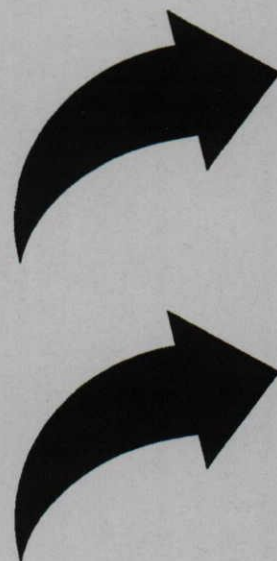


OUR REPORT TO YOU

*prepared for 1992 respondents
of the National Election Studies*



THANKS AGAIN !!!
for providing your views
for this important study



**FOR FURTHER INFORMATION,
YOU MAY WRITE TO:**

*National Election Studies
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
Box 1248
Arbor, Michigan 48*



THE 1992 NAT ONAL ELECTION STUDY REPORT:

Some months ago, one of our interviewers visited your home seeking your cooperation in a study conducted by the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. At that time, we said that we would send each participant a report of the study's findings: this, then, is the report of a study which would not even exist without the kind contributions of time which our respondents granted.

At this very moment, major universities and colleges from around the country are requesting the 1992 NES data to use as a basis for scholarship and analysis. The NES project staff acknowledges with great appreciation your willingness to make the 1992 Study possible. Your participation accurately informs experts about what Americans—including Americans like YOU—really think.

Our Respondents

(and why each is uniquely important!)

The selection of our sample is scientifically drawn so that each single member is irreplaceable! The total composition of our sample is designed to represent adult citizens of all ages, incomes, types of communities, geographic regions, etc.; we must hear from non-voters as well as voters, and from Americans who normally don't feel responsive to politics or public affairs as well as from Americans who feel more involved. The reason we try so hard to interview every selected person is because we know we lose some part our representativeness with every selected person whom we do not interview. A single respondent represents many other people who are politically just like him or her.

Respondents who think they aren't 'qualified' to be interviewed because they usually don't vote or "get involved" nonetheless have opinions about many things that we should hear about. If we didn't hear from nonvoters about abortion, for example, we would have underestimated the number of people who favor stricter forms for abortion laws. Among respondents who said they didn't vote, nearly half said the law should never allow abortion or else only in cases of rape, incest or when the woman's life is in danger (FIGURE 1); by comparison, only 34.7% of respondents who said they voted favored these kinds of abortion laws.

Our interviewers work hard in order to make sure that as many persons as possible from the selected sample are represented. This is why they are instructed to interview at any time(s) that might fit into a respondent's busy schedule, to provide answers to respondents' questions and concerns, to consider individual respondents' special circumstances when making arrangements for interviewing, to persist when a respondent is to

When abortion should be permitted by law

% strictest responses: never OR rape/incest/life danger only

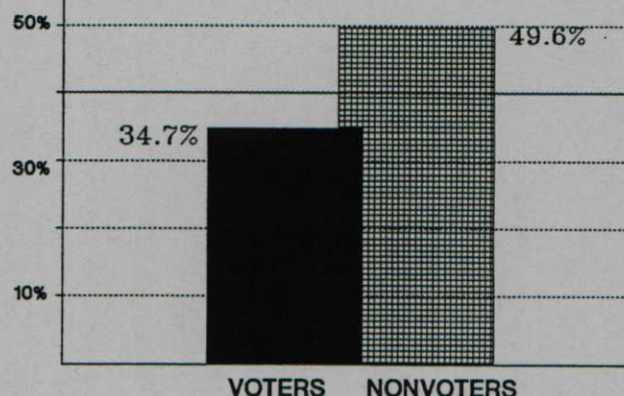


FIGURE 1

While many interviews are taken at the first call and from respondents who are eager to express their views, other respondents are very difficult to get in touch with or may be hesitant and initially decline. Our interviewers understand that sometimes a respondent may be overloaded at work or otherwise preoccupied, may have had a bad day, or may be feeling well. Many of those who initially decline change their minds after they have had their questions answered or when circumstances change, however, and many who are repeatedly away from home are eventually contacted for interview. By not giving up on obtaining interviews when respondents are hard to reach or hesitant, our data is demonstrably more complete.

FIGURE 2 compares interviews which required more effort on the part of the interviewer with ones which required relatively less effort. We see that among 'more effort' interviews respondents said that they planned to vote for Perot nearly twice as often as among 'less effort' interviews when we asked about voting intentions; about the same difference existed between 'less effort' and 'more effort' interviews for those who didn't plan to vote but who chose Perot as their preference. Losing the 'more effort' interviews would have meant underestimating Perot support in the week before the election.

WILL VOTE PEROT or WON'T VOTE BUT PREFER PEROT

% support among 'more effort' and 'less effort' interviews

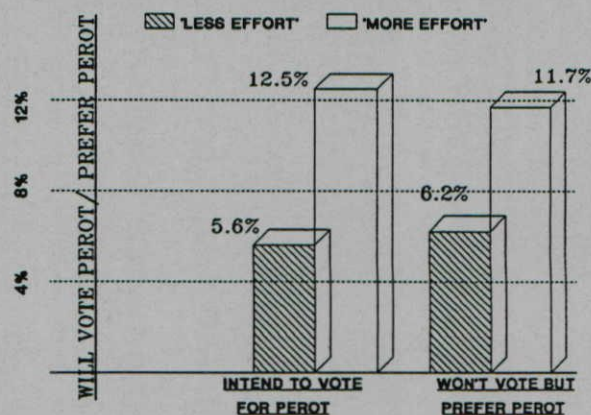


FIG 2. 'More effort' defined as more than avg. number of calls and/or refusal

On this page are brief summarizing descriptions of the 2485 persons who participated in the 1992 study (see chart at right). The black dots on the map (FIGURE 3) identify the areas in which interviewing took place. We interviewed in 33 states, 175 congressional districts and 143 counties.

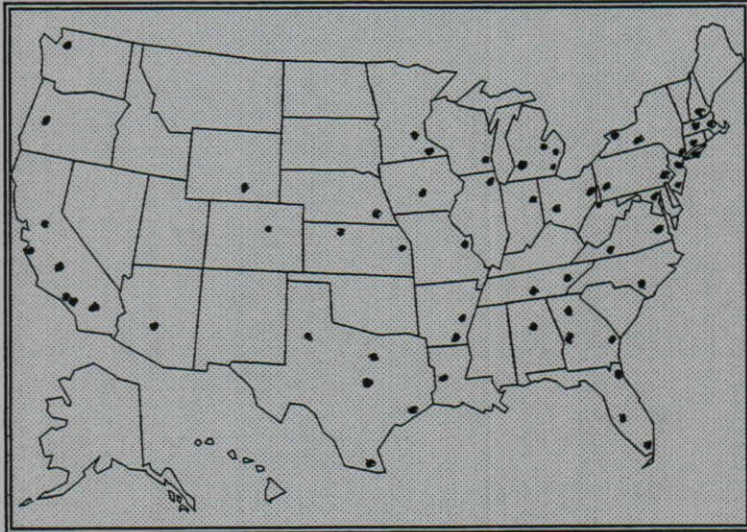


FIGURE 3



MORE ABOUT OUR RESPONDENTS:



While there is no such thing as a 'typical' respondent-- just as there is no such thing as a 'typical' individual-- mere numbers indicate that a 1992 respondent is likely to be married, Protestant, currently employed, about 45 years old, white, and female. But there is in fact as much variety in our community of respondents as can be found within American society.

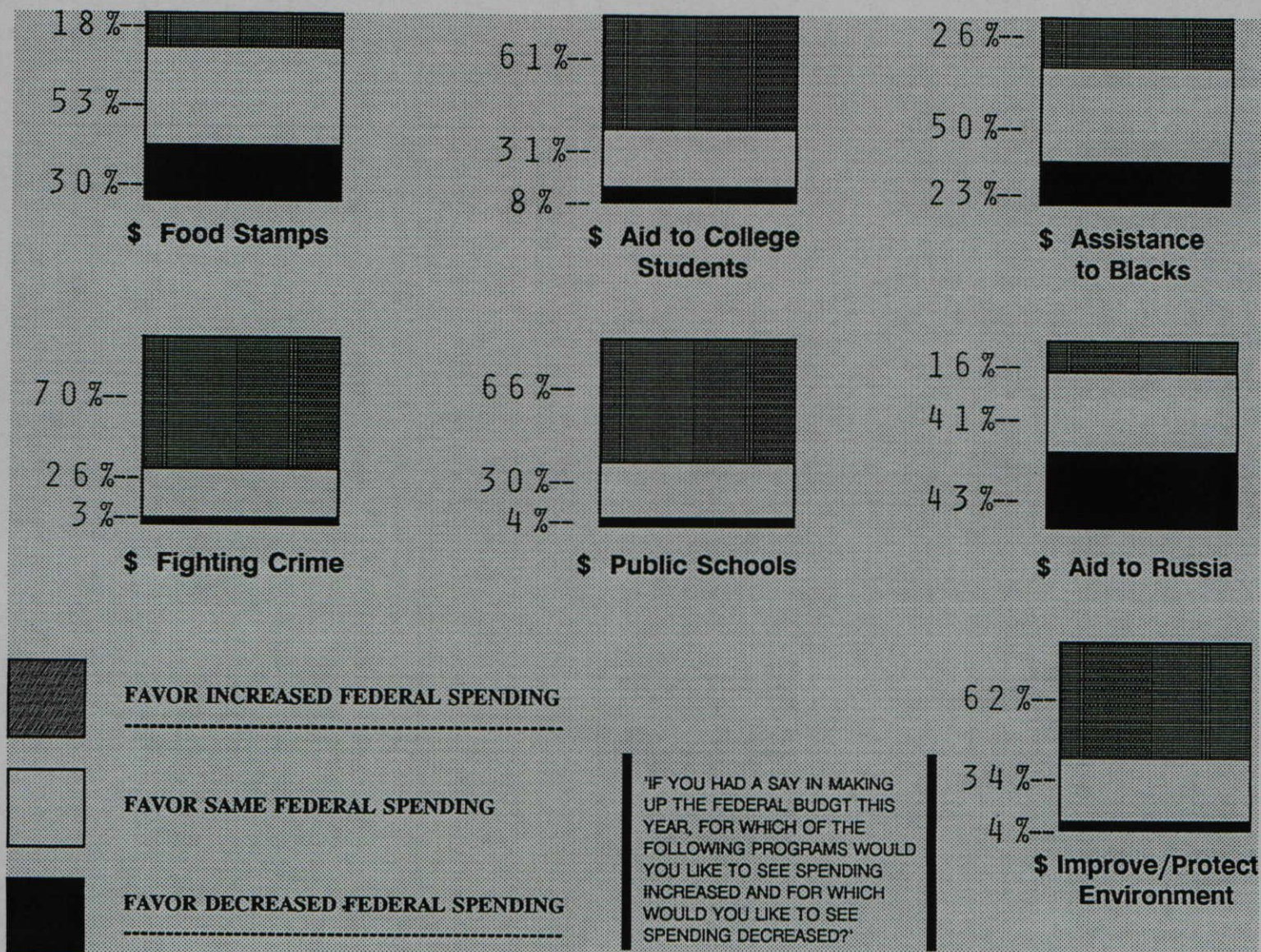
19% of our respondents reside in the Northeast, 27% in the Midwest, 35% in the South, and 19% in the West. Our respondents range in age from 18 to 99. Since over half of the U.S. population is female, it is not surprising that females comprise 53% of our sample. African-Americans constitute 13% of interviewees, whites are 84%, and the remaining 3% are composed of other racial minorities. A little under one fifth of our respondents, 18%, have finished fewer than 12 years of schooling, about one-third (33%), have successfully completed high school or gotten GEDs, and even more, 49%, have attended a 4-year or 2-year college.

63% of our respondents report themselves currently working at 20 hours per week, 7% are unemployed or temporarily laid off, 14% are non-working retired or retired but working less than 20 hours per week, 4% are disabled, and the remaining 13% are homemakers and students (not working more than 20 hours per week). Among types of occupational backgrounds, including the working backgrounds of the retired, 29% have been employed in professional and management positions, 21% in clerical and sales, 34% as laborers and service workers, 4% as farmers, and 11% have been as homemakers.

Who are the 992 respondents



- average age: **44.5**
- average family income: **\$22,000 - 24,999**
- average years in community: **22 yrs**
- has some college: **49%**
- identifying selves as middle class: **47%**
- women: **53%**
- married: **58%**
- in suburban areas, pop. 2,500+: **42%**,
in central cities, pop. 50,000+: **26%**,
in rural/outlying areas: **32%**
- working now: **63%**, retired: **14%**
unemployed or laid off: **7%**
disabled, students, homemakers: **17%**
- protestant: **58%**, catholic: **28%**,
jewish: **2%**, other: **13%**
- Independent: **12%**, Republican: **38%**,
Democratic: **50%**
- family owns home: **65%**
- households with union member: **17%**
- nonwhite: **16%**
- conservative: **41%**, moderate: **32%**,
liberal: **28%**
- Northeast: **19%**, Midwest: **27%**
South: **35%**, West: **19%**
- professional/managerial: **29%**
sales and clerical: **21%**
laborers and service: **34%**
farming and related: **4%**
full time homemakers: **11%**



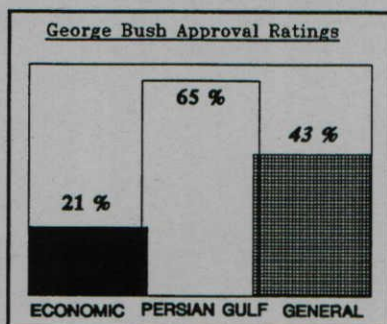
Economic and Other Issues

The economy was on your minds when you shared your opinions with us; for some of you it may have influenced your voting day behavior. Although respondents in general still gave Mr. Bush high marks for his Persian Gulf performance, his exceedingly low economic performance rating before the election was a danger signal for November 3.

Whether respondents attributed the state of the economy to the President or not, 72% of you thought prior to the election that the economy was worse than it had been in 1991; 82% of you thought it worse than in 1988. And

you were worried about the future: 47% thought that the standard of living 20 years from now would be worse, while only 34% thought it would be better.

Perhaps some of the economic anxiety for the coming generation stemmed from continuing concern about long-term effects of the current budget deficit; in the short term, most respondents



(49%) thought that in the next year the national economy would be about the same, and 34% even thought that it would improve. But in the global economy, 45% of respondents thought that the ability of the U.S. to compete had 'gotten worse;' only 13% thought it had improved. Including ALL matters in a comprehensive assessment of the state of the nation-- but probably much influenced by uneasiness about the economy-- 83% of respondents felt that "things this country have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track."

Although the national economy was in the forefront of people's minds, respondents' attitudes toward allocation of federal dollars produced a variety of responses concerning specific budget items. In many areas, respondents showed strong support for increased spending (see above), including spending for education, fighting crime, the environment, helping the homeless (73%), and AIDS research (62%)

The largest share of respondents favored maintaining current spending levels for other items, including science and technology (45%), aid to the unemployed (47%), and aid to cities (49%)-- though nearly as many favored increasing federal dollars for the unemployed (40%) and for science and technology (42%), while only 21% thought spending on cities should increase. The program for which a

substantial number of respondents thought spending on U.S. aid to countries of the former Soviet Union [43%, with 41% wishing to maintain current levels and 16% advocating greater expenditure] and, significantly, welfare, which 42% thought should be cut, 40% thought should be unchanged and only 17% thought should be increased.

'Most Important Problems'

When asked what you thought were the most important problems facing the U.S., it is not surprising that economic-related issues were prominent:

UNEMPLOYMENT: 41%
BUDGET DEFICIT: 28%
'THE ECONOMY': 28%
HEALTH CARE: 19%
HOUSING: 11%
EDUCATION: 10%
CRIME/ORDER: 10%
ENVIRONMENT: 10%
POVERTY: 9%



'MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS'

% of respondents who mentioned

Unlike problems pertaining to the economy, other issues very frequently mentioned in 1990-- the environment and drugs, for example-- had much lower incidence of mention in 1992. Of course, the Persian Gulf crisis which dominated respondents' concerns in 1990 was not a factor in 1992.

TRUST IN GOVERNMENT / PATRIOTISM

Added to your perceptions of a troubled economy were some distrust and frustrations with government in general:

% respondents saying:

GOVT IS TOO COMPLICATED:	65%
GOVT WASTES 'A LOT' OF TAXES:	68%
GOVT FOR BENEFIT OF BIG INTERESTS:	78%
'QUITE A FEW' IN GOVT CROOKED:	46%
TRUST GOVT MOST/ALL OF THE TIME:	29%

However, while few thought they could usually trust the government "to do what is right," most respondents felt that they had some influence for political change: 58% disagreed with the statement: 'PEOPLE LIKE ME DON'T HAVE ANY SAY ABOUT WHAT THE GOVERNMENT DOES,' and 47% thought that elections made the government pay attention to what the people think "a good deal" [41% said "some" and only 11% said "not much"].

Moreover, despite current unease about economic health and some discomfort with the political system, our respondents displayed staunch patriotism: 89% told us they felt "extremely" or "very" proud when seeing the American flag, and the same percent said that their love for their country was "extremely" or "very" strong (graph back c).

Voters: Y : Presidential Preferen

Looking at tabulation (see page 5) of our respondents' reported Presidential voting, it is evident that the majority support enjoyed by George Bush in the 1988 election waned measurably by the last stages of his term in office across most sectors of society.

	Bush	Clinton	Perot
DEMOCRATIC ID:	8 %	79 %	14 %
INDEPENDENT ID:	23 %	41 %	36 %
REPUBLICAN ID:	70 %	10 %	20 %

Compared with the current Presidential contest, the partisan 'cross-over' phenomenon which was still in evidence in 1991 was much diminished in 1992. Many so-called "Reagan Democrats" who continued to vote Republican in the Presidential race-- although not in such numbers as in 1984-- evaporated from the Bush fold and either returned to Democratic ranks, voted for Perot, or did not vote. Only 8% of respondents who professed Democratic identification or leanings voted for Bush in 1992: nearly twice as many Democratic identifiers voted for Perot (14%).

Whether Ross Perot produced his respectable 1992 showing at the polls at a disproportional expense to either major party candidate is not evident from the data: how-- or whether-- Perot voters would have voted in his absence is unclear. We do know that many of the independents who supported Republican candidates in the 1980, 1984 and 1988 Presidential elections apparently chose to vote for Clinton or Perot in much greater numbers than for George Bush.

Perot registered most support from younger people (ages groups 18-24 and 25-45), among males, among self-described moderates, and in the West and Midwest. More Perot followers were found in the \$50,000-\$74,999 family income group than in any other; his support was weakest at the highest and lowest ends of the family income scale.

Strongest support for President Bush came from respondents with highest incomes, college education, professed conservatism, and, predictably, with Republican self-identification or leanings. Weakest support was found among nonwhites, members of non-union households, members of families with lowest incomes, and among self-identified liberals. 49% of farmers and 41% of homemakers voted for Bush but 27% of laborers and service workers did so.

Clinton voters were predominant in many of the groups which most opposed a second Bush presidency, including the unskilled (51%) and laborers and service workers (52%). Interestingly, Clinton attracted female voters more effectively than male voters and did least well among regions in the Midwest.



On page 6 is an issue profile of respondents who reported voting for the 3 main Presidential candidates. For comparison, the same profile by issues is also presented for respondents who gave party identifications or leanings.

RESPONDENT TURNOUT - % VOTING within SOCIAL GROUPS:

women:	74%	grade sch. ed:	49%	conservative:	84%
men:	76%	high sch. ed:	71%	moderate:	77%
		some college:	88%	liberal:	83%
age 18-24:	53%	cent. cities:	76%	union:	85%
age 25-45:	74%	suburban:	79%	nonunion:	73%
age 46-65:	82%	rural:	69%		
over 65:	80%			married:	79%
strong party ID:	86%	white:	77%	never married:	69%
weak/leaning ID:	74%	nonwhite:	66%	div/separated:	67%
independents:	60%			widowed:	70%



WHICH RESPONDENTS VOTED ?

Voting or not voting is not simply the result of a sense of duty or indifference: for example, dissatisfaction with running candidates, conflicting work schedules, and confusion about issues can discourage citizens from casting a ballot. We value equally respondents who never vote, respondents who occasionally vote, and those who regularly vote. But often scholars who examine American politics want to know who is electing officeholders when elections are won. On this page and the next is some of the voting-related information that was given to us by 1992 respondents who granted us the second (post-election) interview.

As indicated in the tables above, the turnouts reported by respondents in 1992 national elections often varied considerably within social groups. For example, 53% of respondents in the 18-24 age group reported voting in 1992, while all other age groups said they turned out at a higher rate.

As in studies from previous years, greater voting participation | to accompany strong party identification, union membership households, higher family income, and higher education. Among occupational backgrounds, 81% of sales and clerical workers voted, 67% of service workers and laborers, 88% of professional and managerial types, 62% of farmers, and 67% of homemakers.

L voter turnout was apparent among respondents with r residential mobility [those who moved within the last 2], 66%, and Southerners voted less often (66%) than resi- s of other regions. Respondents who identified themselves either liberal or conservative tended to vote more than those who labeled themselves moderates, and married respondents re ad voting more often unmar ones.

- Voting for Presidential Candidates -

	BUSH	CLINTON	PEROT
	%	%	%
NORTHEAST:	26	54	20
MIDWEST:	38	41	21
SOUTH:	36	52	12
WEST:	32	46	22
CENTRAL CITIES:	26	63	11
SUBURBAN:	37	43	20
RURAL:	37	42	22
LIBERAL:	7	77	16
MODERATE:	30	47	23
CONSERVATIVE:	59	22	19
AGE 18-24:	23	53	24
AGE 25-45:	34	45	22
AGE 46-64:	37	49	14
OVER AGE 65:	35	54	12
GRADE SCH ED:	28	60	12
HIGH SCH ED:	31	51	18
SOME COLLEGE:	37	44	20
UNION HOUSEHOLD:	26	55	19
NON-UNION:	36	46	18
MALE:	35	42	23
FEMALE:	33	53	14
WHITE:	37	42	21
NONWHITE:	13	84	4
\$0-\$9,999:	23	66	11
\$10,000-\$19,999:	30	56	14
\$20,000-\$29,999:	27	55	18
\$30,000-\$39,999:	38	42	20
\$40,000-\$49,999:	35	44	20
\$50,000-\$74,999:	37	37	26
OVER \$75,000:	46	39	15

NOTE: row totals add to approx. 100%, some numbers are rounded



ISSUE PROFILES:



**Bush
Voters**

**Clinton
Voters**

**Perot
Voters**

Dem.

Indep.

Repub.



HEALTH CARE:

Favor govt plan -

32 %

65 %

51 %

65 %

53 %

34 %

In-between -

22 %

18 %

21 %

18 %

24 %

22 %

Favor private plans -

47 %

18 %

28 %

17 %

23 %

44 %



DEATH PENALTY:

Favor -

84 %

66 %

84 %

67 %

77 %

84 %

Depends -

5 %

7 %

6 %

7 %

7 %

5 %

Oppose -

11 %

28 %

10 %

26 %

17 %

11 %



DEFENSE SPENDING:

Should reduce -

33 %

60 %

51 %

56 %

46 %

36 %

Should stay same -

46 %

26 %

33 %

28 %

33 %

40 %

Should increase -

22 %

15 %

16 %

16 %

21 %

24 %



SOC. SEC. BENEFITS:

Are too low -

48 %

64 %

55 %

68 %

59 %

50 %

Are about right -

48 %

34 %

42 %

30 %

37 %

46 %

Are too high -

4 %

2 %

4 %

2 %

4 %

4 %



GOVT. CHILDCARE:

Favor assistance -

45 %

71 %

56 %

71 %

64 %

49 %

Oppose assistance -

56 %

29 %

44 %

29 %

36 %

51 %



GAYS IN MILITARY:

Should allow -

39 %

74 %

61 %

69 %

61 %

46 %

Should not allow -

61 %

26 %

39 %

31 %

39 %

54 %



PARENT CONSENT-ABORT.:

Favor law requiring -

86 %

66 %

72 %

70 %

77 %

82 %

Oppose law requiring -

14 %

34 %

28 %

30 %

23 %

18 %



IMMIGRATION LEVELS:

Should increase -

5 %

12 %

7 %

10 %

6 %

6 %

Should keep same -

45 %

45 %

37 %

43 %

41 %

45 %

Should decrease -

50 %

43 %

56 %

47 %

53 %

50 %



GOVT SERV/SPEND.:

Should decrease both -

53 %

17 %

39 %

18 %

26 %

50 %

Should keep same -

26 %

36 %

35 %

34 %

37 %

27 %

Should increase both -

20 %

47 %

27 %

49 %

38 %

23 %



IDEOLOGY:

Liberal -

6 %

49 %

23 %

44 %

25 %

10 %

Moderate -

25 %

31 %

36 %

32 %

46 %

27 %

Conservative -

69 %

20 %

41 %

24 %

30 %

63 %



HOMOSEXUAL ADOPT:

Yes, should allow -

14 %

41 %

29 %

36 %

27 %

19 %

No, should not allow -

86 %

59 %

71 %

64 %

73 %

81 %



TERM LIMIT LAW:

Favor -

87 %

78 %

83 %

77 %

82 %

87 %

Oppose -

13 %

22 %

17 %

23 %

18 %

13 %



ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED
Please Forward

Center for Political Studies
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

ISSUE PROFILE - Clinton, Bush, Perot Voters

(see page 6)

The percentages appearing on the previous page indicate that for issues, there is pronounced variation in viewpoint among people who voted for different candidates, while on other issues a consensus among all voting respondents was reported. For example, a solid majority of supporters of all three candidates advocated limits to terms of Congresspersons, use of the death penalty, requirement of parental consent for teenage abortions, prohibition of adoption by homosexual couples.

As an illustration of diverging points of view, it can be seen that Clinton voters favored allowing gay men and lesbians into the military much more strongly (74%) than Bush voters (39%). On this issue, like most others, the levels of support and opposition

Perot voters lay somewhere between the levels of issue support and opposition expressed by the voters who preferred the major party candidates. On childcare assistance from the government, 56% of Perot supporters thought it should be provided for low-and-middle-income working parents, compared to 71% of Clinton voters and 45% of Bush voters. 51% of Perot supporters thought defense spending should be cut, a smaller percentage than among Clinton voters (60%) but more than among Bush voters (33%).

An Example from the Views You Expressed:

(SEE PG. 4)

Patriotism

