did not vote [VOL]	2	4	6
Don't know	4	4	4
Refused/NA	1	2	3

*Thinking back over the presidential election...*

Q22. What news story, political advertisement, speech, or event stands out most in your mind? (PROBE FOR ONE SPECIFIC RESPONSE)

Q23. Did this make you more likely to vote for Bush, Clinton, or Perot?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1992</u>
More likely Bush	18%
More likely Clinton	33
More likely Perot	17
No difference/Not important [VOL]	18
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	1
No response in previous question [VOL]	12

Q24. What other news story, political advertisement, speech, or event stands out most in your mind? (PROBE FOR ONE SPECIFIC RESPONSE)

Q25. Did this make you more likely to vote for Bush, Clinton, or Perot?

**Nov.  
1992**

More likely Bush	15%
More likely Clinton	26
More likely Perot	10
No difference/Not important [VOL]	16
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	1
No response in previous question [VOL]	30

---

Q26. What do you think were the main themes or messages that George Bush and the Republicans were trying to communicate to the voters during the campaign? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

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Q27. What do you think were the main themes or messages that Bill Clinton and the Democrats were trying to communicate to the voters during the campaign? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

---

Q28. What do you think were the main themes or messages that Ross Perot was trying to communicate to the voters during the campaign? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

---

Q29. In the election for President, did you vote for (ROTATE: George Bush the Republican, Bill Clinton the Democrat, or Ross Perot an independent)

**Nov.  
1992**

George Bush, Republican	34%
Bill Clinton, Democrat	44
Ross Perot, Independent	17
Other [VOL]	1
Don't know	--
Refused/NA	5

---

#### **BUSH VOTERS**

Q30. What are some of the most important reasons you voted for George Bush instead of Bill Clinton and Ross Perot? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

---

Q31. Would you say your vote was mainly a vote FOR Bush or mainly a vote AGAINST either Clinton or Perot?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov.</u> <sup>3</sup> <u>1988</u>	<u>Nov.</u> <sup>4</sup> <u>1984</u>
For Bush	66%	70%	79%
Against Clinton	10	26	16
Against Perot	*	--	--
Against Clinton and Perot	21	--	--
Don't know	1	3	3
Refused/NA	1	1	1

Q32. Who was your second choice for President - Bill Clinton or Ross Perot?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1992</u>
Clinton	34%
Perot	41
Neither/No second choice [VOL]	22
Other [VOL]	1
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	--

#### BUSH AND CLINTON VOTERS

Q33./Q39. Did you, at any time this year, think you would vote for Perot? (IF YES) Was that when he was running the first time or was it after he announced in October or both times?

	<u>November 1992</u>	
	<u>Bush</u> <u>Voter</u>	<u>Clinton</u> <u>Voter</u>
Yes, First time	21%	33%
Yes, October announcement	8	8
Yes, Both times	8	6
No	62	54
Don't know	*	*
Refused/NA	--	--

Q34./Q40. How close did you come to thinking you would vote for Ross Perot in the last month - very close, somewhat close, or not very close?

	<u>November 1992</u>	
	<u>Bush</u> <u>Voter</u>	<u>Clinton</u> <u>Voter</u>
Very close	10%	13%
Somewhat close	17	12
Not very close	73	75
Don't know	*	*
Refused/NA	*	--

<sup>3</sup>Bush/Quayle vs. Dukakis/Bentsen.

<sup>4</sup>Reagan/Bush vs. Mondale/Ferraro.

**BUSH AND PEROT VOTERS**

Q35./Q46. How close did you come to thinking you would vote for Bill Clinton in the last month - very close, somewhat close, or not very close?

	<u>November 1992</u>	
	<u>Bush Voter</u>	<u>Perot Voter</u>
Very close	7%	17%
Somewhat close	12	22
Not very close	80	60
Don't know	*	--
Refused/NA	1	--

(Go to Q47)

**CLINTON VOTERS**

Q36. What are some of the most important reasons you voted for Bill Clinton instead of George Bush and Ross Perot? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q37. Would you say your vote was mainly a vote FOR Clinton or mainly a vote AGAINST either Bush or Perot?

	<u>Nov. 1992</u>	<u>Nov.<sup>5</sup> 1988</u>	<u>Nov.<sup>6</sup> 1984</u>
For Clinton	74%	59%	53%
Against Bush	15	38	43
Against Perot	*	--	--
Against Bush and Perot	9	--	--
Don't know	1	3	4
Refused/NA	1	*	1

Q38. Who was your second choice for President - George Bush or Ross Perot?

	<u>Nov. 1992</u>
George Bush	30%
Ross Perot	51
Neither/No second choice [VOL]	18
Other [VOL]	1
Don't know	--
Refused/NA	--

<sup>5</sup>Bush/Quayle vs. Dukakis/Bentsen.

<sup>6</sup>Reagan/Bush vs. Mondale/Ferraro.

Q39. Did you, at any time this year, think you would vote for Perot? (IF YES) Was that when he was running the first time or was it after he announced in October or both times? (See question 33).

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Q40. How close did you come to thinking you would vote for Ross Perot in the last month - very close, somewhat close, or not very close? (See question 34).

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#### CLINTON AND PEROT VOTERS

Q41./Q45. How close did you come to thinking you would vote for George Bush in the last month - very close, somewhat close, or not very close?

	<u>November 1992</u>	
	<u>Clinton</u> <u>Voter</u>	<u>Perot</u> <u>Voter</u>
Very close	5%	19%
Somewhat close	11	16
Not very close	83	65
Don't know	*	1
Refused/NA	1	--

{Go to Q47}

---

#### PEROT VOTERS

Q42. What are some of the most important reasons you voted for Ross Perot instead of George Bush and Bill Clinton? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

---

Q43. Would you say your vote was mainly a vote FOR Perot or mainly a vote AGAINST either Bush or Clinton?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1992</u>
For Perot	70%
Against Bush	6
Against Clinton	2
Against Bush and Clinton	21
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	--

---

Q44. Who was your second choice for President - George Bush or Bill Clinton?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1992</u>
George Bush	46%
Bill Clinton	45
Neither/No second choice [VOL]	8
Other [VOL]	--
Don't know	--
Refused/NA	1

---



Q45. How close did you come to thinking you would vote for George Bush during the last month - very close, somewhat close, or not very close? (See question 41).

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Q46. How close did you come to thinking you would vote for Bill Clinton during the last month - very close, somewhat close, or not very close? (See question 35).

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Q47. When would you say you finally made up your mind about how you were going to vote for President -- (READ LIST SLOWLY--ALTERNATE READING CODES 1-7 TOP TO BOTTOM AND BOTTOM TO TOP).

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov.</u> <sup>7</sup> <u>1988</u>	<u>Nov.</u> <sup>7</sup> <u>1984</u>
On election day	12%	6%	3%
A few days before the election	12	7	5
After the debates	16	9	8
During the debates	13	--	--
Just before the debates, in early October	10	11	6
In September	8	16	11
Before September	29	51	66
Don't know	*	--	--
Refused/NA	*	--	--

---

Q48. Was there any candidate you knew you would NOT vote for under any circumstances?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1992</u>
George Bush	28%
Bill Clinton	21
Ross Perot	18
Bush & Clinton [VOL]	*
Bush & Perot [VOL]	2
Clinton & Perot [VOL]	3
Any of them [VOL]	*
None, Consider voting for them all [VOL]	27
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	1

---

Q49. Do you think there was more risk in electing Bush or Clinton President?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1992</u>
George Bush	38%
Bill Clinton	46
Both [VOL]	4
Neither [VOL]	7
Don't know	5
Refused/NA	*

---

<sup>7</sup>Code categories for 1988 and 1984 are as follows: On election, A few days before election day, Last two weeks of October, First two weeks of October, In September, Before September, and Don't know and Refused.

Q50.a Why do you think there was more risk in electing George Bush (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)?

{GO TO Q51}

Q50.b Why do you think there was more risk in electing Bill Clinton (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)?

Q51. Which ONE of the following FIVE issues was most important to you personally in deciding which candidate to vote for this year?

Choices were randomized.

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>Voters</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Sept.</u> <u>26-28</u> <u>1992</u>
What they would do about...		
Problems of federal taxes, spending, and the budget deficit	39%	40%
The cost of health care and health insurance	17	21
Improve the education our children receive	14	20
The character and integrity of the candidates	13	na
Problems of crime and illegal drugs	5	9
Jobs/Economy most important [VOL]	4	--
All [VOL]	8	8
None [VOL]	1	1
Don't know	*	1
Refused/NA	*	--

Q52. Which ONE of these TWO was most important to you?

Choices were rotated.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Health</u> <u>Care</u>	<u>Educ-</u> <u>ation</u>	<u>Crime</u>	<u>Tax/</u> <u>Spend</u>	<u>Char-</u> <u>acter</u>
How they would improve the economy and create more jobs	47%	53%	42%	71%	68%	20%
(RESTORE ANSWER FROM Q51)	32	35	47	21	23	77
Both equal [VOL]	8	12	11	8	9	3
Don't know	*	--	--	--	*	--
Refused/NA	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not asked (volunteered 'Jobs/Economy' in Q51 also None and Don't know)	13	--	--	--	--	--

Here are some things people have told us were on their minds when they were deciding on how to vote. Some are reservations people had about the candidate they eventually voted for. We'd like to know if you shared any of these thoughts. So, for each one, please tell me if it was something that was VERY MUCH on your mind, PARTLY on your mind, just SLIGHTLY on your mind or NOT AT ALL on your mind in deciding on how to vote this year for President?

Items were randomized. Rank orderd on very much on your mind.	November Voters 1992				
	<u>Very Much Mind</u>	<u>Part. Mind</u>	<u>Just Slig. Mind</u>	<u>Not at all Mind</u>	<u>DK/ Ref.</u>
Q75. Bush would not do anything differently than he did in his first term.	52%	18	14	16	*
Q56. Clinton representing more certain change than Bush.	50%	20	15	15	*
Q77. That Bush had had his chance to fix the economy.	47%	20	16	16	*
Q85. Perot being the only candidate to talk straight about the deficit and the national debt.	47%	19	16	17	*
Q78. That Clinton would get the economy moving again.	45%	22	16	17	1
Q67. Bush would not take care of problems here at home.	45%	19	17	18	*
Q73. That Bush would better handle an international crises than Clinton.	45%	20	16	18	1
Q81. That Clinton and a Democratic Congress would get more done.	43%	22	17	17	1
Q76. Trickle-down economics continuing under Bush.	43%	20	20	17	1
Q74. That Bush would better handle foreign policy than Clinton.	42%	21	18	19	1
Q62. Bush's position on abortion.	42%	15	15	27	1
Q70. Al Gore being a better choice for Vice President than Dan Quayle.	42%	14	14	30	*
Q84. Perot not having the right temperament for the job of President.	41%	18	16	24	*
Q72. That Clinton represented a new generation of leadership.	40%	21	18	20	1
Q63. That Clinton would raise your taxes.	40%	19	21	19	*
Q80. That Clinton and a Democratic Congress would spend too much.	40%	18	20	21	*
Q69. Dan Quayle becoming President if something happened to George Bush.	40%	14	16	29	*
Q65. The country may not be able to afford Clinton's spending programs.	37%	20	22	20	1
Q53. The stories that President Bush knew more about the Iranian arms sales than he said he did.	36%	19	19	25	1

<b>Items were randomized. Rank orderd on very much on your mind.</b>	<b><u>Very Much Mind</u></b>	<b><u>Part. Mind</u></b>	<b><u>Just Slig. Mind</u></b>	<b><u>Not at all Mind</u></b>	<b><u>DK/ Ref.</u></b>
Q68. There would be more gridlock with Congress under Bush.	35%	24	23	17	1
Q66. While things need improving in the country, Clinton might make things worse.	33%	18	20	28	*
Q54. The stories that President Bush was helping Saddam Hussein before Iraq invaded Kuwait.	30%	20	20	29	1
Q83. Bush breaking the "no new taxes" pledge he made in 1988.	30%	18	22	29	*
Q60. The low ranking of Arkansas on its economy, education, and environmental protection during Clinton's years as Governor.	30%	20	23	27	*
25 Q82. The Republican Convention showing the Republican Party was TOO right-wing.	25%	15	21	36	3
Q64. Doubts about Clinton's integrity and moral character.	25%	16	22	32	*
Q61. Clinton saying he was a new kind of Democrat.	23%	20	21	34	2
Q57. The stories about Clinton's evasion of the draft.	23%	15	23	39	*
Q59. The stories about Clinton leading protests against the Vietnam War while in England.	22%	14	21	43	*
Q71. Hillary Clinton would have TOO MUCH influence in a Clinton administration.	17%	12	20	50	*
Q79. That Clinton was more independent of minority groups than past Democratic candidates for President.	17%	19	25	36	3
Q55. Ross Perot's charges on 60 Minutes that the Bush campaign was planning "dirty tricks" against his family.	16%	14	23	47	*
Q58. The stories about Clinton's extra-marital affairs.	13%	11	23	52	*

33 items

Comparing George Bush and Bill Clinton...

(ROTATE Q86 and Q87)

Q86. Do you consider the political views of George Bush to be liberal, moderate, or conservative?

	<b>Nov. Voters</b>	<b>Sept. 26-28</b>
	<b>1992</b>	<b>1992</b>
Liberal	7%	9%
Moderate	31	29
Conservative	57	55
Don't know	4	6
Refused/NA	1	1

Q87. Do you consider the political views of Bill Clinton to be liberal, moderate, or conservative?

	<b>Nov. Voters</b>	<b>Sept. 26-28</b>
	<b>1992</b>	<b>1992</b>
Liberal	44%	42%
Moderate	43	42
Conservative	8	9
Don't know	4	6
Refused/NA	*	1

Here are some issues. For each one, please tell me who you thought would do the best job handling it as President (ROTATE: George Bush or Bill Clinton)?

**Rank ordered on percent choosing Bush**

	<b>George Bush</b>	<b>Bill Clinton</b>	<b>Ross Perot (Vol)</b>	<b>Both Equal (Vol)</b>	<b>Neither (Vol)</b>	<b>Ref.</b>
<b>Q92. Foreign policy</b>						
November Voters, 1992	75%	19	1	1	1	3
Aug. 29 - Sep. 1, 1992	70%	24	na	2	1	4
July 24-26, 1992	67%	25	na	2	2	5
<b>Q90. Taxes</b>						
November Voters, 1992	44%	44	4	1	3	3
Aug. 29 - Sep. 1, 1992	38%	50	na	1	5	5
<b>Q88. The economy</b>						
November Voters, 1992	32%	56	6	1	2	3
Aug. 29 - Sep. 1, 1992	35%	55	na	1	5	4
July 24-26, 1992	31%	57	na	1	4	6
<b>Q93. Education</b>						
November Voters, 1992	32%	59	3	2	2	3
Aug. 29 - Sep. 1, 1992	34%	56	na	3	2	4
July 24-26, 1992	29%	62	na	1	3	6
<b>Q91. The budget deficit</b>						
November Voters, 1992	30%	50	10	1	6	3
Aug. 29 - Sep. 1, 1992	35%	50	na	2	7	5
July 24-26, 1992	32%	56	na	1	5	5
<b>Q89. Health care</b>						
November Voters, 1992	25%	65	3	1	2	3
Aug. 29 - Sep. 1, 1992	28%	62	na	2	3	5
July 24-26, 1992	23%	68	na	1	2	9

Here are some descriptions. For each one, please tell me who you thought it best described (ROTATE: George Bush or Bill Clinton)?

**Rank ordered by percent choosing Bush**

	<u>George Bush</u>	<u>Bill Clinton</u>	<u>Ross Perot (Vol)</u>	<u>Both Equal (Vol)</u>	<u>Neither (Vol)</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
<b>Q98. Would display good judgment in a crises</b>						
November Voters, 1992	56%	33	2	5	1	3
Aug. 29 - Sep. 1, 1992	54%	33	na	6	2	5
July 24-26, 1992	55%	31	na	4	4	6
<b>Q97. Would uphold traditional American values</b>						
November Voters, 1992	54%	30	3	8	2	2
Aug. 29 - Sep. 1, 1992	46%	34	na	12	3	3
July 24-26, 1992	41%	46	na	3	5	6
<b>Q95. Person of high moral character</b>						
November Voters, 1992	54%	22	4	7	9	4
October 17-18, 1992	51%	24	6	7	6	5
<b>Q93. Honest and trustworthy</b>						
November Voters, 1992	42%	33	4	7	11	4
October 17-18, 1992	40%	33	5	6	11	5
Aug. 29 - Sep. 1, 1992	40%	33	na	9	12	5
July 24-26, 1992	40%	33	na	8	14	4
<b>Q94. Cares about people</b>						
November Voters, 1992	31%	49	4	13	2	1
October 17-18, 1992	24%	48	4	16	4	4
Aug. 29-Sept. 1, 1992	32%	47	na	14	4	3
July 24-26, 1992	26%	52	na	15	5	2
<b>Q100. Can get things done</b>						
November Voters, 1992	27%	55	6	3	4	6
Aug. 29 - Sep. 1, 1992	38%	45	na	5	6	6
July 24-26, 1992	32%	49	na	4	8	6
<b>Q99. Optimistic</b>						
November Voters, 1992	27%	62	2	5	1	2
Aug. 29 - Sep. 1, 1992	33%	54	na	8	2	3
<b>Q101. Can bring needed changes in the country</b>						
November Voters, 1992	23%	63	5	2	4	3
October 17-18, 1992	10%	71	9	5	3	2
Aug. 29 - Sep. 1, 1992	30%	57	na	3	6	4
July 24-26, 1992	24%	63	na	1	7	4
<b>Q96. In touch</b>						
November Voters, 1992	22%	63	4	2	5	4
October 17-18, 1992	23%	57	4	5	6	5

(ROTATE Q103-Q105 WITH Q106-Q108)

Q103. Do you think George Bush did or did not have a plan to improve the economy over the next four years?

	<b>Nov. Voters <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Oct. 23-25 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Sep. 26-28 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Sep. 8-10 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Aug. 29 Sep. 1 <u>1992</u></b>
Did have plan	46%	53%	49%	51%	46%
Did not have plan	50	42	46	45	50
Don't know/Refused	4	5	5	4	4

---

Q104. Do you think George Bush was personally committed to getting his plan passed into law if elected, or do you think it was just a campaign promise that he would have dropped after the election?

	<b>Nov. Voters <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Oct. 23-25 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Sept. 26-28 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Sept. 8-10 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Aug. 29 Sept. 1 <u>1992</u></b>
Personally committed to his plan	35%	35%	32%	39%	33%
Just a campaign promise	11	14	14	10	11
Don't know	1	3	3	2	1
Refused/NA	*	*	*	--	*
Not asked/No plan	54	47	51	49	54

---

Q105. How well do you think you knew the most important parts of Bush's plan - did you know them very well, somewhat well, or not very well?

	<b>Nov. Voters <u>1992</u></b>
Very well	5%
Somewhat well	28
Not very well	13
Not at all [VOL]	*
Don't know	*
Refused/NA	--
Not asked/No plan	54

**Collapsed**

Well	33%
Not well	13

---

Q106. Do you think Bill Clinton does or does not have a plan to improve the economy over the next four years?

	<b>Nov. Voters <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Oct. 23-25 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Sep. 26-28 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Sep. 8-10 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Aug. 29 Sep. 1 <u>1992</u></b>
Does have plan	82%	76%	73%	72%	70%
Does not have plan	16	18	21	22	23
Don't know/Refused	2	6	7	5	6

Q107. Do you think Bill Clinton is personally committed to getting his plan passed into law, or do you think it is just a campaign promise that he will drop now that he is elected?

	<b>Nov. Voters <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Oct. 23-25 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Sept. 26-28 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Sept. 8-10 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Aug. 29 Sept. 1 <u>1992</u></b>
Personally committed to his plan	70%	55%	53%	56%	54%
Just a campaign promise	10	16	14	12	12
Don't know	2	5	5	4	4
Refused/NA	*	*	*	*	*
Not asked/No plan	18	24	27	28	30

Q108. How well do you think you know the most important parts of Clinton's plan - do you know them very well, somewhat well, or not very well?

	<b>Nov. Voters <u>1992</u></b>
Very well	7%
Somewhat well	45
Not very well	30
Not at all [VOL]	1
Don't know	*
Refused/NA	--
Not asked/No plan	18

**Collapsed**

Well	52%
Not well	31



Q109 Did George Bush's opposition to abortion make you more likely or less likely to vote for him? (IF MORE/LESS:) Would that be much (more/less) or just somewhat (more/less) likely?

	<b>Nov. Voters <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Sep. 26-28 <u>1992</u></b>
Much more likely	20%	14%
Somewhat more likely	8	13
No difference/Not important [VOL]	29	24
Somewhat less likely	18	21
Much less likely	25	27
Don't know	1	1
Refused/NA	*	1
<b>Collapsed</b>		
More likely	27%	27%
Less likely	43	48

Q110. Did George Bush's choice of Dan Quayle as his running mate make you more likely or less likely to vote for him? (IF MORE/LESS:) Would that be much (more/less) or just somewhat (more/less) likely?

	<b>Nov. Voters <u>1992</u></b>
Much more likely	7%
Somewhat more likely	10
No difference/Not important [VOL]	27
Somewhat less likely	23
Much less likely	32
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	*
<b>Collapsed</b>	
More likely	18
Less likely	54

*Turning to some issues in the country...*

Q111. Would you say the country, overall, is better off or worse off today than it was four years ago?

	<b>Nov. Voters <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Aug. 29 Sept. 1 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>July 24-26 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Feb. 23-26 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Jan. 29-30 <u>1992</u></b>	<b>Dec. <u>1991</u></b>
Better off	17%	17%	14%	15%	16%	22%
Worse off	73	69	76	75	76	67
About the same [VOL]	9	13	8	9	6	9
Don't know	1	2	1	1	2	2
Refused/NA	*	*	1	--	1	*

Q112. Would you say you, personally, are better off or worse off today than you were four years ago?

	<u>Nov. Voters 1992</u>	<u>Aug. 29 Sept. 1 1992</u>	<u>July 24-26 1992</u>	<u>Feb. 23-26 1992</u>	<u>Jan. 29-30 1992</u>	<u>Dec. 1991</u>
Better off	40%	40%	38%	39%	41%	43%
Worse off	40	36	38	40	39	36
About the same [VOL]	20	23	23	20	20	19
Don't know	1	*	1	*	*	1
Refused/NA	*	*	*	*	*	*

Q113. Thinking about the nation's economy, compared to a year ago, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

	<u>Nov. Voters 1992</u>	<u>Aug. 29 Sept. 1 1992</u>	<u>July 6-8 1992</u>	<u>May 11-17 1992</u>	<u>Feb. 23-26 1992</u>	<u>Jan. 29-30 1992</u>	<u>Dec. 1991</u>	<u>Oct. 4-7, 1990</u>	<u>Oct. 1989</u>	<u>Apr. 1989</u>	<u>Jan. 1989</u>
Gotten better	13%	7%	11%	14%	7%	3%	5%	4%	16%	16%	20%
Stayed about the same	40	36	35	35	23	23	27	29	56	56	50
Gotten worse	46	56	53	51	69	73	69	66	26	27	27
Don't know	1	1	1	1	*	1	*	1	2	1	2
Refused/NA	--	*	*	*	*	--	*	--	--	*	*

Q114. Thinking about a year from now, do you expect the national economy will be better or worse or about the same as now?

	<u>Nov. Voters 1992</u>	<u>Aug. 29 Sept. 1 1992</u>	<u>July 6-8 1992</u>	<u>May 11-17 1992</u>	<u>Feb. 23-26 1992</u>	<u>Jan. 29-30 1992</u>	<u>Dec. 1991</u>	<u>Oct. 4-7, 1990</u>	<u>Oct. 1989</u>	<u>Apr. 1989</u>	<u>Jan. 1989</u>	<u>Nov. 1988</u>	<u>Nov. 1984</u>
Better	44%	7%	11%	14%	7%	3%	5%	4%	16%	16%	20%	26%	42%
Worse	11	36	35	36	23	23	27	29	56	56	50	28	22
About the same	42	56	53	51	69	73	69	66	26	27	27	39	29
Don't know	2	1	1	1	*	1	1	2	1	2	2	7	7
Refused/NA	--	*	*	*	*	--	*	--	--	*	*	*	*

Q115. Right now, do you think the country is or is not in an economic recession?

	<u>Nov. Voters 1992</u>	<u>July 6-8 1992</u>	<u>May 11-17 1992</u>	<u>Feb. 23-26 1992</u>	<u>Jan. 29-30 1992</u>	<u>Dec. 1991</u>	<u>Jan. 4-12 1991</u>	<u>Dec. 7-12 1990</u>	<u>Oct. 26-31 1990</u>	<u>Oct. 13-14 1990</u>	<u>Oct. 4-7 1990</u>
Is in an economic recession	80%	82%	80%	88%	90%	88%	83%	72%	74%	67%	60%
Is not in an economic recession	16	14	17	10	9	9	13	25	21	26	34
My state/region is in a recession (VOL)	1	*	*	--	*	*	1	1	1	1	1
Don't know	2	3	3	2	1	2	3	3	4	6	5
Refused/NA	--	*	*	*	--	*	*	*	*	*	*

Here are some issues, and, for each one, I'd like to know which side you GENERALLY AGREE WITH.

(RANDOMIZE Q115W-Q115Z)

Q115W. Government is TOO INVOLVED or is NOT INVOLVED ENOUGH in solving domestic problems?

	<b>Nov. Voters <u>1992</u></b>
Too involved	38%
Not involved enough	56
Don't know	5
Refused/NA	1

---

Q115X. Government should be doing MORE TO SOLVE PEOPLE'S PROBLEMS, or is government getting TOO INVOLVED IN OUR DAILY LIVES?

	<b>Nov. Voters <u>1992</u></b>
More to solve people's problems	35%
Too involved in our daily lives	60
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	1

---

Q115Y. In the coming year, is it more important to REDUCE THE BUDGET DEFICIT or to INVEST MONEY IN DOMESTIC PROBLEMS?

	<b>Nov. Voters <u>1992</u></b>
Reduce the budget deficit	54%
Invest money in domestic problems	40
Don't know	5
Refused/NA	1

---

Q115Z. On the economy, do you think an ACTIVE government or a HANDS OFF government is generally better?

	<b>Nov. Voters <u>1992</u></b>
Active	58%
Hands off	35
Don't know	6
Refused/NA	1

---

Here are some positions on other issues, and, for each one, please tell me how much you agree with it. We'll use a zero to ten scale where ten means you COMPLETELY AGREE and zero means you COMPLETELY DISAGREE. You can use any number on the scale, the higher the number, the more you agree with the position.

(Rank ordered on mean.  
Items were randomized)

	<u>Agree</u> <u>6-10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>Disag.</u> <u>0-4</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>	<u>Mean</u>
<b>Q116. The public schools should be allowed to start each day with a prayer.</b>					
November Voters, 1992	64%	16	19	1	7.1
September 26-28, 1992	65%	16	18	1	7.2
December 11-17, 1991	65%	11	23	1	7.0
<b>Q117. The penalties for using marijuana should be set higher than they are now.<sup>a</sup></b>					
November Voters, 1992	55%	13	30	2	6.2
September 26-28, 1992	51%	17	30	2	6.0
December 11-17, 1991	51%	17	30	2	5.9
<b>Q118. Abortion should be legal in all circumstances.</b>					
November Voters, 1992	44%	13	41	1	5.1
September 26-28, 1992	44%	17	38	1	5.2
December 11-17, 1991	70%	7	21	3	7.3
<b>Q119. Homosexuals should be allowed to teach in our public schools.</b>					
November Voters, 1992	39%	17	43	1	4.6
September 26-28, 1992	37%	18	44	1	4.6
December 11-17, 1991	41%	15	42	2	4.9

Q120. In the debate over abortion policy, do you consider yourself (ROTATE: pro-life, pro-choice) or somewhere in between? (IF PRO-LIFE/CHOICE ASK:) Would that be strongly (pro-life/pro-choice) or just somewhat (pro-life/pro-choice)?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>Voters</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug. 29</u> <u>Sep. 1</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Dec.</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1990</u>
Strongly pro-life	19%	21%	22%	22%	24%
Somewhat pro-life	5	4	5	6	5
Somewhere in between	33	26	32	28	27
Somewhat pro-choice	7	9	6	8	10
Strongly pro-choice	35	38	32	34	32
Don't know	1	1	2	1	2
Refused/NA	*	2	1	1	1
<b>Collapsed</b>					
Pro-life	23%	25%	27%	28%	29%
Pro-choice	43	47	38	42	42

<sup>a</sup>Question wording in December 1991: Abortion should be legal in all circumstances where the woman and her doctor believe it is necessary.

Thinking about the two political parties...

Here are some issues and problems. For each one, please tell me whether you think (ROTATE: the Republican Party OR the Democratic Party) would do a better job of handling it.

Rank ordered on PDI. Items were randomized.	Rep. <u>Party</u>	Dem. <u>Party</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Neither</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>	<u>PDI</u>
<b>Q126. Foreign policy</b>						
November Voters, 1992	68%	25	3	1	3	+43
<b>Q123. Taxes</b>						
November Voters, 1992	45%	46	1	4	3	-1
October 26-31, 1990	44%	33	4	12	7	+11
October 4-7, 1990	43%	38	4	7	8	+5
June 29, 1990	44%	32	3	13	9	+12
March, 1990	47%	33	6	5	8	+14
October, 1989	55%	27	5	3	10	+28
<b>Q121. The economy</b>						
November Voters, 1992	33%	58	2	3	3	-25
October 26-31, 1990	38%	35	8	10	9	+3
<b>Q122. The budget deficit</b>						
November Voters, 1992	<del>27%</del> <sup>37</sup>	52	1	6	4	<del>-28</del> <sup>-15</sup>
October 26-31, 1990	41%	37	4	11	8	+4
October 4-7, 1990	44%	34	5	7	10	+10
June 29, 1990	40%	34	5	11	10	+6
March, 1990	47%	32	6	7	8	+15
October, 1989	44%	32	8	6	10	+12
April, 1989	50%	31	7	7	6	+19
January, 1989	45%	34	6	9	6	+11
<b>Q124. Education</b>						
November Voters, 1992	31%	61	3	3	2	-30
October 26-31, 1990	28%	47	8	7	9	-19
October 4-7, 1990	34%	46	6	5	9	-12
June 29, 1990	32%	45	8	6	10	-13
March, 1990	37%	40	11	4	8	-3
October, 1989	34%	42	11	4	10	-8
April, 1989	38%	44	9	4	6	-6
January, 1989	33%	48	9	4	7	-15
<b>Q125. Health Care</b>						
November Voters, 1992	27%	65	2	3	3	-38

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes...

[PARTYID] Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent or what?

[INTENSE] Would you call yourself a strong (Rep./Dem.) or a not very strong (Rep./Dem.)?

[LEAN] Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

	<u>Str.</u> <u>Rep.</u>	<u>Weak</u> <u>Rep.</u>	<u>Ind.</u> <u>Rep.</u>	<u>Ind.</u>	<u>Ind.</u> <u>Dem.</u>	<u>Weak</u> <u>Dem.</u>	<u>Str.</u> <u>Dem.</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Ind.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
Nov. 9-17, 1992	15%	14	15	8	18	14	17	*	43%	8	48
Oct. 3, 7-Nov. 1, 1992	15%	16	12	10	13	16	19	*	43%	10	47
Sep. 26-28, 1992	16%	17	13	7	17	14	15	*	46%	7	46
Aug. 29-Sep. 1, 1992	17%	15	16	8	13	15	15	1	43%	8	49
August 13, 1992	15%	14	16	8	15	15	16	*	45%	8	47
July 24-26, 1992	14%	15	14	7	16	15	19	*	43%	7	50
July 6-8, 1992	10%	17	15	12	17	17	12	*	42%	12	45
May 11-17, 1992	15%	18	13	10	15	15	13	*	46%	10	44
February 23-26, 1992	13%	17	14	11	16	15	14	*	44%	11	46
January 29-30, 1992	15%	17	14	9	15	15	15	*	45%	9	45
December 1991	13%	16	16	11	15	16	14	*	44%	11	45
January 4-12, 1991	13%	16	14	10	15	18	13	*	44%	10	46
Average 1990	14%	17	15	9	14	17	13	*	45%	9	45

[REGISTER] Are you currently registered to vote at this address?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>9-17</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>6-8</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>11-17</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Feb.</u> <u>23-26</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>29-30</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Dec.</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>4-12</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Ave-</u> <u>rage</u> <u>1990</u>
to	16%	17%	16%	18%	18%	20%	19%	17%
Yes	80	77	79	76	77	76	78	78
Registered elsewhere	4	5	6	5	5	3	3	4
Don't know	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Refused/NA	--	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

[FIRST] Is this the FIRST election for which you have ever registered to vote?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>7-19,</u> <u>1992</u>
Yes	10%
No	90
Don't know	--
Refused/NA	*

[VOTETYPE] In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (ROTATE CODES 1 THRU 7 TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

	<u>Nov. 9-17 1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7 Nov. 1 1992</u>	<u>Sep. 26-28 1992</u>	<u>Aug 29 Sep 1 1992</u>	<u>Aug. 13 1992</u>	<u>July 24-26 1992</u>	<u>July 6-8 1992</u>	<u>May 11-17 1992</u>	<u>Feb. 23-26 1992</u>	<u>Jan. 29-30 1992</u>	<u>Dec. 1991</u>	<u>Jan. 4-12 1991</u>	<u>Aver- age 1990</u>
Straight Dem.	11%	13%	12%	12%	14%	12%	9%	11%	11%	11%	11%	10%	12%
Mostly Dem.	17	16	16	15	14	16	15	14	17	16	14	14	14
A few more D's than R's	9	7	8	9	9	9	11	7	7	10	8	9	10
About equally for both	22	21	20	21	23	22	25	23	22	22	24	23	22
A few more R's than D's	8	9	10	9	9	8	9	8	10	9	9	10	9
Mostly Rep	16	17	17	17	16	18	15	17	17	17	17	17	16
Straight Rep	8	9	10	8	9	9	7	9	8	7	7	6	7
Other	*	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	*	*	1	1	1
Never voted	9	5	4	4	3	3	6	9	5	6	6	7	6
Don't Know	1	3	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2
Refused/NA	*	1	1	1	1	*	*	*	*	*	1	1	1
<b>Collapsed</b>													
Republican	24%	28%	27%	26%	27%	27%	22%	25%	25%	24%	24%	23%	24%
Ticket-splitter	38	41	38	40	42	39	45	38	39	41	41	42	42
Democrat	27	31	28	28	25	28	23	25	28	26	25	24	26

[LIBCON] On political issues, do you consider yourself a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate?

[DEGREE] Do you consider yourself very (liberal/conservative) or just somewhat (liberal/conservative)?

[CLOSER] Do you think of yourself as closer to being liberal or being conservative?

	<u>Nov. 9-17 1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7 -Nov 1 1992</u>	<u>Sep. 26-28 1992</u>	<u>Aug 29 Sep 1 1992</u>	<u>Aug. 13 1992</u>	<u>July 24-26 1992</u>
Very liberal	4%	4%	5%	5%	5%	4%
Somewhat liberal	9	12	12	14	14	14
Lean liberal	20	15	21	20	16	18
Moderate	7	8	5	7	6	5
Lean conservative	29	25	25	26	24	29
Somewhat conservative	20	24	22	20	24	20
Very conservative	10	11	9	8	10	10
Not ascertained	*	1	1	1	*	*

**Collapsed**

Liberal	34%	31%	38%	39%	35%	36%
Moderate	7	8	5	7	6	5
Conservative	59	60	56	53	58	58

[BIRTH] In what year were you born?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>9-17</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7</u> <u>-Nvo 1</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Sep.</u> <u>26-28</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug 29</u> <u>Sep 1</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug.</u> <u>13</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>24-26</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>6-8</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>11-17</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Feb.</u> <u>23-26</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>29-30</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Dec.</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>4-12</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Aver-</u> <u>age</u> <u>1990</u>
18-24	14%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	15%	15%
25-34	23	19	19	19	20	18	23	23	21	23	24	25	23
35-44	21	22	23	23	21	23	21	21	23	21	20	19	21
45-54	14	16	16	16	16	14	11	14	14	16	14	15	14
55-64	11	13	12	12	12	14	14	11	11	9	11	10	11
65+	17	20	20	19	20	20	16	16	17	17	17	16	16
Ref.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

{IF BIRTH = 1966 OR EARLIER, ASK RR}

[RR] In the 1980 and 1984 Presidential elections against Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale, did you vote for Ronald Reagan -- both times, once, or neither time?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>9-17</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7</u> <u>-Nov 1</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>26-28</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug 29</u> <u>Sep 1</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>24-26</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>6-8</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>11-17</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Feb.</u> <u>23-26</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>29-30</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Dec.</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>4-12</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Dec.</u> <u>7-12</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Oct.</u> <u>4-7</u> <u>1990</u>
Both times	40%	43%	42%	41%	45%	36%	39%	38%	40%	39%	39%	34%	38%
Once	19	15	17	17	14	18	17	18	15	16	16	14	16
Neither time	28	34	33	35	35	34	35	35	39	37	39	35	41
Didn't vote	11	5	6	4	4	8	6	7	3	6	a	a	a
Don't know	2	3	2	2	2	3	1	3	2	3	3	3	2
Refused/NA	*	1	1	1	*	1	1	--	--	1	2	2	2

a=Not asked

{IF BIRTH = 1970 OR EARLIER, ASK GB}

[GB] In the 1988 Presidential election, did you vote for George Bush or Michael Dukakis?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>9-17</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7</u> <u>-Nov 1</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Sep.</u> <u>26-28</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug 29</u> <u>Sep 1</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>24-26</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>6-8</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>11-17</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Feb.</u> <u>23-26</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>29-30</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Dec.</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>4-12</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Dec.</u> <u>7-12</u> <u>1990</u>
George Bush	59%	60%	61%	59%	62%	54%	55%	53%	57%	57%	56%	51%
Michael Dukakis	21	29	29	30	29	27	26	25	26	27	24	25
Other	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	2	2	2	3
Didn't vote	17	8	7	7	6	15	14	12	13	12	14	13
Don't know	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	4	1	1	1	1
Refused/NA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	2	2



[EDOFR] What is the last grade of school you completed?

	<u>Nov. 9-17 1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7 -Nov 1 1992</u>	<u>Sep. 26-28 1992</u>	<u>Aug 29 Sep 1 1992</u>	<u>Aug. 13 1992</u>	<u>July 24-26 1992</u>	<u>July 6-8 1992</u>	<u>May 11-17 1992</u>	<u>Feb. 23-26 1992</u>	<u>Jan. 29-30 1992</u>	<u>Aver- age 1991</u>	<u>Aver- age 1990</u>
Grade school (1-8)	3%	3%	3%	3%	2%	2%	2%	2%	3%	3%	3%	3%
Some H.S. (9-11)	8	7	7	6	6	7	7	8	8	8	8	9
Graduated H.S.	35	33	34	30	30	31	33	37	35	34	35	34
Voc./Tech. school	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	4	3	3	3
College-2 years or <	16	18	16	21	18	19	22	17	17	19	17	18
College- > 2 years	9	8	7	10	8	8	6	8	7	8	8	8
Graduated college	19	19	20	18	23	20	18	15	17	19	17	16
Post-grad degree (MA, MBA, LLD PhD)	7	11	11	8	9	11	8	8	9	7	8	9
Refused	*	1	*	1	--	1	*	1	*	*	*	1

[WORKING] Are you currently (READ CODES 1-5)

	<u>Nov. 9-17 1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7 -Nov 1 1992</u>	<u>Sep. 26-28 1992</u>	<u>July 6-8 1992</u>	<u>Jan. 29-30 1992</u>	<u>Dec. Dec. 1991</u>	<u>Dec. 7-12 1990</u>	<u>Oct. 26-31 1990</u>	<u>Oct. 4-7 1990</u>
Employed and working full-time	52%	52%	52%	53%	52%	51%	55%	56%	52%
Employed and working part-time	10	10	10	10	11	11	10	10	10
Unemployed	5	4	5	6	6	7	6	3	7
Retired	19	21	20	19	18	18	17	17	17
Housewife	8	7	8	6	10	7	7	8	8
Temporarily laid off (VOL)	1	1	*	1	1	1	*	1	*
Student (VOLUNTEERED)	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	3
Other	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
Don't know	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Refused/NA	*	*	*	--	*	*	*	*	*

[MARITAL] What is your present marital status?

	<u>Nov. 9-17 1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7 -Nov 1 1992</u>	<u>Sep. 26-28 1992</u>	<u>July 6-8 1992</u>	<u>May 11-17 1992</u>	<u>Dec. 14-22 1991</u>	<u>Dec. 7-12 1990</u>	<u>Oct. 26-31 1990</u>	<u>Oct 4-7 1990</u>	<u>March 1990</u>
Single	23%	21%	20%	27%	28%	27%	28%	25%	28%	25%
Married	62	63	64	57	56	57	55	60	58	58
Divorced	7	7	6	8	7	8	8	5	8	8
Separated	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	1
Widow/Widower	6	8	8	7	7	7	7	8	6	8
Don't know	--	*	*	*	*	*	*	--	--	--
Refused/NA	*	*	1	*	1	1	*	*	*	*

[UNIONR] Do you belong to a labor union or teachers' association?

	<u>Nov. 9-17 1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7 -Nov 1 1992</u>	<u>Sep. 26-28 1992</u>	<u>Aug 29 Sep 1 1992</u>	<u>Aug. 13 1992</u>	<u>July 24-26 1992</u>	<u>July 6-8 1992</u>	<u>May 11-17 1992</u>	<u>Feb. 23-26 1992</u>	<u>Jan. 29-30 1992</u>	<u>Dec. 1991</u>	<u>Jan. 4-12 1991</u>	<u>Aver- age 1990</u>
Labor union	11%	10%	11%	10%	8%	10%	12%	11%	9%	11%	10%	10%	10%
Teachers' assoc.	4	5	4	4	4	7	4	5	5	3	5	5	4
No	85	85	84	86	87	85	83	84	85	85	85	84	85
Don't know	*	*	*	1	--	1	--	*	*	*	*	--	*
Refused	*	*	1	--	--	--	--	*	*	*	*	*	1

[UNIONO] Does anyone else in your household belong to a labor union or teachers' association?

	<u>Nov. 9-17 1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7 -Nov 1 1992</u>	<u>Sep. 26-28 1992</u>	<u>Aug 29 Sep 1 1992</u>	<u>Aug. 13 1992</u>	<u>July 24-26 1992</u>	<u>July 6-8 1992</u>	<u>May 11-17 1992</u>	<u>Feb. 23-26 1992</u>	<u>Jan. 29-30 1992</u>	<u>Dec. 1991</u>	<u>Jan. 4-12 1991</u>	<u>Aver- age 1990</u>
Labor union	9%	8%	8%	8%	9%	9%	10%	9%	11%	9%	10%	9%	9%
Teachers' association	3	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	6	3	4	4	4
No	86	84	84	86	87	86	84	83	81	86	84	85	85
Don't know	1	*	*	*	*	*	1	1	1	2	2	*	1
Refused													
/Single member	1	4	3	1	*	1	1	3	1				

[RELIGION] Is your religious background, Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF SOMETHING ELSE OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

	<u>Nov. 9-17 1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7 -Nov 1 1992</u>	<u>Sep. 26-28 1992</u>	<u>Aug 29 Sep 1 1992</u>	<u>Aug. 13 1992</u>	<u>July 24-26 1992</u>	<u>July 6-8 1992</u>	<u>May 11-17 1992</u>	<u>Feb. 23-26 1992</u>	<u>Jan. 29-30 1992</u>	<u>Dec. 1991</u>	<u>Jan. 4-12 1991</u>	<u>Aver- age 1990</u>
Protestant (Baptist, Meth. etc.)	51%	52%	54%	53%	55%	52%	48%	51%	47%	50%	50%	50%	52%
Roman Cath.	26	28	26	26	26	27	28	27	27	28	26	28	26
Jewish	2	6	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	3
Other Christ.	14	11	12	10	10	13	15	13	15	14	15	14	11
Other non-Christ. /Unspec.	3	2	3	2	2	3	4	2	3	2	2	3	3
Agnostic /Atheist	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
None	3	3	2	1	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2
Don't know	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	*	*	*	*	1
Refused	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	*	1

[GOCHURCH] Would you say you go to church...

	<u>Nov. 9-17 1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7 -Nov 1 1992</u>	<u>Sep. 26-28 1992</u>	<u>Aug 29 Sep 1 1992</u>	<u>Aug. 13 1992</u>	<u>July 24-26 1992</u>	<u>July 6-8 1992</u>	<u>May 11-17 1992</u>	<u>Jan. 29-30 1992</u>	<u>Dec. 7-12 1990</u>	<u>Oct. 26-31 1990</u>	<u>Oct. 13-14 1990</u>	<u>Oct. 4-7 1990</u>
Every week	27%	27%	26%	23%	27%	24%	28%	26%	24%	25%	23%	25%	28%
Almost every week	11	13	13	15	10	13	13	12	12	10	14	13	11
Once or twice a month	14	13	14	15	20	18	16	13	17	14	14	14	16
A few times a year	27	27	27	26	22	26	30	26	32	28	27	27	30
Never	11	11	11	10	11	11	13	13	11	11	12	13	14
Don't know	*	*	*	*	--	*	*	*	*	1	*	--	*
Refused/NA	*	*	*	*	--	*	--	*	*	*	*	1	*
Not asked	10	9	8	10	9	8							

{IF RELIGION = 1 OR 4 ASK FUND; OTHERWISE GO TO INCOME}

{FUND} Would you describe yourself as a fundamentalist or evangelical Christian?

	<u>Nov. 9-17 1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7 -Nov 1 1992</u>	<u>Sep. 26-28 1992</u>	<u>Aug 29 Sep 1 1992</u>	<u>July 24-26 1992</u>	<u>July 6-8 1992</u>
Yes/Fundamentalist	24%	20%	21%	26%	26%	24%
Yes/Evangelical	15	14	18	15	16	11
Yes/Both	1	1	1	*	2	1
No	16	16	15	13	13	13
DK/Refused/NA	9	10	10	9	9	12
Not asked	35	38	35	36	35	39

{INCOME} Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1991 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

	<u>Nov. 9-17 1992</u>	<u>Oct. 3,7 -Nov 1 1992</u>	<u>Sep. 26-28 1992</u>	<u>Aug 29 Sep 1 1992</u>	<u>Aug. 13 1992</u>	<u>July 24-26 1992</u>	<u>July 6-8 1992</u>	<u>May 11-17 1992</u>	<u>Feb. 23-26 1992</u>	<u>Jan. 29-30 1992</u>	<u>Dec. 1991</u>	<u>Jan. 4-12 1991</u>	<u>Average 1990</u>
Up to \$10,000	6%	7%	6%	6%	6%	6%	7%	9%	10%	6%	8%	9%	8%
\$10,000-\$15,000	9	7	8	8	9	9	7	9	9	9	9	9	9
\$15,000-\$20,000	10	9	9	7	10	9	11	9	10	10	10	10	10
\$20,000-\$25,000	9	9	9	9	9	8	10	11	10	10	10	10	11
\$25,000-\$30,000	12	10	11	12	7	9	11	9	10	12	11	12	11
\$30,000-\$40,000	15	14	15	15	16	14	11	14	13	15	14	15	15
\$40,000-\$50,000	10	11	12	11	11	12	12	11	12	11	11	10	10
\$50,000-\$75,000	13	14	13	14	12	14	14	12	13	14	12	11	11
\$75,000 and over	9	10	11	10	12	10	10	8	8	8	8	7	7
Don't know	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	3	4
Refused	4	7	5	6	4	4	4	6	4	4	4	4	5

[INCOME40] Would you please tell me if your family income was under or over \$40,000?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>9-17</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7</u> <u>-Nov 1</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Sep.</u> <u>26-28</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug 29</u> <u>Sep 1</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug.</u> <u>13</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>24-26</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>6-8</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>11-17</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Feb.</u> <u>23-26</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>29-30</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Dec.</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>4-12</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Aver-</u> <u>age</u> <u>1990</u>
Under \$40,000	3%	3%	3%	2%	2%	1%	2%	2%	1%	2%	3%	3%	3%
Over \$40,000	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1
Don't know	1	1	*	1	1	1	*	*	*	1	1	1	1
Refused/NA	3	4	3	3	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	3
Not asked	95	90	93	93	94	93	95	93	95	93	93	93	92

[RACE] Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or something else?

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>9-17</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7</u> <u>-Nov 1</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Sep.</u> <u>26-28</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug 29</u> <u>Sep 1</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug.</u> <u>13</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>24-26</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>6-8</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>11-17</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Feb.</u> <u>23-26</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>29-30</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Dec.</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>4-12</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Aver-</u> <u>age</u> <u>1990</u>
White	80%	82%	83%	82%	80%	82%	82%	81%	80%	81%	82%	82%	82%
Black	11	10	10	11	11	11	11	11	12	11	11	11	11
Hispanic/Span. Ameri./Chicano	5	4	4	3	5	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Oriental	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	*	1	*	1
American Indian	1	1	*	1	--	*	1	1	*	1	1	*	1
Other	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Not ascertained	1	1	2	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	1

[SEX] Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>9-17</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Oct 3,7</u> <u>-Nov 1</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Sep.</u> <u>26-28</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug 29</u> <u>Sep 1</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug.</u> <u>13</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>24-26</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>6-8</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>11-17</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Feb.</u> <u>23-26</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>29-30</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Dec.</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>4-12</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Aver-</u> <u>age</u> <u>1990</u>
Male	48%	48%	48%	48%	48%	48%	48%	47%	48%	47%	47%	48%	48%
Female	52	52	52	52	52	52	52	53	52	53	53	52	52

Notes

**VOLUNTEERED RESPONSES FOR VOTING FOR A CANDIDATE**

<b>What are some of the most important reasons you voted for George Bush instead of Bill Clinton and Ross Perot?</b>		<b>What are some of the most important reasons you voted for Bill Clinton instead of George Bush and Ross Perot?</b>		<b>What are some of the most important reasons you voted for Ross Perot instead of George Bush and Bill Clinton?</b>	
<b>Selected Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Selected Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Selected Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>
I like his foreign policy/ His international knowledge (BFP)	23%	Wanted to see a change in president/Time for a change (O)	22%	He seemed honest/ Straightforward (P)	19%
Against abortion/Very pro-life (B)	17	Clinton knows what he wants to do/Like his views (C)	21	Perot is a businessman (P)	17
Bush's experience in government (B)	16	Clinton will provide more work and create jobs (CE)	18	Balance the budget (PE)	15
Bush was doing a fairly good job in office (B)	15	He is for the people/ Interested in the masses (C)	16	We need some changes/Needed new blood (P)	14
Family values/Family man/ Moral values/Morality issues (B)	11	Clinton is younger/Need someone young in office (C)	13	Owes nobody favors/ He can't be bought (P)	14
I don't like Clinton at all/I don't trust Clinton (C)	10	Clinton's health care plan (C)	13	Don't like how Bush was running things/ Didn't like Bush (B)	13
Bush is trustworthy/Trust him the most/Basically honest (B)	9	He's Democratic (PA)	9	Interested in stimulating the economy (PE)	11

<b>Selected Responses continued</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Selected Responses continued</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Selected Responses continued</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>
Bush is Republican (PA)	9	I've had it with Republicans/ Don't vote Republican (PA)	9	Didn't like Bush or Clinton/Couldn't stand the others (D)	11
Congress should stop fighting Bush, let him do his job (O)	8	Clinton has ability to make changes/Will bring change (C)	8	I'm unsure of Clinton/ Clinton I wasn't interested in (C)	10
Not his fault the country went into a recession (BE)	7	Don't like Bush/I am anti- Bush/Disappointed in Bush (B)	8	Domestic policy/For the home front (P)	7
I did not like the other two candidates (D)	6	Liked Clinton on education/ Handle education better (C)	8	Wanted to help the little people (P)	7
Bush was trying to create more jobs (BE)	6	Bush for four years is enough time (B)	7	I liked the things Perot said/I agreed with him more (P)	6
Did what he said in Gulf War/Good job with the war (BFP)	5	Clinton was least of three evils/Couldn't stand others (D)	7	He could get something done in the country (P)	5
Liked Bush's stand on issues (B)	5	Pro-choice/Agree with Clinton on abortion issue (C)	5	Other Pro-Perot (P)	5
Democrats increased taxes (O)	5	Trustworthy more so than the other two/Honest (C)	5	Perot is a people person (P)	5
Other Pro-Bush (B)	5	Didn't like Perot (P)	5	Tired of political rhetoric (D)	4
Intelligent (B)	4	Wants to balance the budget (CE)	4	Other anti-Bush (B)	4
Disagree with Bill Clinton's policies (C)	4	Proven leadership in AR/ Good job with AR (C)	4	Family values/Family man (P)	4

Selected Responses continued	Nov. 1992	Selected Responses continued	Nov. 1992	Selected Responses continued	Nov. 1992
Perot doesn't have government experience (P)	4	Other Pro-Clinton (C)	3	Ideas seemed more feasible/Had a foundation and a stand (P)	2
Gay and lesbian rights (O)	4	Don't like that Perot quit/Dropped out (P)	3	I just like him/He's a good man (P)	2
Bush wasn't a draft dodger (C)	4	Clinton's taxation reform (CE)	3	Put life on the line in past/Hostages/MIA's (P)	2
Other anti-Clinton (C)	3	Impressed with his running mate, Al Gore (C)	3	Self-made man (P)	2
Lesser of the evils (D)	3	Need a president that is the same party as Congress (O)	3	Boosting education/Would be good for education (P)	1
AR ranks 48th, doesn't say much for Clinton (C)	3	He wants to keep business in our country (CE)	3	Return the government to the people (O)	1
Concerned about defense (B)	3	Perot had no chance of winning (P)	3	Other anti-Clinton (C)	1
Bush is a conservative (PA)	3	Don't like Bush's politics/Bush had not produced (B)	2	He is pro-choice (P)	1
No/None/Not any/Nothing	1	No/None/Not any/Nothing	--	No/None/Not any/Nothing	2
Other	1	Other	4	Other	1
Don't know	*	Don't know	1	Don't know	--



<b>Combined Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Combined Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Selected Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>
Pro-Bush (B)	79%	Pro-Clinton (C)	72%	Pro-Perot (P)	85%
Total anti-vote (P/C/D)	36	Total anti-vote (PBD)	37	Total anti-vote (CBD)	30
Handling of foreign policy (FP)	28	Anti-Bush (B)	28	Handling of economy (E)	24
Anti-Clinton (C)	24	Economy (E)	26	Anti-Bush (B)	17
Other (O)	19	Other (O)	24	Dislike other candidates (D)	15
Like his economic politics (E)	14	Party (PA)	18	Anti-Clinton (C)	11
Anti-Perot (P)	14	Anti-Perot (P)	16	Other (O)	2
Dislike other candidates (D)	11	Dislike other candidates (D)	7		
Party (PA)	11				

**VOLUNTEERED RESPONSES ABOUT THE THEMES OF MESSAGES OF THE  
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS**

<b>What do you think were the main themes or messages that George Bush and the Republicans were trying to communicate to the voters during the campaign?</b>		<b>What do you think were the main themes or messages that Bill Clinton and the Democrats were trying to communicate to the voters during the campaign?</b>		<b>What do you think were the main themes or messages that Ross Perot was trying to communicate to the voters during the campaign?</b>	
<b>Selected Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Selected Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Selected Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>
Improving the economy (E)	21%	Change/Getting America back on track	49%	Solving the deficit problem (E)	29%
Protecting traditional family values	20	Improving the economy (E)	34	Change the system/ Clean out the barn/Lift the hood	19
Making the world a safer place	18	Create jobs/Putting more people back to work (E)	25	Country could be run like a business (BA)	18
Character and integrity (C)	16	Providing everyone with affordable health care	20	Get us out of recession/ Fix the economy (E)	17
He would do better over the next four years	14	Increasing taxes on the wealthy	10	Let people run the country/Listen to the people	12
Everything is fine	11	Fix the deficit/Balance the budget (E)	8	Didn't see any theme/ No plan	9
Don't think they had a theme or message	11	Education/Job training	7	Get rid of parties/ Republicans and Democrats not working	8
Bush's experience/Strong leader (EX)	10	Stand on abortion	5	He would solve our problems	8

<b>Selected Responses Continued</b>		<b>Selected Responses Continued</b>		<b>Selected Responses Continued</b>	
Mudslinging/Negatives toward Clinton and Gore (C)	8	Help the middle class and low income (P)	4	Shared sacrifices/Need to bite the bullet	8
Electing a Republican congress	6	On the people's level/Bush is out of touch (P)	4	Jobs/Put people back to work (E)	8
Jobs/Help the unemployment (E)	6	Protecting the environment	4	Accepting no pay/ Spending his money	6
Tax reduction/No new taxes (E)	5	Pandering to special interests	3	American jobs and businesses leaving the country (E)	5
That Clinton was unqualified	5	Helping Americans here at home (P)	3	Bashing Bush/Bashing Clinton	4
The Draft/Patriotism (C)	5	Homosexuals in the military/ Gay rights	3	Fix government waste	4
His abortion stance	4	Get people off welfare	3	For the common man/ Middle America/The poor/The people	4
Admitted he mad mistakes	4	Problems with foreign trade (E)	2	Truth/Honest/ Straightforward	4
Stability/Change is not necessarily good (EX)	3	We need to act together (P)	2	Future for our children and grandchildren	4
Don't know	6	Other	4	Other	8
Other	6	Don't know	2	Don't know	5

<b>Combined Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Combined Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Combined Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>
Economic themes (E)	29%	Economic themes (E)	54%	Economic themes (E)	47%
Attacks on Clinton's character (C)	25	Putting people first (P)	14	Run government like a business (BA)	18
Bush had the experience (EX)	13				
Crime and drugs theme (CD)	1				

**VOLUNTEERED RESPONSES OF THE RISK INVOLVED ELECTING EACH CANDIDATE**

<b>Why do you think there was more risk in electing George Bush?</b>		<b>Why do you think there was more risk in electing Bill Clinton?</b>	
<b>Selected Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Selected Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>
Didn't do anything in first four years (S)	41%	Inexperienced/Lack of national politics (EX)	30%
Ignoring the economy/Wasn't going to help the economy (E)	30	Doesn't know foreign policy/ Foreign policy inexperience (EX)	18
More of the same/Continued status quo (S)	21	Don't trust him/Integrity (C)	16
Job losses/Employment base is eroding (E)	11	Going to increase government spending (TSE)	14
I don't trust him (T)	11	Don't know what he stands for	14
Concerned more with foreign affairs (FP)	10	Too many promises	11
More broken promises (T)	8	Bad track record in AR	11
Out of touch/Doesn't understand country (OT)	8	Don't like his moral values/ Womanizer (C)	7
He is a war person (WR)	8	Gives Democrats too much power	7
Bush represents the rich (OT)	7	Views on abortion	7
No program/No vision/No plan (S)	6	Increase taxes (TSE)	7
Not concerned with people (OT)	5	Change would be more of a risk	7
Been there so long/Twelve years is too long	5	Don't think he can do the job (EX)	6
Don't like Republican platform/ He is a Republican	5	Draft dodging/Backed out of serving in the war (C)	6
Older/Age	4	Too slick/Evasive/Not giving straight answers	5
Dan Quayle/Don't think he can lead country (VP)	4	Very liberal/Too radical	5
Sending companies overseas (FP)	3	Give more gay rights	5

<b>Selected Responses continued</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Selected Responses continued</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>
Health care problems/No health insurance	3	Don't think he can improve the economy (E)	4
Eroding civil rights/No concern for blacks and minorities	3	Big government	4
Couldn't work with a Democratic Congress	3	Don't like him/Don't agree with his views (C)	4
Military buildup/Wants world power (WR)	3	Family values will deteriorate	3
Other	3	Other	6
Don't know	1	Don't know	1
No/None/Not any/Nothing	1	No/None/Not any/Nothing	--

<b>Combined Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Combined Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>
Represented status quo (S)	59%	Lack of experience (EX)	46%
Poor handling of economy (E)	35	Character issue (C)	28
Out of touch (OT)	18	Handling of the economy (E)	24
Lack of trust (T)	17	Pocketbook issues (TSE)	24
Didn't put America first (FP)	12	Tax and Spender (TS)	18
Too much emphasis on military/Fear of war (WR)	10		
Choice of Vice-President	4		

## VOLUNTEERED RESPONSES ABOUT INFORMATION FLOW

What news story, political advertisement, speech, or event stands out most in you mind? What OTHER news story, political advertisement, speech, or event stands out most in you mind?	
Combined Questions: Selected Responses	Nov. 1992
The debates in general (D)	18%
Perot's T.V. campaign	15
The mudslinging/Negative campaigning (N)	11
The last presidential debate (D)	6
The second presidential debate (D)	6
Perot's entrance/Third party came in	6
Ross Perot's approach to the issues	5
Republican 'dirty tricks' (RNN)	5
Bush's campaign commercials	5
Draft dodger/Clinton's history of protest (CC)	4
Bush's negative campaign/ Name calling (RNN)	4
Perot in the debates	3
The first presidential debate (D)	3
Vice-presidential debate (D)	3
Bush's Iran Contra affair (BI)	3
The Democratic Convention (CDC)	3
No/None/Not any/Nothing	10
Don't know	5
Other	9



Combined Responses	Nov. 1992
The debates (D)	34%
Negative campaigning (N)	20
Negative campaigning (N/RN/DN)	20
Clinton character issues (CC)	8
GOP negative campaigning (RN)	8
The conventions (C)	6
The conventions (C/RC/DC)	6
Republican convention (Negative) (RC)	4
Bush scandals (BI)	3
Democratic convention (Positive) (DC)	3
Democrats negative campaign (DN)	2

**VOLUNTEERED RESPONSES ABOUT INFORMATION FLOW**

<b>What news story, political advertisement, speech, or event stands out most in you mind?</b>		<b>What OTHER news story, political advertisement, speech, or event stands out most in you mind?</b>	
<b>Selected Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Selected Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>
The debates in general (D)	13%	The debates in general (D)	4%
Perot's T.V. campaign	9	Perot's T.V. campaign	5
The mudslinging/Negative campaigning (N)	5	The mudslinging/Negative campaigning (N)	4
The last presidential debate (D)	4	Perot's entrance/Third party came in	2
The second presidential debate (D)	4	Bush's campaign commercials	2
Ross Perot's approach to the issues	3	The second presidential debate (D)	2
Perot's entrance/Third party came in	3	The economy/Unemployment stories	2
Draft dodger/Clinton's history of protest (CC)	3	The last presidential debate (D)	2
Republican dirty tricks (RNN)	3	Press biased towards Clinton	2
Perot in the debates	3	Bush's negative campaign/ Name calling (RNN)	2
Bush's campaign commercials	2	Ross Perot's approach to the issues	1
The first presidential debate (D)	2	The Republican convention (CRC)	1
Bush's negative campaign/ Name calling (RNN)	2	The Gennifer Flowers story (CC)	1
Vice-presidential debate (D)	2	Vice-presidential debate (D)	1
Bush's Iran Contra affair (BI)	2	News stories in general	1
The Democratic Convention (CDC)	2	Bush's Iran Contra affair (BI)	1
No/None/Not any/Nothing	10	No/None/Not any/Nothing	24
Don't know	5	Other	4
Other	4	Don't know	3

<b>Combined Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>	<b>Combined Responses</b>	<b>Nov. 1992</b>
The debates (D)	24%	The debates (D)	9%
Negative campaigning (N)	11	Negative campaigning (N)	8
Negative campaigning (N/RN/DN)	11	Negative campaigning (N/RN/DN)	8
Clinton character issues (CC)	5	GOP negative campaigning (RN)	3
GOP negative campaigning (RN)	5	The conventions (C)	3
The conventions (C)	3	The conventions (C/RC/DC)	3
The conventions (C/RC/DC)	3	Clinton character issues (CC)	2
Republican convention (Negative) (RC)	2	Republican convention (Negative) (RC)	1
Bush scandals (BI)	2	Bush scandals (BI)	1
Democratic convention (Positive) (DC)	2	Democratic Convention (Positive) (DC)	1
Democrats negative campaign (DN)	1	Democrats negative campaign (DN)	*

VOLUNTEERED NATIONAL PROBLEMS

What do you think are the most important problems facing the country at the present time?						
	November 1992	July 1992	May 1992	February 1992	January 1992	December 1991
<b>Selected Responses</b>						
Unemployment/Lack of jobs/Job security /Layoffs (E)	48%	44%	38%	48%	45%	41%
Economy (General) (E)	40	27	36	30	25	26
Budget deficit/National debt (T)	18	15	9	12	10	11
Education is bad/Inadequate (S)	12	14	15	10	14	10
Crime/Crime rate is too high (D)	8	9	8	7	19	9
Lack of morals/Religion/Traditional values	8	5	6	3	2	3
Medical care/Health care (H)	8	4	5	7	13	14
Health care costs too high/Deductibles increased (H)	8	3	2	5	4	3
Homeless/Housing for the homeless	7	13	11	13	11	14
Drugs/Drug abuse (D)	7	10	10	10	11	10
Too much welfare/Too much social services/Welfare fraud	5	6	6	4	4	3
Too much attention to foreign problems/Take care of U.S. (F)	5	9	5	5	7	5
Taxes/Taxes to high	5	4	4	9	9	8
U.S. not competitive/Other countries taking over (E)	5	2	2	4	3	1
Inflation/Prices going up/Cost of living (E)	4	3	3	3	5	4

What do you think are the most important problems facing the country at the present time?						
	November 1992	July 1992	May 1992	February 1992	January 1992	December 1991
<b>Selected responses continued</b>						
Low pay rate/Pay scale/Minimum wage (E)	4	1	2	1	--	--
Health care availability/People without health care (H)	4	2	2	2	3	3
Abortion	4	6	3	2	1	2
Corrupt government/Self-interested politicians (R)	3	4	4	3	1	2
AIDS	3	2	2	3	2	3
Trade deficit/Imports/Exports (E)	3	4	3	6	9	6
Racial tension/Racism/ Minorities/Prejudice (L)	2	6	17 ✓	2	1	2
Poverty	2	6	6	4	2	3
Environment/Ecology/Environmental policies (G)	2	5	4	3	2	3
Recession/Depression (E)	2	3	3	7	6	7
Government spending (T)	2	3	1	1	2	2
L.A. Riots/Racial unrest (L)	1	1	6 ✓	--	--	--
Breakdown of the family structure/ Deterioration of family	1	2	3	2	2	1

Continued on next page

**VOLUNTEERED NATIONAL PROBLEMS**

<b>What do you think are the most important problems facing the country at the present time?</b>						
<b>Combined responses</b>	<b>November 1992</b>	<b>July 1992</b>	<b>May 1992</b>	<b>February 1992</b>	<b>January 1992</b>	<b>December 1991</b>
Economy (E)	73%	66%	67%	74%	69%	68%
Health care (H)	21	11	11	16	24	24
Government spending/Deficit (T)	20	17	10	13	11	12
Crime and drugs (D)	14	17	16	15	23	16
Education (S)	13	15	17	13	20	12
War/Foreign policy (F/M)	8	12	8	7	2	2
Foreign policy (F)	7	10	6	5	1	4
Government/Congress (R)	5	5	5	4	2	5
Pollution and Environment (G/P)	3	7	5	4	4	12
Elderly/Aging issues (A)	3	3	3	2	3	4
Racial tension (L)	2	7	22 ✓	2	1	2
War/Defense/Middle East related (M)	2	2	2	2	1	2

Notes

## EXIT POLL ANALYSIS

### Background and Methodology

The Voter Research and Surveys exit polls on Election Day were designed and conducted by VRS with the support of Chilton Research Services. VRS is an association of ABC News, CNN, CBS News, and NBC News.

In total, 15,236 voters were interviewed nationwide in all 50 states as they left their respective polling location. (A complete demographic profile of exit poll respondents appears at the end of this report.) The sampling error for the national sample is plus or minus 1.1 percentage points.

The complete national exit poll is a composition of 50 state exit polls. The state samples were selected in two stages. First, a probability sample of voting precincts was selected that represented the different geographic areas across the state and the vote by party. Voting precincts were selected with a probability proportionate to the number of voters in each precinct. Each voter in a state has the same chance to have his or her precinct selected, with one exception. In some states, precincts that have large black or Hispanic populations have been sampled at a higher rate than other precincts. The final sample weighting adjusts the representation of these precincts to their correct share of the total vote.

The national sample is a subsample of the state sample precincts. The probability of selecting these precincts is the same as if the sample had been selected at a uniform rate nationwide.

Within both state and national sample precincts voters were selected systematically throughout the voting day in a manner that gave all voters in a precinct the same chance of being interviewed.

The tabulated results are weighted to reflect the different probabilities of selecting a precinct and of selecting a voter within each precinct.

Respondents in the national exit poll were given one of four versions of the national questionnaire. Two versions have identical questions; however, the response categories for the "important issues" and "candidate qualities" questions are in reverse order on the second version. Each of the other two versions have different questions. All national poll questionnaires ask the presidential vote, the vote for House and some common demographics. Congressional candidates are identified by political party only on the questionnaire. Each interviewer was given a list of House candidates on the ballot at their precinct. In districts with uncontested races the sole congressional candidate is automatically denoted as the winner.



## **Descriptive Analysis of VRS Exit Poll Results**

The 1992 exit poll findings mirrored the voting behavior of the nation. In total, Governor Bill Clinton received equal support in both the 1992 VRS exit polls and the actual popular vote (43%). Likewise, both President George Bush and Ross Perot received the same percentage of support from both exit poll voters and the nation as a whole. The President's exit poll and popular vote tally stood at 38%, while Ross Perot's support in both the 1992 VRS exit poll and popular vote was 19%.

The 1992 vote did not show huge Democratic gains, according to exit poll findings. In fact, Clinton did not do as well as Michael Dukakis did four years ago. (Complete exit poll trend tables appear at the end of this report.) What really happened was a Republican collapse. Over 1988 vote totals, President Bush lost 18-points among young voters, 23-points among independents and self-described moderates. Among the GOP base (self-described Republicans), the President's vote dropped 18-points and 15-points among conservatives. The President was able to carry only 58% of his 1988 supporters.

### **Party**

According to the 1992 exit poll findings, Democrats accounted for 38% of the electorate as compared to Republicans, 35%. Independents made up 27% of the electorate. As Democrats comprised the larger of the two major political parties, it is important to consider the exit poll finding that Clinton commanded as much party loyalty from the Democrats as President Bush was able to command from the Republicans. This is a feat Jimmy Carter (1976 or 1980), Walter Mondale (1984) and Michael Dukakis (1988) were unable to accomplish.

With the inclusion of Ross Perot in the 1992 presidential equation, President Bush was unable to hold rank-and-file Republicans to the party. In the end, while not that wide a difference, the VRS exit poll data shows that Perot was able to capture 17% of Republican party loyalists as compared to 13% of Democrat party loyalists. This, taken with the above statement that Democrats accounted for a larger percentage of the electorate, helped to strengthen Clinton's plurality coalition.

While Clinton received 10% support from self-described Republicans, he did not get significantly more than previous Democrat presidential candidates.

Party Loyalty to Presidential Candidates		
By Party Identification	Republican Candidate	Democrat Candidate
<b>1992</b> .....		
Republicans	73%	10
Democrats	10%	77
<b>1988</b> .....		
Republicans	91%	8
Democrats	17%	82
<b>1984</b> .....		
Republicans	92%	7
Democrats	25%	74
<b>1980</b> .....		
Republicans	86%	9
Democrats	26%	67
<b>1976</b> .....		
Republicans	90%	9
Democrats	22%	77

### Past Presidential Voting

Of those who said they voted for Bush in 1988 (53%) less than six in 10 (59%) stayed with the President in 1992. Almost equal numbers voted this time for either Clinton (21%) or Perot (20%). Even more telling is the number of "Reagan-Democrats" who returned home to the Democrat-fold in 1992. Of those Democrats who said they voted for Bush in 1988 (10% of those exit polled), less than one in three (28%) stood by the President in 1992. A majority (53%) said they voted for Clinton. One-in-five (20%) cast a vote for Perot.

Among the 1984 "Reagan-Democrats", Clinton received 54% of the vote, with Bush and Perot splitting the rest, 24% and 22%, respectively.

## Region

Regionally, Ross Perot served as a GOP spoiler. Across the country, President Bush was anywhere from 9-points to 27-points behind the exit poll tallies from previous Republican presidential winners. By the same token, in this three-way race, Bill Clinton was able to hold close to the results held by previous Democrat presidential candidates, including the successful Carter race in 1976.

Perot captured nearly one in five voters from all regions of the country. VRS exit polls showed Perot with 18% of the vote in the East, 21% in the Midwest, 16% in the South, and in the West, his best region, his exit poll result stood at 23% of the vote.

Regional Analysis of Vote				
	East	Midwest	South	West
<b>Bush's vote in '92 as compared to...</b>	35%	37%	43%	34%
Bush vote in '88	50%/-15	52%/-15	58%/-15	52%/-18
Reagan vote in '84	53%/-18	58%/-21	64%/-21	61%/-27
Reagan vote in '80	47%/-12	51%/-14	52%/-9	53%/-19
Ford vote in '76	47%/-12	50%/-13	45%/-2	51%/-17
<b>Clinton's '92 vote as compared to...</b>	47%	42%	41%	43%
Dukakis vote in '88	49%/-2	47%/-5	41%/+1	46%/-2
Mondale vote in '84	47%/nc	41%/+1	36%/+6	38%/+6
Carter vote in '80	42%/+5	41%/+1	44%/-2	34%/+10
Carter vote in '76	51%/-4	48%/-6	54%/-12	46%/-2

## Cultural Groups

The components of Clinton's plurality coalition resemble the old New Deal coalition. Clinton scored best among blacks, Jews, union members and liberals. He also did well among political independents and moderates, Catholics, and the middle-class, as defined by family income. In each of these sub-groups, Clinton either exceeded the Democrats 1988 exit poll results, or was able to hold President Bush well below his 1988 targets.

Clinton's Plurality Coalition					
	1988		1992		
	Bush	Dukakis	Clinton	Bush	Perot
Blacks (8%) <sup>1</sup>	12%	86	83%	10	7
Jews (3%)	35%	64	80%	10	10
Catholics (27%)	52%	47	42%	37	22
Union household (19%)	42%	57	55%	24	21
Liberals (21%)	18%	81	68%	14	18
Independents (27%)	55%	43	38%	32	30
\$15,000-\$29,999 (24%)	49%	50	45%	35	20
\$30,000-\$49,000 (30%)	56%	44	41%	38	21
\$50,000-\$74,999 (20%)	56%	42	40%	42	18
Whites in the East (21%)	54%	45	45%	36	19
Whites in the South (24%)	67%	32	34%	48	18

In 1992, President Bush was unable to compete with Clinton among union voters. Clinton outpolled Bush among union members and union households by a better than 2-to-1 margin (55% to 24%). Since 1976, Republican candidates for President have been able to capture at least 39% of the union vote or better. In 1984, Reagan received 46% of the union vote. In 1988, Bush got 42% of the union vote, making the '92 election an 18-point deficit over his '88 election.

Clinton scored well among two other components of the Democrat coalition -- Catholics and Jews. Among these two religious groups (which comprise almost a third of the electorate, 31%), Clinton outpolled Bush among Jews by a strong 80% to 11% margin. Among Catholics, Clinton finished with 44% support as compared to 35% support for Bush.

In 1988 Bush outpolled Dukakis (a Catholic) among Catholics, 52% to 47%. Since 1976, Bush received the lowest level of support among Catholics than any other Republican presidential candidate. The President's level of support was 8-points below the previous low level of support garnered by Ford in 1976.

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<sup>1</sup>Percentages in parenthesis ( ) indicate the percentage of respondents falling into this category.

Similarly, among white Protestants, the President's 1992 level of support was way below previous GOP levels of support among this demographic group. In 1992 the President received just 46% support among white Protestants. (Clinton received the support of 33%). In previous outings Republicans captured between 58% and 72% support from this group. In 1988, Bush had a full two-thirds support from white Protestants.

While Bush outpolled Clinton among whites born in the South, 51% to 32%, the Commander-in-Chief lost to Clinton among military veterans, 41% to 37%. In 1992 veterans accounted for 18% of the vote.

## Race

Democrats in 1992 still failed to capture the white vote, despite Perot's drawing support from one-in-five (20%) white voters. By a slim 40% to 39% margin, President Bush outpolled Clinton among whites.

Vote Trend By Race <sup>2</sup>			
	Republican	Democrat	GOP Advantage
<b>1992.....</b>			
Whites	40%	39	+1
Black	10%	83	-73
<b>1988.....</b>			
Whites	59%	40	+19
Black	12%	86	-74
<b>1984.....</b>			
Whites	64%	35	+29
Blacks	9%	90	-81
<b>1980.....</b>			
Whites	56%	36	+20
Blacks	11%	85	-74
<b>1976.....</b>			
Whites	52%	47	+5
Blacks	16%	83	-67

<sup>2</sup>In 1992, Ross Perot, the independent candidate received 20% of the white vote and 7% of the black vote. In 1980, John Anderson, the independent candidate received 7% of the white vote and 3% of the black vote.

While Bush did the poorest among Republican presidential candidates with the white vote, it is just as important to note that Clinton, despite his victory, did not break from the Democrat pack in capturing the white vote. In 1992, Clinton polled 39% of the white vote as compared to Dukakis' 40% in 1988, Mondale's 35% in 1984 and Carter's 36% in 1980. In 1976, the last year the Democrats captured the White House, Carter did so with support of 47% of white voters -- 8-points more than Clinton's 1992 victory.

As compared to other GOP presidential candidates, President Bush fared okay among black Americans garnering 10% support, just 2-points off his 1988 total of 12% support among blacks.

### Gender

It is astounding that Clinton did not win the white women vote given the overall tone of the campaign and emergence of 'women's issues' in this the media-driven "Year of the Women". President Bush and Clinton split the white women vote 41% to 41%. As compared to previous Republican presidential candidates the President lagged more than 10-points behind the votes captured in 1976 and 1980 by Presidents Ford and Reagan among white women. The table below shows presidential support as broken out by race and gender.

Vote Trend by Race/Gender <sup>3</sup>												
	1976		1980			1984		1988		1992		
	D	R	R	D	I	R	D	R	D	D	R	I
White men	47%	51	59%	32	7	67%	32	63%	36	37%	40	22
White women	46%	52	52%	39	8	62%	38	56%	43	41%	41	19
Black men	80%	19	14%	82	3	12%	85	15%	81	77%	15	9
Black women	86%	14	9%	88	3	7%	93	9%	90	86%	9	5

Clinton did exceptionally well among black women, getting 86% support from this group. Both Bush and Perot's support were about evenly divided among white men and women. President Bush did poorly among white men when analyzed over past support from this group. The President's support from this group was 27-points below the best GOP performance measured in the Reagan-Mondale contest in 1984. Likewise, President Bush was 21-points behind Reagan (in '84) among white women.

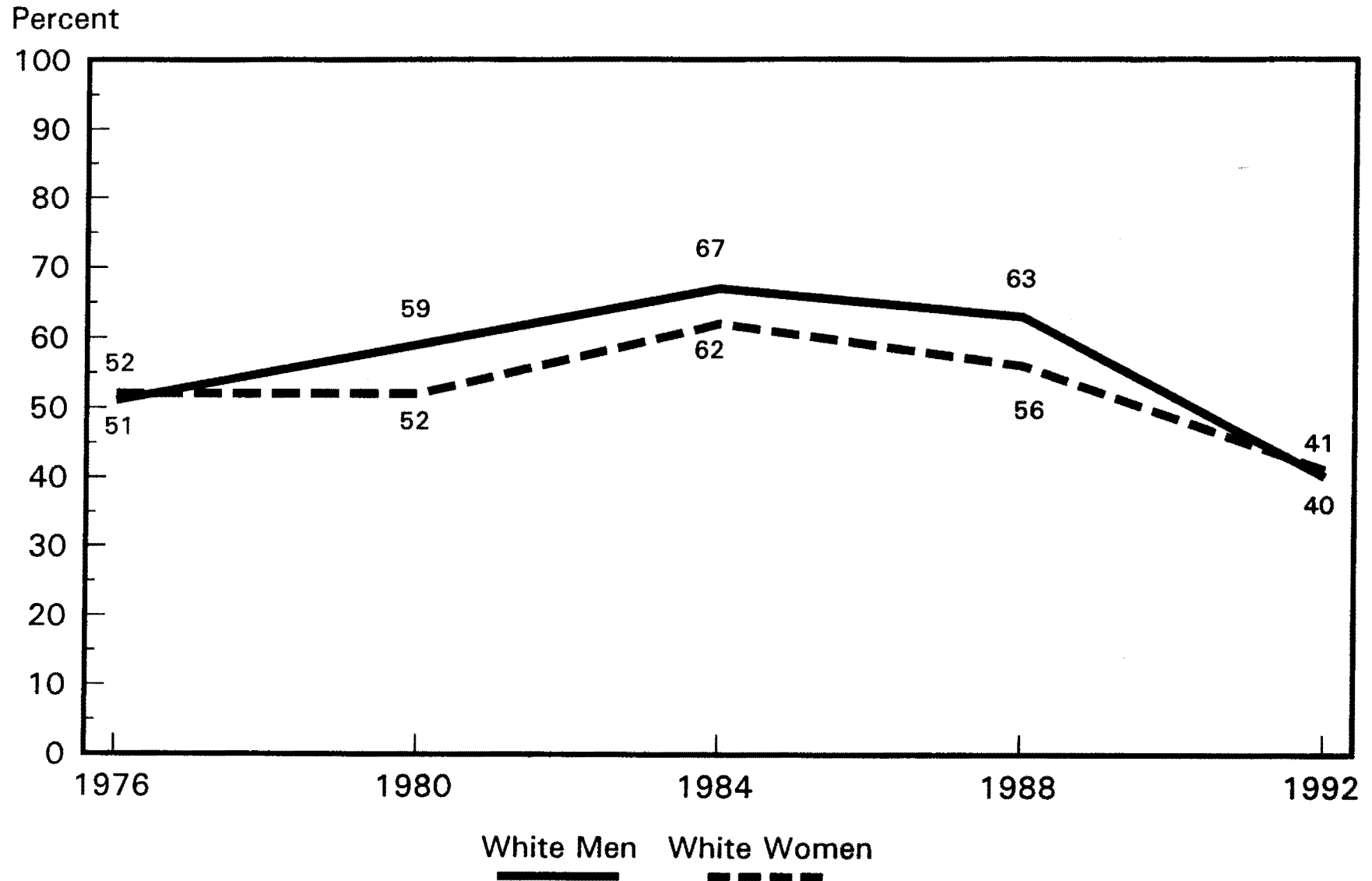
<sup>3</sup>R/D/I indicates votes for Republican presidential candidate (R), Democrat presidential candidate (D), or Independent presidential candidate (I).

<b>Vote Among White Women Trend</b>			
	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>GOP Advantage</b>
<b>1992.....</b>	41%	41	0
<b>1988.....</b>	56%	43	+13
<b>1984.....</b>	62%	38	+24
<b>1980.....</b>	52%	39	+13
<b>1976.....</b>	52%	46	+6

As the table below clearly points out, when Republicans win presidential elections they carry the white male vote by substantial margins -- by 26-points in 1988, 35-points in 1984, and 27-points in 1980. This was not the case in 1992.

<b>Vote Among White Men Trend</b>			
	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>GOP Advantage</b>
<b>1992.....</b>	40% -1	37	+3
<b>1988.....</b>	63% +7	36	+26
<b>1984.....</b>	67% +5	32	+35
<b>1980.....</b>	59% +7	32	+27
<b>1976.....</b>	51% -1	47	+4

# Trend of Republican Presidential Vote by Gender 1976-1992





The Gender Vote				
	Clinton	Bush	Perot	Diff. Clinton-Bush
<b>Total Vote</b>	43%	38	18	+5
Total Women	46%	37	17	+9
Total Men	41%	38	21	+3
Working women (29%) <sup>4</sup>	45%	35	19	+10
White men (40%)	37%	40	22	-3
Black men (3%)	77%	15	9	+62
White women (46%)	41%	41	18	0
Black women (5%)	86%	9	5	+75
Men, 18-29 (10)	38%	36	26	+2
Women, 18-29 (10%)	48%	33	19	+15
Men, 30-44 (17%)	39%	38	22	+1
Women, 30-44 (21%)	44%	38	18	+6
Men, 45-59 (11%)	40%	40	20	0
Women, 45-59 (13%)	43%	40	17	+3
Men, 60 and older (7%)	49%	37	14	+12
Women, 60 and older (8%)	51%	39	10	+12
Republican men (17%)	10%	71	19	-61
Republican women (18%)	10%	74	16	-64
Independent men (14%)	36%	33	32	+3
Independent women (14%)	41%	32	27	+9
Democrat men (16%)	77%	9	14	+68
Democrat women (22%)	78%	10	12	+68
Men, w/o HS educ. (3%)	49%	30	21	+19
Women, w/o HS educ. (3%)	58%	27	15	+31
Men, HS graduates (10%)	43%	34	23	+9
Women, HS graduates (14%)	43%	38	19	+5
Men, some college (13%)	39%	37	24	+2
Women, some college (17%)	43%	38	18	+5
Men, college grad. (20%)	40%	41	19	-1
Women, college grad. (20%)	49%	35	16	+14

<sup>4</sup>Percentages in parenthesis ( ) indicate the percentage of respondents falling into this category.

## Age

For the first time since 1980, the Democrats captured more young voters than Republicans. Beginning with Ronald Reagan in 1980, Republicans had made inroads among younger voters. This advantage was erased this cycle.

### Young Voters<sup>5</sup>

	1980		1984		1988		1992	
	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
18-29 yr-olds	43%	44	59%	40	52%	47	34%	43

Whereas Republicans had been the beneficiaries of "first-time voters", 1992 exit polls demonstrated differently. In the 1984 Reagan-Mondale contest, Reagan polled 61% of first-time voters as compared to Mondale's 38%. In 1988, the Republican erosion of support among first-time voters began to show with Bush and Dukakis nearly tied, 51% to 47%, respectively. In 1992, Clinton received a commanding 14-point advantage over President Bush among first-time voters, 46% to 32%. Ross Perot captured the support of 22% first-time voters.

Clinton also led among the country's oldest voters, an advantage Democrats had failed to do in 1976, 1980, 1984 or 1988.

### Older Voters<sup>6</sup>

	1976		1980		1984		1988		1992	
	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
60 and older	52%	47	54%	41	60%	40	50%	49	38%	50

While President Bush was most competitive among middle-aged voters between 30 and 59 years, he was still unable to lead Clinton among any age group. Previous exit poll data suggest that middle-aged voters have given the Republicans their strongest base of support within the various age groups. This was the case in the 1976, 1980, 1984, and 1988 presidential elections. It is important to note that while Clinton did outpoll President Bush among this middle-age group, he did not exceed the exit poll tallies garnered by previous Democrat presidential hopefuls. Again, Perot served as the spoiler among this middle-age group receiving about one-in-five votes.

<sup>5</sup>Percent voting for the Republican or Democrat candidate in the 1980, 1984, 1988 and 1992 presidential elections.

<sup>6</sup>Percent voting for the Republican or Democrat candidate in the 1976, 1980, 1984, 1988 and 1992 presidential elections.

## Marital Status/Children

Married voters divided fairly equally between President Bush and Governor Clinton, 40% to 41%, respectively. This is noteworthy since the Republican candidate has held sizeable majorities over the Democratic candidate among married voters since the first year this subgroup was tracked (1984). In 1984, this Republican majority stood at 62% to 38%; while in 1988 the margin was 57% to 42%.

Not surprising, given the tone of the campaign, was the Clinton-Gore advantage among single-parents. It is imperative to note, though, that single-parents are disproportionately black. Among this group, the Democrats outpolled Bush-Quayle by a better than two-to-one margin, 55% to 25%. Perot picked up the support of one-in-five single parents (21%).

Among families with children under 18 years-old, the race was a little closer with Clinton and Bush dividing the vote 40% to 38%, respectively. Again, Perot picked up the support of approximately one-in-five (22%).

## Pocketbook Issues

Presidential elections are often about the economy, and recessions are the most frequent causes of defeats for incumbents. In 1992, an overwhelming 79% of those exit polled held a negative view of the nation's economy. Similarly somber, 75% felt that their personal financial situation had either stayed the same (41%) over the past four years or taken a turn for the worse (34%).

In 1984, Ronald Reagan won as the economy boomed, getting the votes of 86% of those who thought their financial situation was improving. This time, the presidential vote paralleled people's financial situation. Only a quarter (24%) of the voters said their family's financial situation was better today than four years ago. President Bush got the votes of 61% of such people, a 37-point advantage over Clinton. About two-in-five (41%) said their family's financial situation was the same as four years ago. Among this status-quo set, Bush and Clinton ran neck-and-neck, 42% to 41%, respectively.

Trend of Family Financial Situation <sup>7</sup>										
	1976		1980			1984		1992		
	Dem	Rep	Rep	Dem	Ind	Rep	Dem	Dem	Rep	Ind
Better today	30%	70	37%	55	7	86%	14	24%	61	14
Same today	51%	49	46%	47	7	50%	50	41%	42	17
Worse today	77%	23	66%	25	8	15%	85	61%	14	25

<sup>7</sup>Family financial situation is compared to one year ago in 1976 and 1980; four years ago in 1984 and 1992. The question was not asked in 1988.

Note the drop in votes Bush received from those optimistic on the economy. In '84, Reagan received 86% of their vote, in '92 Bush received just 61% support from this group, a 25-point drop. Of course, this drop is not just a reflection on the economic mood of the country, but reflects many other dynamics going on in the presidential campaign.

Most importantly, of the third of the electorate (34%) who said they were worse off than four years ago (and the group that determined the election), Clinton outpolled Bush by almost 50-points, (61% to 14%). Perot pulled the support of one-in-four.

The economy dominated all other issues in the 1992 presidential contest. In total, 42% of those polled while leaving their polling place cited "economy/jobs" as the issue that determined their vote. That was more than twice as many as cited any other issue (which, by the way was economy-related -- the federal budget deficit, 21%). And, among those concerned about the economy/jobs, President Bush received only one-fourth of the vote, barely beating Ross Perot (25% to 24%). Clinton carried a clear majority (52%) of economy-driven voters.

Better than four in ten (41%) felt that both Clinton and Bush were likely to raise taxes. An almost equal number (43%) felt Clinton alone would raise taxes. But, just 13% singled out Bush as the candidate to raise taxes. In any case, clear majorities of voters felt either candidate would be likely to raise taxes. In the case of Clinton, that number stood at 84%; for Bush 54% felt he would be likely to raise taxes.

Seventy-one percent of those saying they expected Clinton to raise taxes voted for Bush; while 84% of those citing Bush as the candidate likely to raise taxes voted for Clinton. The key element, however, was the vote among those saying both candidates were equally likely to raise taxes -- of this 41% of the voting public, nearly two-thirds (64%) said they voted for Clinton while just 14% voted for Bush.

<b>Pocketbook Issues</b>			
	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Perot</b>
<b>Total Vote</b>	44%	38%	19
<b>State of Nation's Economy</b>			
Excellent (1%) <sup>8</sup>	53%	35	12
Good (18%)	8%	82	10
Not Good (47%)	43%	37	20
Poor (32%)	64%	12	24
<b>Personal Financial Situation</b>			
Better (24%)	24%	61	14
Worse (34%)	61%	14	25
About the same (41%)	41%	42	17
<b>Most Important Issue in Vote<sup>9</sup></b>			
Economy/Jobs (42%)	52%	25	24
Federal budget deficit (21%)	36%	27	37
Taxes (14%)	26%	57	18
<b>Presidential Approval on Economy</b>			
Approve strongly (--)	--	--	--
Approve somewhat (35%)	8%	82	10
Disapprove somewhat (24%)	43%	32	25
Disapprove strongly (40%)	74%	3	24
<b>Candidate More Likely to Raise Taxes</b>			
Bill Clinton (43%)	11%	71	18
George Bush (13%)	84%	5	12
Both equally likely (41%)	64%	14	22
Neither will (1%)	64%	25	11

<sup>8</sup>Percentage in parenthesis ( ) indicate the percentage of respondents citing this particular response.

<sup>9</sup>The respondents were given a listing of nine issues and asked to choose "Which one or two issues mattered most in deciding how you voted?"

## The Question of Abortion

The issue of abortion remains a factor in the Republican vote. Of the 12% who cited abortion as one or two of the most important issues in deciding their vote for President in 1992, a majority (55%) voted for President Bush.

<b>Abortion Issue</b>			
	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Perot</b>
<b>Total Vote</b>	44%	38	19
<b>Abortion should be:</b>			
Legal in all cases (34%) <sup>10</sup>	58%	20	21
Legal in most cases (29%)	45%	34	21
Illegal in most cases (23%)	26%	56	18
Illegal in all cases (9%)	24%	63	13
<b>Most Important Issue in Vote</b>			
Issue of abortion (12%)	36%	55	9

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<sup>10</sup>Percentages in parenthesis ( ) indicate the percentage of respondents citing this specific response.

## Questions of Character

While the 1992 campaign focused on many issues of character, the VRS exit poll honed in on two questions of trustworthiness; one each for the major party candidates.

More voters thought President Bush was lying about his involvement in the Iran-Contra affair than thought Clinton was not honest and straightforward about his draft record and activities during the Vietnam War. This finding held a negative impact on the President. Of the two-thirds (67%) who said the President was not truthful in explaining his role in the Iran-Contra affair, a full 57% voted for Clinton.

<b>Character Issues</b>			
	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Perot</b>
<b>Total Vote</b>	44%	38	19
<b>Clinton's Draft Record and His Activities During the Vietnam War...</b>			
Clinton told the truth (40%) <sup>11</sup>	77%	9	14
Not told the truth (52%)	14%	63	23
<b>In Explaining His Role in the Iran-Contra Affair...</b>			
Bush told the truth (27%)	10%	79	11
Not told the truth (67%)	57%	21	22

<sup>11</sup>Percentages in parenthesis ( ) indicate the percentage of respondents citing this specific response.

## Candidate Qualities

From a list of nine qualities and attributes, voters were asked which one or two candidate qualities mattered most in deciding how they voted for President. "Change" emerged as the top choice.

<u>Candidate Qualities</u>	<u>% (allows for multiple mentions)</u>
Will bring about needed change	36
Has the best plan for the country	24
Has the right experience	19
Would have good judgment in a crisis	16
Is honest and trustworthy	14
Has strong convictions	14
Cares about people like me	13
His choice for Vice President	8
Is my party's candidate	5

Positive traits which can be more attributable to Clinton account for a total 73% of the total mentions (change, has a plan, cares about people), while positive qualities which could be easily linked to Bush account for only 35% (experience, best able to handle crisis).

<b>Candidate Qualities (rank ordered according to number of mentions)</b>			
	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Perot</b>
<b>Total Vote</b>	44%	38	19
Will bring about needed change	67%	5	28
Has the best plan for the country	58%	17	25
Has the right experience	7%	84	9
Would have good judgement in crisis	8%	88	4
Is honest and trustworthy	14%	63	23
Has strong convictions	27%	45	28
Cares about people like me	64%	11	25
His choice for Vice President	85%	13	2
Is my party's candidate	56%	42	2



## **View of 1992 Campaign**

By a better than three-to-one margin (30% to 9%), voters viewed the Bush campaign as more negative than the Clinton campaign. Still, a full 44% felt that both candidates attacked their opponent unfairly. In summary, a sizeable 83% felt the 1992 presidential campaigns had some form of negative tone. Not surprising, voters who felt the Bush campaign attacked Clinton unfairly voted in large measure (87%) for the Arkansas Governor, while those who felt the Clinton campaign attacked Bush unfairly sided with the President (81%). Surprisingly though, Perot was not a winner in this arena as he received only 9% of the vote from those who felt Clinton was attacked unfairly, and 10% from those who thought Bush was attacked unfairly.

Noteworthy is the fact that President Bush received more of the vote from those voters who felt both campaigns attacked the other unfairly -- 45% to 28%. Among this group Perot received 27% of the vote.

## **Issues Facing the Electorate**

As stated earlier, jobs and the economy were the most pressing issues facing voters in 1992. While economic issues accounted for 77% of all mentions, other issues did emerge:

<b><u>Issues Facing Electorate</u></b>	<b><u>% (allows for multiple mentions)</u></b>
Health care	20
Family values	15
Education	13
Abortion	12
Foreign policy	8
Environment	5

Voter loyalty on these issues were split with Bush receiving majorities from those citing foreign policy (87%), family values (67%), and abortion (55%). Clinton scored best among those citing the environment (72%), health care (67%), and education (60%). Perot was unable to muster real support on any of these issues. His best marks were received from those citing education (16%).

<b>Campaign Items Viewed Important By Voters</b> (rank ordered according to number of mentions)			
	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Perot</b>
<b>Total Vote</b>	44%	38	19
The debates (36%) <sup>12</sup>	43%	27	30
Future appointments to Supreme Court (32%)	48%	40	11
The candidates for Vice President (27%)	64%	29	7
Bush's role in Iran-Contra Affair (25%)	67%	12	21
The Persian Gulf War (24%)	24%	67	9
Bush breaking "no new taxes" pledge (22%)	64%	10	27
Clinton's draft status and anti-war protests (20%)	9%	68	23
The candidates' marital infidelity (12%)	7%	78	15
Age of the candidates (9%)	63%	30	6

The presidential debates and future appointments to the Supreme Court received prominence as issues or items influencing people's vote for President. Among the group citing the presidential and vice presidential debates as an influencing factor in their vote, President Bush was the loser, garnering less support from this group than Perot or Clinton. Likewise, the President lost the edge to Clinton on the choice of future appointments to the Supreme Court, 48% to 40%.

Clinton outpolled Bush by large margins when it came to those who cited the President's role in the Iran-Contra affair and breaking his 'no new taxes' pledge as items very important in making a presidential choice.

For those concerned about the candidate's choice for vice presidential candidates, Clinton was the clear winner, outpolling Bush by a better than 2-to-1 margin (64% to 29%). This was a double-edged sword for the President -- Clinton's choice of Al Gore for his running-mate may have been viewed in positive terms, and the President's continuance of Dan Quayle on the GOP ticket viewed in a more negative light.

### **The Perot Factor**

While Perot received about the same number of votes (19%) as President Bush lost from his 1988 election results, Bush actually lost about equal numbers of voters to Clinton and to Perot. More than half (56%) of Perot's supporters had been for Bush in 1988. A sixth (17%) of the Perot vote came from Dukakis backers, and a fourth had not voted at all four years ago.

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<sup>12</sup>Percentages in parenthesis ( ) indicate the percentage of respondents citing this particular response.

<b>Demographic Profile of Perot Voters</b>		
	<b>Perot Voters</b>	<b>Total Voters</b>
<b>Gender</b>		
Men	52%	47%
Women	48	53
<b>Age</b>		
18-24	12%	11%
25-29	12	10
30-39	27	24
40-49	23	22
50-59	12	13
60 and older	14	20
<b>Family Income</b>		
less than \$15,000	13%	14%
\$15,000-\$29,999	25	24
\$30,000-\$49,999	32	30
\$50,000-\$74,999	19	20
\$75,000 or more	10	12
<b>Religion</b>		
Protestants	39%	42%
Catholics	28	27
<b>Party Identification</b>		
Democrats	26%	38%
Independents	43	27
Republicans	31	35
<b>Political Ideology</b>		
Liberals	20%	21%
Moderates	53	49
Conservatives	27	30
<b>1988 Votes:</b>		
Bush	56%	53%
Dukakis	17	27
Didn't vote	21	15
<b>Region:</b>		
East	22%	24%
Midwest	29	27
South	25	29
West	24	20

Perot's coalition was made up of younger, middle-income men. Unlike previous third-party candidates, Perot's support was evenly divided across the country. Had Perot not been on the ballot, Perot voters said they would have split between Clinton and Bush; 47% for Clinton, 41% for Bush.

As the independent candidate, Perot was very much competitive with Bush and Clinton among self-described independents receiving 30% of their vote. Clinton and Bush received 38% and 32%, respectively. In 1980, John Anderson, the independent candidate, received only 12% of the self-described independent vote.

For the most part, voters said their vote for President was a vote "For" their candidate, rather than a vote "Against his opponents" (69% to 27%). Equal numbers of voters who said theirs' was a vote "against" the opposition cast ballots for both Bush and Clinton, 40% each.

### **Clinton's Mandate?**

The 1992 VRS exit poll asked voters whether they would rather have "government provide more services but cost more in taxes" or "government cost less in taxes but provide fewer services." By a 55%-36% margin, voters opted for less government and lower taxes.

By a better than three-to-one margin (65% to 21%) Clinton outpolled Bush among those saying they would rather have a "government provide more services but cost more in taxes". Meanwhile, those saying they would rather a "government costing less in taxes but providing fewer services" opted for Bush by a less strong 50% to 28% margin.

Another question asked whether government should "encourage traditional family values" or "encourage tolerance of non-traditional families." By 70%-to-25%, voters said it was more important for government to "encourage traditional family values" than encourage tolerance of non-traditional families.

While Bush-Quayle won among those wanting the government to encourage traditional family values, support was not overwhelming. Forty-seven percent opted for the Republican ticket as compared to 32% for Clinton-Gore. Meanwhile, Clinton-Gore outpolled Bush-Quayle among those looking for government to encourage tolerance of non-traditional families (72% to 14%).

Simply put, the Republican message of less government, lower taxes and family values remains very much alive. Clinton did not win because he moved to the right, rather his victory lie in his ability to convince the middle-class voters that he could work within the Republican consensus. Clinton had no trouble carrying those voters who favored more government spending and tolerance of nontraditional families. His real test was with voters on the conservative side of those issues.

In 1988, Dukakis carried lower-income voters while Bush dominated the middle and upper-income categories. This time, Clinton took all income groups under \$50,000 and tied Bush among those earning \$50,000 to \$75,000 a year.

## Congressional Balloting

By a better than 2-to-1 margin, voters agreed with the major campaign theme of both campaign's that a President and a Congress of the same political party were better than divided government (63% to 27%). But in the end, that did not translate into votes for the President as Clinton outpolled Bush by a 45%-to-40% margin among those who felt government would work better with a President and Congress of the same political party.

Voters were divided on the anti-incumbent issue. When asked whether "government would work better if all new people were elected this year," almost equal numbers of voters agreed (49%) as disagreed (47%). The President was outpolled by Clinton on this question by margins of 49%-to-24% among those who agreed that government would work better if all new people were elected this year.

Congressional Balloting			
	Clinton	Bush	Perot
<b>Total Vote</b>	44%	38	19
<b>In the House election, did you vote for:</b>			
The Democrat (54%) <sup>13</sup>	74%	11	15
The Republican (46%)	6%	72	18
<b>Government would work better if all new people were elected this year...</b>			
Agree (49%)	49%	24	27
Disagree (47%)	35%	54	11
<b>In general which is better for the country?</b>			
President and Congress of same party (63%)	45%	40	14
President of one party, Congress of other (27%)	37%	35	28

<sup>13</sup>Percentages in parenthesis ( ) indicate the percentage of respondents citing this particular response.

**1992 VRS EXIT POLL  
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE**

<b>VRS National Exit Poll Profile</b>	
<b>Gender</b>	
Male	47%
Female	53
<b>Age</b>	
18-29	21%
30-39	24
40-49	22
50-64	20
65+	13
<b>Party Identification</b>	
Democrat	38%
Independent	27
Republican	35
<b>Political Ideology</b>	
Liberal	21%
Moderate	49
Conservative	30
<b>1988 Presidential Vote</b>	
Bush	53%
Dukakis	29
Else	2
Did not vote	15
<b>Education</b>	
Some High School or Less	7%
High School Graduate	25
Some College	29
College Graduate	24
Postgraduate	16
<b>Income</b>	
Less than \$15,000	14%
\$15,000-\$30,000	24
\$30,000-\$50,000	30
\$50,000-\$75,000	20
\$75,000 and over	12

<b>VRS National Exit Poll Profile</b>	
<b>Employment Status</b>	
Working, Full-Time	55%
Working, Part-Time	10
Unemployed	5
Homemaker	8
Student	5
Retired	17
<b>Marital Status</b>	
Married	66%
Single	19
Widowed	6
Divorced/Separated	9
<b>Religion</b>	
Protestant	42%
Catholic	27
Other Christian	14
Jewish	4
Else	5
None	7
<b>Condition of National Economy</b>	
Excellent	1%
Good	18
Not Good	47
Poor	32
<b>Financial Situation<sup>14</sup></b>	
Better	24%
Worse	34
Same	41
<b>Region</b>	
East	25%
Midwest	28
South	27
West	20

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<sup>14</sup>Compared to four years ago, is your family's financial situation better, worse, or about the same.

<b>VRS National Exit Poll Profile</b>	
<b>Race</b>	
White	87%
Black	8
Hispanic	2
Asian	1
Other	1



**Reasons Why Voters Voted as They Did  
1992 VRS Exit Poll<sup>15</sup>**

	Percent Voting for <sup>1</sup>		
	Bush	Clinton	Perot
<b>Total Vote</b>	38%	44	19
<b>Which issues matter most in deciding how you voted?</b>			
Economy/Jobs (42%)	25%	52 ✓	24
Budget deficit (21%)	27%	36	37 ✓
Health care (20%)	20%	67 ✓	14
Family values (15%)	67% ✓	22	12
Taxes (14%)	57%	26	18
Abortion (12%)	55%	36	9
Education (13%)	25%	60	16
Foreign policy (8%)	87%	8	5
Environment (5%)	14%	72	13
<b>Is the condition of the economy:</b>			
Excellent (1%)	35%	53	12
Good (18%)	82%	8	10
Not so good (47%)	37%	43	20
Poor (32%)	12%	64	24
<b>What candidate qualities mattered most in deciding how you voted?</b>			
Will bring about needed change (36%)	5%	67	28
Has best plan for the country (24%)	17%	58	25
Has the right experience (19%)	84%	7	9
Have good judgement in crisis (16%)	88%	8	4
Cares about people like me (13%)	11%	64	25
Is honest and trustworthy (14%)	63%	14	23
Has strong convictions (14%)	45%	27	28
His choice of Vice President (8%)	13%	85	2
Is my party's candidate (5%)	42%	56	2

<sup>15</sup>Percentages in parenthesis ( ) indicate the percentage of respondents citing this specific response.

	Percent Voting for <sup>1</sup>		
	Bush	Clinton	Perot
<b>Total Vote</b>	38%	44	19
<b>Abortion should be:</b>			
Legal in all cases (34%)	20%	58	21
Legal in most cases (29%)	34%	45	21
Illegal in most cases (23%)	56%	26	18
Illegal in all cases (9%)	63%	24	13
<b>Was your vote mainly:</b>			
For your candidate (69%)	38%	44	18
Against his opponent (27%)	40%	40	20
<b>Family Values, Government Should:</b>			
Encourage traditional family values (70%)	47%	32	20
Encourage tolerance of non-traditional family values (25%)	14%	72	14
<b>Would you rather have government:</b>			
Provide more services, but cost more in taxes (36%)	21%	65	14
Cost less in taxes, but provide fewer services (55%)	50%	28	23
<b>In the House election, did you vote for:</b>			
The Democrat (54%)	11%	74	15
The Republican (46%)	72%	10	18
Other	--	--	--
Didn't vote	--	--	--
<b>In general, which is better for the country?</b>			
Pres. and Congress of the same party (63%)	40%	45	14
Pres. of one party, Congress of other (27%)	35%	37	28
<b>Which should be the highest priority for the next President?</b>			
Reducing the budget deficit (54%)	39%	40	20
Expanding domestic programs (22%)	31%	54	14
Cutting taxes (14%)	37%	47	15

<b>Demographic Profile of Candidate Voters</b>				
	<b>Clinton Voters</b>	<b>Bush Voters</b>	<b>Perot Voters</b>	<b>Total Voters</b>
<b>Gender</b>				
Men	45%	47%	52%	47%
Women	55	53	48	53
<b>Age</b>				
18-24	11%	9%	12%	11%
25-29	10	10	12	10
30-39	22	24	27	24
40-49	22	23	23	22
50-59	12	14	12	13
60 and older	23	21	14	20
<b>Family Income</b>				
less than \$15,000	19%	9%	13%	14%
\$15,000-\$29,999	25	23	25	24
\$30,000-\$49,999	28	31	32	30
\$50,000-\$74,999	18	22	19	20
\$75,000 or more	10	16	10	12
<b>Religion</b>				
Protestants	35%	51%	39%	42%
Catholics	27	26	28	27
<b>Party Identification</b>				
Democrats	68%	10%	26%	38%
Independents	24	23	43	27
Republicans	8	67	31	35
<b>Political Ideology</b>				
Liberals	33%	8%	20%	21%
Moderates	54	41	53	49
Conservatives	13	51	27	30
<b>1988 Votes:</b>				
Bush	25%	84%	56%	53%
Dukakis	51	4	17	27
Didn't vote	16	10	21	15
<b>Region:</b>				
East	26%	22%	22%	24%
Midwest	26	26	29	27
South	28	33	25	29
West	20	18	24	20

1. Of those citing this specific response, what percent voted for Bush, Clinton or Perot.

**Portrait of the Electorate  
1992 VRS Exit Poll**

% of '92 Vote		1976 <sup>1</sup> Carter Ford		1980 <sup>2</sup> Reagan Carter Andsn			1984 <sup>3</sup> Reagan Mndale		1988 <sup>4</sup> Bush Dukakis		1992 <sup>5</sup> Clinton Bush Perot		
	<b>Total Vote</b>	50%	48	51%	41	7	59%	40	53%	45	43%	38	19
	<b>Gender</b>												
46%	Men	50%	48	55%	36	7	62%	37	57%	41	41%	38	21
54	Women	50%	48	47%	45	7	56%	44	50%	49	46%	37	17
	<b>Race</b>												
87%	Whites	47%	52	56%	36	7	64%	35	59%	40	39%	41	20
8	Blacks	83%	16	11%	85	3	9%	90	12%	86	82%	11	7
3	Hispanics	76%	24	33%	59	6	37%	62	30%	69	62%	25	14
1	Asians	-- <sup>1</sup>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	29%	55	16
	<b>Race/Gender</b>												
40%	White men	47%	51	59%	32	7	67%	32	63%	36	37% <sup>✓</sup>	40	22 <sup>✓</sup>
46	White women	46%	52	52%	39	8	62%	38	56%	43	41%	41	18 <sup>19</sup>
3	Black men	80%	19	14%	82	3	12%	85	15%	81	77%	15	9
5	Black women	86%	14	9	88	3	7%	93	9	91	86%	9	5
	<b>Marital Status</b>												
65%	Married	--	--	--	--	--	62%	38	57%	42	40%	40	20
35	Unmmarried	--	--	--	--	--	52%	47	46%	53	49	33	18
	<b>Age</b>												
22%	18-29 years-old	51%	47	43%	44	11	59%	40	52%	47	44%	34	22
38	30-44 years-old	49%	49	55%	36	8	57%	42	54%	45	42%	38	20
24	45-59 years-old	47%	52	55%	39	5	60%	40	57%	42	41%	40	19
16	60 and older	47%	52	54%	41	4	60%	40	50%	49	50%	38	12

<sup>1</sup>Dashes indicate that a question was not asked or a category was not provided in a particular year.

% of '92 Vote		1976 <sup>1</sup>		1980 <sup>2</sup>			1984 <sup>3</sup>		1988 <sup>4</sup>		1992 <sup>5</sup>		
		Carter Ford		Reagan	Carter	Andsn	Reagan	Mndale	Bush	Dukakis	Clinton	Bush	Perot
	<b>Total Vote</b>	50%	48	51%	41	7	59%	40	53%	45	43%	38	19
	<b>Age/Gender</b>												
10%	Men, 18-29 yrs-old	50%	47	47%	39	11	63%	36	55%	43	38%	36	26
12	Women, 18-29 yrs-old	51%	47	39%	49	10	55%	44	49%	50	48%	33	19
17	Men, 30-44 yrs-old	49%	49	59%	31	8	61%	38	58%	40	39%	38	22
21	Women, 30-44 yrs-old	49%	49	50%	41	8	54%	45	50%	49	44%	38	18
11	Men, 45-59 yrs-old	48%	51	60%	34	5	62%	36	62%	36	40%	40	20
13	Women, 45-59 yrs-old	46%	53	50%	44	5	57%	42	52%	48	43%	40	17
7	Men, 60 and older	44%	55	56%	40	3	62%	37	53%	46	49%	37	14
8	Women, 60 and older	49%	50	52%	43	4	58%	42	48%	52	51%	39	10
	<b>Race/Age</b>												
18%	White, 18-29 yrs-old	48%	50	48%	38	12	68%	31	60%	39	38%	38	24
2	Black, 18-29 yrs-old	81%	18	7%	90	3	6%	94	12%	86	83%	9	8
33	White, 30-44 yrs-old	45%	53	59%	31	8	63%	36	60%	39	37%	41	22
3	Black, 30-44 yrs-old	87%	12	12%	84	3	10%	89	13%	85	81%	11	8
21	White, 45-59 yrs-old	44%	55	59%	34	5	65%	34	63%	36	37%	42	20
2	Black, 45-59 yrs-old	80%	19	13%	84	3	10%	87	10%	86	79%	15	6
15	White, 60 and older	45%	54	56%	39	4	63%	37	54%	45	47%	40	13
1	Black, 60 and older	71%	29	20%	77	3	15%	83	9%	90	89%	7	4
	<b>Education</b>												
6%	Less than High School	--	--	46%	51	2	50%	50	43%	56	55%	28	17
25	High School Graduate	--	--	51%	43	4	60%	39	50%	49	43%	36	20
29	Some College	--	--	55%	35	8	61%	38	57%	42	42%	37	21
40	Col. Graduate or more	--	--	52%	35	11	58%	41	56%	43	44%	39	18
24	College Graduate	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	62%	37	40%	41	19
16	Post Graduate Ed.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	50%	48	49%	36	15

% of '92 Vote		1976 <sup>1</sup>		1980 <sup>2</sup>			1984 <sup>3</sup>		1988 <sup>4</sup>		1992 <sup>5</sup>		
		Carter Ford		Reagan	Carter	Andsn	Reagan	Mndale	Bush	Dukakis	Clinton	Bush	Perot
	<b>Total Vote</b>	50%	48	51%	41	7	59%	40	53%	45	43%	38	19
	<b>Social Demo Groups</b>												
49%	White Protestant	41%	58	63%	31	6	72%	27	66%	33	33%	46	21
27	Catholic	54%	44	50%	42	7	54%	45	52%	47	44%	36	20
4	Jewish	64%	34	39%	45	15	31%	67	35%	64	78%	12	10
17	White Born-Agains <sup>2</sup>	--	--	63%	33	3	78%	22	81%	18	23%	61	15
19%	<b>Union Household</b>	59%	39	44%	49	6	46%	53	42%	57	55%	24	21
	<b>Family Income</b>												
14%	Under \$15,000	58%	40	42%	51	6	45%	55	37%	62	59%	23	18
24	\$15,000-\$29,999	55%	43	44%	47	7	57%	42	49%	50	45%	35	20
30	\$30,000-\$49,999	48%	50	53%	39	7	59%	40	56%	44	41%	38	21
20	\$50,000-\$74,999	36%	63	59%	32	8	66%	33	56%	42	40%	42	18
13	\$75,000 and over	--	--	63%	26	10	69%	30	62%	37	36%	48	16
	<b>Financial Situation:<sup>3</sup></b>												
25%	Better today	30%	70	37%	55	7	86%	14	--	--	24%	62	14
41	Same today	51%	49	46%	47	7	50%	50	--	--	41%	41	18
34	Worse today	77%	23	66%	25	8	15%	85	--	--	61%	14	25
	<b>Region</b>												
24%	East	51%	47	47%	42	9	53%	47	50%	49	47%	35	18
27	Midwest	48%	50	51%	41	7	58%	41	52%	47	42%	37	21
30	South	54%	45	52%	44	3	64%	36	58%	41	42%	43	16
20	West	46%	51	53%	34	10	61%	38	52%	46	44%	34	22

<sup>2</sup>"Born-again Christian" was labeled "born-again Christian/fundamentalists" in 1992 and "fundamentalist and evangelical Christian" in 1988.

<sup>3</sup>Family financial situation is compared to one year ago in 1976 and 1980; four years ago in 1984 and 1992. 1976 and 1984 numbers are from NBC News.

% of '92 Vote		1976 <sup>1</sup>		1980 <sup>2</sup>			1984 <sup>3</sup>		1988 <sup>4</sup>		1992 <sup>5</sup>		
		Carter Ford		Reagan	Carter	Andsn	Reagan	Mndale	Bush	Dukakis	Clinton	Bush	Perot
	<b>Total Vote</b>	50%	48	51%	41	7	59%	40	53%	45	43%	38	19
	<b>Region/Race</b>												
21%	Whites in East	49%	50	52%	38	10	57%	42	54%	45	45%	36	19
2	Blacks in East	82%	17	12%	85	3	7%	92	12%	85	79%	14	8
25	Whites in Midwest	46%	52	55%	37	7	64%	35	57%	42	39%	39	22
2	Blacks in Midwest	90%	9	11%	84	4	6%	92	8%	91	86%	9	5
24	Whites in South	47%	52	61%	35	3	71%	28	67%	32	34%	48	18
4	Blacks in South	81%	18	9%	89	2	10%	89	12%	86	82%	12	6
16	Whites in West	44%	54	55%	32	10	66%	33	58%	41	39%	37	24
1	Blacks in West	83	16	26%	67	4	22%	77	13%	83	83%	7	11
	<b>Party ID</b>												
35%	Republican	9%	90	86%	9	4	92%	7	91%	8	10%	73	17
27	Independent	43%	54	55%	30	12	63%	36	55%	43	38%	32	30
38	Democrat	77%	22	26%	67	6	25%	74	17%	82	77%	10	13
	<b>Party/Gender</b>												
17%	Republican men	9%	90	87%	8	4	93%	7	91%	8	10%	71	19
18	Republican women	10%	90	85%	10	5	92%	8	90%	9	10%	74	16
14	Independent men	44%	53	60%	27	10	66%	32	58%	40	36%	33	32
14	Independent women	42%	55	50%	34	13	59%	40	52%	46	41%	32	27
16	Democrat men	77%	22	29%	63	6	28%	71	18%	80	77%	9	14
22	Democrat women	78%	22	23%	71	5	22%	77	16%	84	78%	10	12
	<b>Race/Party</b>												
30%	White Democrats	74%	25	30%	62	6	30%	69	21%	79	74%	11	15
6	Black Democrats	94%	6	4%	94	2	3	96	4%	95	92%	5	4
	<b>Political Ideology</b>												
21%	Liberal	71%	27	25%	60	11	28%	70	18%	81	68%	14	18
49	Moderate	51%	48	53	49%	42	8	53%	47	49%	48%	31	21
29	Conservative	29%	70	75	73%	23	4	82%	17	80%	18%	73	65

% of '92 Vote		1976 <sup>1</sup>		1980 <sup>2</sup>			1984 <sup>3</sup>		1988 <sup>4</sup>		1992 <sup>5</sup>		
		Carter Ford		Reagan	Carter	Andsn	Reagan	Mndale	Bush	Dukakis	Clinton	Bush	Perot
	<b>Total Vote</b>	50%	48	51%	41	7	59%	40	53%	45	43%	38	19
	<b>Party/Ideology Scale</b>												
2%	Liberal Republicans	17%	82	78%	17	5	88%	11	73%	27	17%	54	29
15	Moderate Republicans	11%	88	83%	10	7	93%	7	87%	12	15%	63	21
18	Conservative Reps.	6%	93	91%	5	3	95%	4	95%	4	5%	82	14
5	Liberal Independents	64%	29	26%	51	17	40%	58	26%	71	54%	16	30
14	Mod. Independents	45%	53	53%	30	14	57%	42	51%	47	42%	28	30
7	Cons. Independents	26%	72	75%	18	6	85%	13	77%	20	18%	54	28
13	Liberal Democrats	86%	12	14%	73	10	11%	88	6%	93	85%	4	11
20	Moderate Democrats	77%	22	27%	67	5	22%	78	18%	81	76%	10	14
6	Conservative Dems.	64%	35	39%	56	4	46%	54	34%	65	60%	24	16
	<b>Employment Status</b>												
68%	Employed	47%	51	54%	37	7	60%	39	56%	43	42%	38	20
5	Student	--	--	--	--	--	52%	47	44%	54	50%	35	15
6	Unemployed	65%	34	39%	51	8	32%	67	37%	62	56%	24	20
8	Homemaker	--	--	--	--	--	62%	38	58%	41	36%	45	19
13	Retired	--	--	--	--	--	60%	40	50%	49	51%	36	13
11%	<b>First Time Voter</b>	--	--	--	--	--	61%	38	51%	47	48%	30	22
	<b>Congressional Vote</b>												
54%	Vote for Democrat	75%	23	22%	69	7	23%	76	27%	72	74%	11	15
46	Vote for Republican	13%	86	83%	11	5	93%	7	82%	17	10%	71	18

1. 1976 data were based on a survey conducted by CBS News with questionnaires from 15,300 voters.

2. 1980 data were based on 15,201 surveys conducted by The New York Times and CBS News.

3. 1984 data were based on 9,174 surveys of voters conducted by The New York Times and CBS News.

4. 1988 data were based on 11,645 surveys of voters conducted by The New York Times and CBS News.

5. 1992 data were collected by Voter Research and Surveys based on questionnaires completed by 15,490 voters leaving 300 polling places around the country on election day.





## PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES: PERCEPTION ANALYZER REPORT

### Methodology

Four "Perception Analyzer" (PA) sessions were held in various mid-Western cities during the period from October 11, 1992 to October 19, 1992. These groups provided the Bush-Quayle '92 campaign with second-by-second measurements of audience reactions to the presidential and vice presidential debates. Overall, 141 voters participated in these sessions. The breakdown for each group is as follows:

<u>Debate Site</u>	<u>Test Site</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u># Participants</u>
St. Louis, MO	Perrysburg, OH	10/11/92	32
Atlanta, GA	Southfield, MI	10/13/92	32
Richmond, VA	St. Louis, MO	10/15/92	42
Lansing, MI	Milwaukee, WI	10/19/92	35

Participants were screened to meet several qualifications:

- Politically, groups were designed to be ~~among~~ neither strong Democrats nor strong Republicans. There were no 'straight-ticket' voters (either Republican or Democrat) nor were there voters who said they "strongly supported" either Bill Clinton or George Bush. Groups were designed to comprise approximately 30% each of those who said they "somewhat supported" either Bush or Clinton. Another 30% were made up of voters who at the time of their recruitment were "undecided" in their presidential preference. The remaining 10% were supporters of, and those who would consider supporting Ross Perot. Actual attendance varied somewhat from these targets.
- Demographically, participants were recruited to ensure that no member had family incomes under \$15,000 a year or over \$75,000. All participants were non-black. Participants with post-graduate education were screened out, as were lawyers, social science and/or government teachers. Groups were recruited to meet a 50/50 male-to-female ratio.
- Additional criteria included no focus group participation within the past six months and no members of the same family, or any way closely related.

During the Perception Analyzer (PA) sessions, voters responded to questions and reacted to the live Presidential and Vice Presidential debates via television using the "Perception Analyzer," a computer-based data collection tool which utilizes hand-held dials wired to a micro-computer to select responses and evaluate test material. As participants responded,

data were collected, displayed via remote monitor and stored as a data file for subsequent statistical analysis.

Following the debates, discussions with voters were also held to obtain qualitative feedback about perceptions of the candidates' performance specifically, and their respective issue positions in general.

### Sample Description

Following is an overview of the key demographic characteristics of the PA session participants:

	<b>Presidential Debate <u>Oct. 11</u></b>	<b>Vice-Pres. Debate <u>Oct. 13</u></b>	<b>Presidential Debate <u>Oct. 15</u></b>	<b>Presidential Debate <u>Oct. 19</u></b>
<b>Pre-Debate Ballot</b>				
Bush	22%	16%	38%	20%
Clinton	38	16	21	26
Perot	16	19	12	11
Undecided	25	50	29	43
<b>Gender</b>				
Female	47%	50%	50%	51%
Male	53	50	50	49
<b>Age</b>				
18-24	--%	--%	5%	--%
25-34	25	22	26	23
35-44	41	22	24	34
45-54	25	38	21	20
55-64	6	16	21	11
65+	3	3	2	11
<b>Household Income</b>				
Under \$19,000	9%	6%	4%	11%
\$20,000-\$29,000	19	25	13	6
\$30,000-\$39,000	28	25	13	14
\$40,000-\$49,000	9	6	21	23
\$50,000-74,999	28	28	46	43
\$75,000 and over	6	9	4	3

	<u>Presidential Debate Oct. 11</u>	<u>Vice-Pres. Debate Oct. 13</u>	<u>Presidential Debate Oct. 15</u>	<u>Presidential Debate Oct. 19</u>
<b>Party ID</b>				
Democrat	25%	66%	33%	34%
Independent	22	9	26	20
Republican	53	25	39	46
<b>Ideology</b>				
Liberal	9%	16%	5%	11%
Moderate	75	59	69	66
Conservative	16	25	26	23
<b>Pre-Debate Trial Heat</b>				
Bush	22%	16%	38%	20%
Clinton	38	16	21	26
Perot	16	19	12	11
Undecided	25	50	29	43

## Overview

The PA sessions posed a battery of pre- and post-debate questions centering on impressions of the candidates, issue handling preferences, and general feelings towards the candidates. After each debate, voters were also asked to evaluate the debate performance of the three candidates. Between 32-42 people participated during each debate.

The data suggests that the popular interpretations of the three presidential debates and the single vice-presidential debate are reasonably valid.

In short, the groups of voters participating in the four PA sessions believe that:

- Perot did the best overall job in each of the presidential debates
- The President's best performance was in the third debate
- Clinton's best job was in the second debate
- Gore did better than Quayle in the Vice Presidential debate.

The trial ballot in each of the four debates showed a marked increase for the Perot/Stockdale ticket. Based on trial ballot differences from all the PA sessions, the net effect of participants is as follows:

- Bush + 2
- Clinton + 1
- Perot +12

## **First Presidential Debate, October 11th, St. Louis, Missouri**

According to Bush-Quayle/MSI national tracking surveys, sixty-seven percent (67%) of the electorate watched the first presidential debate. Partisans and high-income groups were the least likely to miss it (only about 15% of these people reported missing the debate), while independents, minorities, and younger voters were the most likely to miss the first presidential debate (between 30% and 40% of these demographic groups did not watch this debate). These figures are undoubtedly inflated, but the intergroup differences are what one would expect. Moreover, from Neilson ratings and other accounts it is unquestionable that much of the electorate saw the debate.

Of those who participated in the first debate PA session, Ross Perot was the clear winner (see tables following each section). Fifty-percent of PA participants thought Perot did the best overall job while 16% gave Clinton the edge. Only 13% rated the President's performance as best overall. Meanwhile, 34% said that Clinton did the worst overall job in the debate, compared to 25% for the President and 13% for Perot.

A Bush-Quayle/MSI tracking survey taken immediately following the debate found a full third (34%) rating Perot as doing the better job in this debate, 26% thought Clinton did the better job, while 15% sided with the President. In the BQ/MSI survey conducted one day after the debate, Perot and Clinton's score rose to 49% and 40%, respectively, while the President's rating slipped to 12%.

The following summarizes the key post-debate evaluation findings:

### **For Perot:**

- Almost a majority (47%) felt Perot had a better grasp of the facts than either Bush or Clinton.
- A majority (50%) of participants felt Perot conveyed the most important information during the course of the debate and found him most believable (50%).
- By a sizeable (66%-to-13%) he came across as most relaxed over both President Bush and Clinton.
- An overwhelming 81% thought he had the best moment in this initial debate

### **For Clinton:**

- Only 13% viewed him as sincere.
- He came across as most pessimistic (41%) and least optimistic (22%) of the three candidates.

### **For President Bush:**

- Overall, his performance was lukewarm. He did not hold the edge in any of the post-debate performance evaluations tested.
- Nearly a third (31%) thought the President had the worst moment in this debate.

- He was viewed as more sincere than Clinton (25%-to-13%), more convincing than Clinton (25%-to-22%), and more believable than Clinton (25%-to-16%).

Across the board, Perot either met or exceeded public expectations in this first presidential debate.

The result of the debate is as follows: (1) Clinton trailed far behind Perot in most perceptions, (2) Clinton's trial heat number declined by 7-points while the President's rose by 6-points, (3) the movement caused by the debate was slightly more favorable to the President than Clinton. Perot picked up 12-points among the participants, taking most of his gains from undecided voters.

In post-debate evaluations, Perot made significant gains. Forty-seven percent (47%) of participants thought he was inspiring (up from 19% in pre-debate measurements), 59% saw him as a man of action (up from 28%), 44% thought he was honest (up 28-points from pre-debate questioning), and 38% saw him as purposeful (up 7-points).

The President was more likely to be seen as a person of high moral character (38%) though he lost points from his pre-debate level (44%). Clinton was viewed as most "in touch" (34%).

<b>Post-Debate Performance Evaluation</b>			
	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Perot</b>
Best overall job	13%	16	50
Worst overall job	25%	34	13
Best grasp of facts	19%	22	47
Worst grasp of facts	13%	31	22
Who had the best moment	9%	6	81
Who had the worst moment	31%	28	19
Most relaxed	13%	13	66
Least relaxed	38%	25	9
Best understands the problems facing the country	13%	16	41
Most believable	25%	16	50
Most important information	25%	16	50
Most convincing	25%	22	44
Most agree with	22%	25	50

<b>Post-Debate Performance Evaluation</b>			
	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Perot</b>
Most sincere	25%	13	41
Most optimistic about country	31%	22	34
Most pessimistic about country	31%	41	16

The trial ballot in the first presidential debate showed solid gains for both the President and Perot, while Clinton fell. Based on the trial ballot differences from the PA session, the net effect of the debate is as follows:

■	Bush	+ 6
■	Clinton	- 7
■	Perot	+12

<b>Pre-Post Debate Ratings: First Presidential Debate</b>			
	<b>PRE</b>	<b>POST</b>	<b>CHANGE</b>
<b>Voting Probability<sup>1</sup></b>			
George Bush	43	42	- 1
Bill Clinton	46	43	- 3
Ross Perot	26	39	+13
<b>Trial Heat</b>			
George Bush	22%	28%	+ 6
Bill Clinton	38	31	- 7
Ross Perot	16	28	+12
Undecided	25	13	-12
<b>Favorability<sup>2</sup></b>			
George Bush	43	45	+ 2
Bill Clinton	53	61	+ 8
Ross Perot	36	59	+23

<sup>1</sup>Participants were asked to rate the probability of voting for each candidate on a zero to 100 scale where 100 means definitely will vote for him and 0 means definitely will not vote for him.

<sup>2</sup>Participants were asked to rate their feelings of each candidate on a zero to 100 scale where 100 means a very favorable feeling and 0 means a very unfavorable feeling.

Pre-Post Debate Ratings: First Presidential Debate									
<sup>3</sup>	B	C	P	B	C	P	B	C	P
<b>Impressions</b>									
Inspiring	16%	38	19	26%	28	47	10	-10	28
A man of action	16%	22	28	19%	19	59	3	-3	31
In touch	13%	41	19	28%	34	31	15	-7	12
Honest	25%	6	16	34%	13	44	9	7	28
Trustworthy	25%	13	19	28%	22	31	3	9	12
Purposeful	22%	28	31	16%	19	38	-6	-9	7
Person of high moral char.	44%	3	22	38%	6	25	-6	3	3
Strong	28%	19	31	28%	25	28	0	6	-3
<b>Issue handling</b>									
Handling of foreign policy	47%	22	16	63%	16	19	16	-6	3
Creating jobs	9%	53	31	19%	44	38	10	-9	7
Improv. educ. for children	16%	41	13	22%	31	44	6	-10	31
Improv. US stand. of liv.	13%	44	25	16%	34	44	3	-10	19
Improv. health care sys.	16%	53	19	25%	47	19	9	-6	0
Getting economy going	19%	41	22	22%	25	50	3	-16	28
<b>Feelings</b>									
Admiration	47%	16	16	28%	9	47	-19	-7	31
Trust	34%	19	13	31%	19	38	-3	0	25
Confident	34%	25	9	28%	28	28	-6	3	19
Secure	34%	22	6	28%	22	16	-6	0	10
Optimistic	19%	47	22	25%	28	38	6	-19	16
Encouraged	16%	44	25	25%	31	44	9	-13	19

While the President continued to dominate the foreign policy issue in pre-to-post debate questioning, Perot's performance increased on such issues as moving the economy (+28), creating jobs (+7), improving the standard of living in America (+19), and improving education (+31). In pre- and post-debate questioning, Clinton lost support on all the issues tested. His biggest drop came on getting the economy going (-16). Like Perot, President Bush saw gains on all the issues tested. His strongest marks came through on handling foreign policy, up to 63% from 47% (+16-points).

<sup>3</sup>Percentages do not equal 100 on this table as participants were able to choose either Bush, Clinton, or Perot, as well as "all of them" and "none of them".



The first debate also saw Perot increase the reservoir of positive feelings people had for him. In post-debate questioning, 47% felt admiration for Perot (up from 16-points in pre-debate questioning); 44% were encouraged by him (up from 25-points in pre-debate testing), 38% said they trusted him (up from 13-points), and 38% felt optimistic with him (up from 22-points).

Meanwhile, 28% felt secure with the President, compared with 22% who felt the same way with Clinton. Only 16% felt secure with Perot. Following the debates, an equal percentage of participants (28%) felt confident about each of the candidates. This represented a slight drop (-6 points) in the responses given for President Bush in the pre-debate questioning and increases for both Clinton (+3 points) and Perot (+19 points).

Despite this drop in confidence for the President, participants did feel encouraged. One in four felt encouraged by the President's performance, up 9-points from pre-debate testing.

<b>Post-Debate Evaluations</b> <b>Candidate Holding the Edge on Particular Trait or Characteristic</b> (Items are rank ordered)			
	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Perot</b>
<b>Impressions</b>	Person of high moral character	In touch	A man of action Inspiring Honest Purposeful Trustworthy
<b>Issue Handling</b>	Handling foreign policy	Improving our health care system Creating jobs	Getting the economy going Improving education for children Improving standard of living in America
<b>Feelings</b>	Secure		Admiration Encouraged Trust Optimistic

## **Vice-Presidential Debate, October 13th, Atlanta, Georgia**

Viewership of the debate was broad. Sixty-five percent (65%) of voters claimed to have watched the vice-presidential debate.

Most participants in the vice presidential debate PA session, felt Al Gore did the best overall job. He was seen as the winner by 53%. Almost one-in-four (22%) viewed Admiral Stockdale as having done the best overall job. This was tempered though as a full 75% thought the Admiral did the worst possible job. Only 16% thought Vice President Quayle did the best job; 6% felt he did the worst. Forty-four percent (44%) thought Gore had the best grasp of the facts, compared to 72% who believed Stockdale had the worst grasp of facts. Many thought Adm. Stockdale had both the best (53%) and the worst moment in the debate (78%).

The following summarizes the key post-debate evaluation findings:

### **For Gore:**

- Forty-one percent (41%) thought he was the most relaxed candidate.
- Thirty-eight percent (38%) believed he best understood the problems facing the country.
- One-in-two (50%) felt he provided the most important information.
- A majority (53%) thought he was the most convincing candidate.
- Almost one-in-two (47%) said that he was the person they most agreed with.

### **For Quayle:**

- Two-in-five (41%) said the Vice President was the least believable candidate and the person they least agreed with.
- Thirty-four percent (34%) thought Quayle was the least sincere.

### **For Stockdale:**

- A majority (56%) thought he was the least relaxed participant in the debate.
- Forty-seven percent (47%) felt that he least understood the problems facing the country.
- A plurality (38%) thought Adm. Stockdale was the most believable. However, most (56%) also thought he was the least convincing.
- Almost three-in-four (72%) thought he was the most sincere candidate.

Again, the only area of contention among participants in their post-debate evaluations was with the question of optimism. Thirty-four percent thought Gore was the most optimistic, while 31% sided with Adm. Stockdale. Only 13% thought Quayle was the most optimistic. Reciprocally, 28% believed both Quayle and Gore were the most pessimistic about the country, compared to 19% for Adm. Stockdale.

The fallout from the vice-presidential debate is as follows: (1) Gore scored far better than both the Vice President and Adm. Stockdale, (2) the Clinton/Gore and Bush/Quayle trial heat percentage rose 3-points while despite Stockdale's performance the Perot/Stockdale ticket rose 9-points, (3) the movement caused by the debate was more favorable to Perot, again taking most of his gains from undecided voters.

<b>Post-Debate Performance Evaluation</b>			
	<b>Quayle</b>	<b>Stockdale</b>	<b>Gore</b>
Best overall job	16%	22	53
Worst overall job	6%	75	13
Best grasp of facts	25%	19	44
Worst grasp of facts	6%	72	9
Who had the best moment	13%	53	22
Who had the worst moment	6%	78	9
Most relaxed	16%	28	41
Least relaxed	16%	56	19
Best understands the problems facing the country	13%	19	38
Least understands the problems facing the country	6%	47	13
Most believable	16%	38	34
Least believable	41%	22	22
Most important information	19%	13	50
Most convincing	19%	22	53
Least convincing	22%	56	13
Most agree with	19%	25	47
Least agree with	41%	19	31
Most sincere	9%	72	13
Least sincere	34%	28	19
Most optimistic about country	13%	31	34
Most pessimistic about country	28%	19	28

The trial ballot in the vice presidential debate showed a significant increase in support for the Perot/Stockdale ticket, minimal gains for Bush/Quayle and no movement for the Clinton/Gore ticket. Based on the trial ballot differences from the PA session, the net effect of the vice-presidential debate is as follows:

■	Bush	+ 3
■	Clinton	0
■	Perot	+12

Pre-Post Debate Ratings: Vice Presidential Debate			
	PRE	POST	CHANGE
<b>Voting Probability<sup>4</sup></b>			
Bush/Quayle	40%	44%	4
Clinton/Gore	50	54	4
Perot/Stockdale	35	33	-2
<b>Trial Heat</b>			
Bush/Quayle	16%	19%	3
Clinton/Gore	16	19	3
Perot/Stockdale	19	28	9
Undecided	50	34	-16
<b>Favorability<sup>5</sup></b>			
George Bush	42	47	5
Bill Clinton	48	49	1
Ross Perot	48	49	1
Dan Quayle	35	39	4
Al Gore	50	56	6
James Stockdale	36	41	5

<sup>4</sup>Participants were asked to rate the probability of voting for each candidate on a zero to 100 scale where 100 means definitely will vote for him and 0 means definitely will not vote for him.

<sup>5</sup>Participants were asked to rate their feelings of each candidate on a zero to 100 scale where 100 means a very favorable feeling and 0 means a very unfavorable feeling.

Pre-Post Debate Ratings: Vice Presidential Debate									
<sup>6</sup>	Q	S	G	Q	S	G	Q	S	G
<b>Impressions</b>									
Inspiring	9%	22	22	9%	13	47	0	-9	25
Men of action	13%	38	19	19%	28	34	6	-10	15
In touch	16%	19	28	9%	13	47	-7	-6	19
Honest	19%	16	3	16%	16	25	-3	0	22
Trustworthy	13%	19	19	22%	13	31	9	-6	12
Purposeful	19%	34	28	13%	19	50	-6	-15	22
Person of high moral char.	38%	22	9	19%	28	22	-19	6	13
Strong	21%	19	31	25%	19	38	4	0	7
<b>Issue handling</b>									
Handling of foreign policy	53%	13	16	53%	9	25	0	-4	9
Creating jobs	16%	41	31	6%	19	56	-10	-22	25
Improv. educ. for children	16%	22	47	16%	9	53	0	-13	6
Improv. US stand. liv.	13%	22	31	6%	22	41	-7	0	10
Improv. health care sys.	16%	19	53	16%	6	50	0	-13	-3
Getting economy going	13%	25	41	6%	28	41	-7	3	0
<b>Feelings</b>									
Admiration	19%	31	16	16%	25	28	-3	-6	12
Trust	28%	16	13	22%	13	25	-6	-3	12
Confident	31%	19	31	22%	13	31	-9	-6	0
Secure	35%	6	34	31%	13	28	-4	7	-6
Optimistic	19%	22	34	16%	16	47	-3	-6	13
Encouraged	16%	31	34	13%	16	53	-3	-15	19

In post-debate evaluations, Gore made significant gains. Forty-seven percent (47%) thought him inspiring, up 25-points from pre-debate questioning. Forty-seven percent (47%) viewed him as in touch, a rise of 19-points over the pre-debate measurement. A majority (50%) said Gore came across "purposeful", a 22-point increase from the pre-debate testing.

Adm. Stockdale finished the evening holding the edge as a "person of high moral character" garnering the support of 28%. Gore and Quayle trailed with 22% and 19% support, respectively.

<sup>6</sup>Percentages do not equal 100 on this table as participants were able to choose either Bush, Clinton, or Perot, as well as "all of them" or "none of them".

The Vice President did not hold the advantage on any of the traits and characteristics tested in the "impressions" section. For the most part, the Vice President's stature fell.

Like the President, the Vice President controlled only the foreign policy issue (53%). On the issues, the Vice President's performance was rather static as he did not lose or gain any ground on the handling foreign policy, improving education for our children (16%), and improving the health care system (16%). The Vice President did lose points on economic issues -- creating jobs down 10 points (from 16% to 6%); improving the standard of living in America, and getting the economy going again, both down 7-points (from 13% to 6%).

Gore's performance in the debate elevated his rank on such issues as creating jobs (up 25-points to 56%), improving the standard of living in America (up 10-points to 41%), and improving education (up 6-points to 53%).

Like Perot in the first presidential debate, Gore increased the positive feelings voters have toward him. Forty-seven percent felt optimistic about Gore (up 13-points from pre-debate measurements), 53% said they were encouraged (up 19-points), a full one in four said they trusted him (up 12-points from pre-debate exposure).

In the end though, a slim plurality (31%) felt more secure with the Vice President as compared to Stockdale (13%) and Gore (28%).

<b>Post-Debate Evaluations</b> <b>VP Candidate Holding the Edge on Particular Trait or Characteristic</b> (items are rank ordered)			
	Quayle	Gore	Stockdale
<b>Impressions</b>		Purposeful In touch Inspiring Strong A man of action Trustworthy Honest	Person of high moral character
<b>Issue Handling</b>	Handling foreign policy	Creating jobs Improving education for children Improving our health care system Improving standard of living in America Getting economy going	
<b>Feelings</b>	Secure	Encouraged Optimistic Confident Admiration Trust	

## Second Presidential Debate, October 15th, Richmond, Virginia

According to the BQ/MSI debate tracking surveys, nearly three-in-four voters (74%) watched the second presidential debate, up from the 64% who reported viewing the first presidential debate the previous Sunday evening. The same viewing variations -- mostly along status and intensity of partisanship lines -- marked this second debate.

The findings of this PA session once again revealed Ross Perot as the debates' winner. However, his margin of victory was not as clear as with the appearance in the first presidential debate. Perot was seen as doing the best overall job by 43%, while Clinton was viewed first by 29%, and the President with 17%. In the first debate, half thought Perot did the best overall job. It is important to note that in the pre-debate trial ballot questioning, only 21% of the group was in favor of Clinton, with 38% for President Bush, 12% for Perot, and 29% undecided. The preponderance of Bush voters may have depressed some of Clinton's actual performance ratings, although the group was fairly balanced by party identification: 34% Democrats, 40% Republicans and 26% independents.

According to the BQ/MSI tracking survey conducted immediately following the debate, a plurality nationwide (46%) felt Clinton had won the debate, as compared to 19% for Perot and 11% for Bush.

The Perception Analyzer found (38%) saying the President did the worst overall job, as compared to 17% for Perot and 14% for Clinton. Other findings are mixed: 48% thought Clinton had the best grasp of the facts, compared to 21% for Perot and 19% for President Bush. Once again, viewers thought Perot had the best moment (67%). In contrast, 36% thought the President had the worst moment.

Trend of Selected Post-Debate Evaluations						
	Bush		Clinton		Perot	
	1st Debate	2nd Debate	1st Debate	2nd Debate	1st Debate	2nd Debate
Best overall job	13%	17%	16%	29%	50%	43%
Worst overall job	25%	38%	34%	14%	13%	17%
Best moment	9%	12%	6%	12%	81%	67%
Worst moment	31%	36%	28%	29%	19%	24%
Most relaxed	13%	24%	13%	40%	66%	21%
Least relaxed	38%	36%	25%	21%	9%	17%
Most believable	25%	33%	16%	21%	50%	40%
Most convincing	25%	19%	22%	36%	44%	33%
Most sincere	25%	19%	13%	24%	41%	45%

The following summarizes the key post-debate evaluation findings:

**For Perot:**

- Thirty-eight percent (38%) thought he best understood the problems facing the country.
- Two-in-five (40%) judged him the most believable.
- Thirty-eight percent (38%) held that he provided the most important information.
- A majority (55%) said they agreed most with him.
- Forty-five percent (45%) thought he was the most sincere.

**For Clinton:**

- Two-in-five (40%) said he was the most relaxed.
- Thirty-six percent (36%) said that he was the most convincing candidate.
- Thirty-six percent (36%) thought he was the most optimistic participant in the debate, though a small plurality (26%) thought he was also the most pessimistic about the country. (In both presidential debates so far, Clinton was viewed as most pessimistic about the country by more people than his opponents.)

**For President Bush:**

- Thirty-six percent (36%) thought he was the least relaxed participant in the debate.
- Thirty-three percent (33%) said he least understands the problems facing the country.
- A plurality (43%) thought he was the least convincing candidate in the debate.

The outcome of the second presidential debate is as follows: (1) Perot scored exceptionally well during this debates with the President's constituency, (2) the President's performance was weaker in this debate than in the previous outing, and (3) the movement caused by the debate was more favorable to Perot.

<b>Post-Debate Performance Evaluations</b>			
	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Perot</b>	<b>Clinton</b>
Best overall job	17%	43	29
Worst overall job	38%	17	14
Best grasp of facts	19%	21	48
Worst grasp of facts	24%	19	17
Who had the best moment	12%	67	12
Who had the worst moment	36%	24	29



**Post-Debate Performance Evaluations**

	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Perot</b>	<b>Clinton</b>
Most relaxed	24%	21	40
Least relaxed	36%	17	21
Best understands the problems facing the country	21%	38	33
Least understands the problems facing the country	33%	12	19
Most believable	33%	40	21
Least believable	26%	14	38
Most important information	19%	38	33
Most convincing	19%	33	36
Least convincing	43%	14	36
Most agree with	24%	55	17
Least agree with	36%	17	38
Most sincere	19%	45	24
Least sincere	33%	7	31
Most optimistic about country	21%	26	36
Most pessimistic about country	19%	24	26

The trial ballot in the second presidential debate showed solid gains for both Clinton and Perot, while the President fell. Based on the trial differences from the PA sessions, the net effect of the debate is as follows:

- Bush/Quayle - 2
- Clinton/Gore + 7
- Perot/Stockdale + 8

<b>Pre-Post Debate Ratings: Second Presidential Debate</b>			
	<b>PRE</b>	<b>POST</b>	<b>CHANGE</b>
<b>Voting Probability<sup>7</sup></b>			
George Bush	46	45	-1
Bill Clinton	40	45	5
Ross Perot	29	43	14
<b>Trial Heat</b>			
George Bush	38	36	-2
Bill Clinton	21	19	-2
Ross Perot	12	29	17
Undecided	29	17	-12
<b>Favorability<sup>8</sup></b>			
George Bush	43	49	6
Bill Clinton	44	52	8
Ross Perot	42	57	15

<sup>7</sup>Participants were asked to rate the probability of voting for each candidate on a zero to 100 scale where 100 means definitely will vote for him and 0 means definitely will not vote for hi..

<sup>8</sup>Participants were asked to rate their feelings of each candidate on a zero to 100 scale where 100 means a very favorable feeling and 0 means a very unfavorable feeling.

Pre-Post Debate Ratings: Second Presidential Debate									
<sup>9</sup>	B	P	C	B	P	C	B	P	C
Impressions	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Inspiring	10%	48	12	14%	33	19	4	-15	7
A Man of action	23%	60	5	17%	71	7	-6	11	2
In touch	21%	38	24	17%	26	38	-4	-14	12
Honest	29%	19	5	29%	36	14	0	17	9
Trustworthy	31%	10	12	36%	17	24	5	7	12
Purposeful	15%	36	19	24%	31	26	9	-5	7
Person of high moral char.	48%	17	7	48%	14	10	0	-3	3
Strong	43%	19	17	40%	21	12	3	2	-5
<b>Issue handling</b>									
Handling of foreign policy	81%	5	5	76%	10	7	-5	5	2
Creating jobs	12%	40	31	14%	52	29	2	12	-2
Improv. educ. for children	24%	26	29	26%	29	40	2	3	11
Improv. US stand. of liv.	21%	26	21	24%	33	26	3	7	5
Improv. health care sys.	17%	14	43	24%	14	43	7	0	0
Getting economy going	17%	40	24	17%	48	24	0	8	0
<b>Feelings</b>									
Admiration	38%	29	17	31%	33	7	-7	4	-9
Trust	33%	14	10	38%	12	26	5	-2	16
Confident	33%	17	24	31%	24	24	-2	7	0
Secure	45%	2	12	45%	10	24	0	8	12
Optimistic	14%	29	33	24%	36	24	10	7	9
Encouraged	21%	36	26	17%	40	24	-4	4	-2

As compared to the first presidential debate, Perot made progress in post-debate evaluations when it comes to public perceptions on handling of the issues, as well as in the feelings voters may hold of him. Still, overall impressions of Perot remained mixed.

Seventy-one percent thought Perot was a man of action; 33% felt he was inspiring; 36% saw him as honest. Meanwhile, the President's strengths lie in the 36% who thought he was trustworthy, and an even larger 48% who felt he was a person of high moral character. Once again, Clinton was viewed by a plurality (38%) as the candidate most "in touch".

<sup>9</sup>Percentages do not equal 100 on this table as participants were allowed to choose either Bush, Clinton, or Perot, as well as "all of them" and "none of them."

The President continued to dominate the foreign policy issue. As with the first debate, Perot's performance increased his reputation on such issues as creating jobs, improving the standard of living in America, and getting the economy going. Clinton meanwhile lead all candidates on the issues of education and health care.

Overall, the President inspired feelings of security (45%) and trust (38%) among the voters, outpolling both his opponents on this issue.

<b>Post-Debate Evaluations</b> <b>Candidate Holding the Edge on Particular Trait or Characteristic</b> (items are rank ordered)			
	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Perot</b>
<b>Impressions</b>	Person of high moral character Strong Trustworthy	In touch	A man of action Honest Inspiring Purposeful
<b>Issue Handling</b>	Handling foreign policy	Improving our health care system Improving education for children	Creating jobs Getting the economy going Improving standard of living in America
<b>Feelings</b>	Secure Trust Confident		Encouraged Optimistic

### Third Presidential Debate, October 19th, Lansing, Michigan

Seventy-six percent (76%) of the electorate reported tuning into the final presidential debate. This is somewhat contrary to the conventional wisdom that voters become less interested in debates after the initial excitement and novelty wear off.

This debate was the President's best. However, the performances of both the President and Clinton were dwarfed by that of Perot. The President's favorability rating rose 10 points to 54 average, however Perot's rose 21 points to average. The main point, though, is that the President was unable to make any real gains due to the strong showing of Perot.

BQ/MSI post-debate tracking shows the public believing Perot did the better job in this debate (34%), as compared to Clinton (25%) and the President (25%). As with the finding from the PA session, this was the President's best post-debate performance.

While the national press portrayed this debate as the President's best performance and viewed him the overall winner, Ross Perot was the clear winner among the PA participants. Almost a simple majority (49%) thought Perot did the best overall job, as compared to 17% saying the President, and 14% saying Gov. Clinton. Forty-three percent (43%) said that President Bush did the worst overall job in this debate, compared to 20% for Clinton and 11% for Perot.

As the numbers suggest, this was Perot's debate.

Trend of Selected Post-Debate Evaluations									
	Bush			Clinton			Perot		
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
Best overall job	13%	17%	17%	16%	29%	14%	50%	43%	49%
Worst overall job	25%	38%	43%	34%	14%	20%	13%	17%	11%
Best moment	9%	12%	20%	6%	12%	20%	81%	67%	60%
Worst moment	31%	36%	46%	28%	29%	29%	19%	24%	11
Most relaxed	13%	24%	9%	13%	40%	29%	66%	21%	46%
Least relaxed	38%	36%	60%	25%	21%	14%	9%	17%	9%
Most believable	25%	33%	14%	16%	21%	17%	50%	40%	60%
Most convincing	25%	19%	17%	22%	36%	26%	44%	33%	57%
Most sincere	25%	19%	23%	13%	24%	6%	41%	45%	66%

The following summarizes the key post-debate evaluation findings:

**For Perot:**

- Forty-nine percent (49%) thought Perot had the best grasp of the facts, and 60% said he had the best moment in the debate.
- A large plurality (46%) thought Perot was the most relaxed.
- Equal numbers said Perot best understood the problems facing the country (60%), was the most believable (60%), and gave the most important information (60%).
- For many he was the most convincing (57%), the most sincere (66%), and the one they most agreed with (54%).

**For Clinton:**

- Nearly one in three (31%) felt he had the best grasp of the facts. Yet, an equal number felt he had the worst grasp of the facts (slightly higher than the President's rating on this question.)
- He came across as more relaxed than Bush (29% to 9%).
- He led as the candidate least believable (43%).

**For President Bush:**

- A plurality (46%) thought the President as least convincing.
- Nearly one-third (29%) viewed the President as least sincere.

The only realm of competition, again, was on the question of optimism. Thirty-seven percent (37%) thought Perot was the most optimistic, while 29% thought it was Clinton. While Perot held a plurality on being most optimistic, he also led as most pessimistic with 31%. For the first time, this 'mantle' was taken from Clinton.

The effect of the final debate is as follows: (1) the President's performance was viewed by the national media as the best, although participants in this PA session handily gave the better overall performance mantle to Perot, (2) the strong showing of Perot though overshadowed any potential gains for the President, (3) the movement caused by the debate was once again more favorable to Perot.

In post-debate evaluations, Perot made significant gains in all areas. Sixty percent (60%) of participants thought of him as inspiring, 69% as a man of action, 43% as honest, and 54% as purposeful. And, once again, the President led the others as a person of high moral character (43%), while Clinton was still viewed as the most "in touch" (43%).

<b>Post-Debate Performance Evaluation</b>			
	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Perot</b>	<b>Clinton</b>
Best overall job	17%	49	14
Worst overall job	43%	11	20
Best grasp of facts	20%	49	31
Worst grasp of facts	29%	17	31
Who had the best moment	20%	60	20
Who had the worst moment	46%	11	29
Most relaxed	9%	46	29
Least relaxed	60%	9	14
Best understands the problems facing the country	20%	60	17
Least understands the problems facing the country	29%	9	26
Most believable	14%	60	17
Least believable	31%	6	43
Most important information	14%	60	17
Most convincing	17%	57	26
Least convincing	46%	6	40
Most agree with	20%	54	26
Least agree with	34%	14	43
Most sincere	23%	66	6
Least sincere	29%	3	26
Most optimistic about country	23%	37	29
Most pessimistic about country	26%	31	20

The trial ballot in the final presidential debate showed tremendous growth of support for Perot, while the President and Clinton gained slightly. Based on the trial ballot differences from the PA session, the net effect of the final debate is as follows:

■	Bush	+ 3
■	Clinton	+ 3
■	Perot	+18

<b>Pre-Post Debate Ratings: Third Presidential Debate</b>			
	<b>PRE</b>	<b>POST</b>	<b>CHANGE</b>
<b>Voting Probability<sup>10</sup></b>			
George Bush	44	47	3
Bill Clinton	39	38	-1
Ross Perot	29	54	15
<b>Trial Heat</b>			
George Bush	20	23	3
Bill Clinton	26	29	3
Ross Perot	11	29	18
Undecided	43	20	-23
<b>Favorability<sup>11</sup></b>			
George Bush	44	54	10
Bill Clinton	37	43	6
Ross Perot	44	65	21

<sup>10</sup>Participants were asked to rate the probability of voting for each candidate on a zero to 100 scale where 100 means definitely will vote for him and 0 means definitely will not vote for hi.,

<sup>11</sup>Participants were asked to rate their feelings of each candidate on a zero to 100 scale where 100 means a very favorable feeling and 0 means a very unfavorable feeling.



Pre-Post Debate Ratings: Third Presidential Debate									
<sup>12</sup>	B	P	C	B	P	C	B	P	C
<b>Impressions</b>									
Inspiring	14%	46	23	14%	60	11	0	14	-12
A Man of action	11%	54	23	17%	69	9	6	15	-14
In touch	17%	23	34	17%	26	43	0	3	9
Honest	20%	23	9	23%	43	11	3	20	2
Trustworthy	26%	29	11	23%	34	9	-3	5	-2
Purposeful	14%	37	23	17%	54	9	3	17	-14
Person of high moral character	49%	20	--	43%	31	3	-6	11	3
Strong	31%	26	17	29%	37	9	-2	11	-8
<b>Issue handling</b>									
Handling foreign policy	77%	6	9	63%	20	14	-14	14	5
Creating jobs	6%	46	43	9%	60	31	3	14	-12
Improv. educ. for child.	20%	23	43	20%	31	31	0	8	-12
Improv. US stand. liv.	17%	29	31	11%	43	17	-6	14	-14
Improv. health care sys.	23%	17	43	20%	23	43	-3	6	0
Getting economy going	11%	43	29	9%	57	23	-2	14	-6
<b>Feelings</b>									
Admiration	46%	20	17	29%	40	11	-17	20	-6
Trust	37%	23	11	31%	34	9	-6	9	-2
Confident	37%	9	14	26%	37	17	-11	26	3
Secure	37%	6	14	37%	14	14	0	8	0
Optimistic	11%	20	37	20%	43	23	9	23	-14
Encouraged	11%	26	34	11%	54	20	0	28	-14

<sup>12</sup>Percentages do not equal 100 on this table as participants were allowed to choose either Bush, Clinton, or Perot, as well as "all of them" and "none or them".

Fifty-seven percent (up 14-points from pre-debate evaluation) thought Perot was the candidate best able to move the economy, 60% said he could create jobs (up 14-points from pre-debate measurements), 43% cited Perot as the candidate best able to improve the standard of living in America (up 14-points from pre-debate levels), and 31% felt he was best able to improving education (up 8-points). The President continued to command foreign policy (63%, down 14-points though from pre-debate measurement), while Clinton controlled health care (43% in both pre- and post-debate measurements).

Perot also increased participants' positive feelings toward him. Forty percent (up 20-points) admired him, 34% (up 9-points) trusted him, 37% felt confident about him, and 43% (up 23-points) felt optimistic. People still feel secure with the President though (37%) as compared to Clinton and Perot (both 14%).

<b>Post-Debate Evaluations</b> <b>Candidate Holding the Edge on Particular Trait or Characteristic</b> (items are rank ordered)			
	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Perot</b>
<b>Impressions</b>	Person of high moral character	In touch	A man of action Inspiring Purposeful Honest Trustworthy
<b>Issue Handling</b>	Handling foreign policy	Improving our health care system	Creating jobs Getting the economy going Improving standard of living in America
<b>Feelings</b>	Secure		Encouraged Optimistic Admiration Confident Trust