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SUMMARY

Senators Olympia Snow (R-ME) and Harry Reid (D-NV) have sponsored a bill that would require any private insurance company to cover contraceptive drugs and services to the same extent that other prescriptions are covered. Apparently, only one-third of insurance companies with a prescription drug plan include oral contraceptives. In large part because of the lack of coverage for contraception, women currently spend two-thirds more in out-of-pocket health care than men.

STATISTICS

- A study by the Alan Guttmacher Institute found that 97% of health insurance plans offer prescription coverage (often with a co-payment), but only one-half include contraceptive drugs and devices, and only one-third include oral contraceptives.
- Women of reproductive age spend 68% more in out-of-pocket costs for health care than men do, with much of the difference attributable to reproductive health expenditures.
- Currently, more than 80% of private insurance plans refuse to pay for all five of the most frequently used prescription contraceptive methods.
- According to best estimates, about 3.6 million unintended pregnancies occur each year (over 57% of all pregnancies in America). Almost one half of them end in abortion. Those unwanted pregnancies are concentrated among women who do not use contraceptives. In any year, 85% of sexually active women who do not use contraceptives become pregnant, approximately 15 times the rate for women using contraceptives.
- The average annual cost of birth control pills is \$300.
- Senator Snow estimates that the increased costs of the bill would be \$16 a year in higher premiums.
- For every dollar invested in family planning in the public sector, between \$4 and \$14 are saved in health care and related costs.

S.776 "EQUITY IN PRESCRIPTION INSURANCE AND CONTRACEPTIVE COVERAGE"

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to the same extent that their prescription drug plans cover other prescriptions. This bill does not, however, require private insurance to offer prescription drug plans if they do not currently offer one.

CO-SPONSORS

Boxer D-CA
Bryan D-NV
Chafee R-RI
Cleland D-GA
Collins R-ME
Durbin D-IL
Hutchison R-TX
Jeffords R-VT
Kerry D-MA
Mikulski D-MD
Moseley-Braun D-IL
Murray D-WA
Robb D-VA
Warner R-VA

STATES THAT HAVE SIMILAR LEGISLATION

- **California:** California's bill AB 160 passed the Senate Insurance Committee in June and is expected to come up for a vote on the Senate floor in July.
- **Virginia:** In February, the Virginia senate passed a similar bill.

CLINTON ADMINISTRATION INITIATIVES TO FIGHT BREAST CANCER

- **Introduced Legislation to Prevent Discrimination Based on Genetic Information.** The President has introduced bipartisan legislation to prohibit health plans from inappropriately using genetic screening information to deny coverage, set premiums, or to distribute confidential information. In many diseases, such as breast cancer, we are beginning to identify hidden genetic disorders which can spur early treatment. However, genetic testing also can be used by insurance companies and others to discriminate and stigmatize groups of people. In fact, studies show that a reason women do not get genetic testing for breast cancer is because they fear the information will be used to discriminate against them.
- **Took Action to Encourage Women to Follow National Cancer Institute's (NCI) Recommendations That Women Undergo Regular Mammogram Screening at Forty.** To bring Medicare, Medicaid, and federal employee health plans in line with the NCI's new recommendations, President Clinton is proposing that Medicare cover annual screening mammograms beginning at age forty and to eliminate coinsurance and deductibles for mammograms. The Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA) sent letters to every state Medicaid director encouraging them to cover annual mammogram screening beginning at age forty and make it clear that the federal government will provide federal matching payments for these services. President Clinton also directed the Office of Personnel Management to require all federal employee health benefit plans to cover annual mammograms beginning at age forty and he is encouraging all private plans to do the same.
- **Covers Annual Mammograms Screening for Medicare Beneficiaries.** In his balanced budget, President Clinton proposes to extend annual screening mammograms for Medicare beneficiaries over the age of 40. This proposal would make coverage consistent with the recommendations of most breast cancer experts.
- **Waives Cost-Sharing for Mammography Services.** The President's plan eliminates the copayment and deductible requirement for annual mammograms for beneficiaries over age 40, thereby increasing early detection and treatment of breast cancer. Although Medicare has covered screening mammography since 1991, only 14 percent of eligible beneficiaries without supplemental insurance receive mammograms.
- **Prevents Women From Being Forced Out of the Hospital Only Hours After a Mastectomy.** In his State of the Union Address, President Clinton endorsed bipartisan legislation to ensure that women are not forced out of the hospital before they are ready because of pressure from their health plan. The Department of Health and Human Services also recently announced that it was sending a letter to all Medicare managed care plans making it clear that they may not set ceilings for inpatient hospital treatment or set requirements for outpatient treatment, and that a woman and her doctor should make decisions about what is medically necessary.

- **Builds on HHS Commitment to Breast Cancer Research, Prevention and Training.** Since the Clinton Administration has taken office, funding for breast cancer research, prevention and treatment has nearly doubled, from about \$276 million in FY 1993 to \$513 million in the President's FY 1998 budget.
- **Continues Department of Defense Funding for Breast Cancer Funding.** In FY 1997, the DOD will spend \$112 million on breast cancer research.
- **Increases funding for Gene Research.** HHS-funded research led to the discovery of two breast cancer genes -- BRCA-1 and BCRA-2 -- which holds great promise for the development of new prevention strategies. On October 26, 1996, President Clinton announced \$30 million in new funding for research into the genetic basis of breast cancer.
- **Educates Older Women to Use the Medicare Mammography Screening Benefit.** The First Lady launched a mammography campaign to inform and encourage older women to use the Medicare mammography screening benefit.
- **Improves Mammography Quality Standards.** In October 1994, the FDA implemented a program for mammography standards in the United States to ensure that they meet standards for equipment, personnel, record-keeping, and quality control. The standards also require that facilities be inspected annually. Women can look for the FDA certificate as evidence that the facility meets quality standards. Women can also find a certified mammography facility by calling 1-800-4-CANCER.
- **Screens for Low-Income Women.** CDC's National Breast Cervical Cancer Early Detection Program offers free or low-cost mammography screening to low-income elderly and minority women. On October 1, 1996, Secretary Shalala announced the expansion of the program to all fifty states. The goal is to reduce breast cancer deaths among these women by 30% and cervical cancer deaths by 900% through increased mammographies and pap testing.
- **Promotes Imaging Technology.** HHS is working with other federal agencies, including NASA, the Defense Department, and the CIA, as well as private companies to adapt high-tech imaging technology to improve the early detection of cancer in women. In 1996, HHS, in collaboration with the CIA, awarded \$1.98 million to the University of Pennsylvania to conduct a series of clinical trials of imaging technology from the intelligence community- intended originally for missile guidance and target recognition- to improve the early detection of breast cancer.

President Clinton: Building Stronger Families

"To Prepare America for the 21st Century, we must build stronger families."

President Bill Clinton
February 4, 1997

Strong families are vital to our children, our communities and our nation. President Clinton is meeting the challenge to strengthen our families by providing tax relief to working families, investing in our children's education, reducing crime and helping families move from welfare to work. The Clinton Administration is committed to protecting children, improving their quality of health, encouraging companies to adopt family-friendly practices and strengthening parents' capacity to nurture healthy families.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Cherishing Our Children

- **Expanding Children's Access to Health Care:** Ten million children lack health insurance -- 80% of them have working parents who pay taxes. President Clinton's Balanced Budget Agreement of 1997 expands health care for 5 million of these children.[1997 Budget Agreement]
- **Expanding Head Start to Reach 1 Million Children a Year:** For over 30 years, Head Start has helped low-income families create an environment where their children are ready to learn by taking a comprehensive approach to child development - improving children's learning skills, health, nutrition, and social competency. Under the Clinton Administration, funding for Head Start has increased 80% to \$4 billion in 1997. These additional funds have enabled Head Start to serve 180,000 more children and their families. And President Clinton's Budget Agreement with Congress continues expansion of Head Start toward the President's goal of serving 1 million children in 2002. [Paper;HHS Press Release, 3/26/96]
- **Protecting Children from TV Violence:** President Clinton gave parents greater control over what their children watch on television by requiring the installation of anti-violence screening chips ("V-chips") in all new televisions.[Telecommunications Act of 1996, P.L. 104-104, signed 2/8/96] In addition, the President announced a breakthrough agreement with the media and entertainment industry to develop a television ratings system to enable parents to protect their children from violence and adult content. Today, the rating system is in place, informing parents on what their children are watching. [Statement by the President, 2/29/96]

- **Targeting Teen-Age Smoking:** President Clinton proposed the first-ever comprehensive program to protect children from the dangers of tobacco. The Food and Drug Administration has already issued rules aimed at teen-age smoking, such as making 18 the age for the purchase of cigarettes nationwide.[Food and Drug Administration Press Release, 4/15/97]
- **Protecting Children's Health Through Increased Immunizations:** The President has established a Childhood Immunization Initiative to ensure vaccinations and healthy futures for all children. In 1995, the immunization rate for two-year olds reached 76%, a record high. And these vaccinations are working: the number of reported cases of diphtheria, mumps, tetanus, measles, rubella, and polio continue to be at or near record low levels.[Centers for Disease Control, Press Release, 2/27/97]
- **Reaching Full Participation in WIC:** The Clinton Administration is committed to full funding in the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC), reaching 7.5 million participants by the end of FY97. This program works: Every dollar invested in WIC has been proven to save \$ 3 in preventive health-care costs.[Federal Department and Agency Documents, 2/6/97]
- **More Educational Television:** Joined together with the four major television networks to support a proposal to require broadcasters to air three hours of quality educational programming each week.[AP 7/29/96; Statement by the President, 7/29/96]
- **Mobilizing Service and Volunteers on Behalf of Children:** President Clinton convened the President's Summit of America's Future, along with former President Bush. At the summit, hundreds of organizations, including federal agencies, made commitments to give children the resources they need to grow up to be healthy and productive citizens -- a mentor, a healthy start, a safe place, a marketable skill through an effective education, and a chance to serve. President Clinton also announced the creation of 50,000 new scholarships to increase the reach of the AmeriCorps program.

Strengthening Our Families

- **Strengthening Families:** The first bill President Clinton signed was the Family Medical Leave Act, which enables workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to care for family members without fear of losing their jobs. More than 12 million families have taken leave since its enactment. [Commission on Family Medical Leave, A Workable Balance - Report to Congress, 1996; Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, P.L. 103-3, signed February 5, 1993]
- **Greater Health Care Security for Millions of American Families:** Because President Clinton believes that we should provide more Americans with access to health care services, he fought for and signed the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act, also known as Kennedy-Kassebaum. The bill limited exclusions for pre-existing conditions, ended "job-lock" by making health coverage portable, and helped individuals

who lose jobs maintain insurance coverage. The Health Insurance Reform Bill President Clinton signed into law protects the health care of millions of working Americans, giving millions of families peace of mind.[Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act, P.L. 104-191, signed 8/21/96]

- **Cutting taxes for millions of working families:** President Clinton expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit to give 15 million working families tax relief. Today, that earned income tax credit is worth about \$1,000 to a family of four with an income under \$28,000 a year. The Earned Income Tax Credit lifts full-time workers with children out of poverty.[Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993, P.L. 103-66, signed August 10, 1993]
- **Increasing the Minimum Wage:** The President proposed and signed into law an increase in the minimum wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15 over two years. For a full-time, year-round worker at minimum wage, this 90-cent increase raises yearly income by \$1,800 -- as much as the average family spends on groceries over seven months. The law signed by President Clinton will increase the wages of 10 million Americans, giving them a chance to raise stronger families and build better futures. [Small Business Job Protection Act Of 1996, P.L.104-188, Signed 8/20/96]

Ensuring Responsibility

- **Overhauling the Welfare System:** Last year the President signed a bipartisan welfare plan that is dramatically changing the nation's welfare system into one that requires work in exchange for time-limited assistance. The law contains strong work requirements, a performance bonus to reward states for moving welfare recipients into jobs, state maintenance of effort requirements, comprehensive child support enforcement, and supports for families moving from welfare to work -- including increased funding for child care and guaranteed medical coverage.[Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, P.L. 104-193, signed 8/22/96] Nearly 90% of states have chosen to continue or build on their welfare waivers in implementing the new law.
- **Moving People From Welfare to Work:** From January 1993 to April 1997, the number of people receiving welfare benefits fell by 22%, or 3.1 million recipients - the largest decline in the welfare rolls in history and the lowest percentage of the population on welfare since 1970. This historic decline occurred in response to the Administration's grants of federal waivers to 43 states to experiment with innovative approaches to ending welfare dependency, as well as in response to a strong economy. These waivers gave states the freedom to reform welfare on the local level, including setting time limits on benefits, requiring recipients to work or stay in school, providing child care and giving employers incentives to hire welfare recipients.[HHS, 4/97]
- **Mobilizing the Business Community, Civic Groups, and the Federal Government:** to make welfare reform a success and help move a million people from welfare into the workforce by the year 2000, President Clinton has enlisted the business community's leadership. At the President's urging, the Welfare to Work Partnership was launched in

May 1997 to lead the national business effort to hire people from the welfare rolls. To help former welfare recipients stay in the workforce and succeed, the Vice President has created a coalition of civic groups committed to helping new workers retain jobs. The Vice President is also overseeing the federal government's hiring initiative, in which under the President's direction, federal agencies have committed to directly hire at least 10,000 welfare recipients in the next four years.[DPC Fact paper]

- **Enforcing Child Support:** The Clinton Administration collected a record \$12 billion in child support in 1996 through tougher enforcement, an increase of \$4 billion, or nearly 50%, since 1992.[Source: HHS Press release, 4/14/96] President Clinton also issued an Executive Order to help track down federal workers who fail to pay child support.[Executive Order 12953, 2/27/95]
- **Breaking the Cycle of Dependency:** President Clinton has launched a comprehensive effort to prevent teen pregnancy. In response to his 1995 challenge, the National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, a private nonprofit organization, was formed. In addition, the welfare law the President signed in 1996 requires unmarried minor parents to stay in school and live at home or in a supervised setting; encourage "second chance homes" to provide teen parents with the skills and support they need; and provides \$50 million a year in new funding for state abstinence education activities. Data shows we are making progress: teen births have fallen four years in a row, by 8 percent from 1991 to 1995.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

America is moving in the right direction. The crime rate is down, welfare rolls and food stamp participation are falling and the teen pregnancy rate has dropped. But we still have more work to do to ensure the health, safety and futures of our children and families. The President's agenda includes:

- Expanding health insurance coverage for all children whose parents cannot afford it.
- Providing families with a \$500 per child tax credit.
- Expanding the accessibility of child care information and services to parents, expanding child care funding available to low-income working families and working with states to improve the quality of services.
- Expanding the Family Medical Leave Act to better help workers care for their families without sacrificing their work obligations. This expansion would allow workers to take up to 24 hours of unpaid leave in support of their children's education needs, older relatives' health care and other family medical obligations.

- Enacting and implementing the \$3.6 billion program that the President negotiated as part of the balanced budget agreement with Congress, to help cities and states create and subsidize jobs for the hardest to employ welfare recipients and to provide tax credits and other incentives for businesses that hire people off welfare.

Democratic National Committee

Steve Grossman, *National Chair* * Governor Roy Romer, *General Chair*

TO: RAPID RESPONSE TEAM

FR: MAUREEN SHEA, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S OUTREACH 5/9/97

SENATE TO VOTE ON TWO CRITICAL BILLS FOR WOMEN

The United States Senate may soon vote on two bills of critical importance to women: S. 4 - the so-called Working Families Flexibility Act of 1997; and H.R. 1122 - a bill banning late term abortions. Both bills have passed the House of Representatives, but President Clinton strongly opposes them in their current form. *We urge you to call your Senators and express your opposition to these bills and encourage others to do likewise.*

BACKGROUND:

S. 4: President Clinton and Senate Democrats want strong legislation which will give employees, not their employers, the choice of when they take their hard earned comp time. The Republican legislation, S. 4, pretends to give working families more flexibility. In fact, it fails to give workers a real choice between overtime pay and comp time - instead it gives more power to employers

The President is proposing comp time legislation under which: If you work overtime you can be paid time and a half - just as the law now requires, or if you want you can take that payment in time -- an hour and a half off for every hour of overtime you work. *This way workers can decide for themselves whether they need more money in the bank or time off.* The President also wants to expand the popular and effective Family and Medical Leave Act so that workers can take up to 24 hours off to attend teacher conferences or to take a child or relative for medical appointments.

H.R. 1122: The Senate will consider the House-passed Canady bill - the same legislation that President Clinton vetoed in 1996. The bill is a direct constitutional challenge to *Roe v. Wade* and would ban and criminalize late term abortion procedures. It includes no exception for when the procedure is necessary to preserve a woman's health. This year's House vote of 295-136 was sufficient to overturn a Presidential veto.

The President continues to oppose this bill because it fails to take into consideration his grave concerns regarding serious injury to a woman's health. Language is still being worked out on amendments which may be offered by Senate Democratic Leader Daschle (SD) and Democratic Senators Boxer (CA), Feinstein (CA), Moseley-Braun (IL). Both potential amendments would deal with exceptions to protect a woman's health.

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BACKGROUND: President Clinton and Congressional Democrats are leading the effort to address the problem of children without health insurance. While Medicaid helps the poorest children, millions of working parents are trapped in the middle, unable to afford health insurance for their kids. In his State of the Union Address President Clinton promised:

"We must continue, step by step, to give more families access to affordable, quality health care...My balanced budget will extend health coverage to up to 5 million children. Since nearly half of all children who lose their insurance do so because their parents lose or change a job, my budget will also ensure that people who temporarily lose their jobs can still afford to keep their health insurance. No child should be without a doctor just because a parent is without a job."

THE NEED:

- In 1995, 10.5 million children, or one in seven, lacked health insurance coverage. Nine out of 10 uninsured children live in families with working parents. 372,900 children have lost private health coverage since the beginning of the 105th Congress.
- According to the General Accounting Office, children without insurance are less likely to: grow up to be healthy, productive adults; have a family doctor; receive timely preventive care; and to receive treatment even for serious illnesses.
- Uninsured children are more likely to need emergency room care at later stages of their illness, and are more likely to require expensive hospital admission. Emergency room visits cost up to twice as much as office-based care.
- Recent studies have demonstrated that 10,000,000 children go without health insurance every year, and more than twice as many go without health coverage at some point over a two-year period. Every day 3,300 children lose their private health coverage.

THE PRESIDENT'S BALANCED BUDGET: As promised, President Clinton expands health coverage for as many as 5,000,000 uncovered children by providing additional dollars to supplement state efforts to cover uninsured children in working families.

STAND FOR HEALTHY CHILDREN: You can join the Children's Defense Fund's *Stand for Healthy Children* by participating in local events to draw attention to the need for health insurance for kids. These events will take place nationwide on June 1. For more information: www.stand.org or tellstand@stand.org or 1-800-663-4032.

SUMMARY

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Lifetime

*Lifetime in the
21st Century*

The Lifetime Women's Summit

March 5, 1997

Washington, DC

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BENCHMARK RESEARCH AND SUMMIT FINDINGS

At the Summit's conclusion, analyst and pollster Celinda Lake, drawing from her observations of the small breakout sessions and reinforced by her own benchmark research on trends in public opinion among women, shared her observations about the primary issues of concern to women:

- **Economic and quality-of-life security** – Ensuring economic security for themselves and for their families is at the top of women's agenda. For women, economic security in the 21st Century mainly means three things: quality education, adequate retirement, and comprehensive health care:
 - **Education** – Women see education as critical to their ability (a) to succeed in a competitive and changing economy, and (b) to achieve independence and respect.
 - **Retirement** – As the baby boomers age, retirement issues take on increasing urgency among women. A majority of women under 60 believe that their retirement is likely to be financially insecure. An increasing number of women (one in five nationally) are already responsible for caring for an aging parents – more than half believe they will have this responsibility in the future.
 - **Health care** – Health care bills continue to represent one of the biggest threats to American families' financial security. A majority of women worry "all the time" about having affordable health insurance for themselves and their families.
- **Equal Pay and Benefits** – Women worry about making ends meet for their families, particularly when they make 70 cents for every dollar men make. "Equal pay for equal work" continues to be a rallying cry for women across the board. This issue is, above all, an economic, not a political one: women's paychecks are often the only thing standing between their families and economic disaster. Virtually all women think those paychecks should be a fair reflection of their time.

- **Family, Community, and National Values** – A majority of women agree that government should do all it can to promote traditional values. At the same time, while the traditional family unit may be ideal, the reality of life in the 90's is that there must be a broader definition of "family." Women – usually the center of every family – acknowledge the need to recognize non-traditional families and to tackle the issues related to this societal sea change.
- **Children** – As part of their return to an emphasis on values, women are prioritizing family and children. Whether they have children or not, women increasingly feel that public policy and spending should make children's welfare the nation's top priority. Women, more than men, filter their priorities and their political policy preferences through a focus on children. A key issue, at home and the political arena, is child care – making it universal, affordable, safe and a positive, growing experience for children.
- **Crime and Violence** – For women, their concern about values is closely connected to their concerns about crime and violence. Women across class, age and racial lines worry a great deal about violence affecting themselves and, especially, the nation's children.
- **Time** – At the end of the 20th Century, paid work is nearly universal for women; 99% of all American women will spend some time in the paid workforce. Women believe the way they spend their time does not reflect "balance" – they are engaged in a constant battle to keep all the balls in the air. This "scarcity of time" has real and serious implications for the kinds of public policies that are important to them, as well as for the demands they are willing to place on employers. Flexible work hours and family leave are an extremely high priority for women voters. As a result, this has become a major public policy issue.

SOLUTIONS SOUGHT BY WOMEN

According to Celinda Lake's research, and reinforced by the Summit discussions, although women worry about their economic future and about the future of the nation's children, their worries are balanced by a strong sense of resiliency and independence. Women therefore tend to describe themselves as independent, self-reliant, and adaptable. But far more than men, they believe in group solutions and collaborative actions and "partnerships":

- **Government** – Women generally agree with the idea that "government *can* help people, and needs to be made to work for average working families."
- **Business** – Women are also willing to demand more from business and want better partnerships with their employers. They also want more child care benefits and better pension plans for women as a whole.
- **Community** – For women the concept of "community" is a powerful one, with women looking for ways to empower and rebuild community. For women, "community" can apply to their city, their neighborhood, as well as to their workplace, PTA, even their carpool.

Whether they are looking to government, to businesses, or to themselves, women's approach to problem-solving is above all rooted in a demand for better "partnerships." Women believe that government, business and families must share burdens together, and must work to create the kind of country they want in the 21st Century.

MEMORANDUM TO WOMEN'S MEETING PARTICIPANTS

DATE: July 1, 1997
FROM: Kim Widdess
SUBJECT: Meeting #1 With Researchers

On Thursday, July 10 at 9am, we will have our first meeting with outside researchers. Harrison Hickman of Harrison/Brown research will join us for a briefing, accompanied by Jo Blum, Vice President of Government Relations at NARAL and James Wagoner, Executive Vice President at NARAL.

Enclosed are suggested readings from Harrison for the meeting. Please call myself or Robin Leeds if you have any questions or concerns.

Thank you.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: RCC DATE: 6/26/13
2013-0834-S

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Interested Parties
FROM: Kate Michelman
RE: Pro-Choice Strategy
DATE: June 20, 1997

Overview

In recent years, pro-choice forces have had to adjust to new political realities: a Congress firmly under anti-choice control, complacency among pro-choice voters, and a re-energized and well-financed anti-choice movement. In addition, the difficult and protracted battle over late-term abortion has left pro-choice organizations on the defensive and off message.

It is time to get back on track. We believe, and NARAL's research shows, that the pro-choice movement has the winning messages and issues to shift the debate back to more favorable ground. The pro-choice arsenal contains powerful and effective messages that resonate with Americans -- messages that were overshadowed by the fight over late-term abortion. There are several strategic advantages to emphasizing our core message of keeping politicians out of private reproductive health decisions ("Who Decides?") and to broadening the message to include early prevention and an expansion of women's reproductive choices ("Make Abortion Less Necessary"). These messages will help us resume our conversation with mainstream America, return pro-choice organizations to more proactive ground, and put opponents of choice on the defensive. At this juncture in the fight over late-term abortion, we must move quickly to seize the initiative. We cannot afford to wait.

History

After extensive public opinion research, NARAL developed the "Who Decides?" message in conjunction with the pro-choice mobilization around the Supreme Court's 1989 decision, *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*. NARAL's "Who Decides?" public education campaign in 1989 and 1990 shifted the debate from the question of whether abortion is right or wrong to the question of who makes the abortion decision -- politicians or the individual woman with her physician. Pollster Harrison Hickman wrote at the time:

"When the issue is presented as a question of the proper role of government and whether or not current laws on abortion should be changed to make abortion illegal, the majority support our pro-choice position.... This is why reducing the issue to one simple policy-based question ("Who decides?") works so well: It frames the very complex matter of abortion rights on the dimension where voters most readily accept our view."¹

In 1991, NARAL field tested its hypothesis that placing abortion along a continuum of reproductive choices, including pregnancy prevention, would create an even broader pro-choice constituency. Our public-opinion research found overwhelming support for this expanded mission:

"For NARAL and other pro-choice forces, the advantages of moving in a broader thematic direction are numerous. Strategically, this adjustment moves NARAL toward a more mainstream position and, in the process, helps expose some of the most unpopular, extremist elements of the anti-choice movement. Politically, this makes it easier to attract public and elite support for our proposals and, in time, to develop and pass a more expansive and attractive legislative agenda. . . . [T]his thematic approach grounds our arguments for abortion rights in a larger context, giving our supporters something to fight for in addition to continuing the fight against encroachments on abortion rights."²

That poll found that 89 percent of pro-choice voters and 73 percent of swing voters (the

"mushy middle") on abortion strongly support reducing the number of unplanned pregnancies through increased access to sexuality education and birth control.

Based on its research, NARAL began a limited advertising campaign in 1991 aimed at the 40 percent of the electorate who are swing voters on choice. One ad stated:

"[T]o us, being pro-choice means having real choices. It means working to improve our nation's reproductive health care policies. It means working to reduce the need for abortion. . . . That's why we're working for better sex education, more effective birth control, improved methods of contraception and pre- and post-natal care."³

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Nevertheless, the demonstrated power of the "Real Choices" direction led NARAL in early 1994 to officially adopt a broadened mission and name change. If there was any doubt about how a more comprehensive pro-choice agenda would be received, it vanished when both the New York Times and the Washington Post lauded the efforts of NARAL and Planned Parenthood in this area:

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But, once again, political developments led NARAL to suspend its "Real Choices" campaign. In 1994, anti-choice forces, capitalizing on pro-choice complacency, organized, mobilized and turned out their supporters in the mid-term elections. Congress fell firmly under anti-choice control.

Today, anti-choice stalwarts chair almost every committee with jurisdiction over women's reproductive health and press their advantage by successfully attaching anti-choice riders to spending bills. With only 33 fully pro-choice Senators and 135 fully pro-choice House members in the most anti-choice Congress since *Roe v. Wade*, abortion opponents maintain a crucial advantage in shaping the public debate on abortion. The late-term abortion issue is a prime

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Proponents of a ban on late-term abortion shifted the focus of the debate from the woman to the abortion procedure and from early pregnancy termination to second and third trimester abortion. Late-term abortion has become the anti-choice movement's lead assault against a woman's freedom to choose, dominating the legislative debate and news media coverage of abortion.

The agenda-setting and opinion-shaping nature of the late-term abortion debate has had a significant impact. Its effect is analogous to the mid-80s film, the "Silent Scream," which used ultrasound to depict the developing fetus. Both the "Silent Scream" and late-term abortion focused new attention on the fetus. However, in the 80s, anti-choice forces were unable to capitalize on their momentum to pass legislation because the House remained under pro-choice control and the Senate returned to pro-choice control in 1986.

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Pro-choice forces need to refocus on our core messages. NARAL's research and analysis demonstrate that a proactive legislative and public education campaign to protect choice and to make abortion less necessary is both sound public policy and a vehicle to return us to more favorable pro-choice ground.

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back to a pro-active posture rather than simply trying to hold back the advance of the other side."⁶

A pro-choice legislative and public education campaign should include early reproductive choices that help reduce the high rate of unintended pregnancy, as well as working to defend the fundamental right to choose. The components can include: improving awareness of, and access to, emergency contraception; mandating insurance coverage for contraception and ensuring adequate funding for family planning programs; increasing resources for contraceptive research and development, and promoting comprehensive sexuality education in the nation's schools. These initiatives will improve reproductive health, expand reproductive choices, help reduce unintended pregnancy, and promote the value of personal responsibility.

These efforts will advance our goal of making abortion less necessary. They will allow us to speak in a way that has the broadest possible consensus and that addresses the moral concerns of swing voters. And they will reveal the true intentions of opponents of choice, who want to deny women control of reproductive decisions and access to reproductive health services.

While in the short-term we may be unable to enact legislation because of the current makeup of Congress, our campaign will lay the groundwork for success in a more hospitable Congress. Moreover, this approach can rejuvenate pro-choice activists and supporters working toward a common, positive goal at the state and federal levels. Pro-choice organizations will be able to broaden their message, reclaim support among the majority of Americans, and establish the context for subsequent pro-choice electoral work.

A high impact public education campaign is critical to refocusing the abortion debate. Indeed, the anti-choice movement has used this strategy to its advantage. NARAL's research

shows that the "Life, What a Beautiful Choice" advertising campaign by the DeMoss Foundation helped lay the groundwork for the anti-choice legislative assault on late-term abortion and is having an impact on public attitudes about reproductive choice. The NARAL Foundation, with a grant from the Packard Foundation, is conducting critical new research for an effective and proactive advertising campaign that will articulate the values underlying the pro-choice position. The campaign is intended to give the "mushy middle" on reproductive choice a moral and ethical framework in which to ground their pro-choice beliefs and to recoup some of the erosion of public support for the freedom to choose. Another critical audience for the pro-choice message is the post-Roe generation, the first to come of age with abortion as a constitutionally protected right. The Pro-Choice Education Project is taking the lead in devising a public education effort specifically targeted to young women. We must begin to lay the groundwork now and build toward a more intensive public education campaign in January 1998 on the 25th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*.

Electoral Strategy

Conventional wisdom notwithstanding, abortion remains a potent factor electorally. In the 1992 presidential campaign, Bill Clinton won 17 percent of Republican voters because of his support for the freedom to choose.⁷ A 1996 NARAL poll found that 39 percent of voters considered abortion to be the single most or one of the most important issues for them.⁸ Voters must be educated, however, about the candidate's position on choice.

A NARAL focus group this year found that voters were surprised to learn that the House and the Senate are both solidly anti-choice. And they said that their election decisions would be influenced by their concern that their Member of Congress might vote to restrict abortion rights.

Aside from late-term abortion, most voters do not know about the 53 congressional votes taken on choice during the 104th Congress. Despite efforts by individual pro-choice Members, the Democratic leadership has been unwilling to use the abortion issue -- as they have used the environment and Medicare -- to dramatize the impact of radical right control of Congress.

In the 1998 mid-term elections, anti-choice forces will attack pro-choice Members' opposition to a ban on late-term abortion. It is critical for pro-choice candidates to begin using messages now that resonate with the pro-choice majority and not wait to be attacked on late-term abortion. Pro-choice candidates must quickly establish their support for the right to choose and for pregnancy prevention, and they must characterize their opponent's positions on these issues as extreme.

Emphasizing positive messages early and often and staying focused on that agenda will enable pro-choice candidates to set the terms of the political debate. By stressing the importance of keeping politicians out of women's reproductive lives ("Who Decides?") and prevention ("Make Abortion Less Necessary"), pro-choice candidates can deliver messages that will find overwhelming support among their constituents.

Finally, a "Real Choices" prevention campaign will expose the fissure in the anti-choice community between those who support contraception and those who oppose it. Tactics that help derail the anti-choice movement will speed pro-choice efforts to get back on track. The time to begin is now.

Endnotes

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TO: Interested Parties
FROM: Kate Michelman
RE: Pro-Choice Strategy
DATE: June 20, 1997

Overview

In recent years, pro-choice forces have had to adjust to new political realities: a Congress firmly under anti-choice control, complacency among pro-choice voters, and a re-energized and well-financed anti-choice movement. In addition, the difficult and protracted battle over late-term abortion has left pro-choice organizations on the defensive and off message.

It is time to get back on track. We believe, and NARAL's research shows, that the pro-choice movement has the winning messages and issues to shift the debate back to more favorable ground. The pro-choice arsenal contains powerful and effective messages that resonate with Americans -- messages that were overshadowed by the fight over late-term abortion. There are several strategic advantages to emphasizing our core message of keeping politicians out of private reproductive health decisions ("Who Decides?") and to broadening the message to include early prevention and an expansion of women's reproductive choices ("Make Abortion Less Necessary"). These messages will help us resume our conversation with mainstream America, return pro-choice organizations to more proactive ground, and put opponents of choice on the defensive. At this juncture in the fight over late-term abortion, we must move quickly to seize the initiative. We cannot afford to wait.

History

After extensive public opinion research, NARAL developed the "Who Decides?" message in conjunction with the pro-choice mobilization around the Supreme Court's 1989 decision, *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*. NARAL's "Who Decides?" public education campaign in 1989 and 1990 shifted the debate from the question of whether abortion is right or wrong to the question of who makes the abortion decision -- politicians or the individual woman with her physician. Pollster Harrison Hickman wrote at the time:

"When the issue is presented as a question of the proper role of government and whether or not current laws on abortion should be changed to make abortion illegal, the majority support our pro-choice position.... This is why reducing the issue to one simple policy-based question ("Who decides?") works so well: It frames the very complex matter of abortion rights on the dimension where voters most readily accept our view."¹

In 1991, NARAL field tested its hypothesis that placing abortion along a continuum of reproductive choices, including pregnancy prevention, would create an even broader pro-choice constituency. Our public-opinion research found overwhelming support for this expanded mission:

"For NARAL and other pro-choice forces, the advantages of moving in a broader thematic direction are numerous. Strategically, this adjustment moves NARAL toward a more mainstream position and, in the process, helps expose some of the most unpopular, extremist elements of the anti-choice movement. Politically, this makes it easier to attract public and elite support for our proposals and, in time, to develop and pass a more expansive and attractive legislative agenda. . . . [T]his thematic approach grounds our arguments for abortion rights in a larger context, giving our supporters something to fight for in addition to continuing the fight against encroachments on abortion rights."²

That poll found that 89 percent of pro-choice voters and 73 percent of swing voters (the

"mushy middle") on abortion strongly support reducing the number of unplanned pregnancies through increased access to sexuality education and birth control.

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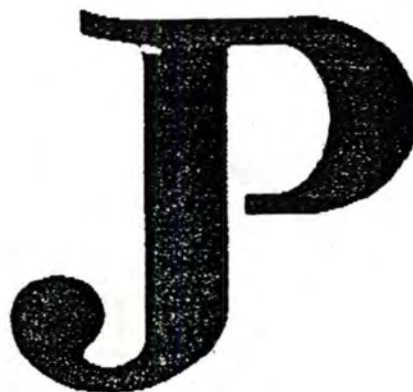
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RESEARCH NOTES

It's Abortion, Stupid: Policy Voting in the 1992 Presidential Election

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This article uses data from the 1992 American National Election Study to analyze the influence of abortion attitudes on candidate choice in the 1992 presidential election. Despite the general belief that the presidential election was decided almost exclusively on economic issues, attitudes toward abortion had a significant influence on candidate choice in the overall electorate. Although the issue divided supporters of both parties, far more "pro-choice" Republicans than "pro-life" Democrats defected from their party's presidential candidate. Abortion had a stronger influence on candidate choice than any other policy issue included in the study, including affirmative action, social welfare, defense spending, the Gulf War, and the death penalty. Furthermore, among voters who were aware of the parties' positions and for whom abortion was a salient issue, abortion had a much stronger influence on candidate choice than any other issue, including the state of the economy.

Abortion would appear to clearly fit Carmines and Stimson's (1980) definition of an "easy issue." Not only has the issue been on the political agenda since at least 1980, but abortion is clearly a symbolic and emotional issue that involves policy ends rather than means. As such, abortion is an easy issue for voters to understand. This is reflected by the extremely small proportion of citizens who are unable or unwilling to offer an opinion on the issue—less than 1% of respondents in the 1992 American National Election Study, for example.

Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly from the standpoint of policy voting, the issue of abortion cuts across party lines. Despite the dramatic differences between the parties' platforms and presidential candidates, the issue of abortion continues to sharply divide rank-and-file supporters of both parties. In fact, citizens of higher socioeconomic status who normally vote Republican tend to favor legalized abortion, while lower SES citizens who normally vote Democratic tend to favor greater restrictions on abortion (Baker, Epstein, and Forth 1983; Legge 1987; Cook, Jelen, and Wilcox 1992). Thus, many rank-and-file Democrats and Republicans hold positions at odds with those of their party and its presidential candi-

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dates. In 1992, however, the issue of abortion appeared to divide Republicans much more than Democrats. In fact, both President Bush and Vice President Quayle sought to downplay the importance of the issue during the campaign to minimize defections by pro-choice Republican voters.

Researchers have uncovered evidence of policy-based voting on abortion in some recent senate and gubernatorial elections—particularly those that featured clear and well-publicized differences over abortion policy (Cook, Jelen, and Wilcox 1993a, 1993b; see also Howell and Sims 1993). In their analysis of exit poll data from 10 gubernatorial elections that took place after the Supreme Court's 1989 decision permitting greater state regulation of access to abortion (*Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*), Cook, Jelen, and Wilcox (1993a) found that "... abortion position had a greater impact on vote choice than state economic conditions in eight of ... ten states," and "abortion was a stronger predictor than even partisanship in Pennsylvania" (1). Based on these findings, there are strong reasons to believe that abortion attitudes may have had a significant influence on voting decisions in recent presidential elections.

Despite the strong potential for policy-based voting on abortion, the issue received relatively little attention from journalists or scholars in connection with the 1992 presidential election. Almost all election analysts agreed that the state of the economy was the primary, if not the exclusive, issue in the minds of voters and that only a small minority of activists cared about social issues such as abortion (White 1993). This view was expressed very clearly by the slogan prominently displayed at Clinton campaign headquarters: "it's the economy, stupid." However, the remainder of this article will be devoted to exploring the possibility that the 1992 presidential election wasn't exclusively about the economy and that, for many voters, "it was also abortion."

DATA: THE 1992 AMERICAN NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY

The 1992 American National Election Study provides the data for this analysis. The study included a single question asking respondents about the legal status of abortion. This question asked respondents to choose one of four policy alternatives ranging from most to least restrictive: abortion should never be allowed; abortion should be allowed only in cases of rape, incest, or to save the life of the mother; abortion should be allowed as long as "a clear need" exists; and abortion should not be limited because it is "a woman's choice." Although the survey also included questions dealing with parental consent, spousal notification, and federal funding of abortions for poor women, I used the question dealing with the legal status of abortion to analyze the impact of abortion attitudes on voter choice because this is the central issue that has divided the parties since 1980.

In 1992, respondents were also asked, for the first time in the history of the national election studies, to give their perceptions of the positions of the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates on abortion, using the same

four policy alternatives. These questions allow us to measure the accuracy of voters' perceptions as well as their own policy preferences.

The NES survey did not include any questions asking respondents to rate their concern with abortion compared with other issues. However, as in previous years, the 1992 survey did include several series of open-ended questions asking respondents what they liked and disliked about the political parties and presidential candidates, what they regarded as the most important differences between the two major parties, and what they considered the most important problems facing the country. These questions were used to measure respondents' concern about abortion by coding the answers according to whether or not abortion was mentioned. The assumption here is that the more concerned a voter was about abortion, the more likely it is that he or she would have mentioned abortion in response to one or more of these open-ended questions.

In addition to abortion, the 1992 NES survey included questions about a wide variety of issues including the death penalty, affirmative action, social welfare policy, defense spending, and the Gulf War. Respondents were also asked to evaluate their personal financial situation and the state of the national economy. These questions allow us to compare the influence of abortion attitudes on the vote with that of economic conditions and other policy issues.

Results

Among all respondents in the 1992 National Election Study, 47% opposed any restrictions on abortion; 14% favored permitting abortion if "a clear need" existed; 29% favored permitting abortion only in cases of rape, incest, or danger to the mother's life; and only 10% opposed abortion under any circumstances. Those respondents who reported voting in the presidential election were slightly more liberal—49% opposed any restrictions on abortion; 15% favored allowing abortion if "a clear need" existed; 27% favored allowing abortion only in cases of rape, incest or danger to the mother's life; and only 9% opposed abortion under any circumstances.

It appears from these results that the extreme "pro-life" position adopted by the Republican party in its platform had almost no support among the American public and that even the slightly less restrictive position taken by President Bush was out of line with the views of most of the electorate. Under these circumstances, it is understandable that Bush, Vice President Quayle, and other Republican party leaders sought to downplay the importance of the party's stand on abortion during the campaign by emphasizing the party's tolerance of diverse views on the issue.

The GOP's problem with regard to abortion policy becomes even more clear when we examine the views held by rank-and-file party supporters. Table 1 shows the abortion views of Democratic, Republican, and independent voters. Not only did more than two thirds of Democrats and independents favor one of the two pro-choice alternatives but so did a majority of Republican voters. Barely one in 10

TABLE 1
ABORTION POSITION OF VOTERS BY PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Abortion Position	Party Identification		
	Democrat	Independent	Republican
Never allowed	8%	7%	11%
Rarely allowed	23%	27%	36%
If clear need	13%	17%	15%
Woman's choice	56%	50%	39%
Total	100%	101%	101%
n	601	418	453

Source: 1992 American National Election Study.

Note: Based on respondents who reported voting in presidential election. Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

Republicans supported the position of the GOP platform and only 36% agreed with the slightly less restrictive position taken by President Bush.

The results in table 1 again indicate the strong potential for partisan defection over abortion, particularly among Republicans, 54% of whom were on the opposite side of the issue from their party's candidate. Even among Democrats, however, a sizable minority of voters—31%—took a position that clearly conflicted with that of their party and its presidential candidate. But did abortion attitudes influence the candidate preferences of either group of partisans or of independents?

Table 2 shows the relationship between abortion policy preference and presidential vote among all voters and among Democrats, independents, and Republicans. In the electorate as a whole, and among independents, Bush led among those who favored restrictions on abortion and among those who favored limiting abortion to situations in which "a clear need" existed. However, Bill Clinton won a decisive majority among the large bloc of voters who opposed any restrictions on abortion. Ross Perot, who took a pro-choice stance during the campaign, also did better among pro-choice voters than among voters who favored restrictions on abortion.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of table 2 is the asymmetrical impact that abortion had on supporters of the two parties. Abortion attitudes apparently had little or no impact on Democrats. In fact, Clinton received his strongest support, 88% of the vote, among the small group of Democrats who favored a complete ban on abortion. In contrast, support for Bush was substantially higher among Republicans who favored a ban on abortion (88%) than among Republicans who opposed any restrictions on abortion (65%). Altogether, pro-choice defectors constituted 17% of all Republican voters in 1992 whereas pro-life defectors constituted only 6% of all Democratic voters. However, the large majority of pro-choice Republican defectors voted for Perot rather than Clinton. It appears that the economically conservative Texas billionaire represented a more palatable pro-choice alternative than Clinton for many pro-choice Republicans.

TABLE 2
1992 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE BY ABORTION POSITION
AND PARTY IDENTIFICATION

	Percentage Voting for		
	Bush	Clinton	Perot
<i>All Voters</i>			
Never allowed ($n = 139$)	48	40	12
Rarely allowed ($n = 436$)	46	38	16
If clear need ($n = 237$)	42	39	19
Woman's choice ($n = 803$)	22	58	20
<i>Democrats</i>			
Never allowed ($n = 49$)	6	88	6
Rarely allowed ($n = 135$)	13	78	9
If clear need ($n = 80$)	12	79	9
Woman's choice ($n = 337$)	5	84	11
<i>Independents</i>			
Never allowed ($n = 40$)	50	22	28
Rarely allowed ($n = 138$)	45	33	22
If clear need ($n = 90$)	41	29	30
Woman's choice ($n = 289$)	16	54	29
<i>Republicans</i>			
Never allowed ($n = 49$)	88	6	6
Rarely allowed ($n = 162$)	75	8	17
If clear need ($n = 67$)	79	6	15
Woman's choice ($n = 175$)	65	12	23

Source: 1992 American National Election Study.

Why did abortion attitudes have a stronger impact among Republicans than among Democrats? To answer this question, it is necessary to examine two of the conditions for policy-based voting: knowledge and concern. Table 3 shows the level of awareness of party differences on abortion and the salience of abortion among various groups of voters. Voters were classified as knowledgeable if they placed Bush on the pro-life side of the abortion issue and Clinton on the pro-choice side. They were classified as concerned about abortion if they mentioned abortion at least once in response to the open-ended questions concerning national problems, party differences, and likes and dislikes about the parties and candidates.

Despite the fact that the two major parties have taken well-publicized and sharply contrasting positions on abortion since 1980, only 51% of all survey respondents, and only 59% of those who actually voted, knew what those positions were. The remainder either did not know one or both candidates' positions or placed one or both candidates on the wrong side of the issue. Thus, more than two fifths of the voters did not meet even the minimal condition for policy voting.

TABLE 3

KNOWLEDGE OF CANDIDATES' ABORTION POSITIONS AND SALIENCE OF
ABORTION BY SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

	Know Candidates' Positions (%)	Know Positions and Abortion Salient (%)
<i>All voters</i>	59	24
<i>Age</i>		
17-29	56	28
30-39	64	30
40-49	59	24
50-64	62	20
65+	50	14
<i>Sex</i>		
Male	61	22
Female	56	25
<i>Race</i>		
White	60	26
Black	49	8
<i>Education</i>		
0-11th Grade	35	7
Graduated high school	51	18
Some college	60	26
Graduated college	76	35
<i>Income</i>		
Lower	49	14
Middle	61	28
Upper	67	28
<i>Party identification</i>		
Democrat	59	18
Independent	56	23
Republican	62	31
<i>Abortion position</i>		
Never allowed	52	32
Rarely allowed	58	26
If clear need	54	14
Woman's choice	62	24

Source: 1992 American National Election Study

Note: Percentages based on respondents who reported voting in presidential election

Not surprisingly, knowledge of the presidential candidates' positions on abortion was strongly related to socioeconomic status. Barely one third of voters who did not complete high school were aware of both candidates' positions compared with more than three-fourths of college graduates. Similarly, two thirds of upper income voters knew both candidates' positions compared with less than half of lower income voters. At least on the issue of abortion, the potential for policy-based voting was much greater among well-educated and affluent voters than among less-educated and economically deprived voters.

Despite the rather strong relationship between SES and knowledge, Republican voters were only slightly more knowledgeable about the candidates' positions than Democratic voters. Thus, the asymmetrical impact of abortion on partisan defection rates cannot be explained by the overall level of knowledge of Democratic and Republican voters. However, the data in table 3 indicate that abortion was a more salient issue among Republicans than among Democrats. Almost one third of Republican voters mentioned abortion at least once in response to the open-ended questions compared with fewer than one fifth of Democratic voters. This difference was largely a by-product of racial and socioeconomic differences between supporters of the two parties: concern with abortion was strongly related to education and was much greater among whites than among blacks.

The data in table 3 show the absolute levels of awareness and concern about abortion among ~~the~~ party's supporters. However, the potential for policy-based voting also depends upon the extent of selective perception and concern among party supporters. We need to know whether voters who disagreed with their party's stance on abortion were aware of this conflict and whether they cared about the issue. Therefore, table 4 shows the level of awareness and concern about abortion among pro-choice and pro-life Democrats and Republicans.

The data in table 4 show that selective perception and concern were major obstacles to policy-based voting on abortion, especially among Democrats. Only 39%

TABLE 4
SELECTIVE PERCEPTION AND CONCERN: AWARENESS OF CANDIDATES'
POSITIONS AND CONCERN ABOUT ABORTION AMONG PARTISANS

	Democrats		Republicans	
	Pro-Life	Pro-Choice	Pro-Life	Pro-Choice
Unaware	61%	28%	22%	44%
Aware, not concerned	27%	51%	38%	32%
Aware and concerned	11%	21%	40%	24%
Total	99%	100%	100%	100%
n 186	914	210	249	

Source: 1992 American National Election Study

Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

TABLE 5

THE INFLUENCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND CONCERN ON ISSUE-BASED VOTING

Abortion Position	Percentage for Clinton among Voters		
	Unaware of Candidates Positions	Aware but Abortion not Salient	Aware and Abortion Salient
Never allowed	72	42	8
Rarely allowed	63	46	12
If clear need	39	54	60
Woman's choice	54	86	75
Tau	-.12*	.40**	.63**
n	520	465	323

Source: 1992 American National Election Study.

Note: Based on Bush and Clinton voters only.

* $p < .01$; ** $p < .001$.

of pro-life Democrats knew that their position was opposed by their party and its presidential candidate. On the other hand, 56% of pro-choice Republicans knew that their position was opposed by their party and its candidate. Furthermore, only 11% of pro-life Democrats were both aware of the difference between the parties' positions and concerned about abortion compared with 24% of pro-choice Republicans.

The impact of knowledge and concern on issue-based voting is clearly shown in table 5. This table displays the relationship between abortion attitude and presidential vote among three types of voters: those who were unaware of the positions of the two major-party candidates, those who were aware of the candidates' positions but for whom abortion was not a salient issue, and those who were aware of the candidates' positions and for whom abortion was a salient issue. Because the NES survey did not measure awareness of Perot's position on abortion, this table is limited to Clinton and Bush voters.

Knowledge and concern dramatically affected the relationship between abortion attitudes and the vote. Among voters who were not aware of the candidates' positions on abortion, the relationship is weak and in the wrong direction—voters who supported abortion rights were less likely to vote for Clinton than those who opposed abortion rights. This inverse relationship is probably attributable to the fact that voters who supported abortion rights tended to be somewhat higher in socioeconomic status than those who opposed abortion rights. In contrast, among both groups of voters who were aware of the candidates' positions on abortion, and especially among those for whom abortion was a salient issue, abortion attitudes were strongly related to candidate preference in the expected direction—voters who supported abortion rights were much more likely to vote for Clinton than those who opposed abortion rights.

TABLE 6
THE INFLUENCE OF ABORTION ATTITUDES ON THE VOTE:
RESULTS OF PROBIT ANALYSES

Independent Variable	All Voters			Aware and Concerned		
	Coeff.	Ratio	Change in Probability	Coeff.	Ratio	Change in Probability
Party Id	.469	13.00***	.34	.551	5.35***	.38
Ideology	.295	4.92***	.15	.295	1.83*	.15
Welfare	.050	2.33**	.07	.027	0.46	.04
Affirm act	.053	1.73*	.06	.070	0.94	.08
Death penalty	-.004	-0.09	-.00	.009	0.08	.00
Defense \$	-.043	0.84	-.02	.025	0.18	.01
Gulf war	-.014	-0.15	-.00	-.391	-1.34	-.12
Fam finances	-.064	-1.06	-.03	-.101	-0.67	-.04
Nat economy	-.188	-4.51***	-.11	-.172	-1.55	-.11
Abortion	.129	2.92***	.08	.519	3.97***	.28
Age	-.002	-0.57	-.01	-.010	-0.89	-.07
Sex (female)	-.368	-2.83***	-.07	.139	0.45	.03
Race (black)	.703	2.41**	.09	-1.044	-1.26	-.13
Education	.070	-0.96	-.03	-.295	-1.53	-.12
Fam income	-.007	-0.58	-.02	.026	0.83	.06
Constant	-.387			.633		

Source: 1992 American National Election Study.

Note: Dependent variable is presidential vote, coded as "1" for Clinton and "0" for Bush. Change in probability is estimated effect of increase of one standard deviation on each independent variable on probability of voting for Clinton for voter with initial probability of .50.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

To compare the influence of abortion attitudes on candidate choice with that of economic conditions and other policy issues, I conducted two probit analyses, one for all Clinton and Bush voters and one for those Clinton and Bush voters who were aware of the candidates' positions on abortion and for whom abortion was a salient issue. This second analysis included approximately one fourth of all Clinton and Bush voters. In addition to abortion, the policy issues included in the probit analyses were affirmative action, social welfare, defense spending, the death penalty, and the Gulf War. Other independent variables were national economic conditions, family finances, party identification, liberal-conservative identification, age, sex, race, education, and family income.¹ The results of these probit analyses are presented in table 6.

Among all Clinton and Bush voters, party identification, ideology, and national economic conditions had the strongest effects on candidate choice. Thus, our results

¹The specific questions used to measure these characteristics and attitudes will be provided on request by the author.

support the Clinton campaign's slogan, "it's the economy, stupid." However, as indicated by the estimated effects of each variable on the probability of voting for Clinton, abortion had the strongest effect of any of the policy issues included in the analysis, including the Gulf War, defense spending, affirmative action, and social welfare. Furthermore, abortion attitudes had a much stronger effect on candidate choice among the subset of voters who were aware of the candidates' positions on abortion and for whom abortion was a salient issue: the estimated coefficient for the abortion variable was almost four times larger for the "aware and concerned" group than for the entire electorate. In fact, among these "aware and concerned" voters, the influence of abortion attitudes far outweighed that of any variable except party identification, including evaluations of national economic conditions. For this group of voters, which included approximately one-fourth of the electorate, a more accurate slogan would have been, "it's abortion, stupid."

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the general belief that the 1992 presidential election was decided almost exclusively on economic issues, our analysis of voter decision making indicates that attitudes toward abortion had a strong influence on candidate choice in the overall electorate. Furthermore, approximately one fourth of all major party voters were aware of the candidates' positions on abortion and mentioned abortion at least once in response to the open-ended questions dealing with national problems, party differences, and likes and dislikes about the parties and candidates. Among these aware and concerned voters, abortion had a much stronger influence on candidate choice than any other issue, including the state of the economy.

These findings demonstrate the importance of examining issue publics in assessing policy voting. In the case of abortion, members of this issue public were disproportionately white, affluent, and well-educated. As a result, abortion had a much greater impact on the Republican party than on the Democratic party. The Clinton-Gore ticket suffered few defections from pro-life Democrats because most of these Democrats either didn't know the candidates' positions on abortion or didn't care about the issue. In contrast, the Bush-Quayle ticket suffered a substantial number of defections from pro-choice Republicans, although most of these Republican defectors cast their ballots for Perot rather than Clinton.

Abortion is one of a number of divisive social issues that have emerged on the political agenda in recent years. The prominence of issues such as abortion, gay rights, and sexual equality reflects the increased influence of single-issue and ideological activists in both major parties. In recent years, gay rights and feminist activists have achieved considerable influence within the Democratic party while conservative evangelicals have strongly influenced the Republican party's presidential nominating process and platform.

Social issues are likely to remain the subjects of intense partisan conflict in the future and the findings reported in this article suggest that these issues have the

potential to cause widespread defections among partisans who oppose their own party's position. In 1992, it was the GOP that suffered the bulk of these defections over the issue of abortion. However, the Democratic party is also deeply divided over social issues, as indicated by the recent debate over gays in the military. While these social issues may not be as important to most voters as the state of the economy, they can be expected to play a visible role in future presidential campaigns and to strongly affect the voting decisions of a substantial segment of the American electorate.

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TO: BETSY, MAGGIE AND MELANNE

FR: MAUREEN

DATE: 7/20/95

BACKGROUND FOR POSSIBLE WYOMING EVENT:

STATUS OF SUFFRAGE EVENTS:

Wyoming celebrated 125 years of its own woman suffrage last year and earlier this year. As a result we have yet to find any events scheduled for August. It is generally not a great month for organizing events in Wyoming - with all the state concentrating on the outdoors - and the legislature is out. Obviously that does not interfere with the First Lady doing a suffrage event. I assume, in fact, it may make it easier because you can shape what you want.

HISTORY:

KEY DATES:

- 1869 - First territory to grant women the right to vote as well as the right to hold office
- 1875 - Nellie Tayloe Ross is first woman elected governor
- 1889 - Requests admission to the Union
- 1890 - Statehood approved

Because it was the first state to have granted women the right to vote, Wyoming is called the "Equality State." The state seal features a woman with a broken chair on her wrists holding an "Equal Rights" banner. Because of her work on suffrage in Wyoming, Esther Hobart Morris is celebrated as "The Mother of Woman Suffrage." Born August 8, 1814 and orphaned at 11, she was married and had one son, and widowed after three years. She married Morris and had three children. They moved to Wyoming in 1869 where she encouraged the new territory's leaders to pass woman suffrage and property rights legislation. Morris was later elected the first female Justice of the Peace. She died in 1902.

When Wyoming applied for statehood, the fact that it already had included woman's suffrage in its constitution caused a major debate in Congress. The state was expected to be Republican, therefore the Democrats used woman suffrage as their excuse to deny Wyoming admittance. They feared that by admitting Wyoming they would be opening the door for other states to allow women to vote. Men feared "the appearance of a woman in their midst as a duly elected representative of the people, and the insoluble problem of how to address them. One Senator said: "Let woman remain in the realm in which God and the Bible have assigned her." As the debate raged, one delegate telegraphed the Wyoming legislature asking advice.

The men of the Wyoming legislature replied: "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without the women." Congress gave in and the Bill of Admission was passed in 1890. Wyoming thus became both the first territory and the first state to give the right to vote to its women - the first place anywhere in the world.

Carrie Chapman Catt was the first woman to deliver a commencement address at the University of Wyoming.

KEY PEOPLE:

Bill DuBois: Great great grandson of Esther Hobart Morris. He is at 307-634-1063 and is said to be a "delight."

Mabel Brown: Recently completed a book on Wyoming First Ladies: 307-746-4770

Mark Junge: State historian: 307-777-7022

Denise Wheeler: Does a slide show on women's suffrage in Wyoming: 307-789-3655

DEMOCRATIC WOMEN

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Rep. Kenilynn S. Zanetti

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LWV Past President
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Carolyn Logan
NOW State Coordinator
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Jen Nelson-Schroll
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Mary Ann North
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Donna Richardson, Director
Women's Resource Center
University of Wyoming
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Rose Shockley, President
League of Women Voters
Box 687
Powell 82435
307-754-1095

MISC.

There is a Wyoming Suffrage Memorial bronze table at 17th St. and Carey Ave. in Cheyenne. It marks the site where "the first woman suffrage law was passed in the United States."

A special suffrage exhibit went up November '94 at the Museum of the Mountain Man in Pinedale. Contact 307-367-4104.

FLO 80
ISSUE



Kim B. Widdess

06/26/97 07:08:25 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
Subject: Response to PCPF issue

In his briefing today, McCurry had the following response to the issue of Flo-jo being removed from the President's Council on Physical Fitness to make way for Jack Steinfeld.

McCurry stated that while the President wants Jack Steinfeld to join the PCPF, he also feels that Flo-jo should remain on the Council. The goal is to have enthusiastic and dynamic members on the council, and they both exhibit these qualities.

Our personnel office has attempted to reach her and has been having discussions with her husband in regard to her continuing service.

The full transcript will be distributed in McCurry's briefing. Please let me know if you don't receive it, and I will forward a transcript to you.

Thanks.

Message Sent To:

Ann F. Lewis/WHO/EOP
Ellen M. Lovell/WHO/EOP
Lucia F. Gilliland/OVP @ OVP
Susan M. Liss/OVP @ OVP
Lynn G. Cutler/WHO/EOP
Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP
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Jennifer L. Klein/OPD/EOP

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

For Immediate Release

June 26, 1997

PRESS BRIEFING BY
PRESS SECRETARY MIKE MCCURRY,
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY DAN TARULLO
AND CHAIR OF THE COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENT QUALITY KATIE MCGINTY

Hotel Inter-Continental
New York, New York

2:45 P.M. EDT

MR. MCCURRY: Let me describe a little logistically what we are going to do to you right now, and then I'll come up and do any other subjects you want. Principally, we've got a bunch of folks here who can talk about the various initiatives the President will put forward in his speech before the United Nations later today.

The President sees this as a great opportunity to talk about the progress in the last five years since Rio, and will have some very specific ideas that he'll share in a relatively short address this evening. To brief you on it, I've asked Katie McGinty, who is the Chair of the White House Council on Environmental Quality; and Dan Tarullo, who is Assistant to the President for International Economic Policy to brief. We've got some other folks who can help with specifics -- Secretary Wirth, of course, among others. And then I will answer any other questions you may have.

We've got fact sheets which you've now received. I'm hopeful that by 4:00 p.m. or so we'll have an advanced text that will hold up pretty well for this evening, which will make everyone's life easier. And we're getting that from the plane. The President, of course, is now en route from Arkansas here.

So with that, I guess Katie first, then Dan.

MS. MCGINTY: Good afternoon. The President will deliver a very strong address today that generally measures our progress since Rio and specifically is a strong call to action on the issue of climate change.

Rio, generally, the President will recognize that we have made progress since Rio. One, the presence of world leaders

MORE

here, the attention that heads of state have been paying to these issues is demonstrable evidence that these issues are still of top concern.

Second, substantively, with U.S. leadership, we have made strong progress, for example, in protecting the oceans. The United States led the world to what we now have, a global ban on the dumping of radioactive waste at sea, a charge from Rio. The United States led the world now to agreeing to phase out what we call the deadly dozen, the 12 worst chemicals that wash off the land into the sea and kill fish. The U.S. also led the world now to a treaty that will sustainably manage fish resources which we know have dramatically been declining.

Population, another area where we have made significant progress. The Cairo Conference on Population that issued from Rio brought the world to a new understanding that women's empowerment, education, economic opportunity, health care need to be part of the package of things the nations of the world work on to take on the issue of rapid population growth.

But the President will very specifically recognize the real challenges that remain -- hemorrhaging losses of biodiversity, the species that are so critical to us in any number of ways; rapid clear-cutting and burning of the forest still a big problem for us.

Most specifically, the President will zero in on the issue of climate change. The President and Vice President both agree that from an environmental, economic, and national security perspective, climate change is an issue of enormous import to the United States. The President will state clearly that the science on this issue is clear and compelling: humans are changing our climate.

The President will also state clearly that industrial nations, including most particularly the United States, bear a special responsibility here. He will recognize that the United States, with just 4 percent of the world's population, emits more than 20 percent of the gases that are a problem when it comes to climate change. Having recognized that, he will declare definitively that this must and will change, that the United States will take this issue on as we work with others around the world, and specifically developing countries, to have them come on board as part of the solution, too.

To underscore the seriousness of purpose here, the President will make clear his intention, intensively to engage the American people in this issue as these summer months unfold, and indeed into the early fall, where the President will chair a White House conference on this issue to enable us to fashion a policy, a consensus among the American people, and have us present that then to the world community in Kyoto as these climate discussions come to their culmination.

MORE

The President's objective here is to build a consensus to enable the United States to achieve in Kyoto a strong American commitment to binding limits that will significantly decrease emissions of greenhouse gases.

Two final points: There has been much discussion about the targets and timetables, what are the specific numbers, and some criticism that we have not yet identified those numbers. The President welcomes the leadership and the attention and concern the European Community and others have paid to this issue, but we need to know when numbers are put on the table that we will be mobilized actually to achieve them. And in that regard, we're concerned that Europe, for example, has issued a report saying their emissions will actually increase by 8 percent by the year 2010. So we need to get realistic binding targets that we actually can and will achieve.

Last point: To bolster our efforts, the President will announce several very significant steps. First of all, he will underscore that the important clean air rules he announced yesterday are the first step on our climate effort. They put us on the right track because the technologies that will be used to achieve those clean air targets are the very same technologies that will help us reduce emissions of greenhouse gases.

Second, the President will launch today a campaign on a million solar roofs, to place solar panels on a million roofs around this country by the year 2010. There is a billion-dollar market for solar technology right now. It's estimated to increase to \$10 billion. What the President is saying is that he wants U.S. companies to be in the lead in developing and deploying those technologies.

Related to that, he will have a comprehensive technology charge that he issues to his Cabinet, calling on them to delve into their resources, our national labs, our Department of Commerce, Department of the Army and the various military resources we have, technological opportunities to take on the climate challenge.

Third -- or fourth, the President will also announce a billion dollar package of initiatives with the developing countries to enable them to invest in energy efficiency, renewable energy, and pursue technologies that will allow them to have economic growth without polluting the environment -- again, paving the way for U.S. economic opportunity, U.S. technologies to fuel that economic growth.

And, finally, our Overseas Private Investment Corporation, OPIC, will announce today a new and rigorous set of rules through which they will analyze their investments to ensure that we are investing in environmentally sound technologies.

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Taken together, all of these things will help put us on the right track to take on this climate issue, which the President and Vice President recognize as one of the most serious challenges that we do face today. Thank you.

MR. TARULLO: I don't have anything to add to Katie's presentation. I'm just available to answer any questions.

Q Do you have a date for the conference?

MS. MCGINTY: We don't have a specific date to mention today, but it will be in the early fall.

Q Mike, this, like race, sort of says, the President gets it, but the American people don't. Is that a politically sustainable position from which to argue for change in the environment?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, I would make a distinction between these two issues: One is a deep personal issue that I think affects Americans in any number of different ways; the issue of global climate change is one that's driven by the science as we've come to better understand it. Remember, even a decade ago there was some disagreement about the nature of the science, but within this past year I think over 2,000 scientists have now come to some conclusion, and that requires a period of education so Americans understand that.

But I think it's easy for Americans to grasp the concept of beaches that they've enjoyed being under water, losing acres and acres of sensitive marsh land because of rising ocean levels, the kinds of temperature changes, extreme changes in weather that we're experiencing even today. So I think people will begin to understand that, but they need to understand that there is something that can be done about it, and they need to be -- it needs to be demonstrated to them that the cost of dealing with the problem are worth the benefit over the long-term of the kinds of policies that would be implemented jointly by the world community.

Q Ms. McGinty, leaders of a number of the environmental organizations just had a press conference across town, and the thrust of all of their remarks was that, unless the President set a firm target and timetable tonight, that it would not break new ground and they would be very disappointed. Can you, just for the record, explain why you've chosen not to set, as part of your policy today, a firm target?

MS. MCGINTY: This presentation does break new ground. The President states clearly and unequivocally that the science is clear and compelling on this, states clearly and unequivocally that the United States will take this issue on, states clearly and unequivocally that we are going to work in

MORE

Kyoto to a legally binding agreement that will significantly reduce greenhouse gas emissions. That is a vision for moving forward that, frankly, we haven't had from any country yet.

I want to come back to the point. It's one thing to just hypothesize about numbers and put them out there. That, frankly, is what happened in Rio five years ago. How many nations have actually met those numbers and those targets that were thrown out there? The President is serious about this issue, and that means before we just put a number out there, we want to make sure we have galvanized our resources so that we will achieve those very real emissions reductions.

The purpose of this engagement on this issue is not just for us to educate the American people. The President is going to be calling business to come forward, our universities and academic community to come forward to deliver solutions. This is about putting the package together, putting the ideas together and achieving real reductions in emissions.

Q But when you say that the goal is to get realistic, binding targets, I take it you don't accept what the EU endorsed as a realistic target.

MS. MCGINTY: Even from a -- just practically speaking, when you look at the year 2005, it is impossible to achieve 15 to 20 percent reductions in that time period. We won't even have a framework until 1998. Then we need to try to ratify that agreement, which could be at least another year, maybe two. Then we need to pass implementing regulations, which could be another year, maybe two. All of a sudden it's at least 2004, and it's a little hard to believe that in 12 months' time you can achieve a 20 percent reduction in emissions.

So just looking at the practicalities of time, it doesn't add up. And I have to go back to the European Union's own analysis that came out this week. It's one thing to talk about 15 percent reductions in emissions; their analysis is that they will realize 8 percent increases in emissions.

This is not to criticize. We appreciate the concern and the leadership that's being shown. It's just to say that we want to do this with the kind of seriousness of purpose that says, we know that we will get there and we will have the technologies, the business community, academics and others mobilized to help us get there.

Q By saying that the EU goal is unrealistic, is it a way for you to, in fact, avoid the tough decisions you will have to make?

MS. MCGINTY: No. And again, we do welcome -- and welcome the leadership, the commitment of the European Union, and sincerely hope that they are able to achieve that goal. The

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schedule I have just outlined I think makes it clear for the United States it is unrealistic. We cannot get there from here in that time frame.

Q But they do not want 20 percent by 2005; they want 15 percent by 2010. So, I mean, that's not what you mentioned.

MS. MCGINTY: And some countries, 20 percent.

Q Some countries, but that's not the official position of the EU.

MS. MCGINTY: Well, some countries it is 20 percent. In other countries outside of the European Union are also 20 percent by 2005. I think the position of the environment community, in fact, would be 20 percent by 2005.

Q Where could the United States get by 2010? If you know you can't get there by 2005, where can you get by 2010?

MS. MCGINTY: Well, we do think we can achieve significant emissions reductions in emissions. But the point --

Q And quantify that.

MS. MCGINTY: The point, though, of this engagement -- mobilization of our labs, mobilization of the business community during the course of this summer and early fall -- is to fill in that blank. If we knew that answer, we could say that today. But the fact is that the President really wants to hear from labor, from the business community, from universities, what can we do.

Q And why hasn't that been done in the last four years?

MS. MCGINTY: Well, it has been done in the last four years. But let's keep in mind, in the last four years we have been working towards the implementation of the Rio agreement which looked at what can we do by the year 2000. Now we've entered the next stage, at the U.S. insistence, by the way, to say that what we've done so far isn't sufficient, and the question now before us is what can we do beyond the year 2000. And so it's a new question that we are undertaking.

Q You suggested a parallel between this situation and the ozone situation that was just resolved or begun to be resolved yesterday. The administration had an enormous fight over those regulations, and that will probably continue for sometime. Don't you think this is -- magnitude more complicated and difficult than that was, and given that, what do you see as the political outcome of this?

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MS. MCGINTY: Well, let me say, first of all, that the connection here is that some of the technologies that will be used to achieve the new clean air protections that were put in place yesterday will have the simultaneous benefit of also reducing carbon dioxide emissions. One way that that happens, for example, is that some industries will choose to meet the new protections by switching from dirtier fuels to, for example, natural gas. Natural gas doesn't only have fewer particulates, which was one of the subjects of the President's action yesterday, it also has, or generates, less carbon dioxide and greenhouse gases. So the only point is to say that these goals are mutually reinforcing, and that the action yesterday is a significant help.

MR. TARULLO: Katie -- let me just add a couple of observations which I think are relevant to Katie's answers to several of your questions. First, it's important to bear in mind that none of the proposals that is out on the table right now from any source will solve the problem of global warming. All of these proposals are first steps in an exercise that ought to be defined by its success in creating a framework within which policies will be developed over the course of the next five, six, seven, or eight decades to combat the problem of global warming. It is a cumulative problem which will require a cumulative solution.

The second point which Katie has alluded to is that there is a variety of views among the nations of the world. Many of you were out in Denver. You heard the particular EU proposals. There are, as Katie indicated, proposals, particularly from the some of the island nations, which would go even further. There are proposals from other countries, or at least inclinations and instincts and expressions of position from other countries, that would go not very far at all. There really is a continuum that I think people haven't heard as much about.

The third point I'd make is that it was the United States, and specifically in the person of Tim Wirth, who is standing to my left, who really framed the issues last summer, who provided a framework that included talking about binding targets, included talking about the approaches that ought to be taken to achieve those binding targets, and included talking about the necessity for universality of participation in solving this problem.

I think when you take all three of those points into context, you see that this is really only an opening chapter which needs to be treated as such. It is not the final solution, no matter who proposes it.

Q Yes, a couple of things. One is, in Kyoto -- or in the President's speech today, will we have any reference to the fact that unless the developing world signs up to some kind of agreements, then America is not going to play ball? And

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secondly, also, how does the American President plan to achieve -- educate people, American people, through advertising or something like that? And thirdly, when are you going to ratify the biodiversity agreements at Rio? You talked about hemorrhaging of wild life, but you haven't ratified that yet.

MS. MCGINTY: Let me take the third one first, which is, we will continue our discussion with Senator Helms on that matter, and I wouldn't want to predict a date, but we continue to try to achieve that objective. We did, however, sign the Biodiversity Convention, which was one of the very first directives that the President made in 1993, reversing the position of the previous administration.

On developing countries, the United States has articulated a framework on the climate issue overall that really has three elements. One is that we do need legally binding emissions limits. We've learned from 1992 that the voluntary steps have not proven sufficient. Second, we need flexibility in implementation so that we can employ the most cost-effective measures possible to achieve those emissions reductions. But third, and importantly, we have underscored that this is a global problem, and while industrial countries need to take the lead, developing countries must be part of the solution also. And we have proposed a framework that would envision the graduation, if you will, of developing countries into this issue as their economies become more robust, that they join us in being part of the solution here.

Your second question, just briefly, the President wants to engage the American people as intensively as possible. That might involve regional conferences of some kind. It may involve specific kinds of events with different groups that are part of this business -- labor, universities. We have not put the entire game plan together of what every element will involve, but this will be a very serious effort. The President will be deploying his Cabinet and, as he will say today, he and the Vice President personally will be involved.

MR. TARULLO: Three additional quick points on developing countries. First, it is, undoubtedly, the case that the developed countries are the source of most of the current greenhouse emissions. Secondly, sometime in the second to third decade of the next century, the developing countries -- what are now the developing countries -- will account for a majority of global greenhouse gas emissions. Third, whatever the source and the shifting sources of those emissions, the developing countries will be disproportionately affected by the phenomenon of global warming, because, when one moves closer to the Equator, the effects will be more concentrated and there will be less of a trade-off between benign and malign effects.

So I think if you put those things together, you see that there is an obvious interest in having developing countries

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involved. We cannot have a successful response over the medium-term without the developing countries and, ultimately, their interests are at the upper end of the interests we all share.

Q At what level will U.S. representation be in Kyoto? Who goes?

UNDER SECRETARY WIRTH: Well, we will. The State Department will be the lead negotiator with a team from all of the different agencies --

Q Is the President or the Vice President going?

UNDER SECRETARY WIRTH: I don't think any of those decisions have been --

MS. MCGINTY: That will come to us from the United Nations in terms of what the protocol will be and the level of representation. I don't know that that issue has been engaged yet or addressed.

Q And can you get us to a billion on this AID -- I can see 600 --

MR. HALE: Let me introduce the answer to that specifically by playing off of one of Dan's points. It is very clear that the concerns that he listed are very serious ones for developing countries. They are concerned that if we move forward to address climate change that it will perhaps restrict their own growth options and it will cause them to use scarce resources that might otherwise go into other forms of development.

The \$1 billion initiative that the President is proposing today is designed to affect both of those points of view. The \$1 billion is within the budget projections for the next five years -- \$750 million of that is in grants and aid; another \$250 million or so will be available through credit guarantees or loans which will try to promote smart investments, effective investments in the kind of technology that lets growth continue while reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

Q What's mechanism by which these would be legally binding?

MS. MCGINTY: The treaty itself would be constructed so that its provisions become binding on signatories. Most treaties have been binding. You look at the Montreal protocol, for example. There are provisions in there that make it a binding obligation on countries to reduce these emissions. That means you take the treaty, you go home to your home parliament or your home congress, and you pass legislation which is binding on you to achieve whatever targets are in there.

When the Montreal protocol, which talked about ozone-depleting chemicals -- the treaty itself said -- the first iteration of it said you have to reduce them by 50 percent. The United States had to come home then from those negotiations, go to the Congress and pass legislation which is legally binding which has reduced emissions now not only by 50 percent, but the treaty has been amended; our legislation has been amended fully to phase out CFCs.

Q Is there some kind of regime of monitoring and penalties for governments that don't meet the goal?

MS. MCGINTY: That would be negotiated as part of this as well, yes, that you would have some enforcement mechanisms that would be part of the overall regime.

Q Also, if I could follow up on your comments about the European goals being unrealistic, do you understand their position? What makes the United States see this so much more clearly than somebody like Tony Blair or Helmut Kohl who are not regarded by the administration as unrealistic thinkers on most issues?

MS. MCGINTY: Let me be clear about that. The schedule I articulated is the schedule that the United States would have to deal with in this issue. For the United States, those numbers are not realistic. We could not achieve them, just given the legal steps we know need to go through before an emissions reduction regime would even take hold.

Now, for Europe, we are very hopeful that they can meet the targets they have set for themselves, and welcome their leadership in that regard. So it's a difference between what we know we would need to do here in the United States to begin to achieve those emissions reductions and whatever they may need to do in their own respective parliament.

MR. TARULLO: Let me add a couple of things on that score. So far as I'm aware, Katie, we don't -- we have not heard implementation plans or exactly how they would get to these targets. And those, I should add, were not discussed in Denver at all. A number of the leaders asked some of the European leaders whether they had specific plans, and those were not discussed.

Secondly, as I think many of you know, the target that has been offered by the European Union does not apply to each of their countries. Some countries would be able to increase emissions from 1990 levels; others would be decreasing from 1990 levels. In that regard, there has been fairly widespread acknowledgement that Germany occupies a serendipitous position in so far as 1990 was just about the time that East Germany was incorporated into Germany. East Germany, as you know, has a substantial amount of very inefficient, very high

carbon-burning industry, which in the succeeding years has been transformed, obviously, just by the use of basic western technologies and also by the fact that a lot of it was inefficient even with that energy utilization.

So the period from 1990 to today is a bit of an anomalous position -- or anomalous period, particular for Germany, and thus, to some degree, the discussion is about what the appropriate baselines are, not just about whether one is committed to reductions or not.

Q Does the foreign aid use of this package represent any significant uptick in aid for those countries? And if so, what are the numbers?

MR. HALE: I don't think we can tell yet which countries will participate in the package in a way to tell which countries might be winners or losers in terms of overall aid as a result of it. What we believe very deeply, though, is that countries can have sustainable development and they can do that in ways that are much more effective in reducing greenhouse gases, and that many of our programs which currently invest in resource management -- tropical forests, for example -- can also use our funds much more effectively in order to provide carbon sinks.

So what we believe in this package is that there will be net winners on both sides of the equation as we make this investment in the countries that AID works with.

The ODA -- one of the issues here, of course, is the shrinking amount of ODA. The most recent OECD figures show an increase in U.S. ODA from '95 to '96. And if you look at the budget projections over the next five years, the requests, as we anticipate them, will be slightly increasing.

Q Katie, you talked about welcoming European leadership on this issue. But isn't what the European leaders are complaining about the fact that Americans aren't showing leadership when it comes to setting clear short-term goals for greenhouse emissions?

MS. MCGINTY: Well, if the only issue in climate change was to put a number out there, I guess that would be true. But the objective here, unfortunately, is much larger and much more complicated than that. How do we structure this agreement, for example, so that we make sure industrial countries are taking the lead, but that developing countries are also being part of this effort as well. The United States has articulated the framework for getting that done. How do we ensure that, as we take on this huge environmental challenge, we will have the economic resources to get the job done? The United States has taken the lead in putting that framework forward, joint implementation, emissions, trading.

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How can we ensure that in the years after 2000 we will do better than we have in the years leading up to 2000? The United States took the lead there, too, and said, we need the legally binding treaty, not just targets, not just nice words -- legally binding, realistic emissions reductions.

Q What happens if the Chinese don't sign on to this agreement? Would you explain the scenario that would play out?

MS. MCGINTY: More days like we're feeling today. That's a very problematic scenario. China is already the second largest emitter of greenhouse gases in the world, behind the United States. If China continues to experience the rates of economic growth that they witnessed over the last several years, that means their emissions will continue to sky-rocket, particularly if they use coal, for example, to fuel that economic growth. So the upshot is that this job gets much more difficult if China, and, frankly, the rest of the developing countries, don't become part of the solution. In fact, we cannot meet the climate challenge unless developing countries become part of the solution.

That's where the President's leadership, also with this AID initiative, is so important. We want to help the developing countries to become part of the solution, but the bottom line is they have to be part of it or we cannot win on this issue.

Q Katie, do you expect after he consults with business leaders and scientific leaders that we will know what his -- what he thinks is a realistic goal before Kyoto?

MS. MCGINTY: That certainly is the objective. And as you will hear him say today, we must and we will bring to the Kyoto Conference in December a strong American commitment to realistic and binding limits that will significantly reduce our emissions of greenhouse gases. So the point of this effort is to put together the strategy that will achieve that goal.

Q Will we know what the goals are when you're heading over there?

MS. MCGINTY: I believe that would absolutely be the case, but we'll see what the upshot of our effort is here.

Q You had said that what you're trying -- what the goal is, is to not just have words. How can you explain to the Europeans, who what they really want are specific emission targets, that what you're doing today is not just mere words and rhetoric saying, we know best?

MS. MCGINTY: Well, the point of the effort we are launching is specifically to get to the point where targets and timetables, if you will, can be agreed in Kyoto; and further, targets and timetables that are realistic, legally binding, and that will achieve significant emissions reductions. We aren't there in terms of saying, today these are the targets and timetables we want, but the whole point of this very intensive engagement the President will be announcing is to get us to that place so we can have a successful result in Kyoto.

Q But all you're doing is just pledging to do what the Europeans want you to do, which is to set targets?

MS. MCGINTY: Well, we are committed -- this isn't just a matter of the Europeans wanting us to do this. The United States has been part of this effort on climate change from the beginning. And this is our own initiative, the President and the Vice President saying, this is one of the most serious challenges we face and we can and we will, we must take it on. We'll work in partnership with the Europeans and other countries of the world to that end, but this is our commitment to part of the solution to this very grave challenge.

Q Are you just saying that the debate is over entirely? I mean, it seems to me -- I'm no expert, but I see that there is still debate as to how intense the problem is and whether it really is that damaging, although there may be some increase in heat. It seems to me that you're just pushing aside all arguments on the other side.

MS. MCGINTY: The science is clear and compelling that humans are influencing the climate -- 2,600 scientists from around the world in the most intensive and heavily peer-reviewed effort ever undertaken over the last 10 years have brought all of the science on this together and have stated that unequivocally. Where they don't know is on the corner of 5th and Main exactly what will the weather look like on the 3rd of November in 2002; they don't know some of the micro effects with great precision. They do know on a macro level that the temperature will increase, that sea levels will rise, that diseases will spread on account of the fact that the temperature is warmer.

There are things they do know with certainty, and it's those things that we know with certainty that are more than enough to compel us to action. You are quite right that there are details about this -- the micro effects -- that they don't know with precision yet. But what we do know and what the President wants to underscore is that we do know enough and there is enough that is clear and compelling and not disputed that we need to take action.

Q These solar home hot water heaters, what do these things cost, and what help can homeowners who are interested expect in terms of paying for them?

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MS. MCGINTY: I'll ask David to elaborate on that, but one thing I do want to say -- there are costs, certainly every investment involves a cost. But I do want to underscore again there is currently a billion-dollar market for solar technologies. The United States leads that market right now, but there are many other countries that are closely in the wings. The projection is that the market for solar technologies will be \$10 billion by the year 2010. So it's those opportunities that the President wants to seize by launching this initiative.

MR. SANDALOW: One of the goals is that the cost will come down over the course of the next decade and more. There are huge economies of scale in the production of these photovoltaic cells and these hot water heaters, and by launching a program to eliminate regulatory barriers and to assist with the purchase of these we hope we can bring these down to the point where they can be purchased by average homeowners around the country.

Q If you needed one today, what would it cost you?

MR. SANDALOW: I would have to get the Department of Energy for that.

Q Briefly, how much has American carbon dioxide emissions risen by since 1990, percentage, roughly?

MS. MCGINTY: I believe it's about 13 percent. The overall trend seems to be about a percent a year, and over the last decade it's been slightly more than that. So, roughly, around 13 percent.

MR. MCCURRY: Thank you, everybody.

Other questions? Other updates?

Q -- could you give us a readout, a statement as a reaction to the first line-item veto?

MR. MCCURRY: The President was very pleased with today's Supreme Court decision that turned back the challenge to the line-item veto. Obviously, the President intends to use this tool, that very valuable tool, for eliminating waste in the federal budget. He will use the tool prudently, use it appropriately, use it consistent with constitutional principles. But it is important for the President, nonetheless, to have access to a line-item veto that will allow him in specific ways to make it clear that the kind of wasteful spending by the United States government is over.

Q What about the Internet decision?

MR. MCCURRY: On the Internet decision, the President -- obviously, the White House continues to study the opinion very carefully. There are aspects of it that the President wants to understand better. But as a general principle, the President believes, regardless of the Court's decision, we need to continue to work to protect parents who want to protect their kids from smut on the Internet. There are ways to do that that might combine technology, that might combine some new efforts on behalf of industry working together with policymakers to achieve that aim. But the ability to protect children from indecency on the Internet will be something the President will continue to address and will continue to find appropriate constitutional ways to do so.

Q Is he hinting at a new initiative -- that last paragraph in the statement -- or has he said that before?

MR. MCCURRY: Next week the President -- it was not hard to anticipate that the Court might move in this direction. Next week I expect the President to convene a group of industry leaders, advocates for children, parents, others who have been proficient in the technology of the Internet, to talk about ways in which we might find solutions that will fit within the contours and laws defined by the Court.

Q Mike, you said next week?

MR. MCCURRY: Tuesday. I expect to do something on that Tuesday.

Q Would that be like a day-long conference or a meeting?

MR. MCCURRY: I think it's still -- we'll tell you more about it probably Friday. It will be a mini-conference on that subject.

Q On line-item are there any particular appropriations bills that he sees yet that he might use?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, you can easily imagine some, but I don't want to speculate in the hypothetical. We have not raised veto threats against much of the legislation working its way through Congress for the simple reason we want to continue to work with Congress to address the administration's concerns as this legislation is written and then rewritten in conference committee.

I think the fact that the President now has access to the line-item veto will certainly make the nature of some of those discussions and negotiations somewhat different.

Q How about the B-2 bomber, for example?

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MR. MCCURRY: I don't want to speculate on specific line items in that we are going to continue to work -- we give the Congress very detailed analysis of the legislation that they are considering and they know some of our specific concerns in Congress, and can now read the opinion of the court well enough to understand those areas in which the President might likely want to exercise the veto.

At the same time, the Court made it clear that there are ways that you could test the constitutionality of the line-item veto and for that reason the President must be on very firm legal grounds if he chooses to exercise the option of using the line-item veto.

Q Mike, back to the Internet for just a second. Does the President right now think that the option lies -- since he is going to convene this conference next Tuesday -- in getting the industry to act, as compared to like Coats on the Hill saying what we need is to come back with new legislation?

MR. MCCURRY: I think we are going to want to look at that question, whether there are ways either through executive action or through legislation that conforms with the Court opinion, that you can, as a matter of policy, give parents the tool they need.

At the same time, it is our belief that within the industry itself the technology is moving quickly, the software is moving quickly, that there may be ways working within the industry or working with the industry that we could find a way to protect kids.

We've done that when it comes to television programming that parents might find objectionable for their children. We developed a rating system. I think the concept of a rating system with respect to some products available on-line on the Internet might be useful as well. Those are the kinds of questions the President would like to see addressed more fully.

Q Doctor-assisted suicide?

MR. MCCURRY: The President was gratified by the Supreme Court's decision upholding his own personal view, and certainly upholding the view that the government argued in front of the court that says the states may ban physician-assisted suicide. The President believes that that decision is a victory for all Americans. It will prevent us from going down a very dangerous and troubling path on what is for many families a very difficult and agonizing issue.

Q The story today that Florence Griffith-Joyner said she has not heard from the President about whether or not she is going to be continued on the Commission of Physical

Fitness-- does the President intend to replace her with Jake Steinfeld?

MR. MCCURRY: I think the President wants enthusiastic, dynamic members of his Council on Physical Fitness, and Jack Steinfeld will certainly be that. He is well recognized in the community. He has worked for a number of charities. His career professionally and his personal interests have been devoted to getting, especially kids, interested in physical fitness. And he's done a lot of work with organizations like Big Brothers, Big Sisters, to promote that kind of concern.

That being said, given that the President wants energetic, enthusiastic members of the Council, the energy, enthusiasm that Flo-Jo showed in wanting to remain as a member is compelling enough to indicate that she should remain. And the President will seek to have her remain on the Council, even as we add Jack Steinfeld to the Council.

Q Has anyone from the White House talked to her, I mean, today, to tell her that?

MR. MCCURRY: I know that our personnel office was attempting to reach her. They had had discussions. It is not unusual with a Council like this that serves at the pleasure of the President to rotate members from time to time, to change leadership positions from time to time. I expect that we will do that with this Council, but at the same time we made it clear to all the members that this is -- the ordinary course of business is to rotate people in and out of these positions.

There has been some discussions with Florence Griffith-Joyner's husband about her continued service. Those discussions will continue, but for now the President believes that she should remain as a member of the Council.

Q Mike, Secretary Rubin sent a letter to speaker Gingrich saying that the White House strongly opposes the House tax bill as it is now crafted. What is the purpose of that? Does that mean it is vetoed if it passes as it is?

MR. MCCURRY: We have a whole menu of ways in which we express administration opinions and indicate the kind of trouble the Congress will be in if they go certain directions. And the President's Cabinet member, and one as valued as Secretary Rubin, recommending a certain position is a way of alerting Congress to the deep concerns that we have.

I expect the President will have a lot more to say on the whole subject of the tax bill and what it ought to look like on Monday. The administration has been preparing its own ideas of what should be in a tax measure, looking ahead to the conference that will inevitably occur between the House and the Senate on a tax bill as they are reconciled. And the President

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thinks that that's a good entry point for the administration in bringing some of our ideas to the table. He expects to outline some more related to that on Monday.

I'm working my way into the week ahead as you can tell. I have an important -- this just in: We need to move some of the press out in five minutes. All right, that means I have to talk fast. Do we have the text here?

Q What's the schedule tomorrow?

MR. MCCURRY: Tomorrow the President will sign legislation related to drug-free communities at 9:45 a.m. I expect he will also have some things to say about the process that we will use to evaluate the recently negotiated proposed settlement on tobacco. He then has a conference call with members of LULAC, the Latin America constituency organization. He meets for lunch with the Prime Minister of Australia, John Howard, for a continuing discussion of our bilateral issues and also to preview some of the work we'll do later this year at the APEC meeting in November. And then, tomorrow evening, probably early evening, the President will depart for Camp David, where he and his bride intend to spend a long summer weekend --

Q What about the Big Three automakers?

MR. MCCURRY: We could not get all the participants that we wanted in that meeting together tomorrow so we are postponing that.

Q Are you saying he will have comments about the tobacco settlement, but the review is still going on --

MR. MCCURRY: He's going to address the question of how we structure the review of the settlement, what criteria will be measured as we evaluate it, and then what the timing and mechanism will be for the review -- a little more on the process that we'll use to evaluate the settlement.

Q Which of those events tomorrow will be open? Howard and the conference call?

MR. MCCURRY: We'll do a readout on Howard. As I'm looking at it, I'm not sure whether there is a pool spray on that or not, but the initial event -- the bill signing and then his comments will be open for coverage. And then the satellite, I think we're making a feed of the satellite available.

Q What's the earliest event?

Q The tobacco will come at the end of the --

MR. MCCURRY: I think there will probably be some type of pirouette and get into that subject.

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Did we do everything I needed to do? Anything else?

Q The rest of the week?

MR. MCCURRY: The bilaterals are so far as I described them yesterday, if you saw the little text on that. Ann will come over after we're done with President Kim and do a very quick readout on those two bilats. They're expected to last about 20 minutes each and the issues are pretty much as I presented them yesterday.

Q Do you expect nothing significant, major from either one?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, I think the conversation with Secretary General Annan is important because we need to do everything we can to enlist support of the United Nations for the legislation that's now been authorized in the Senate to provide payment of some of our U.N. arrears. And the President wants to describe some of that and encourage the Secretary General to be sympathetic to the goals of that legislation, which include to press for substantial administrative reform at the U.N. The President will take the opportunity to compliment the Secretary General on the effort he already has under way to reinvent the United Nations.

Q And with President Kim, are you going to discuss the need for --

MR. MCCURRY: With President Kim, we will certainly discuss a range of security issues, specifically the status of the North Korean nuclear program, our efforts through KEDO, the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization, to provide assistance to the transformation of that program into peaceful purposes. We will no doubt review the humanitarian situation in the North. They will discuss that issue and China.

Q As it relates to four-way talks?

MR. MCCURRY: Certainly they will discuss the status of the proposal that these two Presidents put together jointly for four-party talks and some of the working sessions that have happened here in New York relevant to briefing the North, the DPRK, on the proposal itself.

Week ahead next week. Monday, as I indicated, we are probably going to have some more to say about our thoughts on a tax bill. Tuesday, as I implied, we're going to do some things related to the Internet and commerce related to electronic technologies. Wednesday, I expect kind of a fun outing with respect to television -- or educational standards. The President will continue to make his case nationally.

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Q Where is he going?

MR. MCCURRY: He's going to go where he can enlist the support of some Major League baseball players.

Q All-Star game?

MR. MCCURRY: No, no, the All-Star game is in Cleveland. I think we're going to go up to Camden Yards on Wednesday. That's being rumored.

And Thursday, we'll probably -- during the course of the week, we'll do some setup briefings for the trip. And the President intends to depart -- the current thinking is he will depart Saturday morning for Spain -- not leaving Friday night, but Saturday morning.

Q Will we have a Fourth of July --

MR. MCCURRY: I expect to have the final schedule for the trip by tomorrow morning, we hope, so we can do a sign-up by tomorrow morning.

Q Do you know when that trip ends and where?

MR. MCCURRY: The trip ends in Washington, D.C., probably either Saturday the 12th or Sunday the 13th.

Q Do you know where he'll be coming from?

MR. MCCURRY: He'll be coming, I think, from Denmark.

Q And radio address -- then we'll let you go.

MR. MCCURRY: Radio address. Given that the President had called for passage of significant campaign finance reform measures by July 4th, the President wants to again go to the subject of political reform, campaign reform, and try to move forward some of the discussion of the need for free television time that the President embraced not too long ago. He'll have some specific ideas on that, taping it during the course of the day tomorrow.

Q And were you about to announce any additions to the trip --

MR. MCCURRY: No, no. I put a little gap in that schedule, which we're going to have to fill somehow or other. But I think we'll fill it tomorrow morning.

Q Tomorrow morning, things will be settled --

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Q On the Fourth of July, will he now give some kind of a speech?

MR. MCCURRY: He might -- it's not clear yet. We might do something.

Q Anything new on Mir?

MR. MCCURRY: Nothing new that we've heard. We continue to get updates relayed to us from NASA, but I'm aware that there has been any change in that.

Josh, how are we doing on the speech text?

MR. SILVERMAN: Shortly.

MR. MCCURRY: Is it coming through? We should have that in the next 20 minutes or so. And I think the President has looked at it -- my understanding is he's looked at it and it will be pretty good to write off of because it's going to be hard for him to tamper with the text so much since it's pretty nuanced. Katie read you a large portion of it already, so you're good to go on what she's got out there. But we will put out his text embargoed until delivery.

Anything else?

Q The comments on the compelling science, is that any stronger than what he said before? Or is this --

MR. MCCURRY: That is stronger. It is stronger. It has been certainly in the course of administration policy-making on this, we have come to see -- we have suggested that the status of science is much clearer now than it's been. There are some within the industry that still dispute that heavily, but that debate is beginning to wind down now because of the effort that was made I think through the National Academy and others to draw together almost 3,000 of the world's leading scientists on this question, to come to some consensus. And the scientific basis has been very difficult for even the industry's advocates and supporters within the academic community to challenge that degree of consensus on the science.

Q I thought he said that in Costa Rica, though, that the rain forest --

MR. MCCURRY: This is more of declarative, in a sense a more binding statement, given that we're doing it in the context of what we expect to present in Kyoto. We have said in the past that we think the science is clear -- we're now saying, not only is the science clear but that has implications as to what we're going to do.

Okay, see you all tomorrow. We'll do a briefing. We're going to have some other -- I think we're going to have

General McCaffrey maybe right after the event tomorrow, and we'll try to knock off early tomorrow.

Q He's not going to make any news in this tobacco thing --

MR. MCCURRY: I think it's more of a process thing, but it gives people a good kind of update on where we are, and tell you what the timetable is going to be during the month of July as we do a review.

Thank you.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

3:47 P.M. EDT

Bodybuilder Muscles Out Olympic Hero

'Body by Jake's \$100,000 Donation Outpaces Griffith Joyner for Fitness Council Post

By Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Clinton's intention to appoint a California bodybuilder who gave \$100,000 to the Democratic National Committee last year to the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports has run into a complication.

To make room on the 20-member council for Jake "Body by Jake" Steinfeld, White House personnel director Robert Nash sent a letter early this month to Olympic champion Florence Griffith Joyner, co-chair of the council, thanking her for her service and removing her from her post.

Griffith Joyner isn't pleased.

She said in a telephone interview yesterday that she does not consider a letter from Nash adequate notice. "I was appointed by the president and expect to be informed by the president," she

said. "I'm very upset this action was taken without talking to me. As far as I am concerned I am still co-chair of the council."

The White House issued a news release last Friday at the Denver economic summit about Clinton's plan to appoint Steinfeld to the commission. The Washington Post reported in March that Steinfeld, who runs a fitness training company and does fitness shows on cable television, was under consideration to become chairman of the council.

The panel advises the president and the secretary of health and human services on ways to encourage Americans to be more physically fit. Members serve without pay at the pleasure of the president with no set terms. One administration official said HHS Secretary Donna E. Shalala recommended against Steinfeld's appointment.

The Friday release made no mention of Griffith Joyner's leaving the council to make room for Steinfeld. But officials familiar with the decision said someone had to be replaced because there were no openings.

"We were informed by the White House that she has resigned," Joan Komlos, spokeswoman for the council, said after sending a reporter a list of the council members that included Steinfeld's name with the notation "appointment pending," but not Griffith Joyner's.

A White House official said, "They wanted to get some new blood" on the council. But it was not immediately clear why Griffith Joyner, a prominent African American woman, was picked to be bumped. Nash did not return a phone call seeking an explanation.

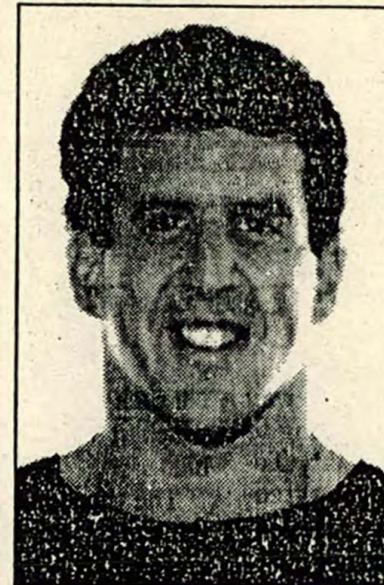
Clinton appointed Griffith Joyner co-chair of the council, along with former representative Tom McMillen (D-Md.)

in 1993. At the time he called both "heroes to millions of Americans and deservedly so."

Griffith Joyner is best known for winning four medals at the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul. Earlier this month, she was on the cover of Jet magazine with the headline "Flo-Jo talks about the Importance of Physical Fitness."

Steinfeld, who did not return a telephone call seeking comment, had not been an active political donor until he gave \$100,000 to the DNC in four checks last August and September.

The article published in March noted that Steinfeld had appeared in a 1994 HBO comedy that created a stir among Family Channel officials because he appeared in a sex scene with a bare-breasted actress. The Virginian-Pilot in Norfolk, home to the Family Channel, reported on the incident and quoted Steinfeld as saying in the sitcom, "the



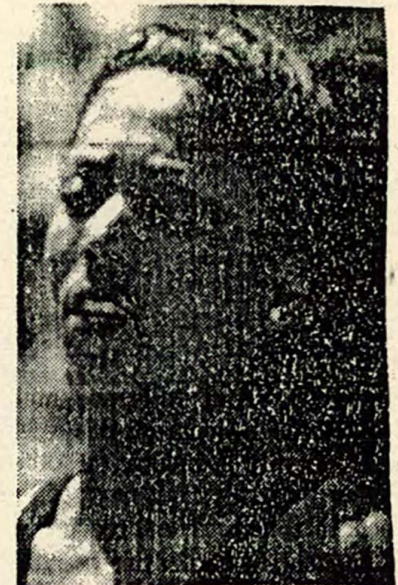
1987 ASSOCIATED PRESS FILE PHOTO

JAKE STEINFELD

... new co-chair of Fitness Council

woman rode me like a 12-speed bike." In an interview later, he said the scene "was done in the spirit of good fun."

The White House news release called Steinfeld "a national known physical



ASSOCIATED PRESS FILE PHOTO

FLORENCE GRIFFITH JOYNER

... "very upset" this action was taken

fitness motivator and chairman of the board of Body by Jake Enterprises."

McMillen said, "I'm delighted to have him on board. He brings a lot of assets to the council."

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JUNE 26, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO WOMEN'S MEETING PARTICIPANTS

DATE: July 1, 1997
FROM: Kim Widdess
SUBJECT: Meeting #1 With Researchers

On Thursday, July 10 at 9am, we will have our first meeting with outside researchers. Harrison Hickman of Harrison/Brown research will join us for a briefing, accompanied by Jo Blum, Vice President of Government Relations at NARAL and James Wagoner, Executive Vice President at NARAL.

Enclosed are suggested readings from Harrison for the meeting. Please call myself or Robin Leeds if you have any questions or concerns.

Thank you.

July 17 Celinda Lake

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TO: Interested Parties
FROM: Kate Michelman
RE: Pro-Choice Strategy
DATE: June 20, 1997

Overview

In recent years, pro-choice forces have had to adjust to new political realities: a Congress firmly under anti-choice control, complacency among pro-choice voters, and a re-energized and well-financed anti-choice movement. In addition, the difficult and protracted battle over late-term abortion has left pro-choice organizations on the defensive and off message.

It is time to get back on track. We believe, and NARAL's research shows, that the pro-choice movement has the winning messages and issues to shift the debate back to more favorable ground. The pro-choice arsenal contains powerful and effective messages that resonate with Americans -- messages that were overshadowed by the fight over late-term abortion. There are several strategic advantages to emphasizing our core message of keeping politicians out of private reproductive health decisions ("Who Decides?") and to broadening the message to include early prevention and an expansion of women's reproductive choices ("Make Abortion Less Necessary"). These messages will help us resume our conversation with mainstream America, return pro-choice organizations to more proactive ground, and put opponents of choice on the defensive. At this juncture in the fight over late-term abortion, we must move quickly to seize the initiative. We cannot afford to wait.

History

After extensive public opinion research, NARAL developed the "Who Decides?" message in conjunction with the pro-choice mobilization around the Supreme Court's 1989 decision, *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*. NARAL's "Who Decides?" public education campaign in 1989 and 1990 shifted the debate from the question of whether abortion is right or wrong to the question of who makes the abortion decision -- politicians or the individual woman with her physician. Pollster Harrison Hickman wrote at the time:

"When the issue is presented as a question of the proper role of government and whether or not current laws on abortion should be changed to make abortion illegal, the majority support our pro-choice position.... This is why reducing the issue to one simple policy-based question ("Who decides?") works so well: It frames the very complex matter of abortion rights on the dimension where voters most readily accept our view."¹

In 1991, NARAL field tested its hypothesis that placing abortion along a continuum of reproductive choices, including pregnancy prevention, would create an even broader pro-choice constituency. Our public-opinion research found overwhelming support for this expanded mission:

"For NARAL and other pro-choice forces, the advantages of moving in a broader thematic direction are numerous. Strategically, this adjustment moves NARAL toward a more mainstream position and, in the process, helps expose some of the most unpopular, extremist elements of the anti-choice movement. Politically, this makes it easier to attract public and elite support for our proposals and, in time, to develop and pass a more expansive and attractive legislative agenda. . . . [T]his thematic approach grounds our arguments for abortion rights in a larger context, giving our supporters something to fight for in addition to continuing the fight against encroachments on abortion rights."²

That poll found that 89 percent of pro-choice voters and 73 percent of swing voters (the

"mushy middle") on abortion strongly support reducing the number of unplanned pregnancies through increased access to sexuality education and birth control.

Based on its research, NARAL began a limited advertising campaign in 1991 aimed at the 40 percent of the electorate who are swing voters on choice. One ad stated:

"[T]o us, being pro-choice means having real choices. It means working to improve our nation's reproductive health care policies. It means working to reduce the need for abortion. . . . That's why we're working for better sex education, more effective birth control, improved methods of contraception and pre- and post-natal care."³

While attempts were made to raise the resources to launch a national "Real Choices" advertising campaign, other major developments captured public attention and prevented the campaign from moving beyond its initial stage. In 1991, pro-choice organizations were forced to respond to the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court and the threat posed by an increasingly hostile judiciary.

This was also the period when choice became a major electoral issue. Beginning with the 1989 victories of governors Doug Wilder and James Florio and continuing in the 1990 and 1991 elections, pro-choice forces organized and delivered the votes of Americans who understood the legal and political threats to a woman's freedom to choose. These electoral efforts culminated in the 1992 election of a pro-choice President. "Who Decides?" messages motivated pro-choice voters, while then-Governor Clinton appealed to women voters across party lines with the theme of making abortion "safe, legal and rare." According to a major academic study of the 1992 election:

"Abortion had a stronger influence on candidate choice than any other policy issue included in the study, including affirmative action, social welfare, defense spending, the Gulf War, and the death penalty."⁴

Victory, however, came at a tremendous cost. President Clinton's election led voters to believe -- erroneously -- that the right to choose was secure. The salience of the issue diminished, and Americans curtailed their financial contributions to pro-choice organizations. These factors made it virtually impossible to sustain a "Real Choices" campaign.

Nevertheless, the demonstrated power of the "Real Choices" direction led NARAL in early 1994 to officially adopt a broadened mission and name change. If there was any doubt about how a more comprehensive pro-choice agenda would be received, it vanished when both the New York Times and the Washington Post lauded the efforts of NARAL and Planned Parenthood in this area:

"Today nearly one out of three American babies is born to an unwed mother. For parent and child the economic and educational prognosis is grim -- reason enough to believe that NARAL and Planned Parenthood, which announced a similar initiative last year, have picked a good time to begin making sure that women have real choices."⁵

But, once again, political developments led NARAL to suspend its "Real Choices" campaign. In 1994, anti-choice forces, capitalizing on pro-choice complacency, organized, mobilized and turned out their supporters in the mid-term elections. Congress fell firmly under anti-choice control.

Today, anti-choice stalwarts chair almost every committee with jurisdiction over women's reproductive health and press their advantage by successfully attaching anti-choice riders to spending bills. With only 33 fully pro-choice Senators and 135 fully pro-choice House members in the most anti-choice Congress since *Roe v. Wade*, abortion opponents maintain a crucial advantage in shaping the public debate on abortion. The late-term abortion issue is a prime

example.

Proponents of a ban on late-term abortion shifted the focus of the debate from the woman to the abortion procedure and from early pregnancy termination to second and third trimester abortion. Late-term abortion has become the anti-choice movement's lead assault against a woman's freedom to choose, dominating the legislative debate and news media coverage of abortion.

The agenda-setting and opinion-shaping nature of the late-term abortion debate has had a significant impact. Its effect is analogous to the mid-80s film, the "Silent Scream," which used ultrasound to depict the developing fetus. Both the "Silent Scream" and late-term abortion focused new attention on the fetus. However, in the 80s, anti-choice forces were unable to capitalize on their momentum to pass legislation because the House remained under pro-choice control and the Senate returned to pro-choice control in 1986.

Legislative and Public Education Strategy

Pro-choice forces need to refocus on our core messages. NARAL's research and analysis demonstrate that a proactive legislative and public education campaign to protect choice and to make abortion less necessary is both sound public policy and a vehicle to return us to more favorable pro-choice ground.

NARAL's research, including focus groups conducted in April, 1997, underscores the continued support for safe, early abortion and programs to prevent unplanned pregnancy, especially emergency contraception. The analysis of the focus groups found:

"[M]embers and nonmembers alike respond positively to initiatives that broaden the issue on our terms -- emergency contraception and RU-486 are the most obvious examples. These issues and initiatives help them -- and NARAL -- move

back to a pro-active posture rather than simply trying to hold back the advance of the other side."⁶

A pro-choice legislative and public education campaign should include early reproductive choices that help reduce the high rate of unintended pregnancy, as well as working to defend the fundamental right to choose. The components can include: improving awareness of, and access to, emergency contraception; mandating insurance coverage for contraception and ensuring adequate funding for family planning programs; increasing resources for contraceptive research and development, and promoting comprehensive sexuality education in the nation's schools. These initiatives will improve reproductive health, expand reproductive choices, help reduce unintended pregnancy, and promote the value of personal responsibility.

These efforts will advance our goal of making abortion less necessary. They will allow us to speak in a way that has the broadest possible consensus and that addresses the moral concerns of swing voters. And they will reveal the true intentions of opponents of choice, who want to deny women control of reproductive decisions and access to reproductive health services.

While in the short-term we may be unable to enact legislation because of the current makeup of Congress, our campaign will lay the groundwork for success in a more hospitable Congress. Moreover, this approach can rejuvenate pro-choice activists and supporters working toward a common, positive goal at the state and federal levels. Pro-choice organizations will be able to broaden their message, reclaim support among the majority of Americans, and establish the context for subsequent pro-choice electoral work.

A high impact public education campaign is critical to refocusing the abortion debate. Indeed, the anti-choice movement has used this strategy to its advantage. NARAL's research

shows that the "Life, What a Beautiful Choice" advertising campaign by the DeMoss Foundation helped lay the groundwork for the anti-choice legislative assault on late-term abortion and is having an impact on public attitudes about reproductive choice. The NARAL Foundation, with a grant from the Packard Foundation, is conducting critical new research for an effective and proactive advertising campaign that will articulate the values underlying the pro-choice position. The campaign is intended to give the "mushy middle" on reproductive choice a moral and ethical framework in which to ground their pro-choice beliefs and to recoup some of the erosion of public support for the freedom to choose. Another critical audience for the pro-choice message is the post-Roe generation, the first to come of age with abortion as a constitutionally protected right. The Pro-Choice Education Project is taking the lead in devising a public education effort specifically targeted to young women. We must begin to lay the groundwork now and build toward a more intensive public education campaign in January 1998 on the 25th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*.

Electoral Strategy

Conventional wisdom notwithstanding, abortion remains a potent factor electorally. In the 1992 presidential campaign, Bill Clinton won 17 percent of Republican voters because of his support for the freedom to choose.⁷ A 1996 NARAL poll found that 39 percent of voters considered abortion to be the single most or one of the most important issues for them.⁸ Voters must be educated, however, about the candidate's position on choice.

A NARAL focus group this year found that voters were surprised to learn that the House and the Senate are both solidly anti-choice. And they said that their election decisions would be influenced by their concern that their Member of Congress might vote to restrict abortion rights.

Aside from late-term abortion, most voters do not know about the 53 congressional votes taken on choice during the 104th Congress. Despite efforts by individual pro-choice Members, the Democratic leadership has been unwilling to use the abortion issue -- as they have used the environment and Medicare -- to dramatize the impact of radical right control of Congress.

In the 1998 mid-term elections, anti-choice forces will attack pro-choice Members' opposition to a ban on late-term abortion. It is critical for pro choice candidates to begin using messages now that resonate with the pro-choice majority and not wait to be attacked on late-term abortion. Pro-choice candidates must quickly establish their support for the right to choose and for pregnancy prevention, and they must characterize their opponent's positions on these issues as extreme.

Emphasizing positive messages early and often and staying focused on that agenda will enable pro-choice candidates to set the terms of the political debate. By stressing the importance of keeping politicians out of women's reproductive lives ("Who Decides?") and prevention ("Make Abortion Less Necessary"), pro-choice candidates can deliver messages that will find overwhelming support among their constituents.

Finally, a "Real Choices" prevention campaign will expose the fissure in the anti-choice community between those who support contraception and those who oppose it. Tactics that help derail the anti-choice movement will speed pro-choice efforts to get back on track. The time to begin is now.

Endnotes

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5. Expanding the meaning of choice (1994, January 17). The New York Times, A16.
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RESEARCH NOTES

It's Abortion, Stupid: Policy Voting in the 1992 Presidential Election

Alan I. Abramowitz
Emory University

This article uses data from the 1992 American National Election Study to analyze the influence of abortion attitudes on candidate choice in the 1992 presidential election. Despite the general belief that the presidential election was decided almost exclusively on economic issues, attitudes toward abortion had a significant influence on candidate choice in the overall electorate. Although the issue divided supporters of both parties, far more "pro-choice" Republicans than "pro-life" Democrats defected from their party's presidential candidate. **Abortion had a stronger influence on candidate choice than any other policy issue included in the study, including affirmative action, social welfare, defense spending, the Gulf War, and the death penalty.** Furthermore, among voters who were aware of the parties' positions and for whom abortion was a salient issue, abortion had a much stronger influence on candidate choice than any other issue, including the state of the economy.

Abortion would appear to clearly fit Carmines and Stimson's (1980) definition of an "easy issue." Not only has the issue been on the political agenda since at least 1980, but abortion is clearly a symbolic and emotional issue that involves policy ends rather than means. As such, abortion is an easy issue for voters to understand. This is reflected by the extremely small proportion of citizens who are unable or unwilling to offer an opinion on the issue—less than 1% of respondents in the 1992 American National Election Study, for example.

Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly from the standpoint of policy voting, the issue of abortion cuts across party lines. Despite the dramatic differences between the parties' platforms and presidential candidates, the issue of abortion continues to sharply divide rank-and-file supporters of both parties. In fact, citizens of higher socioeconomic status who normally vote Republican tend to favor legalized abortion, while lower SES citizens who normally vote Democratic tend to favor greater restrictions on abortion (Baker, Epstein, and Forth 1983; Legge 1987; Cook, Jelen, and Wilcox 1992). Thus, many rank-and-file Democrats and Republicans hold positions at odds with those of their party and its presidential candi-

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington Hilton, Washington, DC, Sept. 2-5, 1993.

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dates. In 1992, however, the issue of abortion appeared to divide Republicans much more than Democrats. In fact, both President Bush and Vice President Quayle sought to downplay the importance of the issue during the campaign to minimize defections by pro-choice Republican voters.

Researchers have uncovered evidence of policy-based voting on abortion in some recent senate and gubernatorial elections—particularly those that featured clear and well-publicized differences over abortion policy (Cook, Jelen, and Wilcox 1993a, 1993b; see also Howell and Sims 1993). In their analysis of exit poll data from 10 gubernatorial elections that took place after the Supreme Court's 1989 decision permitting greater state regulation of access to abortion (*Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*), Cook, Jelen, and Wilcox (1993a) found that "... abortion position had a greater impact on vote choice than state economic conditions in eight of ... ten states," and "abortion was a stronger predictor than even partisanship in Pennsylvania" (1). Based on these findings, there are strong reasons to believe that abortion attitudes may have had a significant influence on voting decisions in recent presidential elections.

Despite the strong potential for policy-based voting on abortion, the issue received relatively little attention from journalists or scholars in connection with the 1992 presidential election. Almost all election analysts agreed that the state of the economy was the primary, if not the exclusive, issue in the minds of voters and that only a small minority of activists cared about social issues such as abortion (White 1993). This view was expressed very clearly by the slogan prominently displayed at Clinton campaign headquarters: "it's the economy, stupid." However, the remainder of this article will be devoted to exploring the possibility that the 1992 presidential election wasn't exclusively about the economy and that, for many voters, "it was also abortion."

DATA: THE 1992 AMERICAN NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY

The 1992 American National Election Study provides the data for this analysis. The study included a single question asking respondents about the legal status of abortion. This question asked respondents to choose one of four policy alternatives ranging from most to least restrictive: abortion should never be allowed; abortion should be allowed only in cases of rape, incest, or to save the life of the mother; abortion should be allowed as long as "a clear need" exists; and abortion should not be limited because it is "a woman's choice." Although the survey also included questions dealing with parental consent, spousal notification, and federal funding of abortions for poor women, I used the question dealing with the legal status of abortion to analyze the impact of abortion attitudes on voter choice because this is the central issue that has divided the parties since 1980.

In 1992, respondents were also asked, for the first time in the history of the national election studies, to give their perceptions of the positions of the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates on abortion, using the same

four policy alternatives. These questions allow us to measure the accuracy of voters' perceptions as well as their own policy preferences.

The NES survey did not include any questions asking respondents to rate their concern with abortion compared with other issues. However, as in previous years, the 1992 survey did include several series of open-ended questions asking respondents what they liked and disliked about the political parties and presidential candidates, what they regarded as the most important differences between the two major parties, and what they considered the most important problems facing the country. These questions were used to measure respondents' concern about abortion by coding the answers according to whether or not abortion was mentioned. The assumption here is that the more concerned a voter was about abortion, the more likely it is that he or she would have mentioned abortion in response to one or more of these open-ended questions.

In addition to abortion, the 1992 NES survey included questions about a wide variety of issues including the death penalty, affirmative action, social welfare policy, defense spending, and the Gulf War. Respondents were also asked to evaluate their personal financial situation and the state of the national economy. These questions allow us to compare the influence of abortion attitudes on the vote with that of economic conditions and other policy issues.

Results

Among all respondents in the 1992 National Election Study, 47% opposed any restrictions on abortion; 14% favored permitting abortion if "a clear need" existed; 29% favored permitting abortion only in cases of rape, incest, or danger to the mother's life; and only 10% opposed abortion under any circumstances. Those respondents who reported voting in the presidential election were slightly more liberal—49% opposed any restrictions on abortion; 15% favored allowing abortion if "a clear need" existed; 27% favored allowing abortion only in cases of rape, incest or danger to the mother's life; and only 9% opposed abortion under any circumstances.

It appears from these results that the extreme "pro-life" position adopted by the Republican party in its platform had almost no support among the American public and that even the slightly less restrictive position taken by President Bush was out of line with the views of most of the electorate. Under these circumstances, it is understandable that Bush, Vice President Quayle, and other Republican party leaders sought to downplay the importance of the party's stand on abortion during the campaign by emphasizing the party's tolerance of diverse views on the issue.

The GOP's problem with regard to abortion policy becomes even more clear when we examine the views held by rank-and-file party supporters. Table 1 shows the abortion views of Democratic, Republican, and independent voters. Not only did more than two thirds of Democrats and independents favor one of the two pro-choice alternatives but so did a majority of Republican voters. Barely one in 10

TABLE 1
ABORTION POSITION OF VOTERS BY PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Abortion Position	Party Identification		
	Democrat	Independent	Republican
Never allowed	8%	7%	11%
Rarely allowed	23%	27%	36%
If clear need	13%	17%	15%
Woman's choice	56%	50%	39%
Total	150%	101%	101%
n	601	418	453

Source: 1992 American National Election Study.

Note: Based on respondents who reported voting in presidential election. Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

Republicans supported the position of the GOP platform and only 36% agreed with the slightly less restrictive position taken by President Bush.

The results in table 1 again indicate the strong potential for partisan defection over abortion, particularly among Republicans, 54% of whom were on the opposite side of the issue from their party's candidate. Even among Democrats, however, a sizable minority of voters—31%—... position that clearly conflicted with that of their party and its presidential candidate. But did abortion attitudes influence the candidate preferences of either group of partisans or of independents?

Table 2 shows the relationship between abortion policy preference and presidential vote among all voters and among Democrats, independents, and Republicans. In the electorate as a whole, and among independents, Bush led among those who favored restrictions on abortion and among those who favored limiting abortion to situations in which "a clear need" existed. However, Bill Clinton won a decisive majority among the large bloc of voters who opposed any restrictions on abortion. Ross Perot, who took a pro-choice stance during the campaign, also did better among pro-choice voters than among voters who favored restrictions on abortion.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of table 2 is the asymmetrical impact that abortion had on supporters of the two parties. Abortion attitudes apparently had little or no impact on Democrats. In fact, Clinton received his strongest support, 88% of the vote, among the small group of Democrats who favored a complete ban on abortion. In contrast, support for Bush was substantially higher among Republicans who favored a ban on abortion (88%) than among Republicans who opposed any restrictions on abortion (65%). Altogether, pro-choice defectors constituted 17% of all Republican voters in 1992 whereas pro-life defectors constituted only 6% of all Democratic voters. However, the large majority of pro-choice Republican defectors voted for Perot rather than Clinton. It appears that the economically conservative Texas billionaire represented a more palatable pro-choice alternative than Clinton for many pro-choice Republicans.

TABLE 2
1992 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE BY ABORTION POSITION
AND PARTY IDENTIFICATION

	Percentage Voting for		
	Bush	Clinton	Perot
<i>All Voters</i>			
Never allowed ($n = 139$)	48	40	12
Rarely allowed ($n = 436$)	46	38	16
If clear need ($n = 237$)	42	39	19
Woman's choice ($n = 803$)	22	58	20
<i>Democrats</i>			
Never allowed ($n = 49$)	6	88	6
Rarely allowed ($n = 135$)	13	78	9
If clear need ($n = 80$)	12	79	9
Woman's choice ($n = 337$)	5	84	11
<i>Independents</i>			
Never allowed ($n = 40$)	50	22	28
Rarely allowed ($n = 138$)	45	33	22
If clear need ($n = 90$)	41	29	30
Woman's choice ($n = 289$)	16	54	29
<i>Republicans</i>			
Never allowed ($n = 49$)	88	6	6
Rarely allowed ($n = 162$)	75	8	17
If clear need ($n = 67$)	79	6	15
Woman's choice ($n = 175$)	65	12	23

Source: 1992 American National Election Study.

Why did abortion attitudes have a stronger impact among Republicans than among Democrats? To answer this question, it is necessary to examine two of the conditions for policy-based voting: knowledge and concern. Table 3 shows the level of awareness of party differences on abortion and the salience of abortion among various groups of voters. Voters were classified as knowledgeable if they placed Bush on the pro-life side of the abortion issue and Clinton on the pro-choice side. They were classified as concerned about abortion if they mentioned abortion at least once in response to the open-ended questions concerning national problems, party differences, and likes and dislikes about the parties and candidates.

Despite the fact that the two major parties have taken well-publicized and sharply contrasting positions on abortion since 1980, only 51% of all survey respondents, and only 59% of those who actually voted, knew what those positions were. The remainder either did not know one or both candidates' positions or placed one or both candidates on the wrong side of the issue. Thus, more than two fifths of the voters did not meet even the minimal condition for policy voting.

TABLE 3

KNOWLEDGE OF CANDIDATES' ABORTION POSITIONS AND SALIENCE OF
ABORTION BY SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

	Know Candidates' Positions (%)	Know Positions and Abortion Salient (%)
<i>All voters</i>	59	24
<i>Age</i>		
17-29	56	28
30-39	64	30
40-49	59	24
50-64	62	20
65+	50	14
<i>Sex</i>		
Male	61	22
Female	56	25
<i>Race</i>		
White	60	26
Black	49	8
<i>Education</i>		
0-11th Grade	35	7
Graduated high school	51	18
Some college	60	26
Graduated college	76	35
<i>Income</i>		
Lower	49	14
Middle	61	28
Upper	67	28
<i>Party identification</i>		
Democrat	59	18
Independent	56	23
Republican	62	31
<i>Abortion position</i>		
Never allowed	52	32
Rarely allowed	58	26
If clear need	54	14
Woman's choice	62	24

Source: 1992 American National Election Study

Note: Percentages based on respondents who reported voting in presidential election.

Not surprisingly, knowledge of the presidential candidates' positions on abortion was strongly related to socioeconomic status. Barely one third of voters who did not complete high school were aware of both candidates' positions compared with more than three-fourths of college graduates. Similarly, two thirds of upper income voters knew both candidates' positions compared with less than half of lower income voters. At least on the issue of abortion, the potential for policy-based voting was much greater among well-educated and affluent voters than among less-educated and economically deprived voters.

Despite the rather strong relationship between SES and knowledge, Republican voters were only slightly more knowledgeable about the candidates' positions than Democratic voters. Thus, the asymmetrical impact of abortion on partisan defection rates cannot be explained by the overall level of knowledge of Democratic and Republican voters. However, the data in table 3 indicate that abortion was a more salient issue among Republicans than among Democrats. Almost one third of Republican voters mentioned abortion at least once in response to the open-ended questions compared with fewer than one fifth of Democratic voters. This difference was largely a by-product of racial and socioeconomic differences between supporters of the two parties: concern with abortion was strongly related to education and was much greater among whites than among blacks.

The data in table 3 show the absolute levels of awareness and concern about abortion among each party's supporters. However, the potential for policy-based voting also depends upon the extent of selective perception and concern among party supporters. We need to know whether voters who disagreed with their party's stance on abortion were aware of this conflict and whether they cared about the issue. Therefore, table 4 shows the level of awareness and concern about abortion among pro-choice and pro-life Democrats and Republicans.

The data in table 4 show that selective perception and concern were major obstacles to policy-based voting on abortion, especially among Democrats. Only 39%

TABLE 4
SELECTIVE PERCEPTION AND CONCERN: AWARENESS OF CANDIDATES'
POSITIONS AND CONCERN ABOUT ABORTION AMONG PARTISANS

	Democrats		Republicans	
	Pro-Life	Pro-Choice	Pro-Life	Pro-Choice
Unaware	61%	28%	22%	44%
Aware, not concerned	27%	51%	38%	32%
Aware and concerned	11%	21%	40%	24%
Total	99%	100%	100%	100%
n 186	414	210	249	

Source: 1992 American National Election Study

Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

TABLE 5

THE INFLUENCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND CONCERN ON ISSUE-BASED VOTING

Abortion Position	Percentage for Clinton among Voters		
	Unaware of Candidates Positions	Aware but Abortion not Salient	Aware and Abortion Salient
Never allowed	72	42	8
Rarely allowed	63	46	12
If clear need	39	54	60
Woman's choice	54	86	75
Tau	-.12*	.40**	.63**
n	520	465	323

Source: 1992 American National Election Study.

Note: Based on Bush and Clinton voters only.

* $p < .01$; ** $p < .001$.

of pro-life Democrats knew that their position was opposed by their party and its presidential candidate. On the other hand, 56% of pro-choice Republicans knew that their position was opposed by their party and its candidate. Furthermore, only 11% of pro-life Democrats were both aware of the difference between the parties' positions and concerned about abortion compared with 24% of pro-choice Republicans.

The impact of knowledge and concern on issue-based voting is clearly shown in table 5. This table displays the relationship between abortion attitude and presidential vote among three types of voters: those who were unaware of the positions of the two major-party candidates, those who were aware of the candidates' positions but for whom abortion was not a salient issue, and those who were aware of the candidates' positions and for whom abortion was a salient issue. Because the NES survey did not measure awareness of Perot's position on abortion, this table is limited to Clinton and Bush voters.

Knowledge and concern dramatically affected the relationship between abortion attitudes and the vote. Among voters who were not aware of the candidates' positions on abortion, the relationship is weak and in the wrong direction—voters who supported abortion rights were less likely to vote for Clinton than those who opposed abortion rights. This inverse relationship is probably attributable to the fact that voters who supported abortion rights tended to be somewhat higher in socioeconomic status than those who opposed abortion rights. In contrast, among both groups of voters who were aware of the candidates' positions on abortion, and especially among those for whom abortion was a salient issue, abortion attitudes were strongly related to candidate preference in the expected direction—voters who supported abortion rights were much more likely to vote for Clinton than those who opposed abortion rights.

TABLE 6
THE INFLUENCE OF ABORTION ATTITUDES ON THE VOTE:
RESULTS OF PROBIT ANALYSES

Independent Variable	All Voters			Aware and Concerned		
	Coeff.	Ratio	Change in Probability	Coeff.	Ratio	Change in Probability
Party Id	.469	13.00***	.34	.551	5.35***	.38
Ideology	.295	4.92***	.15	.295	1.83*	.15
Welfare	.050	2.33**	.07	.027	0.46	.04
Affirm act	.053	1.73*	.06	.070	0.94	.08
Death penalty	-.004	-0.09	-.00	.009	0.08	.00
Defense \$	-.043	0.84	-.02	.025	0.18	.01
Gulf war	-.014	-0.15	-.00	-.391	-1.34	-.12
Fam finances	-.064	-1.06	-.03	-.101	-0.67	-.04
Nat economy	-.188	-4.51***	-.11	-.172	-1.55	-.11
Abortion	.129	2.92***	.08	.519	3.97***	.28
Age	-.002	-0.57	-.01	-.010	-0.89	-.07
Sex (female)	-.368	-2.83***	-.07	.139	0.45	.03
Race (black)	.703	2.41**	.09	-1.044	-1.26	-.13
Education	.070	-0.96	-.03	-.295	-1.53	-.12
Fam income	-.007	-0.58	-.02	.026	0.83	.06
Constant	-.387			.633		

Source: 1992 American National Election Study.

Note: Dependent variable is presidential vote, coded as "1" for Clinton and "0" for Bush. Change in probability is estimated effect of increase of one standard deviation on each independent variable on probability of voting for Clinton for voter with initial probability of .50.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

To compare the influence of abortion attitudes on candidate choice with that of economic conditions and other policy issues, I conducted two probit analyses, one for all Clinton and Bush voters and one for those Clinton and Bush voters who were aware of the candidates' positions on abortion and for whom abortion was a salient issue. This second analysis included approximately one fourth of all Clinton and Bush voters. In addition to abortion, the policy issues included in the probit analyses were affirmative action, social welfare, defense spending, the death penalty, and the Gulf War. Other independent variables were national economic conditions, family finances, party identification, liberal-conservative identification, age, sex, race, education, and family income.¹ The results of these probit analyses are presented in table 6.

Among all Clinton and Bush voters, party identification, ideology, and national economic conditions had the strongest effects on candidate choice. Thus, our results

¹The specific questions used to measure these characteristics and attitudes will be provided on request by the author.

support the Clinton campaign's slogan, "it's the economy, stupid." However, as indicated by the estimated effects of each variable on the probability of voting for Clinton, abortion had the strongest effect of any of the policy issues included in the analysis, including the Gulf War, defense spending, affirmative action, and social welfare. Furthermore, abortion attitudes had a much stronger effect on candidate choice among the subset of voters who were aware of the candidates' positions on abortion and for whom abortion was a salient issue: the estimated coefficient for the abortion variable was almost four times larger for the "aware and concerned" group than for the entire electorate. In fact, among these "aware and concerned" voters, the influence of abortion attitudes far outweighed that of any variable except party identification, including evaluations of national economic conditions. For this group of voters, which included approximately one-fourth of the electorate, a more accurate slogan would have been, "it's abortion, stupid."

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the general belief that the 1992 presidential election was decided almost exclusively on economic issues, our analysis of voter decision making indicates that attitudes toward abortion had a strong influence on candidate choice in the overall electorate. Furthermore, approximately one fourth of all major party voters were aware of the candidates' positions on abortion and mentioned abortion at least once in response to the open-ended questions dealing with national problems, party differences, and likes and dislikes about the parties and candidates. Among these aware and concerned voters, abortion had a much stronger influence on candidate choice than any other issue, including the state of the economy.

These findings demonstrate the importance of examining issue publics in assessing policy voting. In the case of abortion, members of this issue public were disproportionately white, affluent, and well-educated. As a result, abortion had a much greater impact on the Republican party than on the Democratic party. The Clinton-Gore ticket suffered few defections from pro-life Democrats because most of these Democrats either didn't know the candidates' positions on abortion or didn't care about the issue. In contrast, the Bush-Quayle ticket suffered a substantial number of defections from pro-choice Republicans, although most of these Republican defectors cast their ballots for Perot rather than Clinton.

Abortion is one of a number of divisive social issues that have emerged on the political agenda in recent years. The prominence of issues such as abortion, gay rights, and sexual equality reflects the increased influence of single-issue and ideological activists in both major parties. In recent years, gay rights and feminist activists have achieved considerable influence within the Democratic party while conservative evangelicals have strongly influenced the Republican party's presidential nominating process and platform.

Social issues are likely to remain the subjects of intense partisan conflict in the future and the findings reported in this article suggest that these issues have the

potential to cause widespread defections among partisans who oppose their own party's position. In 1992, it was the GOP that suffered the bulk of these defections over the issue of abortion. However, the Democratic party is also deeply divided over social issues, as indicated by the recent debate over gays in the military. While these social issues may not be as important to most voters as the state of the economy, they can be expected to play a visible role in future presidential campaigns and to strongly affect the voting decisions of a substantial segment of the American electorate.

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Kim B. Widdess

08/05/97 11:30:53 AM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
Subject: Women's meeting and materials needed

There will be a Women's meeting this week at 9am on Thursday in Room 100.

Two weeks ago we discussed putting together a list of important people to contact on Women's issues. Please take a minute to brainstorm before this next meeting and e-mail or send your names (with organization/title/phone number) so we can look at a list together on Thursday.

Please call me (66330) with any questions, and let me know if you will be able to attend the meeting.

Message Sent To:

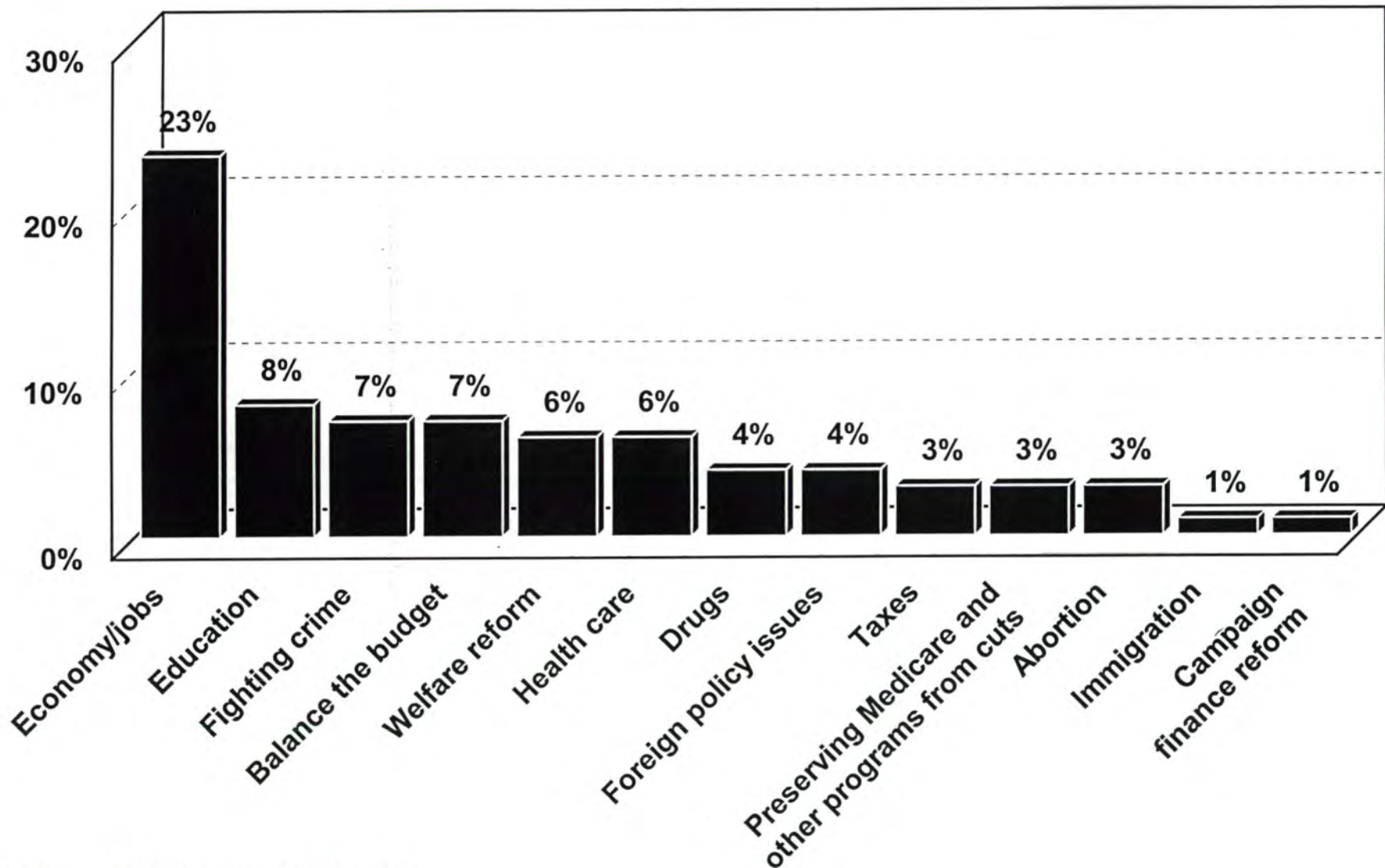
— Ann F. Lewis/WHO/EOP
— Ellen M. Lovell/WHO/EOP
— Lucia F. Gilliland/OVP @ OVP
— Susan M. Liss/OVP @ OVP
— Lynn G. Cutler/WHO/EOP
— *Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP
— *Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP
— Susan A. Brophy/WHO/EOP
— Sylvia M. Mathews/WHO/EOP
— Not in system → *Robin Leeds/WHO/EOP
— *Cheryl M. Carter/WHO/EOP ✓
— Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP
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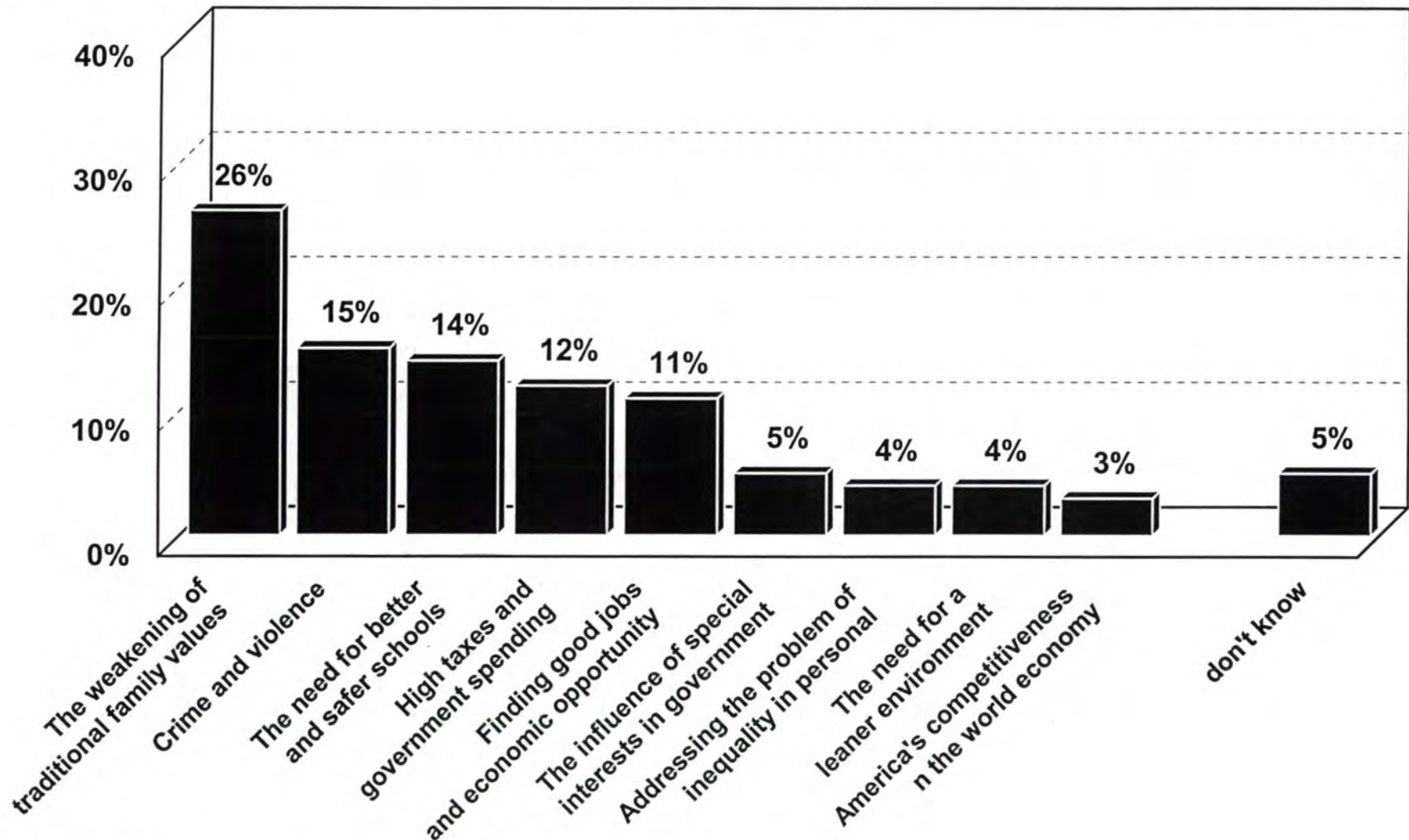
Katharine Button/WHO/EOP
Kevin S. Moran/WHO/EOP
Marjorie Tarmey/WHO/EOP
Suzanne Dale/WHO/EOP
Laura Emmett/WHO/EOP
June G. Turner/WHO/EOP
have * Nicole R. Rabner/WHO/EOP
Jennifer L. Klein/OPD/EOP
Sondra L. Seba/WHO/EOP
Mona G. Mohib/WHO/EOP
Ruby Shamir/WHO/EOP

What is the most important issue facing the country?



Concerns About American Life

I am going to read you a list of some concerns that some people have expressed about aspects of life in America. Please tell me which of these is of greatest concern to you.



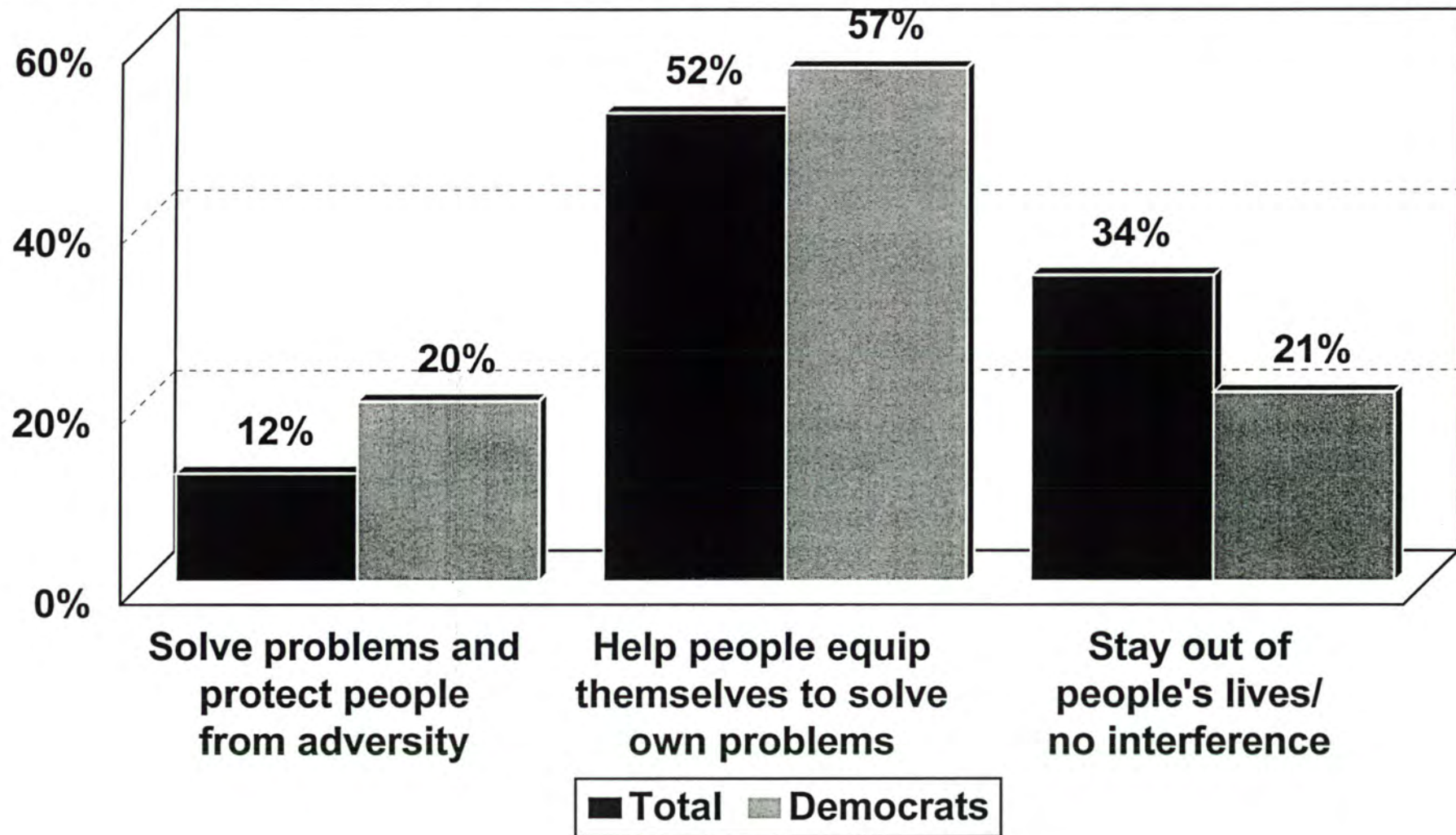
Role Of Government

Which of the following is closest to your own thinking about the proper role of federal government?

Government should solve problems and protect people from adversity;

Government should help people equip themselves to solve their own problems;

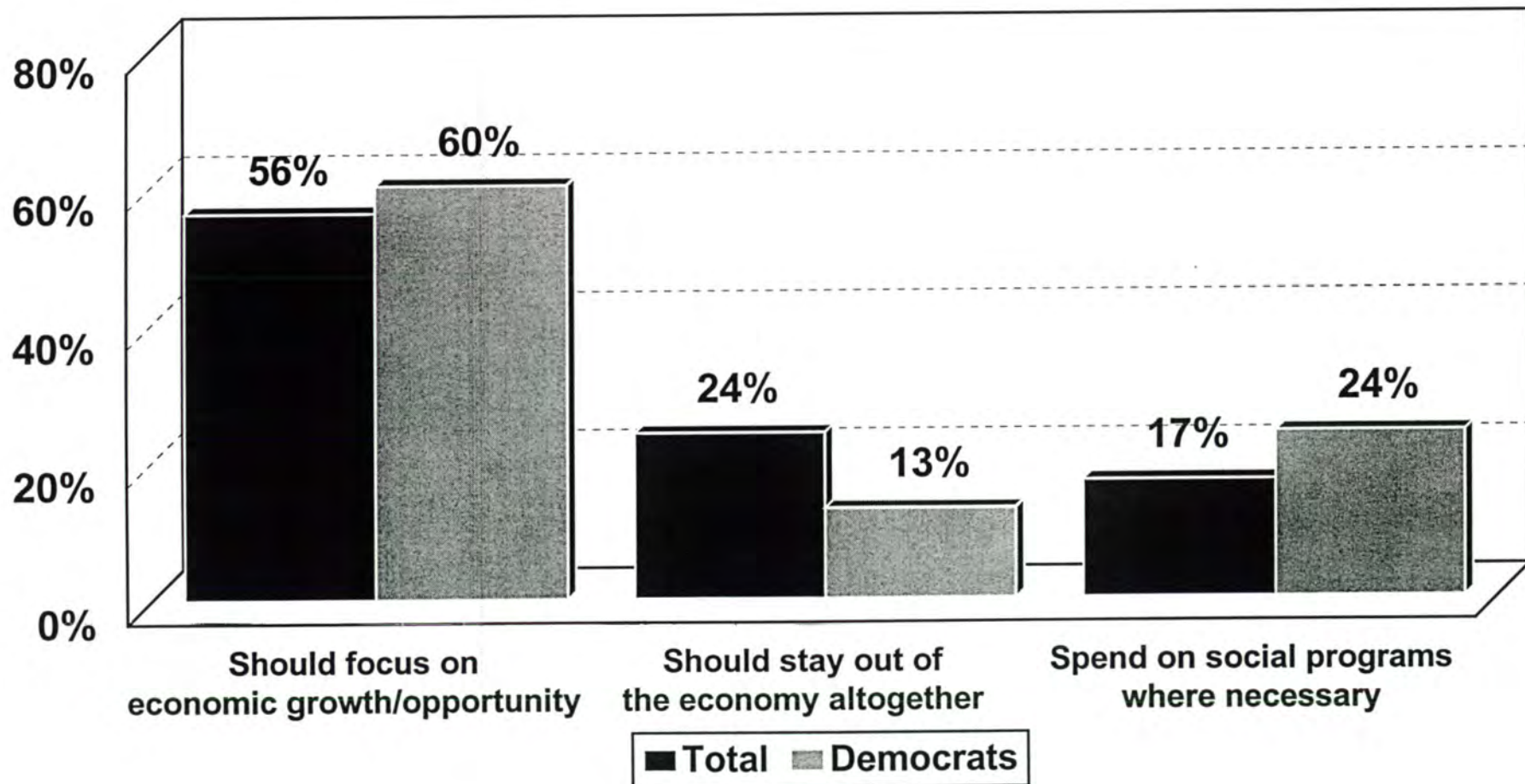
Government should stay out of people's lives so they can solve their problems without interference or regulation.



Economic Role Of Government

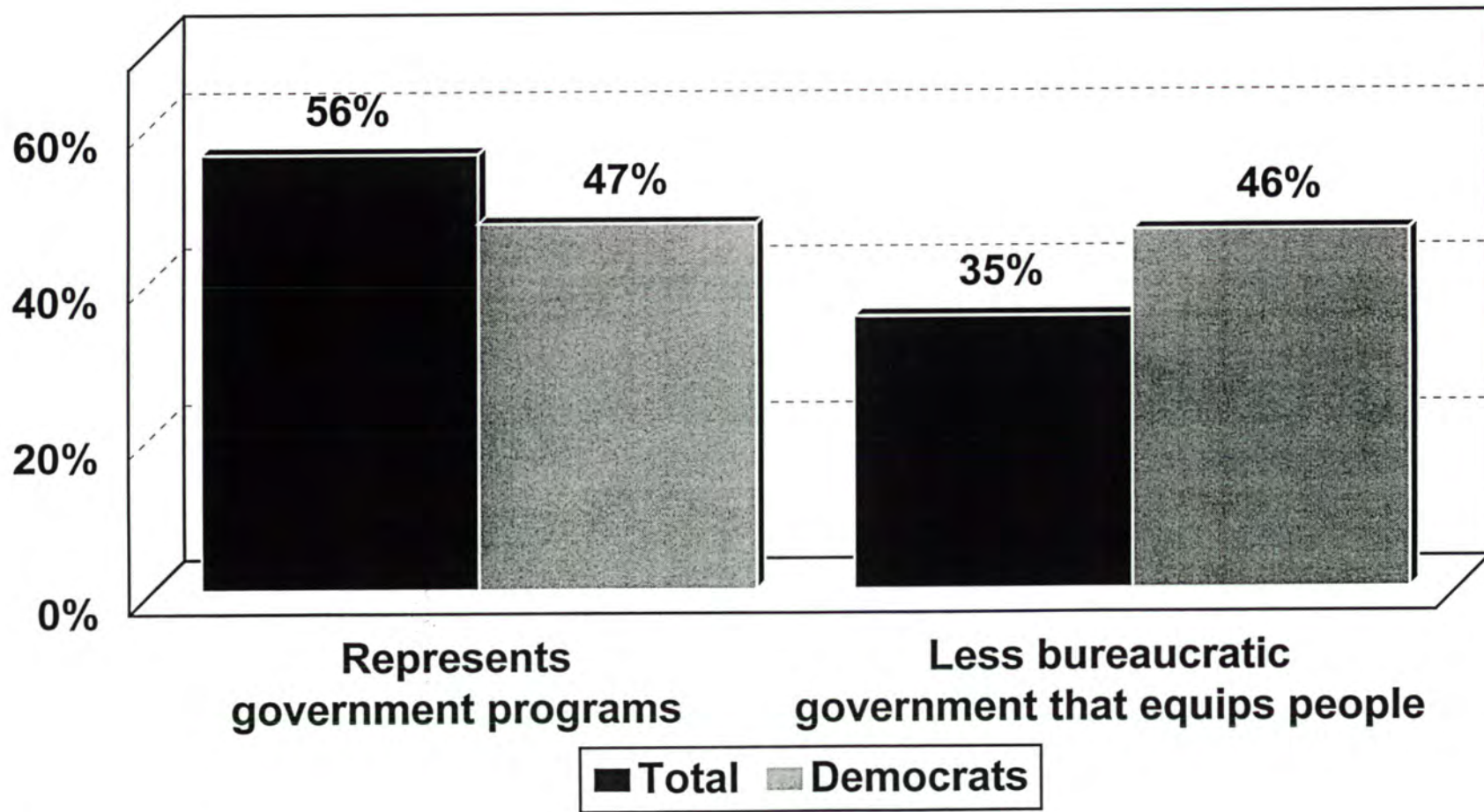
*Which of the following is closest to your own thinking about the proper role of the government in terms of economics?
Government should spend on social programs where necessary, because America is not about leaving everyone to fend for himself;*

*Government should focus on spurring economic growth and creating opportunity for all Americans;
Government should stay out of the economy altogether so private forces can compete and create jobs*



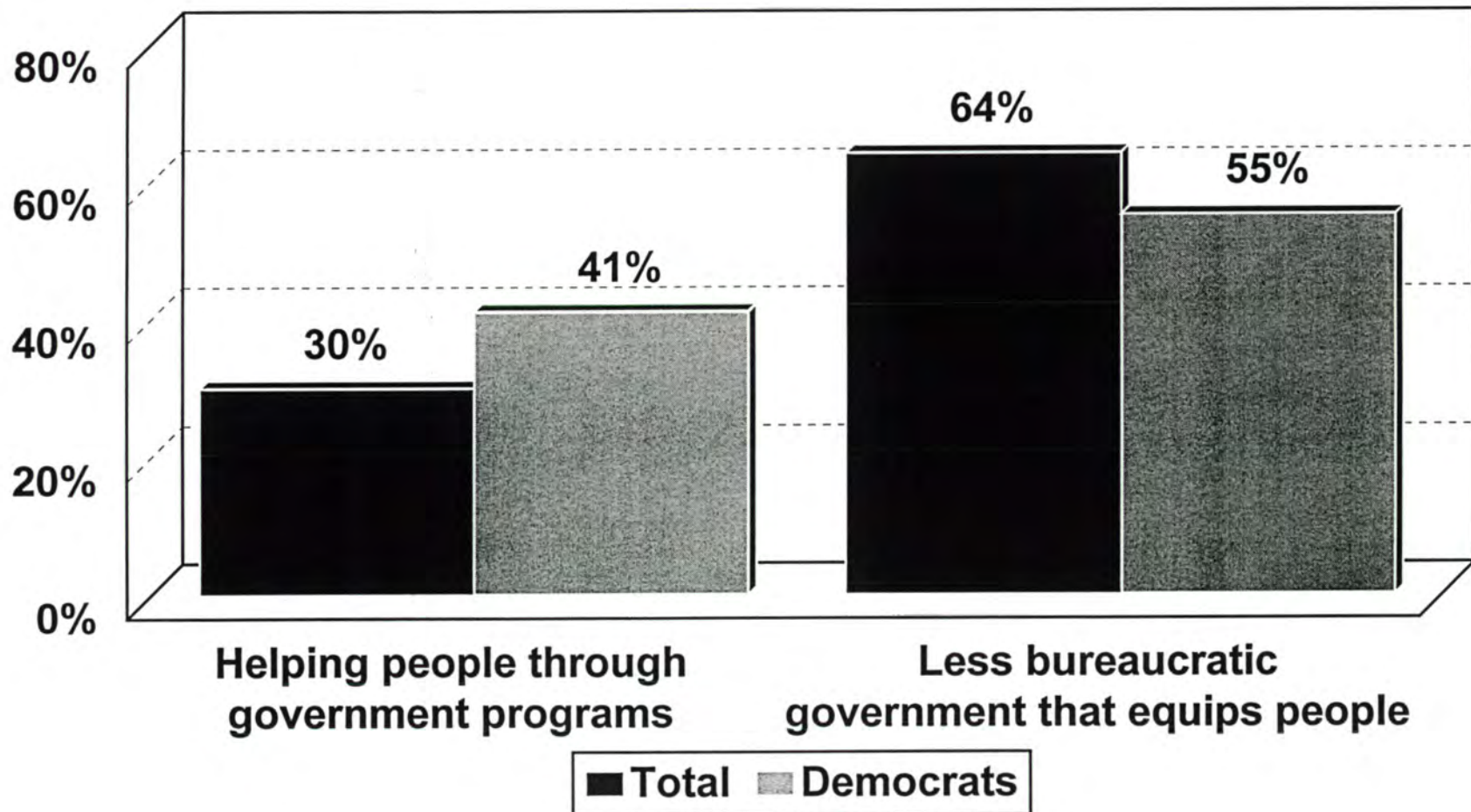
Perception Of Democratic Party

Some people say the Democratic party primarily helps people through government programs. Other people says the Democratic party today stands more for a less bureaucratic government that equips people to solve their own problems. Which is closer to your view of the Democratic party?



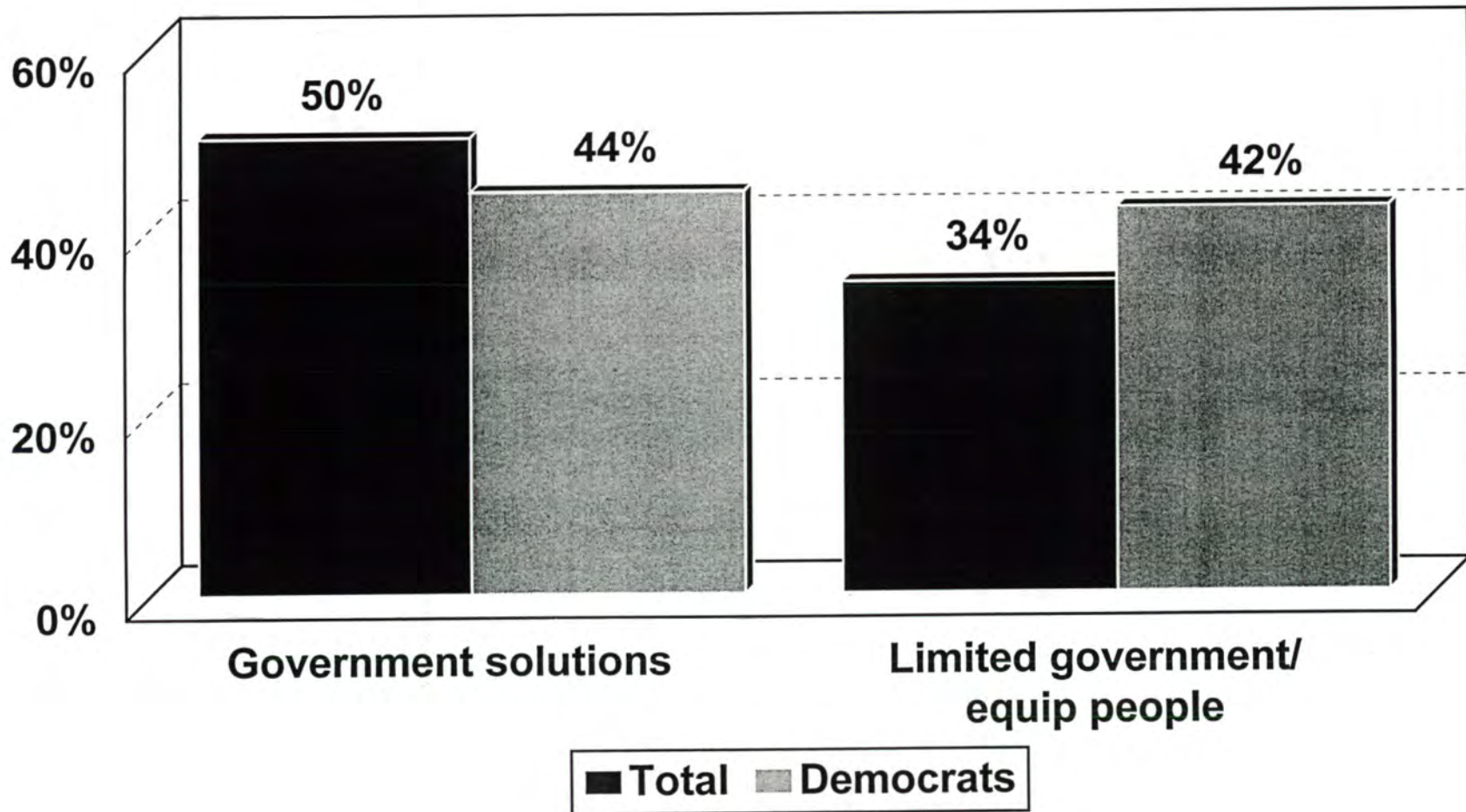
What The Democratic Party Should Stand For

Which is closer to your view of what the Democratic Party should stand for? It should represent helping people through government programs or It should represent less bureaucratic government that equips people.

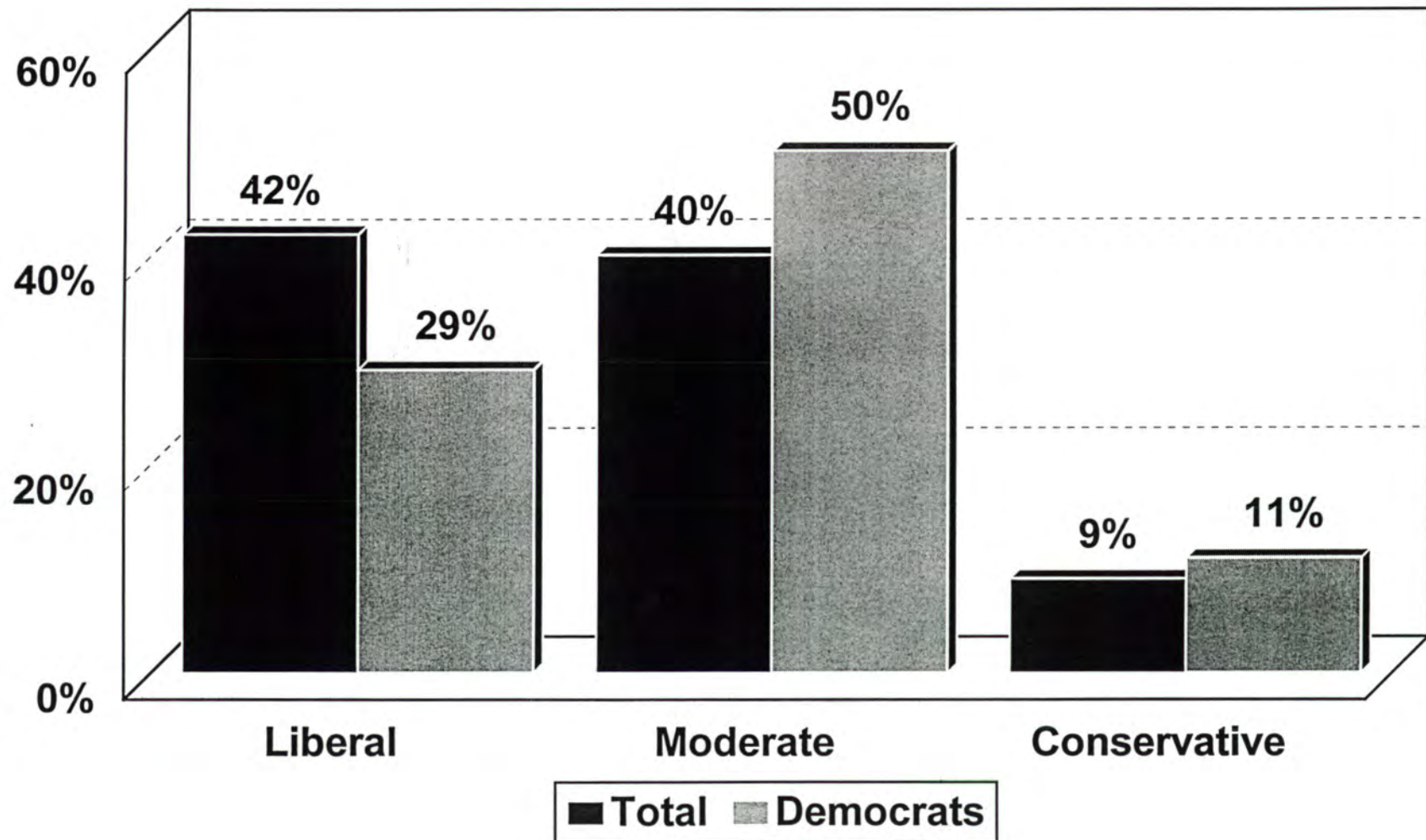


Perception Of Congressional Democrats

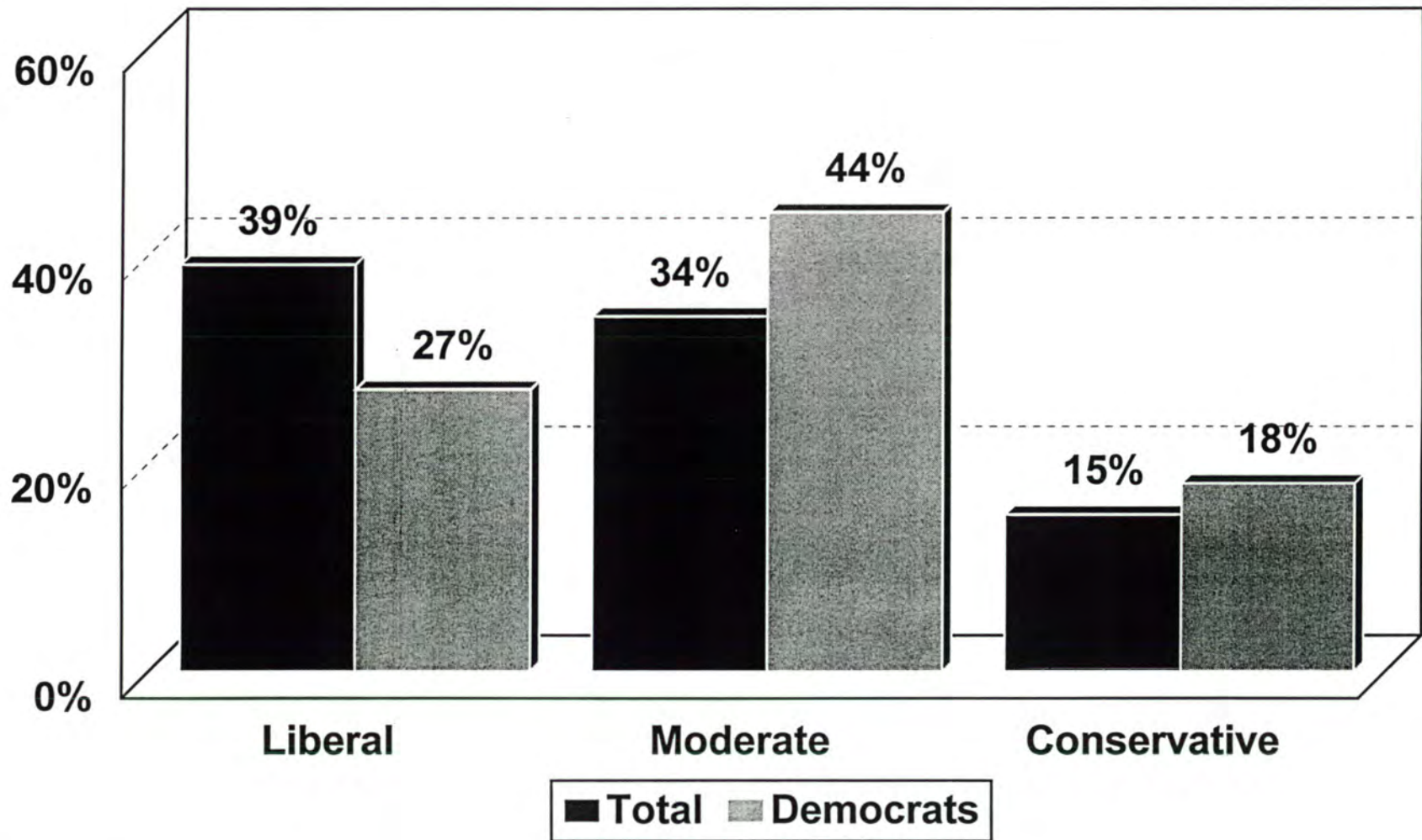
Given the distinction between Democrats who primarily help people through government programs, and those who prefer a limited role of government, which kind of Democrat do you think most of the Democrats in Congress are?



Generally speaking, do you consider President Clinton to be liberal, moderate or conservative?

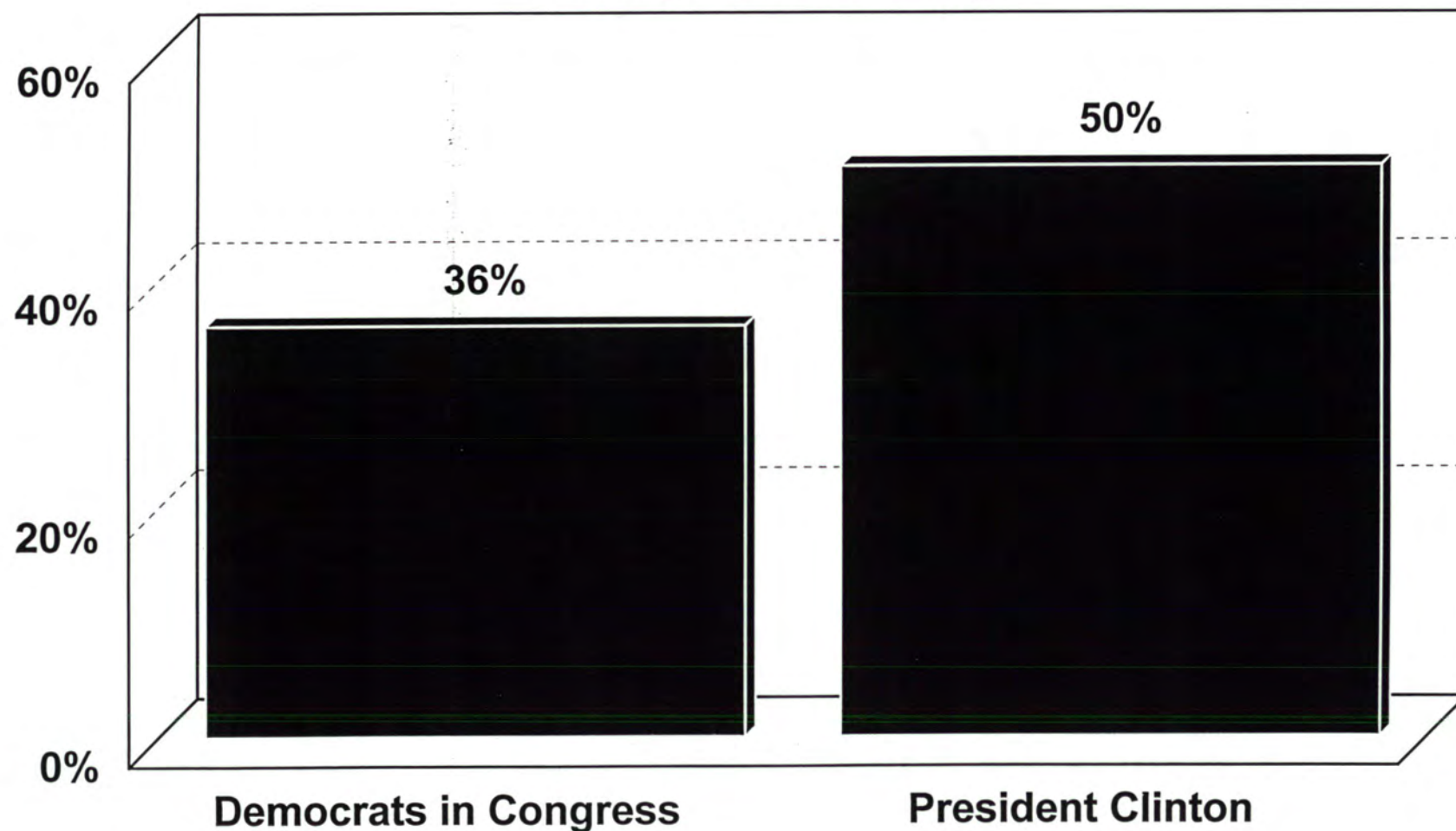


Generally speaking, do you consider the Democrats in Congress to be liberal, moderate or conservative?



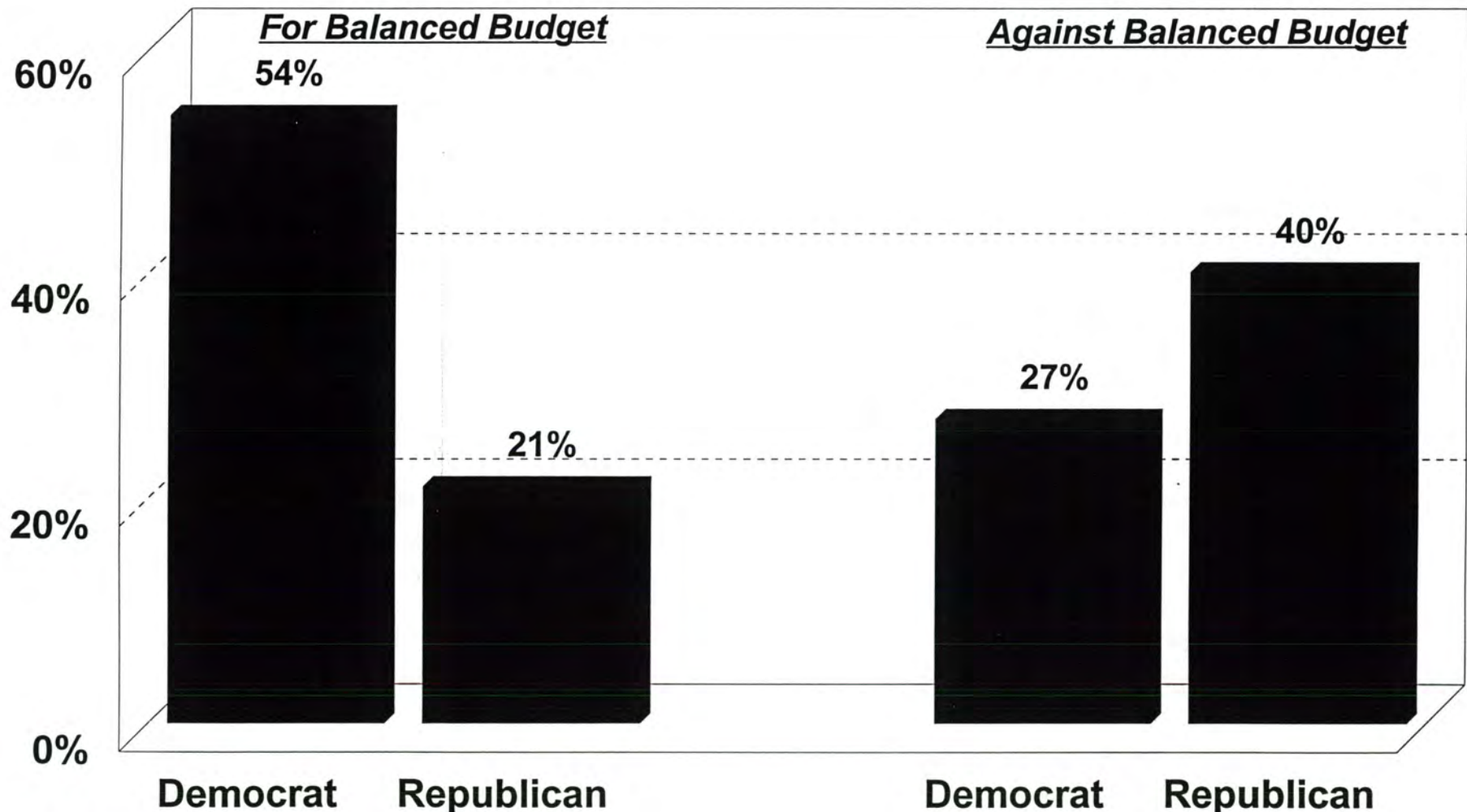
Who do you think best represents your viewpoint on the issues, the Democrats in Congress or President Clinton?

Among Democrats Only



Budget: Influence On Congressional Vote

If a Democrat represented you and he or she voted [for/against] the balanced budget deal, who would you vote for in Congress next year, the Democrat or a Republican?



Attributes

Now I'd like to read you a list of words and phrases and for each one, I'd like you to tell me if you think it applies more to [President Clinton/Democrats in Congress] or the Republicans in Congress.

	Clinton	GOP	Dems	GOP	Clinton advtg
Reforming Medicare and Social Security.	48	35	40	42	15
Working to improve our economy.	48	33	41	39	13
Reforming government.	37	47	28	51	13
Tied to special interests.	47	33	37	36	13
Reforming welfare.	46	43	37	47	13
Protecting traditional American values.	38	44	33	49	10
Working to enter into tough trade agreements.	42	37	39	43	9
Tough on crime.	37	45	32	48	8
Balancing the federal budget.	37	42	33	46	8
Encouraging high moral standards.	35	43	30	45	7
Making America competitive in the world economy.	42	41	36	41	6
Easing racial tensions.	56	19	52	20	5
Working to improve our educational system.	58	28	55	29	4
Making wise decisions about the country's defense policies.	37	46	31	44	4
Protecting children.	53	26	52	25	0
Increasing access to health care.	59	22	60	21	-2
Helping working families.	58	28	60	26	-4
Protecting the clean air and clean water.	59	22	62	20	-5
Protecting Medicare and Social Security.	53	28	58	27	-6
Is in touch with my values.	39	41	43	39	-6
Creating opportunity for people to make the most out of their own lives.	43	39	46	35	-7
Maintaining abortion rights.	58	23	65	17	-13

The "Clinton advtg" is the advantage the President has in public perception over Democrats in Congress when compared to Republicans, and is determined by comparing the difference between the President and the Republicans in Congress to the difference between Democrats in Congress and Republicans in Congress.

New Democratic Proposals – By Party

Ranked by Total More Favorable

	More favorable				Less Favorable			
	Tot	D	R	I	Tot	D	R	I
Expand federal efforts to move a million more people from welfare to work.	93	95	92	93	4	3	6	4
Requiring business that get a tax break for training high-level employees to offer training to all employees.	88	88	84	89	9	7	12	8
Changing divorce law to adopt a “child first” principle that would ensure that children’s needs are considered first in divorce proceedings.	86	89	83	83	8	4	11	9
Finishing the job of implementing the balanced budget agreement.	85	84	86	87	8	10	9	6
Giving principals greater authority to fire incompetent teachers.	85	81	89	85	13	18	8	12
Giving teachers and administrators greater authority to expel disruptive students.	85	81	90	84	11	15	4	14
Restructuring government agencies so they are run like private corporations. By giving managers the flexibility they need to improve their agencies’ performance and then holding them accountable for the results and replace them if they are not performing efficiently.	82	80	87	81	14	18	9	14
Helping working families by making it easier for them to take unpaid leave from work for children’s educational needs or doctor’s visits.	82	89	73	84	15	6	24	14
Protecting the environment by giving businesses an incentive to protect it and making it expensive for businesses to pollute it.	81	86	73	82	16	12	22	15
Consolidating the federal job program funding so workers can receive skill vouchers to purchase employment training and job skills.	81	85	71	85	13	7	21	12
Allowing Americans to open a tax-deductible account for job training that could only be used to pay for job training.	80	83	71	85	13	10	18	10
Ensuring the long-term preservation of Social Security by changing the system so people receive benefits from both public pensions and private investments.	80	79	81	79	14	16	12	12
Administering student tests to end “social promotions” and ensure that students have mastered the skills established by national educational standards before they can graduate to the next grade level	80	84	75	80	16	14	21	13

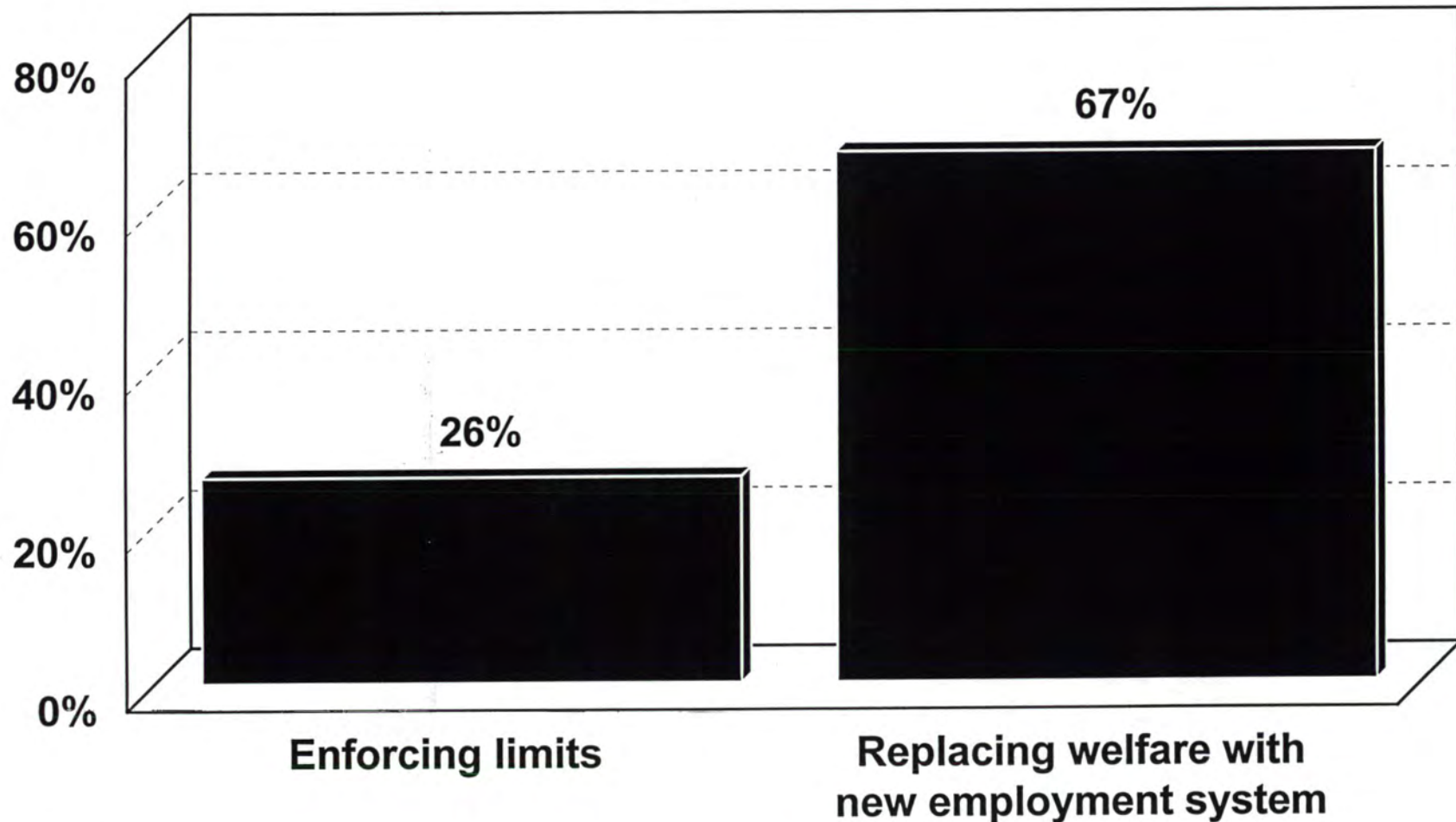
New Democratic Proposals – By Party

Ranked by Total More Favorable

	More favorable				Less Favorable			
	Tot	D	R	I	Tot	D	R	I
Improving the quality of schools by providing performance bonuses to public school teachers who exceed standards.	78	81	77	77	18	15	21	19
Providing public funding for scholarships or vouchers to allow disadvantaged students to attend private or parochial schools.	69	68	75	62	28	27	22	34
Cut federal subsidies for specific industries, such as agriculture and the airline industry, to pay for public investments such as worker training and basic research and development that will benefit the entire economy.	68	76	68	62	24	16	26	28
Spending \$1billion to mobilize one million adults to mentor and tutor disadvantaged youths	67	71	57	71	28	22	36	27
Using federal money to expand community policing programs.	66	76	52	68	28	20	43	24
Repealing the parts of the new welfare law to deny aid to legal immigrants and to cut money for food stamps.	57	54	62	57	34	38	28	36
Using federal education funds to reward states that adopt high curriculum standards and standardized tests and penalize those that fail to do so.	51	54	46	50	45	40	48	47
Requiring all high school seniors to perform community service in order to graduate.	41	45	38	38	56	53	58	58

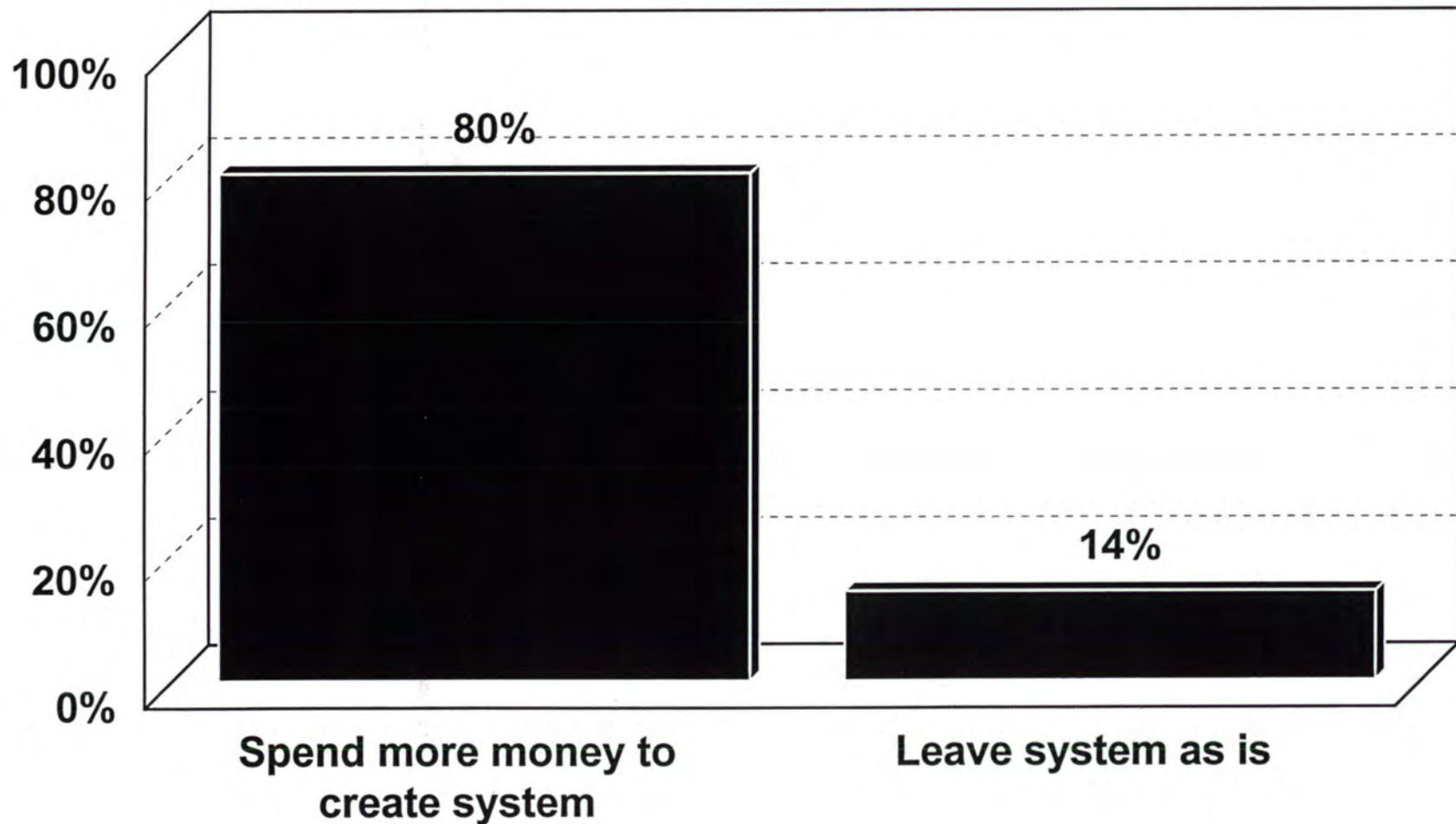
Welfare Reform

In your view, which is more important to the success of welfare reform, strictly enforcing time limits to move families off welfare, or replacing welfare with a new employment system that connects welfare recipients to private sector jobs?



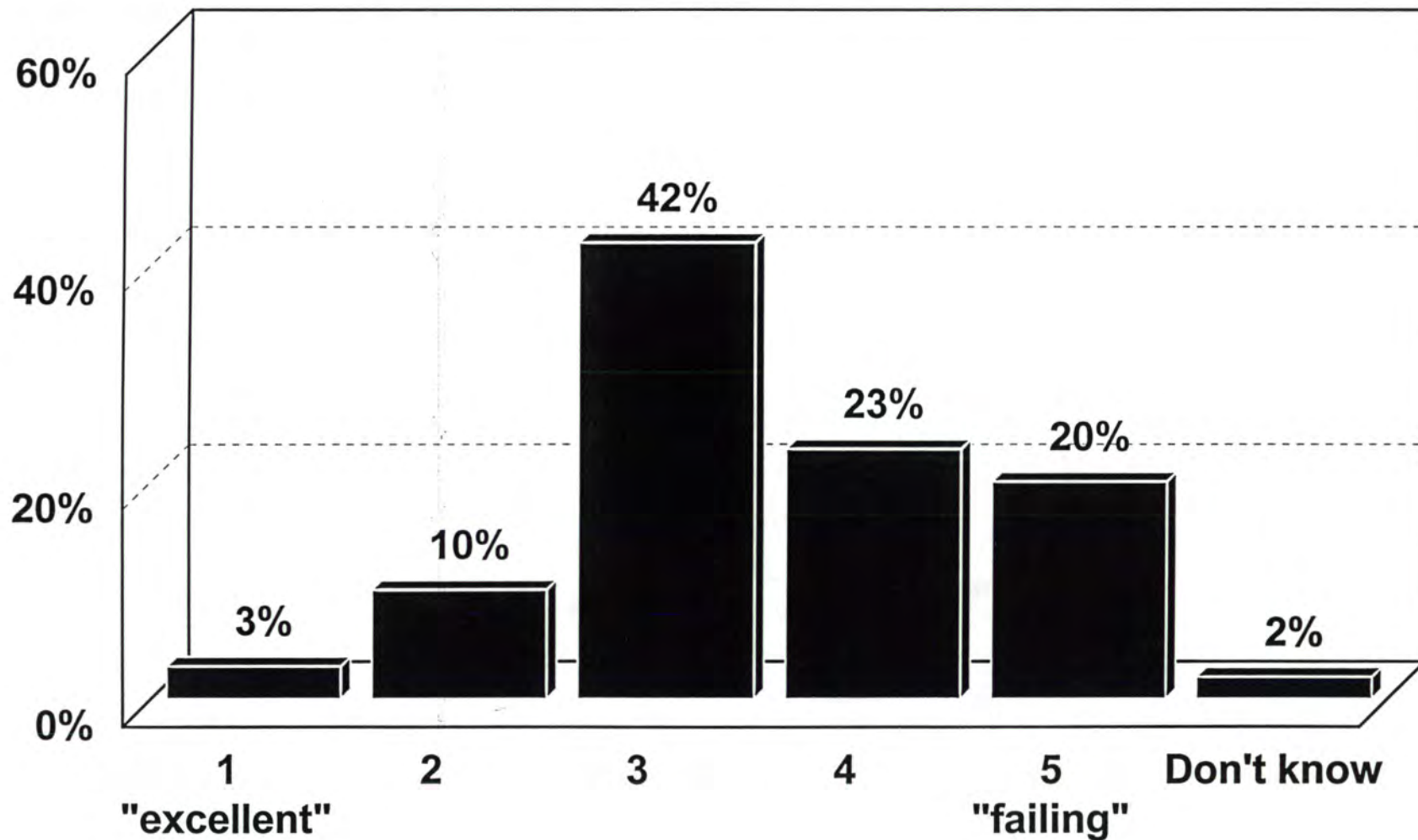
Welfare Reform

Should the government spend more money to create such a system if that's what it takes to give welfare recipients a real opportunity to work, or should the government leave the welfare system as it is?



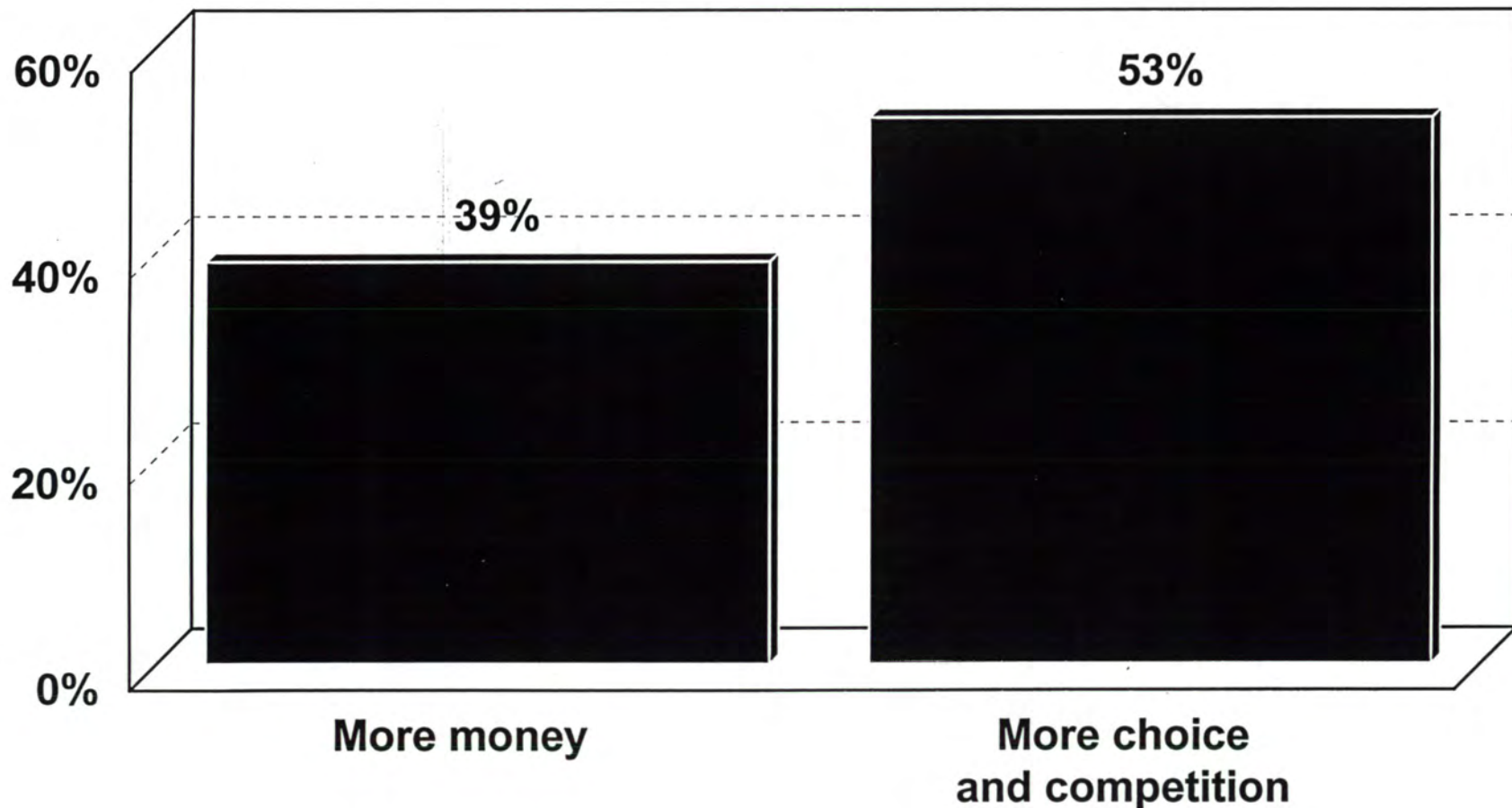
Public School System

On a scale of 1-5, with one being excellent and five being failing, how would you rate the nation's public school system?

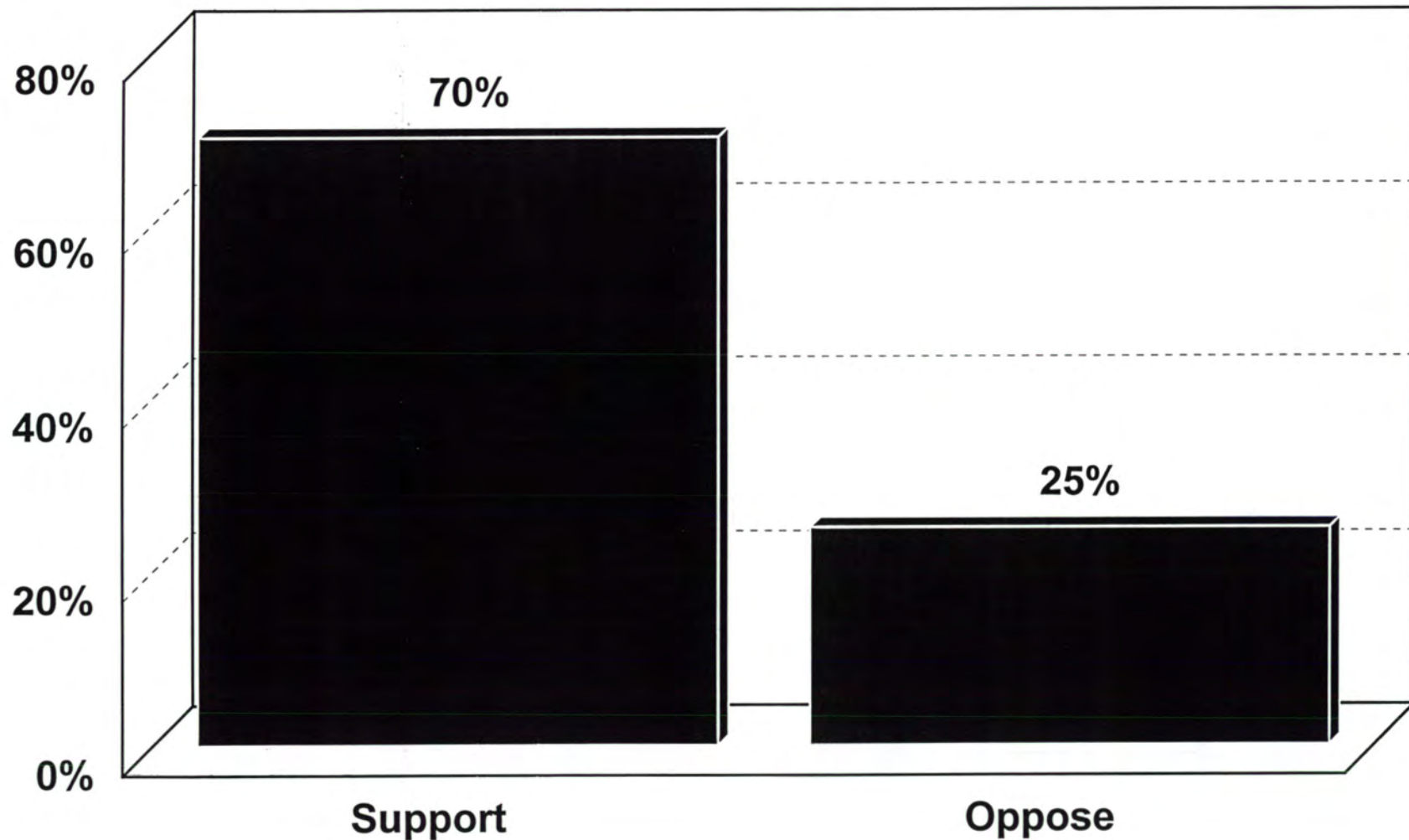


Improving Schools: Money or Choice

Some people say to improve our educational system, we must spend more money and resources. Others say our educational system will only improve through more choice and competition among schools. Which is closer to your view?

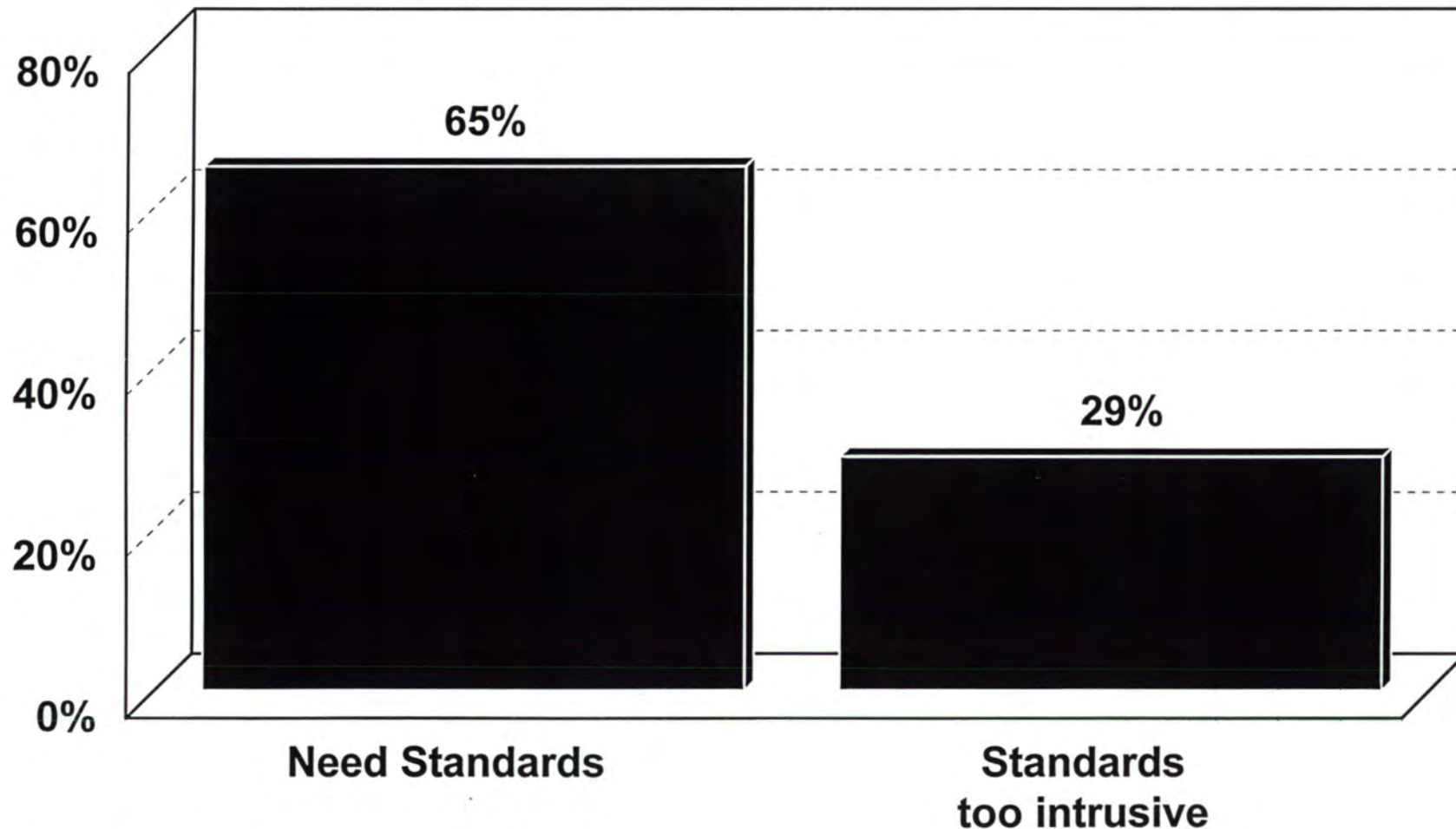


Do you support or oppose national education standards?



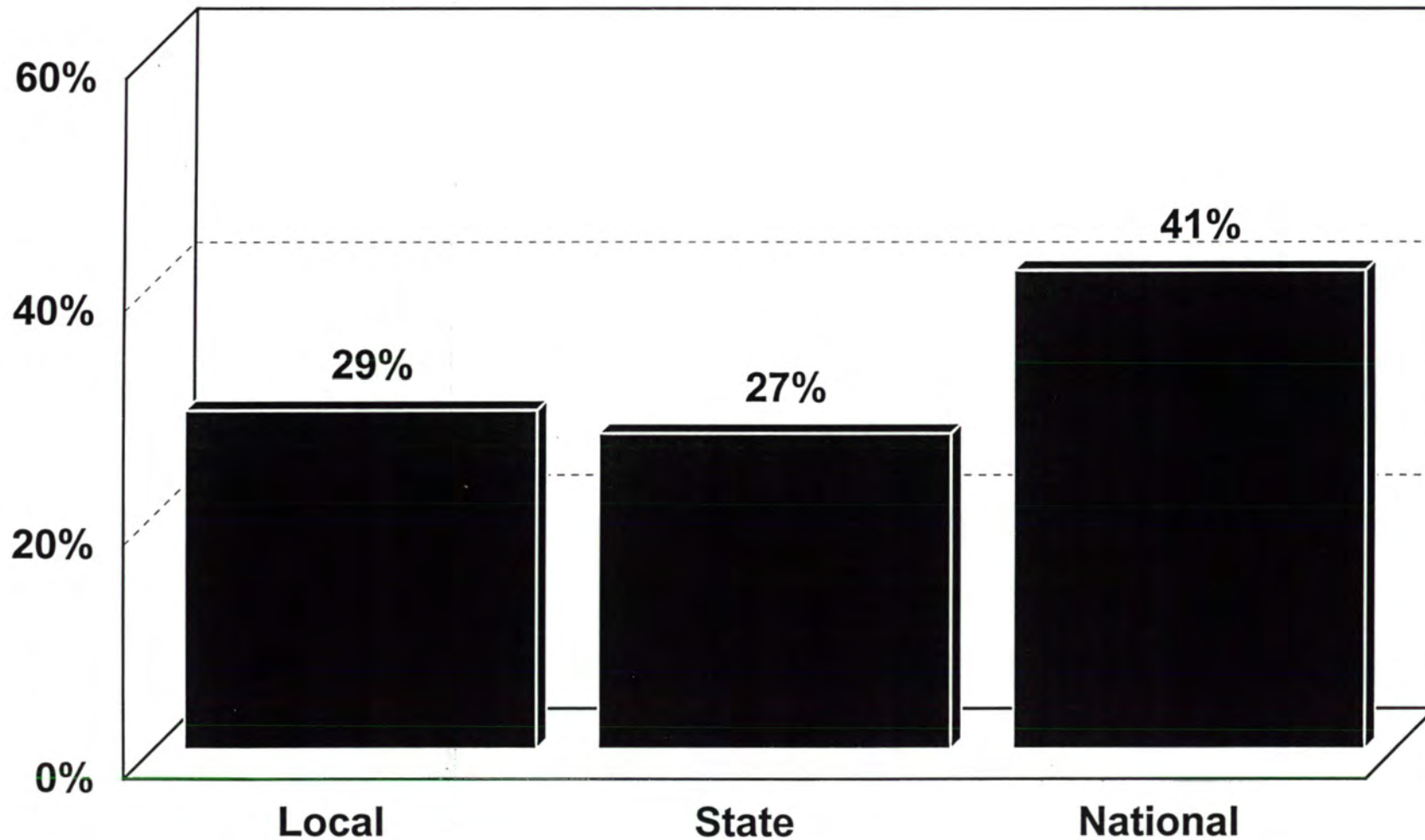
National Standards: Argumentation

Some people say we need national educational standards so parents can know that the learning expectations for their kids stack up well against what kids in other states and communities are learning and what colleges, universities, and employers will demand. Other people say that national standards cannot be implemented successfully without imposing them in an intrusive way on states and local school districts. Which is closer to your view?



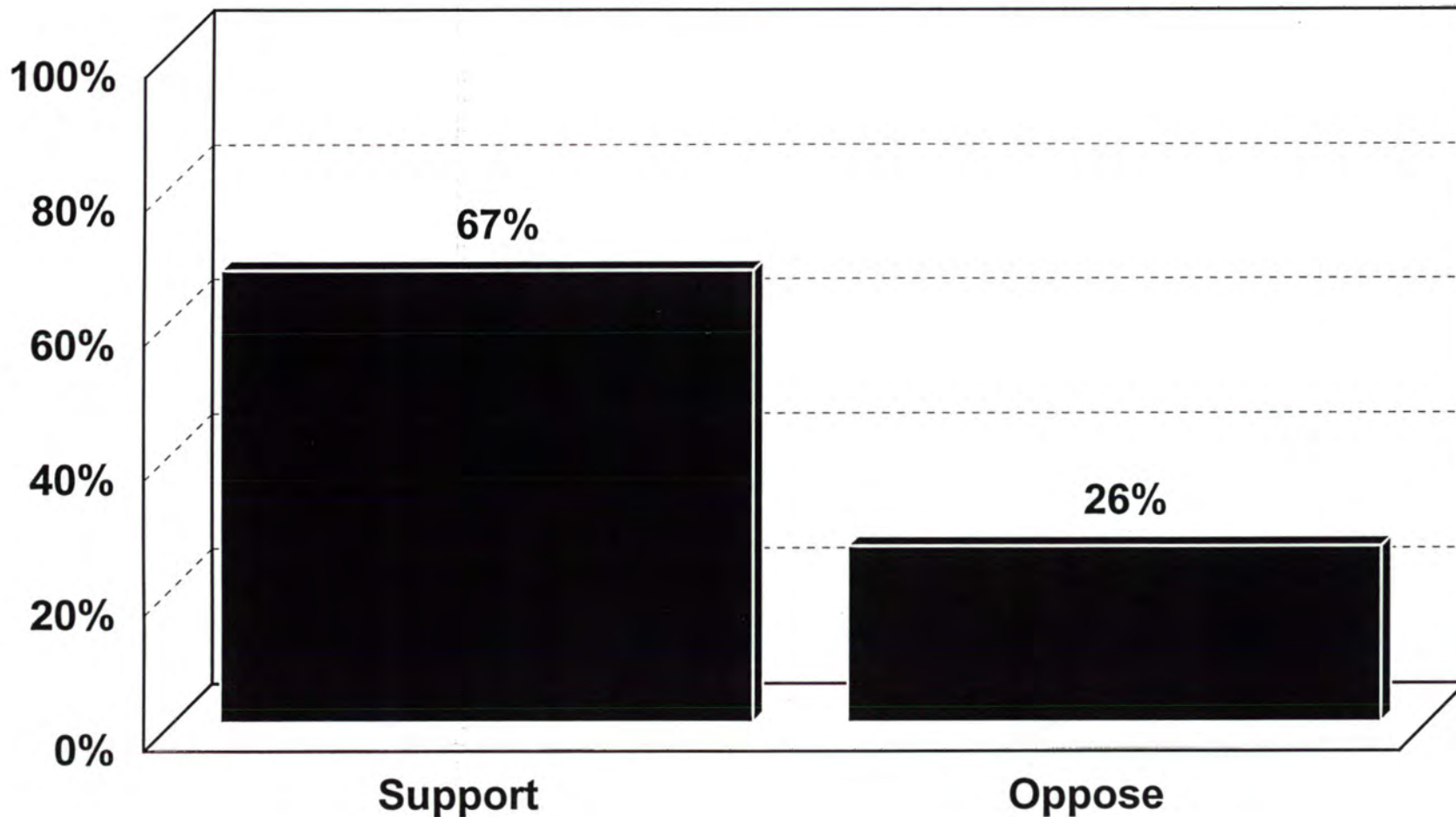
National Education Standards

Should educational goals for grades and schools be set on the local, state, or national level?



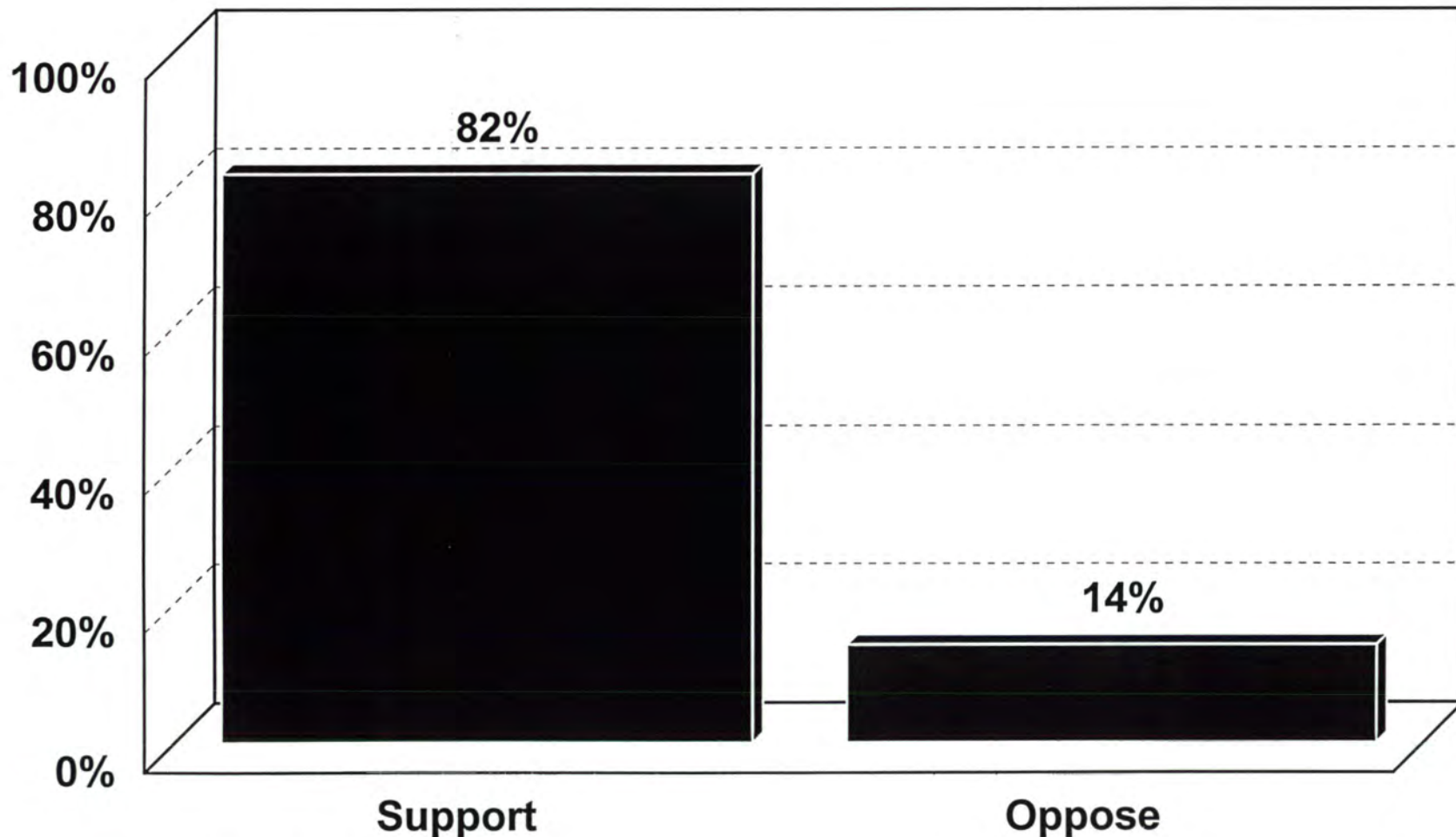
Expanding Charter Schools

Would you support or oppose the expansion of the charter school program in which independently managed schools receive public funds if they meet state standards for student achievement to encourage competition within the public school system?



Educational Progress Reports

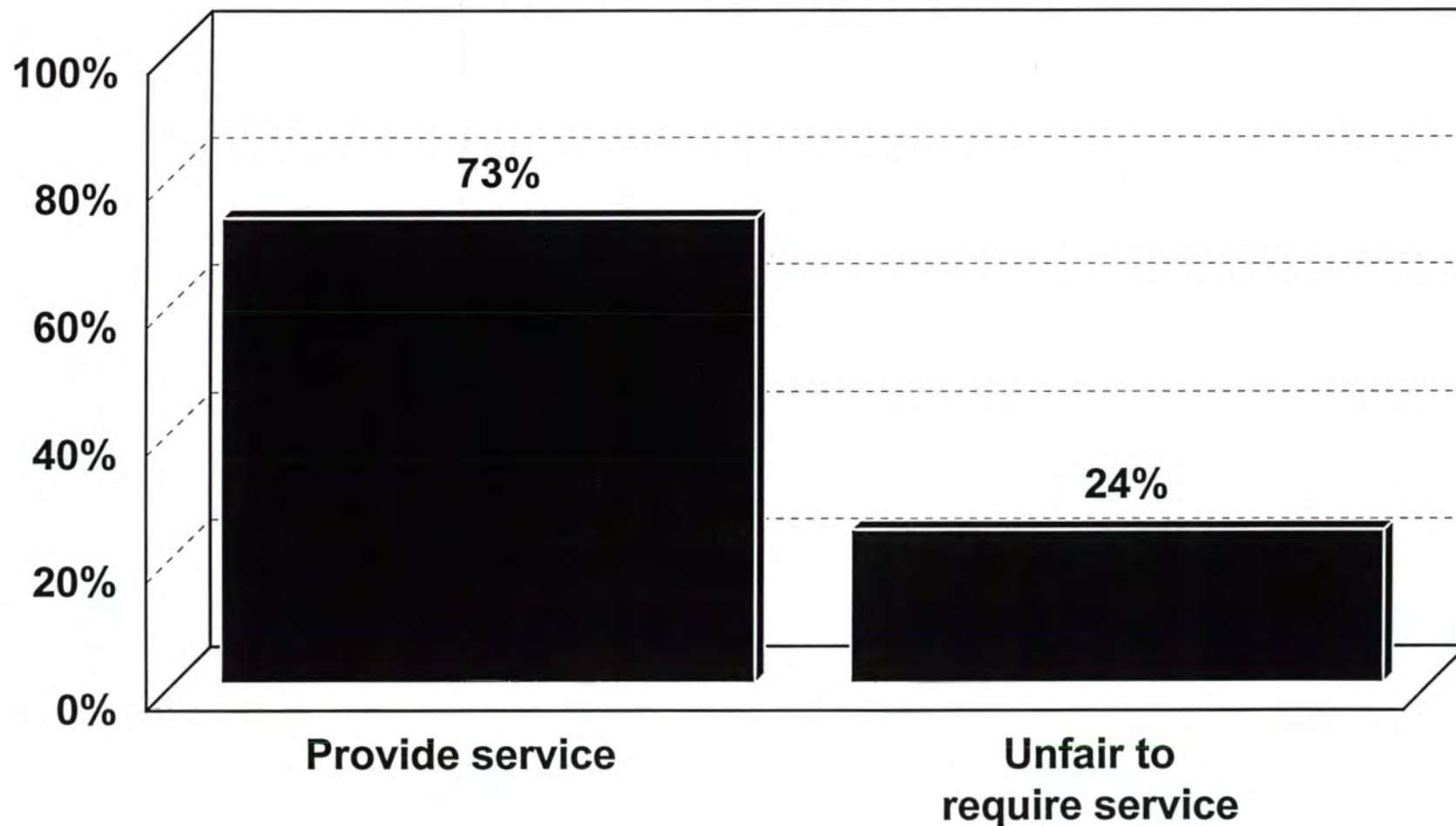
Would you support or oppose requiring school districts to distribute educational progress reports, similar to the way governments and corporations have to issue annual reports, so taxpayers can measure the quality of schools?



Federal Aid For College: Community Service

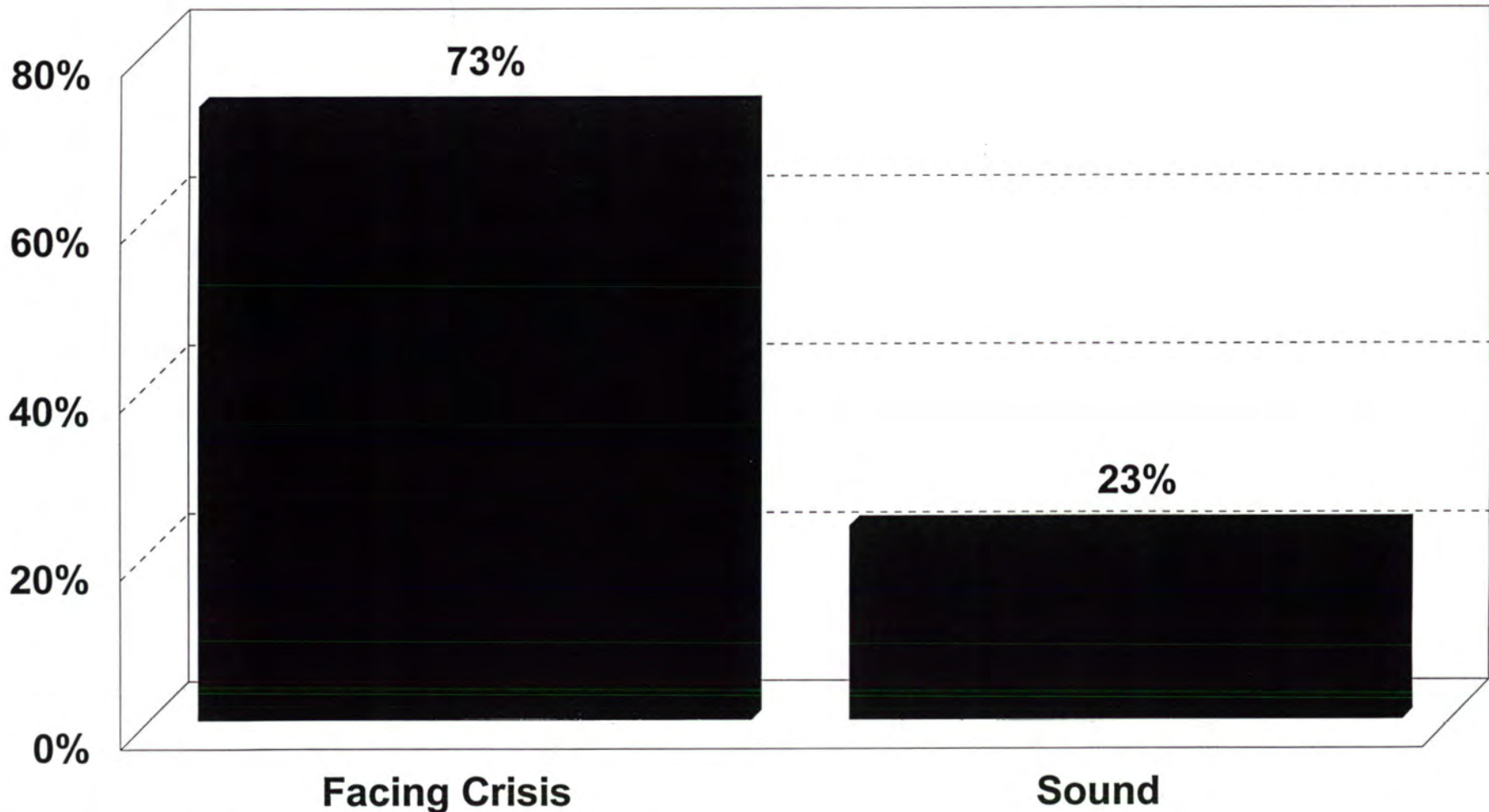
Some people say people who receive federal aid for college should be expected to provide something in return, such as community service. Others say students should be able to receive federal aid for college without having to do community service.

Which is closer to your view?



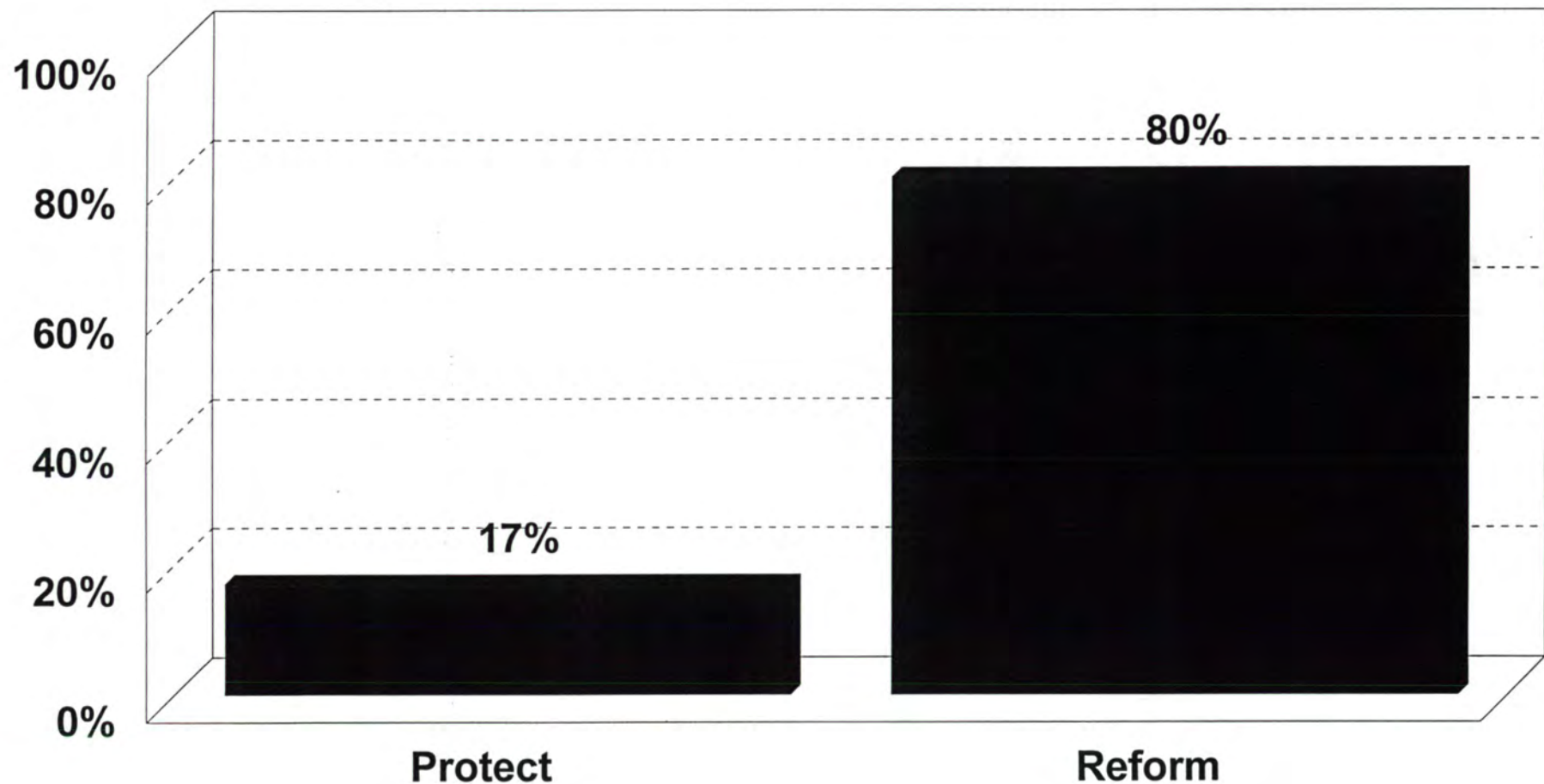
Medicare: Facing Crisis Vs. Sound

Do you think that Medicare will soon face a crisis requiring us to undertake serious reform, or do you think these programs are basically sound and should not be tampered with or altered?



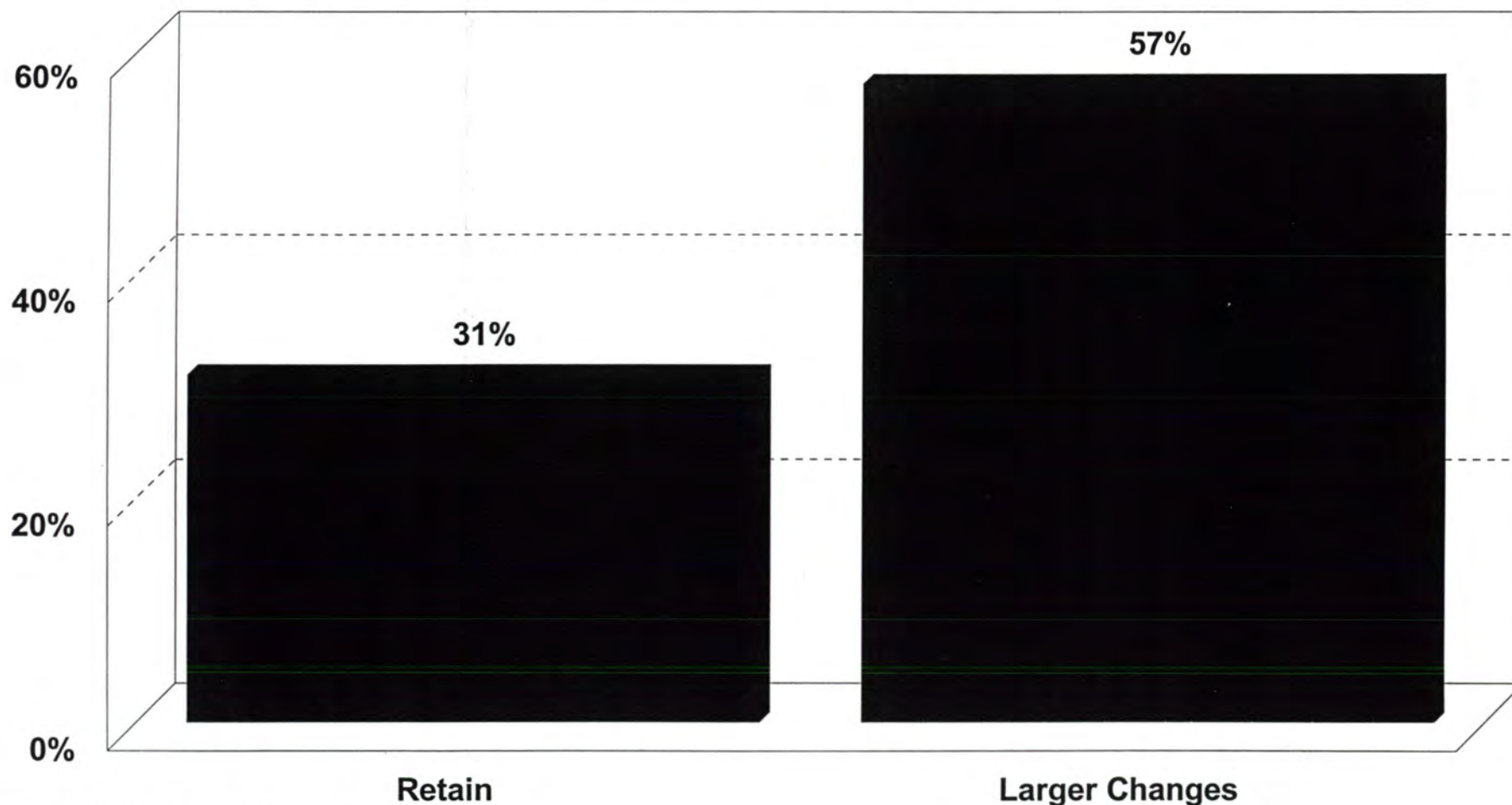
Medicare Priority: Protect Vs. Reform

Which do you think is a bigger priority: protecting Medicare from budget cuts, or reforming Medicare to ensure its long-term financial stability?



Medicare: Retain As Is Vs. Larger Changes

In thinking about reforming Medicare to ensure its long-term financial security, do you think it would be better to raise premiums and cut benefits if necessary, but essentially retain Medicare as we know it, or would it be better to make larger changes in the system, such as allowing the marketplace to determine the price and level of health care provided instead of the government setting the price and scope of Medicare coverage?



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In thinking about reforming Medicare to ensure its long-term financial security, do you think it would be better to raise premiums and cut benefits if necessary, but essentially retain Medicare as we know it, or would it be better to make larger changes in the system, such as allowing the marketplace to determine the price and level of health care provided instead of the government setting the price and scope of Medicare coverage.

By Party

	Tot	D	R	I
Retain Medicare	31	41	22	29
Larger changes	57	48	68	57

By Age

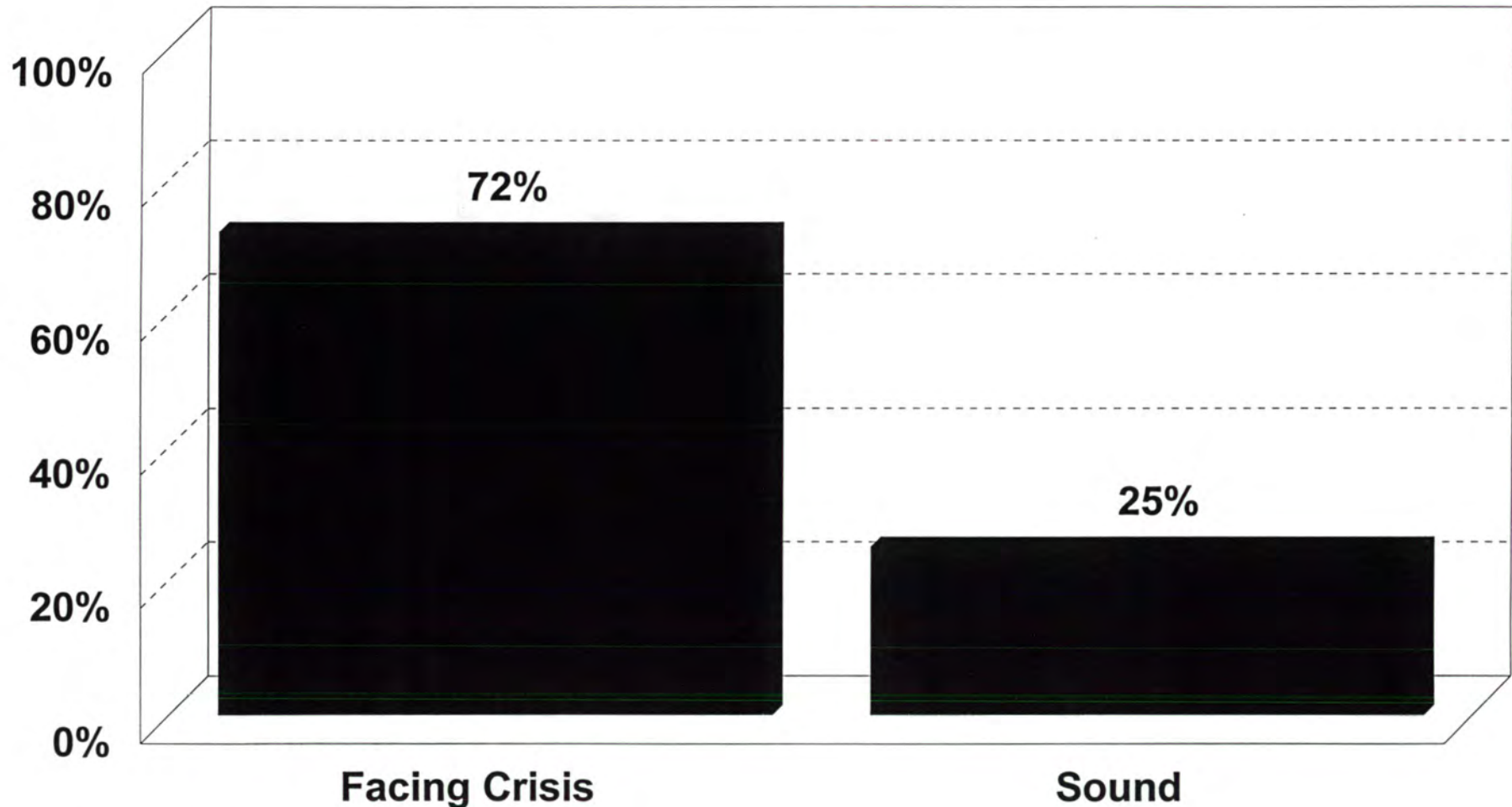
	Tot	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Retain Medicare	31	26	29	27	36	42
Larger changes	57	63	59	59	55	48

By Income

	Tot	<20	20K-35K	35K-60K	60K-100	100K+
Retain Medicare	31	38	29	27	29	28
Larger changes	57	53	62	58	59	50

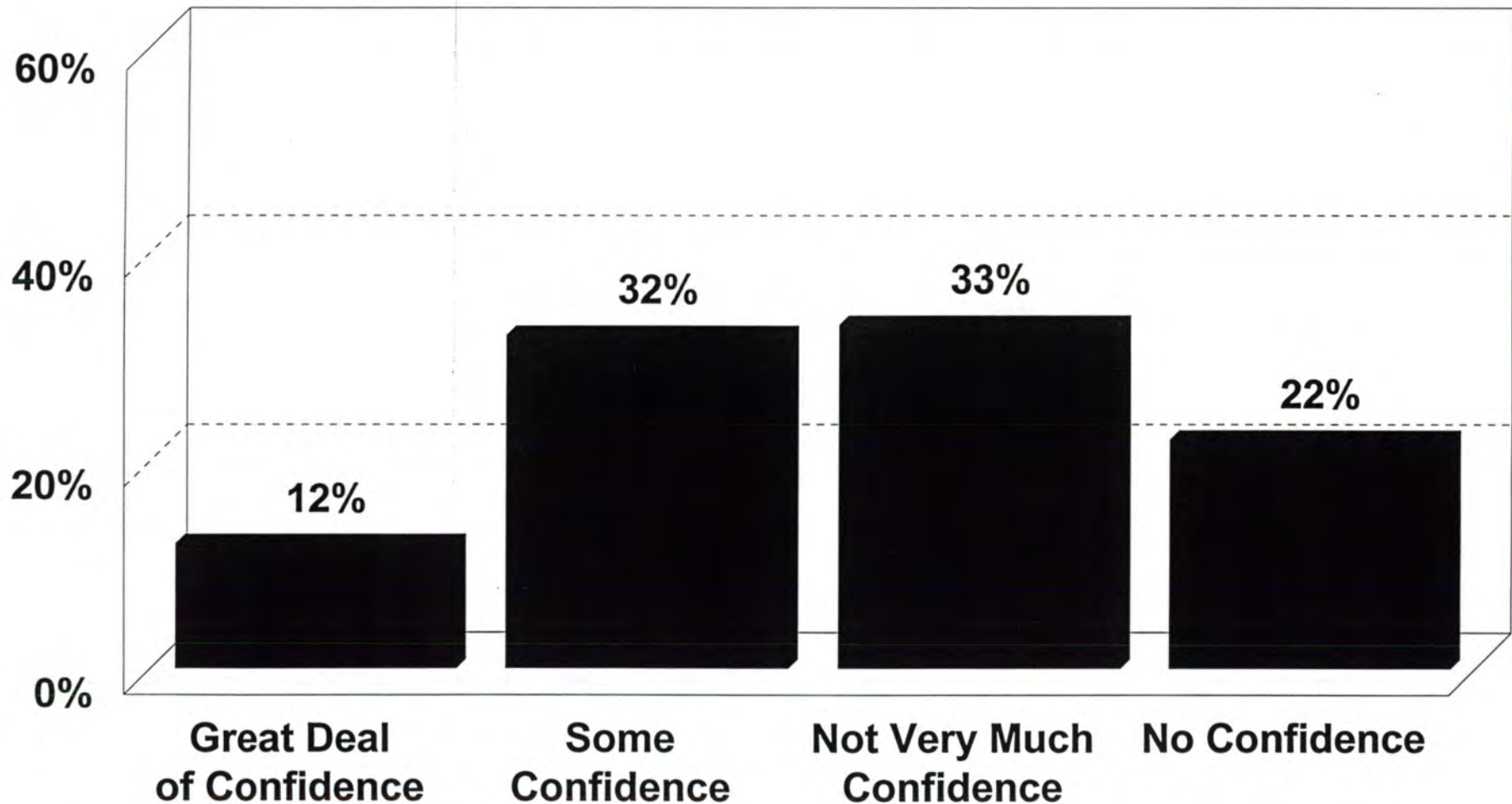
Social Security: Facing Crisis Vs. Sound

Do you think that Social Security will soon face a crisis requiring us to undertake serious reform, or do you think these programs are basically sound and should not be tampered with or altered?



Confidence in Social Security

How much confidence do you have in the long-term financial stability of the Social Security program, a great deal of confidence, some confidence, not very much confidence, or no confidence at all?



Confidence in Social Security

How much confidence do you have in the long-term financial stability of the Social Security program, a great deal of confidence, some confidence, not very much confidence, or no confidence at all?

By Party

	Tot	D	R	I
Great deal or some	44	52	40	41
Not very much or none	55	47	60	58

By Age

	Tot	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Great deal or some	44	43	26	27	59	84
Not very much or none	55	55	74	73	40	16

Social Security Proposals

Would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this proposal?	Strongly Support	Support	Oppose
Right now each employee contributes 6.2% from each paycheck that goes into the Social Security Trust Fund. One proposal is to take about one – third, or 2% of this contribution and allow the employee to put it in a private retirement fund instead.	44	75	21
Change the Social Security system to create a two-tier system which would provide a basic retirement plan for all low and middle income retired Americans as well as individually-controlled private savings.	33	72	19
Adjusting the Consumer price index to more accurately measure the rate of inflation, which may lower cost of living adjustments for all retirees.	30	71	20
Because the Social Security system caps the amount of benefits any retiree can receive, it also caps the amount of money any individual can pay into the system. While the Social Security system taxes everyone's wages the same amount up to \$65,000, any income above that does not have to pay Social Security tax. Given this, some people say we should lift the Social Security cap, so all income is taxed for Social Security regardless how much a person makes, but maintain the cap on benefits.	37	68	28
Raise the cap on how much income is taxed for Social Security, but exempt people who earn only a modest income from paying any Social Security tax on their earnings.	25	53	44
Gradually ending the social security system and replacing it by requiring Americans to save for their retirement. This would be done by shifting the social security payroll tax into mandatory personal savings account which would be controlled by the contributor.	29	51	38
Reducing the Cost of living adjustment, which increases benefits as the cost of living rises, for wealthy retirees.	23	47	41

Possible Changes to Social Security – By Party

Ranked by Total Support

	Support				Oppose			
	Tot	D	R	I	T	D	R	I
Change the Social Security system to create a two-tier system which would provide a basic retirement plan for all low and middle income retired Americans as well as individually-controlled private savings.	72	71	67	78	19	19	21	17
Adjusting the Consumer price index to more accurately measure the rate of inflation, which may lower cost of living adjustments for all retirees.	71	67	74	73	20	25	18	18
Because the Social Security system caps the amount of benefits any retiree can receive, it also caps the amount of money any individual can pay into the system. While the Social Security system taxes everyone's wages the same amount up to \$65,000, any income above that does not have to pay Social Security tax. Given this, some people say we should lift the Social Security cap, so all income is taxed for Social Security regardless how much a person makes, but maintain the cap on benefits.	68	73	58	69	28	23	40	25
Gradually ending the social security system and replacing it by requiring Americans to save for their retirement. This would be done by shifting the social security payroll tax into mandatory personal savings account which would be controlled by the contributor.	55	48	64	56	38	43	30	40
Raise the cap on how much income is taxed for Social Security, but exempt people who earn only a modest income from paying any Social Security tax on their earnings	53	62	41	53	44	33	56	41
Reducing the Cost of living adjustment, which increases benefits as the cost of living rises, for wealthy retirees	47	52	42	46	41	38	45	40

Possible Changes to Social Security – By Age

Ranked by Total Support

	Support						Oppose					
	T	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+	T	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Change the Social Security system to create a two-tier system which would provide a basic retirement plan for all low and middle income retired Americans as well as individually-controlled private savings.	72	72	84	69	79	57	19	21	12	23	12	23
Adjusting the Consumer price index to more accurately measure the rate of inflation, which may lower cost of living adjustments for all retirees.	71	76	69	74	73	59	20	19	24	19	16	29
Because the Social Security system caps the amount of benefits any retiree can receive, it also caps the amount of money any individual can pay into the system. While the Social Security system taxes everyone's wages the same amount up to \$65,000, any income above that does not have to pay Social Security tax. Given this, some people say we should lift the Social Security cap, so all income is taxed for Social Security regardless how much a person makes, but maintain the cap on benefits.	68	52	71	74	59	72	28	45	28	25	34	20
Gradually ending the social security system and replacing it by requiring Americans to save for their retirement. This would be done by shifting the social security payroll tax into mandatory personal savings account which would be controlled by the contributor.	55	56	63	58	59	38	38	39	30	38	37	45
Raise the cap on how much income is taxed for Social Security, but exempt people who earn only a modest income from paying any Social Security tax on their earnings	53	47	50	59	44	55	44	51	44	39	49	41
Reducing the Cost of living adjustment, which increases benefits as the cost of living rises, for wealthy retirees	47	48	49	51	41	41	41	45	36	41	42	39

Possible Changes to Social Security – By Income

Ranked by Total Support

By Income	Support			Oppose		
	Tot.	Under \$35K	Over \$35K	Tot.	Under \$35K	Over \$35K
Change the Social Security system to create a two-tier system which would provide a basic retirement plan for all low and middle income retired Americans as well as individually-controlled private savings.	72	74	74	19	17	18
Adjusting the Consumer price index to more accurately measure the rate of inflation, which may lower cost of living adjustments for all retirees.	71	68	75	20	21	20
Because the Social Security system caps the amount of benefits any retiree can receive, it also caps the amount of money any individual can pay into the system. While the Social Security system taxes everyone's wages the same amount up to \$65,000, any income above that does not have to pay Social Security tax. Given this, some people say we should lift the Social Security cap, so all income is taxed for Social Security regardless how much a person makes, but maintain the cap on benefits.	68	67	72	28	32	27
Gradually ending the social security system and replacing it by requiring Americans to save for their retirement. This would be done by shifting the social security payroll tax into mandatory personal savings account which would be controlled by the contributor.	55	53	62	38	41	33
Raise the cap on how much income is taxed for Social Security, but exempt people who earn only a modest income from paying any Social Security tax on their earnings	53	51	52	44	45	45
Reducing the Cost of living adjustment, which increases benefits as the cost of living rises, for wealthy retirees	47	44	50	41	43	39

The New Democratic Electorate

Democratic Leadership Council Survey

Executive Summary

August 6, 1997

Introduction

As the country makes the transition to the 21st Century, the political landscape in America is changing to an electorate that is no longer focused on taking the country to the right or the left, but is adopting the principle that steady changes can best be made through the center. 63% (68% among Democrats) now look for the answers to the problems we face in the center, and not the left or the right.

President Clinton's victory in 1996, his accomplishments, and strong public approval for these achievements all underscore significant support for the actions he has taken to balance the budget in a way that protects our values, emphasize education, implement the welfare bill, expand healthcare benefits for poor children and renew American leadership around the world which have brought a new sense of optimism and confidence to the country.

This survey shows an electorate coalescing around 5 basic objectives:

1. The need for a limited role of government that creates opportunity for people to make the most of their own lives, and does not work either to provide a guarantee for people or seek to redistribute income.
2. The need for increased access to global markets. While voters may disagree about the best ways to implement trade policy, it is now a consensus view that America must have free and open trade, on a reciprocal basis with our trading partners.
3. The emergence of the need to protect and nurture traditional family values. This starts with the growth and protection of the nation's children as an issue of central importance to much of the electorate, particularly the millions of mothers of young children who are now in the workforce and whose concerns center around strengthening education, child care, and family-related issues.
4. The belief, particularly among the younger generation that entitlement reform is an important priority for their future. Their willingness to consider a range of new alternatives to secure their future puts them at odds with an older generation whose primary concern is to realize the benefits of the programs they have already worked towards.
5. Educational reform at the K through 12 level is strongly supported, encompassing national school standards and testing, greater teacher accountability, an end to social promotions, and the removal of disruptive students.

Additionally, the poll shows that while Americans remain uncertain on how to deal with some of the controversial aspects of the race issue in America, they are firmly committed to an empowerment approach – one that provides the incentives necessary to give people the tools they need to be successful in society – supplying the extra help, training and opportunity that minorities may need to make the most of the new opportunities available today.

And finally, this poll illustrates that the vital center is not the province just of Independents but that it reaches down deep into the Democratic party. Most Democrats are moderates and conservatives; most Democrats favor a limited role of government; most reject the politics of redistribution of income in favor of growth and opportunity; most favor free trade on a reciprocal basis. We have identified the basic segments of the Democrats today, and alongside the social and economic liberal Democrats sit two segments we call New Economy Democrats and Suburban Values Democrats – and those two segments make up the majority of the Democratic voters today.

Further evidence of these changes in the Democratic party is: 1) the firm, across the board support for the balanced budget deal that encompasses many of the principles of the vital center, and 2) the fundamental optimism that all Americans, including Democrats, now have about their own future.

Methodology

This survey was conducted July 23-27, 1997, among a total 1009 registered voters across the United States including a national sample of 800 and an oversample of 200 self-identified Democrats combined to create a sample of 475 Democratic voters. In addition, a supplemental set of questions was asked to 400 new respondents, also registered voters across the U.S., on August 4, after the budget deal was announced.

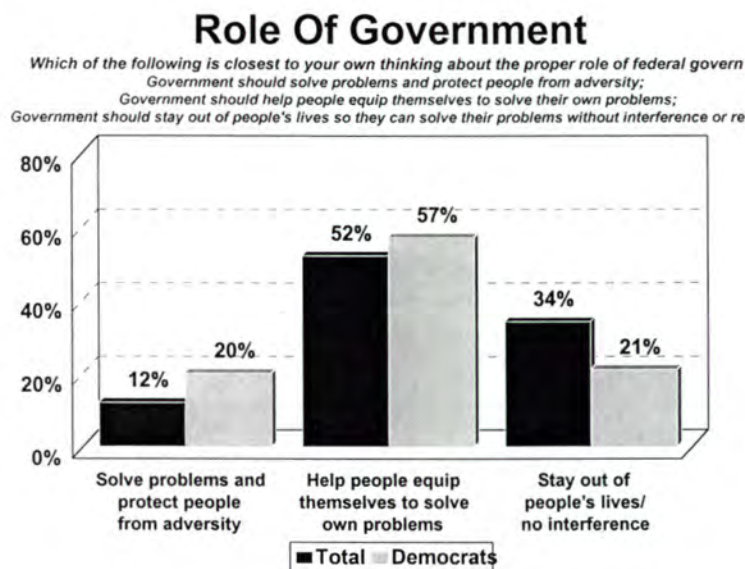
The margin of error for the total sample is +/- 3.1%. Portions of the survey were split sampled.

1. ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

The government should play a limited role in American's lives, helping create opportunity for people rather than solving people's problems for them.

This poll confirms that the most voters reject both a 'big' government and a 'no' government approach to problems and instead favor a limited government which equips people to solve their own problems.

Democrats, even more than all voters, believe government's role is to "help people equip themselves to solve their own problems" (57% of Democrats vs. 52% total)



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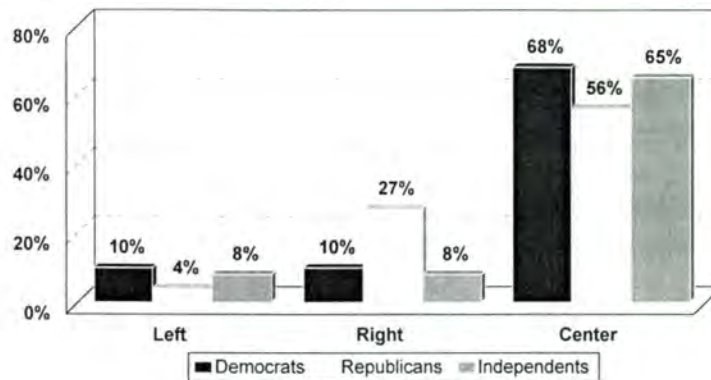
⇒ And when asked about what the party should stand for, 30% overall (41% of Democrats) think the Democratic Party should stand for helping people through government programs, **64% overall (and 55% of Democrats) think the party should stand for a less bureaucratic government that equips people to solve their own problems**

In economic terms, **60% of Democrats today think the proper role of government is to "focus on economic growth and opportunity,"** while only 24% adhere to the view that the proper role is to "spend on social programs where necessary."

Overall, only 7% say we will find solutions to problems we face as a nation among the political left, 14% among the political right, and 63% the political center.

Solutions For America's Problems

As we look for answers to the problems we face as a nation, where do you think we will find the most solutions, among the political left, the political right, or the political center?



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And Americans reject the politics of income redistribution and prefer a government that creates opportunity. By 22 to 71, Americans say that the role of government is not to redistribute existing wealth but to foster conditions that enable everyone to have a chance to make a higher income. Among Democrats, the answers were 20/74%. Only 4% named income inequality as a top problem from a list (7%) of Democrats.

When asked whether government should redistribute income to close the gap between the wealthy and the poor or should work to create opportunity but not redistribute wealth, 33% said redistribute (40% among Democrats); 64% opportunity (57% among Democrats).

2. TRADE

Support for expanding trade is strong among all voters, including Democrats.

76% overall support free trade, 86% support fair trade, and 78% favor expanding trade with other countries as long as it is done on a reciprocal basis. Among Democrats, 77% support free trade, 87% fair trade, and 82% expanding trade on a reciprocal basis.

More than two-thirds of all voters see global integration as a necessary and positive action:

- ◆ 67% think it is better trade policy to be aggressive at opening up markets, while only 22% think it is better to limit our trade and be protectionist. Among Democrats, 57% favor open markets, while 30% favor limiting trade.
- ◆ 67% believe America's continuing integration in the global marketplace is a positive trend, only 22% believe it is a negative. Among Democrats, the trend is the same, with 64% believing it is positive, and 26% a negative.

While very supportive of free trade and reject becoming protectionist, Americans have some concerns about the effect of trade on American jobs and working families, and feel corporations may benefit more than the average American.

Which of the following is closer to your view?:

America's integration in global markets creates exciting new economic opportunities for both U.S. producers and workers (51% Total; 49% Democrats)

OR

America's integration in global markets mainly benefits multinational corporations at the expense of average working families (41% Total; 41% Democrats)

Which of the following is closer to your view?:

America's integration in global markets spurs U.S. companies to develop new technologies and products, hone their competitive edge and create high-wage jobs at home, (40% Total; 43% Democrats)

OR

It encourages U.S. companies to move overseas to take advantage of low-wage labor in developing countries: (50% Total; 49% Democrats)

While Democrats express no more concern than other voters about the possibility of trade hurting workers, they are somewhat more likely to expect the government to play a role in protecting American jobs from possible adverse effects of trade: (46% Democrats, 37% total)

Which of the following is the best policy for the U.S. government to take to ensure that the U.S. businesses and workers benefit from international trade?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Dems</u>
--	--------------	-------------

-The government should stay out of efforts to ensure that businesses and workers benefit from trade and leave that role to business.	17%	12%
--	-----	-----

-The government should protect American workers, and in some cases American industries, from foreign competition.	37%	46%
---	-----	-----

-The government should not protect businesses or workers, but it should help companies and workers to compete by helping them develop the skills they will need to benefit from international trade.	40%	37%
--	-----	-----

There is support for renewal of the President's Fast Track Authority:

"Presidents since 1974 have had trade negotiating authority known as Fast Track, which means the trade agreements the President negotiated are considered in Congress within 90 days and put to a simple yes or no vote without any additions that could upset the agreement. The authority to do this expired in 1994, and President Clinton no longer has such authority."

Democrats will support the President in his request for renewed Fast Track authority, even more strongly than voters overall. (Democrats: 67% support, 27% oppose, Total: 53% support, 39% oppose)

3. FAMILY VALUES AGENDA

Americans today are most concerned with issues surrounding the raising of a family, including the weakening of “traditional family values”, crime, and education. These family values issues generally take precedence even over economic issues.

Typically, voters concerned about these issues favor expanded educational programs, protections for children such as the curbs on smoking advertising or limiting violent TV, and added crime protection.

When asked to choose from among a number of concerns, Americans are more concerned about “the weakening of traditional family values” than about their personal economic situation, taxes, environmental issues, America's competitiveness in the world economy, or the problem of income inequality.

57% of Democrats too are more concerned about weakening of family values, the need for better and safer schools, crime and violence -- values issues impacting raising a family -- than about economic issues.

Greatest Concern To Voters

I am going to read you a list of some concerns that some people have expressed about aspects of life in America. Please tell me which of these is of greatest concern to you

	All	Democrats
Weakening of Family Values	26	20
Better and safer schools	14	19
Crime and Violence	15	18
Findings jobs and opportunity	11	11
Taxes and Spending	12	9
Address income inequality	4	7
Influence of special interests	5	5
Need for cleaner environment	4	3
U.S. competitiveness in world economy	3	3

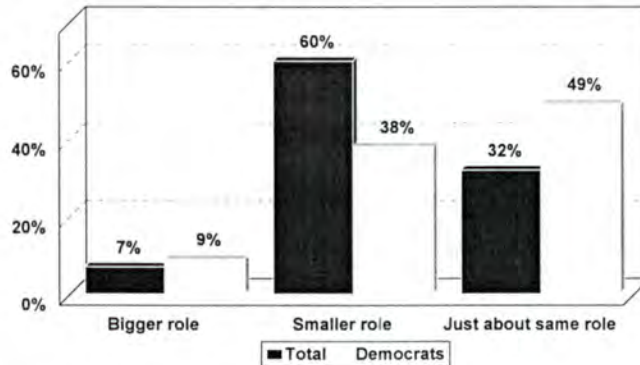
Penn Schoen & Berland Associates

And while the public desires a government that is generally less intrusive, Americans want the government involved in the protection of our children.

In general, 60% think the government should play a smaller role in our lives, 32% just about the same role as it has been playing, and 7% say a bigger role. Even among Democrats, 38% think the government should play a smaller role in our lives and 49% just about the same role. *Only 9% of Democrats say a bigger role.*

Role Of The Federal Government - General

Do you think the federal government should play a bigger role in our lives, a smaller role in our lives, or continue to play just about the same role it has been playing?

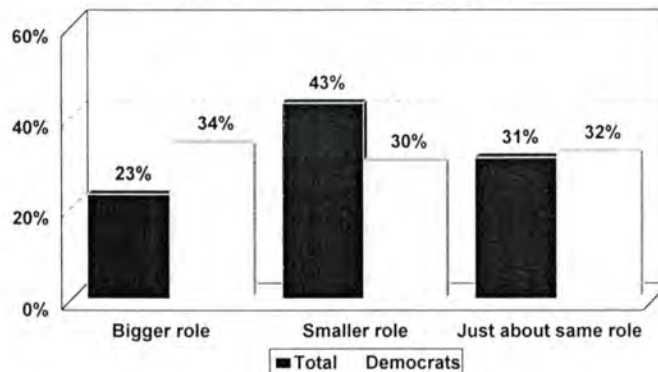


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Yet, when asked about the role the government should play in regulating matters that affect the lives of our children, the margin is much smaller; 43% of all respondents say a smaller role, 31% just about the same role, and 23% a bigger role. Democrats are even more supportive of government action with respect to children, with 1 in 3 (34%) saying the government should be playing a bigger role in regulating matters that affect the lives of our children, and another 49% just about the same role.

Role Of The Federal Government - Children

Do you think the government should play a bigger role regulating matters that affect the lives of our children a smaller role, or continue to play just about the same role it has been playing?



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In fact, voters overall, and Democrats in particular, express strong support for several pro-family initiatives:

Family Values proposals which Democratic Leaders could make their priority: (% saying they would be more favorable)

♦ Changing divorce law to adopt a “child first” principle that would ensure that children’s needs are considered first in divorce proceedings	All 86%	Dem 89%
♦ Helping working families by making it easier for them to take unpaid leave from work for children’s educational needs or doctor’s visits	82%	89%
♦ Using federal money to expand community policing programs	66%	76%

In addition to their support for various programs, virtually all Democrats (97%) and voters overall (97%) perceive a link between crime and television violence.

4. ENTITLEMENT REFORM

While concern about the stability of entitlements is broad-based, it is most significant among younger voters who want to see change in order to ensure the stability of programs into the future.

Worry over the stability of these program and support for change cuts across party lines, though Democrats are somewhat more hesitant than voters overall to look to the private sector for assistance.

Medicare

Overall, 56% have little or no confidence in the long term financial stability of Medicare. Seniors have more confidence in the system, and are therefore less willing than younger voters to undertake serious reform.

How much confidence do you have in the long-term financial stability of Medicare?- by age

	Tot	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Great deal/some	43	45	27	36	44	72
Not very much/none	56	55	70	64	53	26

Voters generally recognize the need for large changes to the Medicare system. Nearly three-quarters (73% overall, 69% of Democrats) said Medicare will soon face a crisis requiring serious reform, while only 23% said it is basically sound and should not be tampered with. Fully 80% (76% of Democrats) believe it is more important to reform Medicare than to protect it from budget cuts.

In thinking about reforming Medicare to ensure its long-term financial security, 31% overall (41% of Democrats) think it would be better to make *smaller changes* such as raising premiums and cutting benefits if necessary, but essentially retain Medicare as we know it, while 57% of voters (48% of Democrats) think it would be better to make *larger changes* in the system, such as allowing the marketplace to determine the price and level of health care provided instead of the government setting the price and scope of Medicare coverage.

Again, the desire for broader change is strongest among younger voters:

	Tot	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Smaller changes	31	26	29	27	36	42
Larger changes	57	63	59	59	55	48

As a possibility for change, 75% of voters (74% of Democrats) would support raising Medicare premiums for the wealthy. There is support for this change across age and income groups.

Social Security

Only 44% have a great deal or some confidence in the long-term financial stability of Social Security, while 55% have not very much or no confidence at all. As with Medicare, the 25-50 age group has the least confidence

	Tot	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Great deal / some	44	43	26	27	59	84
Not very much/ none	55	55	74	73	40	16

More than 3 in 4 (77% overall, 75% of Democrats) agreed that the Social Security system is running out of money and changes will be necessary or it will go bankrupt in 30-40 years, and 72% (68% of Democrats) believed that Social Security will soon face a crisis requiring us to undertake serious reform. 25% believed the programs are basically sound and should not be tampered with.

A slim majority (51%) said it would be better to repair Social Security rather than move toward structural changes that depend more on private savings (42%). Democrats are more likely than others to favor repairing the current system, with 62% saying it would be better to repair Social Security rather than move toward structural changes that depend more on private savings (31%).

More than half (57%) said Social Security should be provided to all seniors, 39% said it should go only to those who have a financial need.

There is support for a variety of proposed changes to the Social Security system:

	Support			
	Tot	D	R	I
Right now, each employee contributes 6.2% from each paycheck that goes into the Social Security trust fund. One proposal is to take about one third or 2% of this contribution and allow the employee to put it in a private retirement fund instead.	75	73	80	71
Change the Social Security system to create a two-tier system which would provide a basic retirement plan for all low and middle income retired Americans and would be supplemented by individually-controlled private savings.	72	71	67	78
Adjusting the Consumer price index to more accurately measure the rate of inflation, which may lower cost of living adjustments for all retirees.	71	67	74	73
Because the Social Security system caps the amount of benefits any retiree can receive, it also caps the amount of money any individual can pay into the system. While the Social Security system taxes everyone's wages the same amount up to \$65,000, any income above that does not have to pay Social Security tax. Given this, some people say we should lift the Social Security cap, so all income is taxed for Social Security regardless how much a person makes, but maintain the cap on benefits.	68	73	58	69
Gradually ending the social security system and replacing it by requiring Americans to save for their retirement. This would be done by shifting the social security payroll tax into individually controlled personal savings account.	55	48	64	56
Raise the cap on how much income is taxed for Social Security, but exempt people who earn only a modest income from paying any Social Security tax on their earnings	53	62	41	53
Reducing the Cost of living adjustment, which increases benefits as the cost of living rises, for wealthy retirees	47	52	42	46

5. EDUCATIONAL REFORM

There is widespread concern about the nation's public school system, and widespread support for a variety of proposals to improve the system.

43% give the nation's public school system a "failing" grade of a 4 or 5 on a scale of 1-5, and another 42% an average grade of 3. Democrats give the educational system similar ratings, with 40% giving the school system a "failing" grade and 49% giving it a grade of 3.

53% (49% of Democrats) believe that more choice and competition is the way to improve the nation's public schools, while 39% (45% of Democrats) believe spending more money and resources is necessary for improvement.

National education standards receive strong approval, with 70% of all voters and 76% of Democrats in favor of this idea. Furthermore, 41% believe educational goals should be set on the national level, while 27% say this should fall at the state and 29% at the local level. Democrats are slightly more inclined to support national educational goals than the total sample (45% set on national level, 28% at the state level, and 24% local level).

Other proposals which receive strong support include:

- ◆ 67% support the expansion of the charter school program in which independently managed schools receive public funds if they meet state standards for student achievement to encourage competition within the public school system. Among Democrats, 63% support expansion.
- ◆ 82% support requiring school districts to distribute educational progress reports, similar to the way governments and corporations have to issue annual reports, so taxpayers can measure the quality of schools. Similarly, 80% of Democrats support educational progress reports.

Additional initiatives for educational reform which receive strong support include: greater teacher accountability, strengthening the ability to remove disruptive students, and stricter requirements to ensure that students are adequately prepared to move on to the next grade level.

If Democratic leaders made this a priority would you be much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable toward Democratic leaders?	More favorable			
	Tot	D	R	I
Giving principals greater authority to fire incompetent teachers.	85	81	89	85
Giving teachers and administrators greater authority to expel disruptive students.	85	81	90	84
Administering student tests to end "social promotions" and ensure that students have mastered the skills established by national educational standards before they can graduate to the next grade level	80	84	75	80
Improving the quality of schools by providing performance bonuses to public school teachers who exceed standards.	78	81	77	77
Spending \$1billion to mobilize one million adults to mentor and tutor disadvantaged youths	67	71	57	71
Providing public funding for scholarships or vouchers to allow disadvantaged students to attend private or parochial schools.	69	68	75	62
Using federal education funds to reward states that adopt high curriculum standards and standardized tests and penalize those that fail to do so.	51	54	46	50

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS

RACE IN AMERICA

Americans see empowerment as the most effective approach to promoting racial equality.

Affirmative action is not seen by most Americans as the primary vehicle for promoting racial equality – instead Americans see the long-term answer in programs that create work, the opportunity to open a small business, or build up savings, alongside improvement of the inner-city schools. In addition Americans see as a primary goal the moving of 1 million people from welfare to work (95%) as a primary national goal and creating a new employment system to accomplish the job (68%) as more important than just enforcing time limits.

Which do you believe is the best way for the United States to promote racial equality today:

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
By expanding affirmative action programs	12%	14%
By improving inner-city schools	26%	25%
Reducing crime through more and better policing.	13%	12%
By empowering low-income minorities to work, build up savings accounts, and start small businesses	39%	39%

Also, voters believe affirmative action programs for business should be targeted towards the place, not race independently.

Should affirmative action preferences be targeted to companies owned by minorities or to companies that operate in poor and inner city communities, regardless of who owns them?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
Companies owned to minorities	16%	15%
Companies that operate in poor and inner city communities	65%	69%

But while Americans are split on affirmative action in the abstract, they strongly support its retention when the dropping of affirmative action means drastic reductions in enrollment for minorities in legal or other professional schools, for example. 43% overall support affirmative action, 50% say that they are no longer necessary while Democrats say they are necessary by 55% to 37%. But 57% support overall (67% among Democrats) affirmative action when told about the effects on minority enrollment of removing it.

FISCAL DISCIPLINE

At the center of the debate between the “old” Democrats and the “new” Democrats is the fight over the balanced budget.

Voters express their support for the balanced budget agreement explicitly, with 67% saying they support the budget deal while 14% oppose it, making this deal essentially a consensus issue in the country in supplemental polling conducted after the deal.

**Among Democrats, the deal is supported by 67/17
Among Republicans, the deal is favored 68/16
Among Independents, the support level is 69/9**

A majority of all groups support the deal, including blacks who gave the deal 65% support.

85% of voters would be more favorable to Democratic Leaders if they made “finishing the job of implementing the balanced budget agreement” a top priority.

THE NEW OPTIMISM

Optimism is pervasive in the strong economy: 67% of voters see the economy as on the right track, and nearly as many think the U.S. economy will be stronger in the next 12 months. By 68/28 Democrats see the economy as on the right track.

3 in 4 voters – and 80% of Democrats - expect that their personal economic situation will be better in the next 12 months than it is today. This optimism cuts across race, party and income.

By 48/39, most Americans now see the country itself as on the right track, and among Democrats the figures are 55/31.

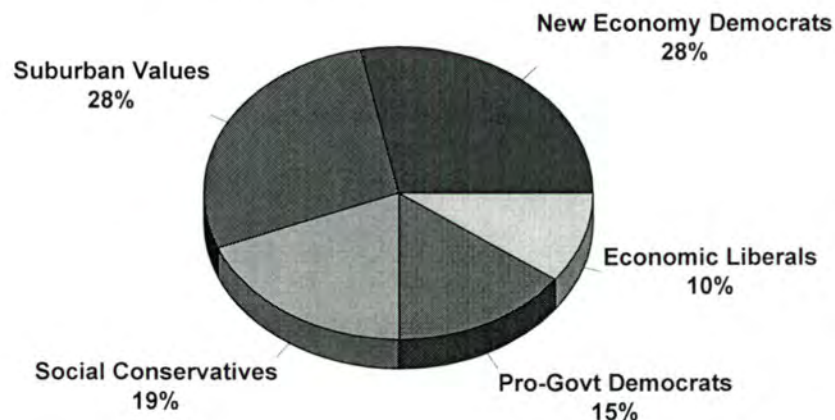
THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- A CLOSER LOOK

In order to better understand the Democratic Party today, we conducted an extensive examination of the different groups which make up the Democratic Party. In total, we found five distinct groups -- New Economy Democrats, Suburban Values Democrats, Pro-Government Democrats, Economic Liberals and Social Conservatives.

Each segment is defined by their views on a number of key issues, including the proper role of government, economic redistribution, trade, social issues and defense, among others.

We found a majority of Democrats (56%) hold the view that the proper role of government is limited to providing opportunity, rather than protecting people from adversity. Of this 56%, half (28%) are what we call New Economy Democrats-- who welcome integration into the global economy, and half are Suburban Values voters -- whose main concerns are not economic, but related to family oriented values.

Composition of the Democratic Party



Penn, Schoen, Berland & Associates, Inc.

New Economy Democrats (28% of Democrats)

New Economy Democrats are defined in terms of their view that the role of government should be limited to providing opportunity, their strong support of free trade and globalization, and their view that America's integration into the global marketplace is a positive trend. In demographic terms, these voters tend to be drawn from a cross-section of Democratic voters, with a higher representation of all age groups except seniors. Nearly half use the internet compared to a third of most Democrats, and the group is slightly more male than most Democrats.

But surprisingly, this group is also the most pro-choice of any Democratic group, and is highly committed to voting for a Democratic candidate for Congress next year.

Suburban Values (28%)

Suburban Values voters are characterized their views that better, safer schools, safer streets, and the need for strengthening traditional family values are paramount among their concerns. They are twice as concerned about education and safety as most Democrats. For instance, they are the least likely group to feel that crime is sometimes justified by social circumstances. They are overwhelmingly pro-choice. They are more likely to favor diplomacy over military strength, but they generally support American leadership in resolving international conflicts.

A majority of Suburban Values Democrats are women, and they tend to be younger, have children, are middle to upper income earners.

Economic Liberals (10%)

Ten percent of Democrats are characterized by their view that the proper role of government is to redistribute wealth and close the income gap between the wealthy and the poor. They are the only group in which a majority believe that attacking urban poverty is chiefly a federal, rather than local responsibility.

These voters tend to be older (including a higher proportion of seniors), relatively lower education attainers and lower income earners. They are the most likely of any segment to describe themselves liberal, and they are less optimistic about the economy than Suburban Values or New Economy Democrats.

Pro-Government Democrats (15%)

Pro-government Democrats, simply put, are much more likely to support government involvement in solving problems. They are the only Democratic group that is evenly divided in its support and opposition to balancing the Federal budget as opposed to running a deficit if needed, to fund social programs – in all other segments, a majority support balancing the budget no matter what. These voters tend to be older, and low to middle income earners.

The pro-government Democrats typically also are seen as more liberal on social issues. They support for gay marriages, spousal health and other benefits for gay couples, abortion, and environmental issues.

Social Conservatives (19%)

Nearly two in ten Democrats are socially conservative on issues such as gay rights (which they strongly oppose), and the issue of restricting pornography (which a 60% majority favors). They are the most likely to support restricting limits on trade in order to protect American jobs. They are generally pro-military, but opposed to American intervention abroad. They are the least likely to support gun control.

They tend to favor limiting the size of the government safety net and to oppose changing the Social Security system, and a slight plurality of these voters believe affirmative action is no longer needed. They are also the only Democratic segment that is more likely to oppose environmental regulations as potentially harmful than to support them.

Social conservatives are among the lowest income and education attainment groups. They tend to be older, married, have children at home, and to regularly attend religious services.

Although they are the most heavily unionized segment of the Democratic party (32% are union members) they are the least likely to have voted for Clinton-Gore in 1996 and they are less committed to voting for a Democratic congressional candidate than are the other four segments of the Democratic party electorate – just four in ten (41%) say they will definitely vote for a Democratic candidate in next year's election.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 23, 1997

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Today, the First Lady and I are pleased to announce that on October 23, 1997, we will host the *White House Conference on Child Care*. The conference, which will take place at the White House, will examine the strengths and weaknesses of child care in America and explore how our nation can better respond to the needs of working families for affordable, high quality child care.

Over the past decade, the number of American families with working parents has expanded dramatically. Making high quality child care more affordable and accessible is critical to the strength of our families and to healthy child development and learning. It is also good for the economy and central to a productive American workforce.

This nation can and should do better. Each of us --from businesses to religious leaders to policy-makers and elected officials --has a responsibility and an important stake in making sure that children of all ages have the best possible care available to them. From infancy through adolescence, in child care settings and after-school programs, children can learn and thrive with the right care, attention, and education.

I hope that this conference will be the beginning of a national dialogue about how best to care for all of America's children and will make a valuable contribution to our effort to improve child care in this country.

-30-30-30-

MEMORANDUM TO WOMEN'S MEETING PARTICIPANTS

DATE: August 11, 1997
FROM: Kim Widdess
SUBJECT: Background Materials

The attached materials were distributed at the last Women's Meeting. These materials are NOT FOR EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION.

Thank you.