



Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

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THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS:
THE NEW POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

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FOREWORD

A full decade ago, Times Mirror embarked on an ambitious effort to learn more about what Americans think about the news media.

Seven years ago, we expanded the focus of the program in an attempt to bring greater precision to the language of politics and public opinion. We did this by identifying the beliefs and behaviors that underlie political labels and drive political action, and reported the results in *The People, The Press & Politics*.

We now further expand the effort by refining the measures we used to gauge voter values and attitudes. Analysis of those measures has led to the construction of a new typology of the American voter, which we present as *The New Political Landscape*.

We do this with the hope that the new study will help all of us to report more precisely and examine more astutely the political issues of our time, and thereby will help the American people make more informed choices as we approach the 21st Century.

Robert F. Erburu
Chairman, President and Chief Executive Officer
Times Mirror

INTRODUCTION

Reflecting a dramatically changed environment in America and the world, the voter typology which Times Mirror created in 1987 has been modified to make it more responsive to the new values and attitudes that affect voter behavior in 1994. We present it as "The People, The Press and Politics: The New Political Landscape."

Highlights of our findings are given in an Overview, followed by descriptions of the key building blocks of the new typology. The values and attitudes of the electorate are detailed in Section 1, and the trends in party identification and party attitudes in Section 2.

The new political typology, based on these values and political self-identification, is then presented in Section 3, including descriptions of nine different categories of voters dispersed across the right, center, and left of the political spectrum.

Viewed through the prism of the new typology, the consequences of the new political landscape are discussed in Section 4: priorities of the electorate; policy issues; voter intentions and judgments, including trial heats of possible presidential races; and public attitudes toward institutions, including the media, as well as organizations and movements.

A final section details the methodology by which we arrived at the typology. Addenda consist of the top-line results of the surveys and the questionnaires used in the polling.

Project participants included Larry Hugick as survey analyst; Robert C. Toth, editor; Carol Bowman, research director, Carolyn Miller, survey statistician, and Kim Parker, assistant research director.

Andrew Kohut
Director

THE NEW POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

The American electorate is angry, self absorbed, and politically unanchored. Thousands of interviews with American voters this summer find no clear direction in the public's political thinking other than frustration with the current system, and an eager responsiveness to alternative political solutions and appeals.

Times Mirror Center's longitudinal survey, designed to assess the electorate based on values and underlying attitudes, shows America's political road map less defined by partisan self identification than in the past. It also reveals that the new economic realities of the country have reshaped the center of the electorate.

Politically, the two party system is weaker than it was in the 1980s when Times Mirror began this series of public opinion studies. Specifically, the link between what people believe and their partisan ties is not nearly as strong now as it was then.

Times Mirror's new political typology finds Republicans more divided on basic values and political attitudes than in 1987. Tolerance issues and social class divisions are rending the GOP as cultural conservatism emerges as a more important drawing card for the party than economic conservatism. The religious right is but one of the divisive elements that confront the Republican party.

On the other hand, the historic schisms of the Democratic party between working class conservatives, liberals and disadvantaged groups continue to be underscored by racial issues. The Democratic party also faces a new challenge posed by younger New Democrats who are less antagonistic toward business, and more conservative on economic issues than traditional Democrats.

In this political environment, Independents will play an even more crucial role in the outcome of elections. The largest bloc of independent voters represent a post-industrial working class. Their deep skepticism of the political system is rooted in their struggle with the economic limitations they face. Their pattern of political beliefs is incompatible with a traditional partisan point of view. They are the sector of the electorate most drawn to a new third political party.

Many other Americans also are attracted to some alternative to the traditional two party system. The impact on the electorate of Ross Perot's independent candidacy two years ago is still quite apparent. Perot himself has yet to return to full public favor. But voters are expressing a great interest in candidates who are political outsiders, and the concept of a third political party is much more attractive to the electorate than it was in the early 1980s.

As a measure of this yearning for an outsider, Ross Perot, despite his tarnished image, garners as much support in a test election against Bill Clinton and Bob Dole as he did in the last presidential election. Furthermore, while the public has trouble picking between traditional politicians Dole and Clinton in a head-to-head matchup, non-pol Colin Powell wumps Bill Clinton by a 10 percentage point margin in a two-way race.

What Americans Believe

Voters frustration with the political system continues to grow, as does animosity toward the media. But the anger doesn't stop there. The public also has become more polarized on issues of social policy and cultural change. Increased indifference to the problems of the poor and minorities, resentment toward immigrants, and more cynicism about what government programs can achieve characterize the changed public disposition.

Times Mirror's political typology attempts to classify the public into homogeneous groups based upon the building blocks of political values, attitudes and partisan self identification. These foundations of the typology have been changing in important ways in recent years.

The Clinton Administration and the economic recovery have failed to stem the tide of political cynicism. The discontent with Washington that gained momentum in the late 1980s is even greater now than it was in 1992.

Increasingly, voters say they want traditional politicians to step aside as experience in politics is seen as a liability rather than a credential. Expressed support for a third political party is significantly greater than in the past.

Criticism of the news media, especially television news, is sharply higher. Most notably, a very large percentage of Americans (71%) think the press gets in the way of society solving its problems rather than helping solve problems (25%).

Voter attitudes are punctuated by increased indifference to the problems of blacks and poor people. And resentment toward immigrants is widespread.

Public distrust of the effectiveness of government is no less than it was during the Reagan era. In fact, Americans are more dubious about what government can achieve than they were when Ronald Reagan was leaving office.

Along the same lines, an early 1990s trend toward growing public support for social welfare programs has been reversed. The percentage of Americans thinking the government should take care of needy people fell by 12 percentage points between 1992 and 1994.

Similarly, attitudes toward race have changed direction once again. Times Mirror polls taken in 1992 after the Rodney King riots found for the first time a majority of whites thinking that black social progress had been halted. However, the current poll finds most whites again thinking that blacks continue to make social progress.

Issues of personal freedom and diversity continue to be divisive in America. Although in some ways the public is more accepting of homosexuality, Americans continue to split on whether it is a way of life that should be accepted or discouraged by society.

The public also remains doggedly two minded about social change. While the vast majority feels that women should not return to their traditional role in society, eight in ten say they have old fashioned values about family and marriage, and three in four think that too many children are sent to day care.

The Political Parties

Reflecting discontent with the Clinton Administration, the Republican party's sagging fortunes have been reversed somewhat, but the longer term structural changes observed in Times Mirror's surveys of 1987-1994 suggest that each party has failed as much as succeeded in adding meaningfully to its base.

Partisan Psychology

Over the past two years, the slight Democratic plurality in party affiliation has diminished even further. The percentage of Americans self identifying as Republican is somewhat greater than two years ago. But there is a decided improvement in the GOP's performance image. Americans once again see the Republican party compared to the Democrats as better organized, better managers of government and better at foreign policy. The Republican party has also been successful in positioning itself as champions of family values and moral/personal responsibility.

These gains notwithstanding, Americans are hard pressed to choose between the two parties on bottom line questions. For example, while the GOP is identified as the party of "virtue," it not seen as governing in a more honest or ethical way than the Democratic party. More importantly, neither party has a clear advantage on key dimensions such as selecting good candidates for office, or being able to bring about the kind of changes the country needs.

Partisan Sociology

The Times Mirror's seven year trend line based on over 50,000 interviews reveals a Republican party that squandered a significant advantage it held among young

people at the beginning of the Bush presidency. But in turn, Democrats have failed to win over on a more permanent basis the many young voters drawn to Bill Clinton via MTV in 1992. Today, neither party has an advantage with people under 30, or with voters 30-49, for that matter. The slight numerical nationwide advantage held by Democrats results from a lingering preference for the Democratic party among older voters still influenced by the Kennedy years, or more distantly, by the New Deal.

While neither party has captured the post-war generations, men and women have chosen up partisan sides. Perhaps the most enduring political legacy of the Reagan years is that identification with the Democratic party is today 11 percentage points higher among women than men. Race continues to matter, too. Although younger blacks like younger whites are not as drawn to the Democratic party as much as their parent's generation, there is no indication of black defections to the GOP since 1987. On the other hand, the GOP's temporary loss of advantage among whites in 1992-93 has been reversed as the political fortunes of the Clinton administration have fallen.

A New Political Typology

Times Mirror's system for classifying voters takes into account party affiliation, political values and attitudes, and measures of political participation. The method employed in the current study is comparable to the techniques used to develop previous typologies in this series. Through a statistical procedure homogeneous groups of people are created based on their responses to a battery of questions.

One of the most striking findings of the new survey is the declining role of the parties as a framework around which Americans organize their political thinking. Ross Perot's ability to capture almost one in five votes in the last presidential election sent a message to both parties that their traditional supporters could not be taken for granted. The new survey shows a widening divergence between party identification and political values. It reveals a political landscape transformed by demographic shifts in party allegiances, disillusionment with government, and growing anxiety about the future:

- At the grassroots level, the Democratic Party is depleted and dispirited. The party's traditional base has been sharply reduced by defection and its failure to attract more young people to replace the aging FDR coalition. Younger Democratic-oriented groups lack a strong commitment to the party and have conflicting views on race and moral issues.
- The Republican Party has expanded its base, but in the process may have limited its prospects for future growth. The influx of religious and cultural conservatives has moved

the party's center of gravity to the right, and there are signs that it is fragmenting over social tolerance issues.

- The largest group of Independent voters -- one-fifth of the electorate -- feels estranged from both major parties and is ready to bolt to a third party, given the opportunity.

The Divided Right

The current classification system observes three kinds of people oriented to the right of the political spectrum, or to the Republican party. Two of the three groups, *Enterprisers* and *Moralists*, hold similarly conservative values in many areas - but affluent Enterprisers are more conservative in economic, pro-business terms and they are more reliably Republican. Moralists are more numerous since many are Independents who only lean to the Republican party. They are somewhat more religious, much more intolerant and much more nationalistic. Yet Moralists are less doctrinaire about government dealing with social issues, and are critical of business.

Libertarians are the smallest group on the right. They are pro-business, and anti-government, but very tolerant, and not very religious. These well-educated voters are drifting away from the Republican party - attracted away by interest in an alternative political approach and pushed away in reaction to the Christian Right. (A majority of Evangelical Republicans are Moralists and one in four are classified as Enterprisers.)

The Detached Center

The middle of the political spectrum is dominated by an evolving swing group in American politics. *New Economy Independents* make up nearly one-fifth of the electorate. They are largely composed of high school graduates, under 50 years of age, who are under-employed and not optimistic about their job opportunities. Down on the political parties, their political values are conflicted in traditional terms. While opposed to government regulation, they are strong environmentalists. They believe in social welfare programs, yet are not sympathetic to blacks. They are nationalistic, but not militaristic, and although religious, they are moderate on social issues, such as homosexuality.

Politically they are the kind of Americans most attracted to a new political party. In 1992, three in ten voted for Ross Perot, and he still has great appeal to this constituency. Demographically, this financially pressured group is heavily female with particularly high concentrations of single mothers. More than two in three (68%) say they have jobs that pay them too little.

Embittereds are distrustful of the political system, and the power structure more broadly. They feel little personal empowerment, and have an even more difficult economic future than New Economy Independents. The Embittereds are socially intolerant and quite religious. A relatively small group in numbers, they include many blacks and other groups of disadvantaged

people. Many have children, and many are single parents with strong family concerns. Geographically they are concentrated in the Midwest and South.

Bystanders are democracy's hardcore dropouts. Young and poorly educated they express almost no interest in national issues or politics. They neither vote, nor care about most major issues of the day.

The Not So Left Side

As in the past, Times Mirror finds more variation in values on the left, or Democratic side of the spectrum. However, as on the right, only one group, The *Partisan Poor* can be considered hardcore party loyalists. Poor people who believe in the "system" and are strong advocates of government social programs are the bedrock of the Democratic party. This group contains many poorly educated, older blacks and whites who are critical of business, religious and intolerant.

New Dealers are also older and religious, but they are more nationalistic and better off financially. Strongly conservative on social issues and race, New Dealers are more often found in the South and in small towns. Their ties to the Democratic party are longstanding, but they have been unfaithful to the party many times in the past with Reagan, Bush, and most recently, Ross Perot.

New Democrats have less of a Democratic tradition. They are strong environmentalists, but moderate on most other issues. They are less critical of business and other institutions than most other Democrats usually are. They are middle age, middle income and middle brow. While they tend to support social welfare programs, they are not particularly sympathetic to the problems of blacks. Not fully comfortable as Democrats, many supported George Bush in 1988. New Democrats are not strongly enthusiastic about Bill Clinton's performance.

Seculars think like Democrats, vote Democratic, but like to call themselves Independents. Socially tolerant, not religious, they have a positive attitude toward both minorities and immigrants. Distrustful of corporate America, these younger better educated voters are not reluctant to embrace the liberal label. Most often found on the East and West Coasts, they are strong environmentalists and are Bill Clinton loyalists.

Implications and Other Findings

The new voter typology presents a different picture of party electoral strength than was seen seven years ago. In 1987, core Democratic groups made up 41% of likely voters, while core GOP groups accounted for 30%. GOP advantages in party loyalty and turnout among its core constituencies and its greater appeal to Independent voters were found to shift the balance of electoral strength toward de facto parity.

After the partisan de-alignment of the last decade, loyalist Democrats no longer outnumber loyalist Republicans. In the new typology, the three Republican-oriented groups on

the right account for 36% of all registered voters. The four Democratic-oriented groups add up to 34%. The slight Democratic advantage in party identification still evident in surveys now depends on the leanings of two Independent-oriented groups, both dissatisfied with the state of the nation and Clinton's job performance.

The greater enthusiasm for the party and its candidates still evident on the Republican side is even more significant now that the Democrats' numeric edge is history -- and may help explain its nearly unbroken GOP record of success in local elections since Clinton took office.

- The size and character of the New Economy Independents category gives testimony to the sustained political importance of the jobs issue. In that regard, the current survey shows voters continuing to say that President Clinton should give as much priority to improving the jobs situation as to crime, and higher priority to jobs than health care reform and other top issues. The difficult wage problems of the post-industrial working class are an important reason why the current economic recovery has paid no political dividends to Bill Clinton.
- Voters with all types of political beliefs are attracted to outsiders in politics and to the idea of a new third political party. However, New Economy Independents are the most disposed in this direction, based on past behavior and current attitudes. Perot garnered nearly 30% of the vote among this group of voters and two-thirds favor a third party.
- In the future, class may divide the Republican party as much as religion seems to now. Moralists Independents drawn to the party on cultural grounds are suspicious of business and more open than traditional Republicans to social welfarism. For example, in the current health care reform debate most Enterprisers oppose an employer mandate while most Moralists favor this approach.
- Only a small group of voters, Seculars, embrace a full set of liberal beliefs including: tolerance, a sympathetic view of minorities, a belief in government solutions to social problems, and strong environmentalism. But hardline business-oriented conservatives, Enterprisers, are only somewhat more numerous. Libertarians who are the most ideologically pure are also the smallest group in the voter classification scheme.
- New Economy Independents are the most important swing constituency by virtue of size and character, but other groups in the electorate are also volatile. The moderate tone of New Democrats make them susceptible to Republican appeals. This is also a group that is not particularly sympathetic to poor people and minority groups. On the right, the strongly held values of Libertarians are not consistent with party loyalty.

- The Times Mirror Survey finds few indications of generational politics, other than the broad distinctions made between the pre-World War II, and post-World War II generations. Middle age Americans, and those under 30 years old are not distinguished clearly from one another in political terms. Unlike in 1987, the analysis does not find a cluster of political values explicitly connected to the political and social revolts of the '60s, nor does it reveal a Generation X style of political thinking.
- As with partisanship, gender is a more important factor in political thinking than generation. Every group on the right is dominated by men, and all other groups, except the conservative New Dealers, contain more women. Men are more critical of government, less compassionate, and more disposed to the use of military force. Women are more tolerant of cultural diversity, but less supportive of freedom of expression. Women are more financially pressured than men, and they constitute 60% of the underemployed New Economy Independent category.
- While there is little variation in the partisanship of African Americans nationwide, Times Mirror's analysis found substantial numbers of blacks in four very different values categories. The largest number are the Partisan Poor (26%) who have faith in the "system," and rely on the Democratic party. This group included many older blacks. A significant number of poor blacks (16%) who have less faith in the system fell into the Embittered category. Middle class blacks are most often in the New Democrat category. Compared to other blacks, they hold much more conservative views, particularly on economic issues. Sixteen percent of blacks were classified as New Democrats, which was the same percentage of blacks that were categorized as New Economy Independents.

TYPOLGY GROUP PROFILES

THE DIVIDED RIGHT

ENTERPRISERS

ORIGINAL TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Enterprisers

10% OF ADULT POPULATION

12% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 74% Republican; 21% Independent, Lean Republican

COMMENTS: This fiercely partisan Republican group's politics are driven by economic issues, but Enterprisers are also generally sympathetic to the religious right's social issue agenda. Enterprisers are more vocal and politically active than any other group.

DEFINING VALUES: Anti-government, pro-business and anti-social welfare, with a strong faith in America. Not environmentalist. Moderate to low in social tolerance.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>ENTERPRISERS</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>		
Government is almost always wasteful & inefficient.	66	86
Most Corporations make a fair & reasonable amount of profit.	43	88
The Government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy.	47	81

WHO THEY ARE: Predominately white (97%), male (60%) and middle-aged. Married (70%), college educated (63%), relatively affluent and financially secure.

WHERE THEY LIVE: Dispersed by region, but more prevalent in suburbia.

MEDIA HABITS: More likely to read business magazines, watch TV news and listen to radio news and talk radio. Enterprisers are Rush Limbaugh's core radio audience and generally dislike the national news media.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Tends to follow the financial markets and use personal computers. A civic-minded group inclined to do volunteer work for charity.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Knows more and cares more about politics than any other group. Has the highest voter registration, political participation and vocalization rates.

1992 VOTE: 78% Bush, 14% Perot, 6% Clinton

KEY ISSUES: Pro-business views are evident in solid opposition to health care reform with employer mandates and tax increases to reduce the deficit; also in solid support for free trade agreements and reducing the capital gains tax. Enterprisers are more conservative on social issues than might be expected, expressing strong disapproval of federally-funded abortions and solid support for a school prayer amendment.

HEROES: Ronald Reagan, Colin Powell, Rush Limbaugh

HIGH NEGATIVES: Bill and Hillary Clinton, Ted Kennedy, Louis Farrakhan, gay rights activists

MORALISTS

ORIGINAL TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Moralists

18% OF ADULT POPULATION

20% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 65% Republican; 27% Independent, Lean Republican

COMMENTS: The size of this group has almost doubled since 1987, as more religious and cultural conservatives -- many of them former Democrats -- have identified with the GOP. They are drawn to the party as a defender of traditional moral values.

DEFINING VALUES: Religious, socially intolerant and opposed to social welfare. Militaristic and xenophobic. Critical of big business as well as big government.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MORALISTS</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>		
Government is almost always wasteful & inefficient.	66	71
Business corporations make too much profit.	52	60
Homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged by society.	49	79

WHO THEY ARE: Predominately white (95%), middle-aged and married (66%). Average incomes and education levels. Four in ten are white Evangelical Protestants, more than are found in any other typology group.

WHERE THEY LIVE: More numerous in the Midwest, South and rural America

MEDIA HABITS: Reads newspapers, tunes into TV and radio news at average rates. Listens to Rush Limbaugh at above average rates.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: One of the groups most likely to attend Bible study or prayer group meetings and visit shopping malls

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Moderately high attentiveness to politics and voter turnout. Average political knowledge and vocalization.

1992 VOTE: 66% Bush, 20% Perot, 14% Clinton

KEY ISSUES: Strongly favors a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in the schools and mandatory sentencing for violent criminals ("three strikes and you're out"). Solidly disapproves of permitting gays to serve openly in the military and using government funds to pay for abortions.

HEROES: Ronald Reagan, Colin Powell

HIGH NEGATIVES: Gay rights activists

LIBERTARIANS

ORIGINAL TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Enterprisers crossed with Seculars

4% OF ADULT POPULATION

4% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 54% Republican; 28% Independent, Lean Republican

COMMENTS: Has a Republican lineage and voting history, yet is not completely comfortable with the party. The extremism of the religious right registers as a major source of dissatisfaction. Many defected to Perot in 1992. A majority are now receptive to the idea of a third major party.

DEFINING VALUES: Pro-business, anti-government and anti-social welfare but highly tolerant and moderately environmentalist. Scores very low on religious faith and has a cynical view of politicians.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>LIBERTARIANS</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>		
Government is almost always wasteful & inefficient.	66	84
Most corporations make a fair & reasonable amount of profit.	43	80
Public school libraries should be allowed to carry any books they want.	51	76

WHO THEY ARE: Predominately white (97%) and male (73%). Highly educated, affluent and financially secure. One of the groups least likely to have children under 18.

WHERE THEY LIVE: More numerous in suburban communities and the far West.

MEDIA HABITS: High readership rates for business magazines. Above average rates for newspaper readership and radio news consumption. Cable television (CNN, C-Span) is a preferred source for news and information.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Enjoys the outdoors (hiking, camping), but also likes to go out to movies, concerts and nightclubs. Tends to closely follow the financial markets and use personal computers at home.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Scores high in attentiveness to politics and political knowledge, but votes at only average rates.

1992 VOTE: 52% Bush, 27% Perot, 20% Clinton

KEY ISSUES: Takes fiscally conservative positions in favor of cutting the capital gains tax and limiting welfare benefits; rejects new taxes as a means of deficit reduction. But has socially liberal views on the issues of federally-funded abortions and gays in the military. No group is more supportive (88%) of term limitations for members of Congress.

HEROES: Colin Powell

HIGH NEGATIVES: Ted Kennedy, Louis Farrakhan, Jerry Falwell

THE DETACHED CENTER

NEW ECONOMY INDEPENDENTS

ORIGINAL TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: None

18% OF ADULT POPULATION

19% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 52% Independent, 27% Democrat, 17% Republican

COMMENTS: Not anchored in either major party, these are the most important swing voters in the new electorate. While most of them have jobs, their middle class status seems precarious in the post-industrial economy, and the future uncertain, at best. Unreceptive to traditional partisan appeals, New Economy Independents were one of Perot's two best groups in 1992. Today it is the group most supportive of a third major party.

DEFINING VALUES: Characterized by conflicting values. Not believers in government regulation but strongly environmentalist. Pro-social welfare but not especially sympathetic to the problems of blacks. Somewhat xenophobic, but with a very low militancy level. Associate themselves with fundamental religious beliefs, yet are highly tolerant of homosexuality.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>NEW ECONOMY INDEPENDENTS</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>		
Most elected officials don't care what people like me think.	64	84
Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good.	54	68
Stricter environmental regulations are worth the cost.	62	79

WHO THEY ARE: Mostly female, young to middle aged, and employed. Less likely to own their homes; more likely to be divorced. Despite an average income level, it is a very financially pressured group. Four in ten are working women; 11% are single mothers. Includes some white collar professionals as well as low-to-mid-level service workers.

WHERE THEY LIVE: Widely dispersed, but somewhat less prevalent in the South.

MEDIA HABITS: Average in newspaper readership, TV and radio news consumption.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Somewhat more likely to read books for pleasure, go out to nightclubs.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Slightly below average rates of interest in public affairs, political knowledge and vocalization. Only about a third claim to always vote.

1992 VOTE: 45% Clinton, 29% Perot, 24% Bush

KEY ISSUES: Split its vote in 1992, but endorses much of the Clinton political agenda. Solidly supports health care reform with employer mandates, stricter gun control laws, new government spending for job training programs and gay rights to serve in the military. Also favors federal funding of abortions, mandatory sentencing for violent criminals and Congressional term limitations.

HEROES: No real political heroes, but gives above average ratings to Jesse Jackson, Ross Perot and Al Gore.

HIGH NEGATIVES: Jerry Falwell

BYSTANDERS

ORIGINAL TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Bystanders

8% OF ADULT POPULATION

0% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 52% Independent, 24% Democrat, 15% Republican

COMMENTS: These are Americans who chose not to participate in the political system or are not eligible to do so (non-citizens).

DEFINING VALUES: Despite their lack of interest in politics and public affairs, this group claims a commitment to environmentalism.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>BYSTANDERS</u>
<u>Key Characteristics:</u>		
Follow what's going on in government and public affairs only now & then/hardly at all.	21	57
Votes seldom/never.	15	99

WHO THEY ARE: Extremely young (51% under 30), and somewhat more female (58%), with high concentrations of Hispanics (11%). One of the least well educated, poorest and most financially pressured groups.

WHERE THEY LIVE: Widely dispersed, but somewhat less prevalent in the Midwest.

MEDIA HABITS: Very low rates of news consumption, especially newspaper readership.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: The group most likely to go out to nightclubs; high viewership of TV soap operas.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Most in this group are completely uninformed about politics. Political participation and vocalization is virtually zero.

1992 VOTE: 96% didn't vote.

KEY ISSUES: Less likely to favor harsh measures targeted at illegal immigrants.

HEROES: None

HIGH NEGATIVES: Tobacco companies

THE EMBITTERED

ORIGINAL TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: None

7% OF ADULT POPULATION

7% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 39% Independent; 36% Democrat; 16% Republican

COMMENTS: This very poor group with family ties to the Democratic Party lacks the Partisan Poor's faith in the party to better their lives. Many of the Embittered also have doubts about the competence of Bill Clinton and the Democrats and feel estranged from the party on moral issues. Few of these struggling people, however, feel welcome in the GOP, the party associated with the rich and powerful.

DEFINING VALUES: Distrusts government, politicians and corporations. Religious and socially intolerant. Believes strongly that discrimination is the major barrier to black progress, but is not a strong proponent of social welfare programs.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>THE EMBITTERED</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>		
Government is almost always wasteful & inefficient.	66	73
Most elected officials don't care what people like me think.	64	86
Hard work & determination are no guarantee of success for most people.	30	44
Business corporations make too much profit.	52	60

WHO THEY ARE: A low-income, very financially pressured group with low levels of education. About one-fourth are African-American. Middle aged, with family responsibilities. Four in ten have children under 18; 11% are single mothers. Although more likely to be labor union members, the Embittered tend to work at low-skill, low-wage jobs.

WHERE THEY LIVE: Most live in the Midwest and Southern regions, and in small cities, towns or rural areas.

MEDIA HABITS: Average readership of newspapers; average viewership of TV news.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: One of the groups most likely to attend Bible study or prayer group meetings and attend religious services on a regular basis. Gospel music and jazz have special appeal.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Registers to vote at average rates, but rates below average in voter turnout, political knowledge and vocalization.

1992 VOTE: 51% Clinton, 27% Bush, 21% Perot,

KEY ISSUES: Solidly favors a school prayer amendment; opposes government funding of abortions. Divided on the issue of gays in the military.

HEROES: JFK

HIGH NEGATIVES: Insurance companies, MTV, Rush Limbaugh

THE "NOT SO" LEFT

SECULARS

OLD TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Seculars

9% OF ADULT POPULATION

10% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 46% Democrat; 31% Independent, Lean Democrat

COMMENTS: The only group to embrace the "liberal" label and to report voting for Dukakis in 1988, it has Democratic values and is driven by social issues. The association of the religious and cultural conservatives with the GOP makes that party a much less attractive alternative. Still, many Seculars prefer to distance themselves from partisan politics and call themselves Independents.

DEFINING VALUES: The most socially tolerant group. Very low expression of religious faith and church attendance. Sympathetic toward minorities and immigrants. Not politically alienated and moderately pro-government; distrusting of large corporations. Has a very low militancy level and a strong commitment to the environment.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SECULARS</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>		
I don't believe we will have to answer for our sins on Judgment Day.	16	73
Racial discrimination is the main reason why black people can't get ahead these days.	32	62
Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society.	46	91

WHO THEY ARE: Mostly white (90%); primarily baby boomers and members of Generation X (76% under 50). Highly educated and affluent, but less financially secure than GOP-oriented upscale groups. Less likely to be home owners and have children under 18. More than a third have never married; 11% are Jewish.

WHERE THEY LIVE: Concentrated in cities and suburbs on the East and West coasts.

MEDIA HABITS: Tends to rely more on newspapers and radio for news and information. This is National Public Radio's core audience. Not much of a TV news group, but scores high in viewership of MacNeil-Lehrer and C-Span.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: A sophisticated group with varied interests. Nearly half have home computers. Most likely to exercise regularly, read books for pleasure and attend theater or classical music concerts. Four in ten see movies regularly. Musical tastes include contemporary rock, classical and jazz. Reflecting their social conscience, over half (56%) do volunteer work for charity.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Voter turnout and registration rates are above average. Political knowledge is high, but not as high as upscale Republican groups. Interest in public affairs is only slightly above average; average in its political vocalization.

1992 VOTE: 72% Clinton, 14% Perot, 11% Bush

KEY ISSUES: No group is more supportive of government funding for abortions; no group is more opposed to a school prayer amendment. Also strongly supports gun control legislation and gay rights. Gives overwhelming support to new government spending for job training programs. Supports free trade agreements.

HEROES: Hillary Rodham Clinton

HIGH NEGATIVES: Rush Limbaugh, Jerry Falwell, Oliver North, Louis Farrakhan, tobacco companies

NEW DEMOCRATS

ORIGINAL TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: A Democratic version of the Upbeats

10% OF ADULT POPULATION

8% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 62% Democrat; 19% Independent, Lean Democrat

COMMENTS: A group targeted by Bill Clinton when he launched his presidential campaign. Most of these middle class moderates voted for Bush in '88, but switched to Clinton in '92. Clinton has failed to win them over as President, however, and they are not strongly committed to the Democratic Party.

DEFINING VALUES: More favorable toward business than other Democratic groups, and differs with party liberals on race, rejecting discrimination as the major barrier to black progress. Their pro-government and environmentalist views, however, are at home in the party. Religious, but not intolerant.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>NEW DEMOCRATS</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>		
Most corporations make a fair & reasonable amount of profit.	43	66
Government often does a better job than people give it credit for.	31	69
Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition.	59	70

WHO THEY ARE: Mostly female (60%); includes a somewhat higher proportion of racial minorities (18%) than the population at large. The Democratic-oriented group most likely to be married with children, and to own their homes. Tend to work in health care, education and social service occupations. Only average in household income and education, but feels low financial pressure. Includes nearly equal proportions of white Evangelical Protestants (24%) and white Catholics (25%).

WHERE THEY LIVE: Widely dispersed by region and type of community.

MEDIA HABITS: About average in newspaper readership and TV news viewership rates. Above average viewership of shows like 60 Minutes and 20/20, tabloid TV shows like Hard Copy, and MTV. Reads supermarket tabloids.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Somewhat more likely to attend Bible study meetings, watch TV soaps, and go to shopping malls.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Very low political knowledge and vocalization rates. Registers at above average rates but is only average in voter turnout.

1992 VOTE: 68% Clinton, 15% Perot, 15% Bush

KEY ISSUES: Sides with the majority on most issues. Belief in government activism, however, is evident in above average support for health care reform with employer mandates and new government spending for job training programs. Also more supportive of gun control legislation and using military force in Haiti.

HEROES: Hillary Rodham Clinton, Colin Powell

HIGH NEGATIVES: Rush Limbaugh

NEW DEALERS

ORIGINAL TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: New Dealers

7% OF ADULT POPULATION

8% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 82% Democrat; 12% Lean Democrat

COMMENTS: Once a key part of FDR's New Deal coalition, and a beneficiary of government programs for the elderly, this group is nonetheless disenchanted with today's politics, and is more disapproving of Clinton's job performance than other Democratic-oriented groups. Its numbers have been depleted by aging and the postwar shift to the GOP.

DEFINING VALUES: Differs sharply from other Democratic-oriented groups in their strongly conservative views on race and social welfare programs. Strong in religious belief; moderate in social tolerance. "Peace through strength" and "my country right or wrong" still ring true even after the fall of Soviet Communism. Holds some faith in government as a force for good but distrusts politicians and big business.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>NEW DEALERS</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>		
Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own conditions.	59	83
Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return.	53	66
The best way to ensure peace is through military strength.	36	56

WHO THEY ARE: The oldest group in the new electorate (average age is 56 years); one-third are over 65. High concentrations of labor union members; one of the groups most likely to have manufacturing jobs. Three-quarters have no college training. Have very low income levels but feel only moderate financial pressure.

WHERE THEY LIVE: More numerous in the South, and in small towns and rural areas.

MEDIA HABITS: Above average newspaper readership and TV news viewership rates. Enjoys watching 60 Minutes and other TV newsmagazines as well as Hard Copy and other tabloid TV shows.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Country/Western music is a strong favorite. One of the groups least likely to own personal computers.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Limited political knowledge and interest in public affairs. Political vocalization is below average. But only the Enterprisers turn out to vote at higher rates.

1992 VOTE: 69% Clinton, 17% Perot, 13% Bush

KEY ISSUES: Strongly supports the use of military force, if necessary, to stop North Korea from developing nuclear weapons. Favors a school prayer amendment and opposes federally-funded abortions. Favors health care reform with employer mandates.

HEROES: JFK, FDR, Jimmy Carter, Al Gore

HIGH NEGATIVES: Jerry Falwell

PARTISAN POOR

OLD TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Partisan Poor

7% OF ADULT POPULATION

8% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 89% Democrat; 10% Independent, Lean Democrat

COMMENTS: Another aging group with its roots in FDR's New Deal coalition. These disadvantaged Americans are the kind of people who have been targets of Democratic social programs. It is the group most loyal to Bill Clinton and the Democrats today.

DEFINING VALUES: Strongly believes more government spending is needed to help the poor. Sees discrimination holding back black progress. Displays a high level of militancy. Big business is viewed negatively; government is seen as an ally. Very religious and socially intolerant.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>PARTISAN POOR</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>		
The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if means going deeper into debt.	48	74
Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days.	32	61
Business corporations make too much profit.	52	77

WHO THEY ARE: Very poor (44% have household incomes under \$20,000) and financially pressured. Nearly three-fourths have never been to college; 41% are non-white. The second oldest typology group, with an average age of 52 years. A heavily blue collar group, it includes skilled tradesmen, construction workers and service workers.

WHERE THEY LIVE: Nearly half (46%) live in the South.

MEDIA HABITS: A television-dependent group. High viewership of TV news magazines like 60 Minutes, tabloid TV shows like Hard Copy, and MTV. Less likely to read daily newspapers but more likely to read supermarket tabloids.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: More likely to attend Bible study meetings, watch TV soaps, and go to shopping malls. Gospel music and R & B have special appeal.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Very low political knowledge and vocalization rates. But registers and votes at average to above average rates.

1992 VOTE: 82% Clinton, 9% Perot, 8% Bush

KEY ISSUES: Strongly favors new government spending for job training programs; the group most opposed to placing limits on welfare. Solidly supports health care reform with employer mandates; strongly favors a school prayer amendment.

HEROES: JFK, FDR, Jimmy Carter, Bill and Hillary Clinton

HIGH NEGATIVES: Rush Limbaugh

SECTION 1: POLITICAL VALUES AND ATTITUDES

The political values and attitudes held by the American electorate, which we have followed closely in Times Mirror surveys for seven years, are among the keystones of the new typology.

The Anti-Politics, Anti-Government Mood

One of the most significant changes we have seen in American political attitudes over the last seven years is the sharp increase in alienation, cynicism and general discontent with the political system. While substantial majorities of the public expressed distrust and displeasure with government and politicians in our 1987 survey, we have seen a significant intensification of those feelings in recent years. Today an anti-government mood pervades nearly all segments of the public and characterizes much of the public discourse on politics and policy.

By some measures, the public is feeling more negative toward government and further alienated politically than even two years ago. Our 1994 survey found only 33% of the public agreeing that most elected officials care what people like them think, down from 36% in 1992 and 47% in 1987. More strikingly, only 42% now say they believe the government is really run for the benefit of all people, compared to 57% in 1987 -- a 15-point drop.

Widespread political alienation has given rise to a new emphasis on what might be called "outsiderism:" the belief that new leaders are better than old ones and that experience in politics is more a vice than a virtue. In 1994, 60% of those surveyed agreed that we need new people in Washington, even if they are not effective and experienced politicians. This compares to 44% who agreed in 1987.

In 1992, Ross Perot rode the public wave of distrust and managed to win more votes for president than any independent or third party candidate since Theodore Roosevelt. That year also saw the highest number of voluntary retirements from the House of Representatives in the post-war era and the lowest reelection rate in the House since the watershed 1974 election. This evidence of how the public's political attitudes impact election returns suggests comparable results may be forthcoming in 1994.

The personal and political scandals which have become so much the focus of the media's coverage of politics and government reinforce the public's already cynical views. Congressional check bouncing, Whitewater, Paula Corbin Jones, and Dan Rostenkowski are only a sampling of scandalous political stories that have contributed to the widespread distrust and hostility toward national politicians in recent years.

POLITICAL ALIENATION

Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly

	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
Agree	73	76	78	84	83
Completely	22	26	30	35	39
Disagree	24	22	19	15	16
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
Most elected officials care what people like me think					
Agree	47	47	44	36	33
Disagree	49	51	53	62	66
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100
The government is really run for the benefit of all the people					
Agree	57	53	52	44	42
Disagree	39	44	45	54	57
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Voting gives people like me some say about how government runs things					
Agree	78	75	73	N/A	66
Completely	23	26	23	N/A	24
Disagree	19	23	25	N/A	32
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	N/A	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100		100
People like me don't have any say about what the government does					
Agree	52	55	57	50	54
Disagree	46	44	42	49	46
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.22. a,b,c,d and m)

<i>OUTSIDERISM</i>	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
It is time for Washington politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders					
Agree	62	68	61	84	79
Completely	16	26	21	38	34
Disagree	29	25	30	14	18
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100
We need new people in Washington even if they are not effective as experienced politicians					
Agree	44	51	47	56	60
Disagree	48	43	47	41	38
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.22q and v)

Elected officials are not the only group who are the focus of public anger and dissatisfaction. Federal agencies and their employees are also held in lower esteem by most Americans now than a decade ago. Nearly 70% of the public now believes that something run by the government is

usually inefficient and wasteful, that the federal government controls too much of our daily lives, and that dealing with a government agency is often not worth the trouble.

BUREAUCRACY

When something is run by the government
it is usually inefficient and wasteful

	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
Agree	63	66	67	70	69
Disagree	31	29	29	28	30
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The federal government controls too
much of our daily lives

Agree	58	61	62	64	69
Disagree	37	36	34	34	30
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Dealing with a federal government agency
is often not worth the trouble

Agree	58	63	65	64	69
Disagree	32	31	28	31	28
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Government regulation of business usually
does more harm than good

Agree	55	57	58	61	63
Disagree	34	35	33	33	33
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.22i, k, l and r)

Increased cynicism, mistrust and alienation, however, have not diminished the electorate's belief in the importance of voting or its interest in politics and national affairs. If anything, people seem energized by their anger. They show, for example, a greater interest in politics and a greater willingness to participate now than in 1987. Sixty-six percent of the respondents to our 1994 survey said they "completely agree" it is their duty as a citizen to always vote, compared to 46% who felt that way in 1987.

Furthermore, there was a modest increase in voter turnout in the 1992 presidential election: just over 55% of the public voted in '92, compared to 50% in 1988. And, as a 1992 post-election Times Mirror survey revealed, the American electorate felt better about itself and better about the campaign process than it had four years earlier.

**VOTING AND INTEREST
IN POLITICS**

I feel it's my duty as a citizen
to always vote

	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
Agree	85	88	85	91	93
Completely	46	56	50	69	66
Disagree	12	9	13	8	7
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

I'm interested in keeping up
with national affairs

Agree	81	86	82	91	89
Completely	28	39	33	51	46
Disagree	15	12	16	8	11
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

I'm pretty interested in
following local politics

Agree	70	72	70	73	76
Completely	16	21	17	26	24
Disagree	26	27	29	26	23
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

I feel guilty when I don't
get a chance to vote

Agree	66	69	67	69	70
Completely	25	32	30	39	38
Disagree	28	26	30	25	27
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.52u, v, x and z)

Economic Attitudes And Faith In America

The ups and downs experienced by the U.S. economy over the past seven years are understandably reflected in the public's views on personal finances, as well as its faith in America's economic future.

Today 64% of Americans say they are pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for them financially. Fifty-eight percent felt that way in 1990 and in 1992 when the economy was in recession. While 53% of the public agreed that money was one of their most important concerns in 1990, only 40% say they feel that way in 1994. And the percentage of respondents who said they often don't have enough money to make ends meet fell from 52% in 1992 to 43% in 1994.

Despite the overall improvement in the personal financial picture of Americans since 1992, some groups have fared worse than others. Younger Americans (age 18-29), for example, are most likely to say they often don't have enough money to make ends meet, and least likely to

be satisfied with the way things are going for them financially. This group also shows much less positive change in attitudes from 1992 to 1994 than do other age groups.

While minorities, including blacks, feel better about their personal financial circumstances now compared to two years ago, they continue to express more negative attitudes in this regard than the public overall. Only 44% of non-whites (blacks, Asians and others) said they are satisfied with the way things are going for them financially this year, compared to 64% of all respondents; and while 43% of the public said they often don't have enough money to make ends meet, 55% of non-whites feel that way.

PERSONAL FINANCES

I'm pretty well satisfied with the way
Things are going for me financially

	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
Agree	63	65	58	58	64
Disagree	35	34	41	41	35
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Money is one of my most important
concerns

	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
Agree	47	52	53	N/A	40
Disagree	51	47	46	N/A	60
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	N/A	*
Total	100	100	100		100

I often don't have enough money to
make ends meet.

	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
Agree	43	45	47	52	43
Disagree	55	54	52	47	56
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

PERSONAL FINANCES

I'm pretty well satisfied
with the way things are
going for me financially

	Total		18-29		30-49		50+	
	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994
Agree	57	64	54	53	52	63	65	72
Disagree	42	35	46	47	47	37	33	26
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*	*	<u>1</u>	*	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

I often don't have
enough money to make
ends meet

	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994
Agree	52	43	54	49	54	43	50	39
Disagree	47	56	45	51	45	56	48	61
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	*
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.52r, s and t)

In addition to looking at people's attitudes toward their personal finances, we also measured their faith in America's economic future. American exceptionalism clearly goes beyond mere economic considerations, but attitudes in that regard are related, at least in part, to trends in the economy and the public's sense of economic well-being.

Large majorities of the public continue to believe that as Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want. Sixty-eight percent expressed that sentiment in 1994, an equal proportion did so in 1987.

Faith in the future growth and prosperity of the U.S. was shaken somewhat by the early '90s recession and the economic anxiety resulting from widespread corporate restructuring. That faith appears to have rebounded marginally since then but has not returned to pre-recession levels. In 1994, 62% of the public agree that there are no real limits to national economic growth, compared to 58% in 1992 and 67% in 1987.

AMERICAN

EXCEPTIONALISM

As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want

	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
Agree	68	66	65	66	68
Disagree	28	30	30	32	30
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

I don't believe that there are any real limits to growth in this country today

Agree	67	64	65	58	62
Disagree	28	32	30	38	36
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.22t and u)

Those living in the East -- where the recession hit particularly hard -- are among the most pessimistic about our ability as a nation to solve the problems we face today. Middle income Americans express more pessimistic attitudes about future growth in this country than do those in the upper and lower income brackets.

AMERICAN

EXCEPTIONALISM

As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want

	Total		East		Midwest		South		West	
	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994
Agree	66	68	67	60	65	70	67	71	67	67
Disagree	32	30	32	38	33	26	31	27	31	33
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>*</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

	<i>Total</i>		<i>< \$30K</i>		<i>\$30-49,999</i>		<i>\$50K+</i>	
	<i>1992</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1994</i>
I don't believe that there are any real limits to growth in this country today								
Agree	59	61	56	61	61	55	61	65
Disagree	37	37	38	36	38	43	37	34
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Despite the prolonged recession and widespread layoffs resulting from corporate downsizing, the public's attitudes toward big business have remained stable and relatively positive. Today some 78% agree that the strength of this country is mostly based on the success of American business; 26% completely agree. While majorities still believe there is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies and that business corporations make too much profit, fewer feel that way today than was the case in the late 1980s.

BUSINESS ATTITUDES

The strength of this country is mostly based on the success of American business

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1994</i>
Agree	76	79	77	78	78
Completely	16	25	20	24	26
Disagree	19	17	17	20	20
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public interest

Agree	43	42	43	40	45
Disagree	48	52	50	56	53
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies

Agree	77	79	77	77	73
Completely	27	35	29	30	31
Disagree	18	17	18	21	26
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
Business corporations make too much profit					
Agree	65	65	63	60	61
Disagree	28	29	30	34	35
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.22h, n, o and p)

Attitudes On Race And Social Welfare

Racial attitudes have changed considerably over the past several years -- moving first in the direction of heightened concern for and awareness of the plight of black Americans, but more recently, changing direction.

In 1992, most whites said they agreed that in the past few years, there had not been much real improvement in the position of blacks in this country. This finding came in the wake of the Rodney King trial and verdict and the ensuing racial riots in Los Angeles. It represented a 23 percentage point increase from 1987, when only 31% of whites agreed there had been no real improvement in the position of blacks.

What we see in 1994 is that, without a new King case, whites are less apt to express concern or sympathy for the condition of blacks in this country. Forty-four percent of whites now say that there has been no real improvement for blacks, down from 54% in 1992. Black attitudes have shifted somewhat on this question, although by large majorities, blacks see no real improvement over time. Seventy-three percent of blacks in 1994 say they've seen no real improvement in their own position in recent years, up from 69% in 1987 but down from 82% in 1992 (perhaps reflecting the King episode).

This year for the first time in our seven year series, a majority of whites (51%) say they agree that equal rights have been pushed too far in this country; in 1992, only 42% agreed. Interestingly, the attitudes of blacks appear to be moving in the same direction. Today one out of four blacks agree we've gone too far in pushing equal rights. This represents a significant increase from the 16% who felt that way in 1987.

Only 25% of whites believe we should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment -- down from the 29% who agreed in 1992. Sixty-two percent of blacks see preferential treatment as an acceptable means for improving their own position, the lowest level since we first asked the question in 1987, though still a strong majority.

The biggest change we found in racial attitudes is a 22-point leap in the public's acceptance of interracial dating. In 1987, 43% of whites agreed it is all right for blacks and whites to date each other; in 1994, 65% agree. Younger whites continue to be more accepting of interracial dating than do older whites. Eight-five percent of 18-24 year olds agree interracial dating is all right, compared to 36% of those 65 and older. College graduates are among the most likely to

approve of interracial dating, while those with less than a high school education are among the least likely to approve.

***RACIAL TOLERANCE
(BASED ON WHITES)***

We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1994</i>
Agree	46	47	45	42	51
Disagree	49	49	50	55	47
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of blacks in this country

Agree	31	33	33	54	44
Disagree	63	63	63	42	51
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities , even if it means giving them preferential treatment

Agree	18	20	17	29	25
Disagree	78	77	79	68	73
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other

Agree	43	45	45	61	65
Disagree	51	50	48	35	32
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.39d, i, j and k)

***RACIAL TOLERANCE
(BASED ON BLACKS)***

We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country

	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
Agree	16	22	25	21	26
Disagree	81	76	74	78	74
Completely	45	47	47	60	52
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of blacks in this country

Agree	69	70	73	82	73
Completely	28	37	31	51	32
Disagree	29	28	25	17	27
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

We should make ever possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment

Agree	64	70	68	67	62
Completely	28	28	33	38	36
Disagree	31	27	31	28	38
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>*</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other

Agree	72	78	78	81	88
Completely	27	40	35	48	52
Disagree	18	18	19	12	11
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q39d, i, j and k)

Attitudes on welfare, social justice and self reliance also appear to have changed dramatically in recent years. While 9 out of 10 Americans still agree that our society should do what is necessary to make sure everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed, there has been a significant decline in support for social welfare programs.

Fifty-seven percent of respondents in our 1994 survey agreed it is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who cannot take care of themselves -- down from 69% in 1992 and 71% in 1987. Only 41% of the public today believes that the government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt. This marks the first time in our surveys that this premise has not received majority support; both in 1987 and 1992, for example, 53% agreed.

Despite the overall decline in support for welfare programs, large majorities of Democrats continue to believe the government should take positive steps to provide for the needy.

Republicans are far less supportive of welfare programs today, and the fall-off in support for such measures has been much more pronounced among GOP voters than among Independents.

WELFARISM

Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed

	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
Agree	90	91	91	93	91
Completely	37	48	45	59	52
Disagree	8	7	7	6	8
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves

Agree	71	74	67	69	57
Disagree	24	23	29	28	41
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep

Agree	62	66	62	65	59
Disagree	33	31	34	32	39
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt

Agree	53	52	51	53	41
Disagree	40	42	44	43	56
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

WELFARISM

It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves

	Total	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.
Agree	57	45	69	56
Completely	20	15	29	16
Disagree	41	54	29	43
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rep.</i>	<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Ind.</i>
The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in dept				
Agree	41	26	55	39
Completely	13	7	19	11
Disagree	56	73	41	59
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.39c, e, f and g)

The public's growing hostility toward social welfare programs is accompanied by its strong and growing support for the principles of self reliance. Some 88% of the public say they admire people who get rich by working hard, and nearly as many (85%) believe poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs. This belief is held by large majorities of people at virtually all levels of income: 87% of the wealthiest respondents (those making \$75,000 a year or more) agree, as do nearly 80% of those poorest (under \$20,000 a year).

SELF RELIANCE

Success in life is pretty much
determined by forces outside
our control

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1994</i>
Agree	38	41	40	38	39
Disagree	57	56	57	59	59
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

I admire people who get rich
by working hard

Agree	89	88
Completely	47	51
Disagree	10	11
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100

Many people think they can get
ahead without working hard and
making sacrifices

Agree	63	65
Disagree	35	34
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100

Poor people have become too
dependent on government
assistance programs

Agree	79	85
Completely	35	46
Disagree	18	13
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100

Based on Q.22e, g and s and Q.39u)

Religious Faith & Tolerance Issues

Once again in 1994, we see that large majorities of the American public hold strong religious convictions. While attitudes toward government and the political system have shifted in recent years, along with values on race, welfare and economics, religious faith has remained relatively steady. Today 88% of the public say they never doubt the existence of God, the same as in 1987. Seventy-eight percent say prayer is an important part of their daily life, and 84% agree we will all be called before God on Judgment Day to answer for our sins. If anything, religious values have grown stronger in recent years. For instance, among the 88% of the public who agree they never doubt the existence of God, 72% completely agree in 1994, compared to 60% in 1987. We see a similar trend among all other religious measures in the survey.

Young people are less likely to express strongly held religious beliefs than people 30 years old and older, and this is true of those with the highest levels of education and income. Nonetheless, large majorities across all demographic groups agree that religion is an important part of their lives.

<i>RELIGIOUS BELIEFS</i>	<i>1987</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1994</i>
I never doubt the existence of God					
Agree	88	87	87	N/A	88
Completely	60	63	60	N/A	72
Disagree	10	11	11	N/A	11
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	N/A	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100		100
Prayer is an important part of my daily life					
Agree	76	78	77	N/A	78
Completely	41	46	46	N/A	52
Disagree	23	21	22	N/A	22
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	N/A	<u>*</u>
Total	100	100	100		100
We will all be called before God at the Judgment Day to answer for our sins					
Agree	81	80	81	83	84
Completely	52	52	52	62	61
Disagree	14	14	14	14	14
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Even today miracles are performed by the power of God					
Agree	82	80	82	83	84
Completely	47	51	49	58	58
Disagree	13	15	13	14	14
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.52a, b, c and d)

Some increased concern in the electorate about traditional values -- what were called "family values" in the 1992 presidential campaign -- appeared in 1994 compared to 1987. The number of Americans who say they agree that they have old-fashioned values about family and marriage has remained relatively stable in recent years, but the percentage who "completely agree" has increased significantly. In addition, we found a significant increase in the number of people who believe too many children are being raised in day care centers these days. In 1994, 75% agree (39% completely); in 1987, 68% agreed (23% completely).

Nearly one out of three Americans agrees that women should return to their traditional roles in society. More women feel this way than men (33% vs. 27%), but the women who were most opposed to such a reversal are young, single, well-educated, employed, and making in excess of \$50,000 a year. Older people are more likely to endorse a return to traditional roles than are younger people. And evangelical Protestants are more likely to support traditional roles for women than are non-evangelical and Catholics.

TRADITIONAL VALUES	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
I have old-fashioned values about family and marriage					
Agree	87	85	87	N/A	84
Completely	45	50	49	N/A	53
Disagree	11	13	12	N/A	14
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	N/A	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100		100
Women should return to their traditional roles in society					
Agree	30	31	30	N/A	30
Disagree	66	66	67	N/A	67
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	N/A	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100		100
Too many children are being raised in day care centers these days					
Agree	68	69	73	N/A	75
Completely	23	29	26	N/A	39
Disagree	27	26	22	N/A	23
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	N/A	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100		100

(Based on Q.52j, k and m)

In spite of the near unanimity of opinion on religious faith and the shared endorsement of traditional values, real divisions among the public persist with regard to issues of social tolerance and personal freedoms. There is no evidence that the public has become more socially tolerant with regard to civil liberties and freedom of expression in recent years. A slim majority continues to believe books containing "dangerous ideas" should be banned from public school libraries. People are more likely to disagree than agree (54% vs. 44%) that sexually explicit magazines and movies provide harmless entertainment. And more than 40% of the public

believes freedom of speech should not extend to groups like the Communist Party or the KKK. These values have remained relatively stable over the past seven years, moving -- if at all -- in the direction of decreasing tolerance.

We found at least one important change in public tolerance in the last four years -- a sharp decline in homophobia. In 1987, 51% of the public agreed that school boards should have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals. In 1994, far fewer -- 38% -- agree. While tolerance of homosexuals appears to have increased across the board, some groups still remain evenly split on the issue. For instance, 49% of Southerners still believe school boards should have the right to fire known homosexuals, as do 49% of those 50 and older.

***TOLERANCE &
PERSONAL FREEDOMS***

Schools boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals

	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
Agree	51	51	49	40	38
Disagree	42	43	45	55	58
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior

Agree	43	44	38	36	39
Disagree	47	48	52	57	57
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Nude magazines and X-rated movies provide harmless entertainment for those who enjoy it

Agree	48	45	41	N/A	44
Disagree	47	50	54	N/A	54
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	N/A	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100		100

Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries

Agree	50	51	50	48	51
Disagree	44	44	45	49	47
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Freedom of speech should not extend to groups like the Communist Party or the Ku Klux Klan

Agree	39	37	35	N/A	41
Disagree	55	58	59	N/A	57
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	N/A	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100		100

(Based on Q.52e, f, g, h, and i)

Foreign Policy Values

In spite of the drastic changes which have taken place around the world in the past seven years, Americans' foreign policy values and attitudes have changed very little. Concern about nuclear war has abated, and international issues are given lower priority today than they were before the Berlin Wall fell. Nonetheless, this does not appear to indicate a shift in attitudes toward greater isolationism. In fact, just the opposite may be occurring, perhaps reflecting U.S. interdependence with the global economy. In 1994, the number of Americans who completely agree that it's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs stands at 51%, an increase of nearly twenty percentage points from the 32% who felt that strongly about the issue in 1987.

<i>AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD</i>	<i>1987</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1994</i>
It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs					
Agree	87	90	89	91	90
Completely	32	47	39	47	51
Disagree	8	7	7	7	9
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100
We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home					
Agree	N/A	N/A	N/A	88	84
Completely	N/A	N/A	N/A	48	46
Disagree	N/A	N/A	N/A	11	15
Don't know	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total				100	100

(Based on Q.39t and w)

Majorities of the public also agree that the best way to ensure peace is through military strength (55%), and that we should be willing to fight for our country whether it is right or wrong (53%). Prior to 1990, these views were closely tied to perceptions of a communist threat. In the 1990s, they are more likely related to multiple and unpredictable threats from smaller, less secure regimes around the globe.

Younger Americans appear to be far less militaristic than their older counterparts. Only 38% of 18-24 year olds agree that the best way to ensure peace is through military strength; 62% disagree. Among those 65 and older, 64% favor military strength as the best means of ensuring peace; 31% disagree.

But when it comes to fighting for their country, right or wrong, young people are just as supportive as the rest of the public. In fact, not the young or old but those in their early thirties are least in favor of the premise.

MILITARISM

It is my belief that we should
get even with any country that
tries to take advantage of the U.S.

1987 1988 1990 1992 1994

Agree	44	53	47	46	43
Disagree	47	40	46	49	54
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The best way to ensure peace
is through military strength

Agree	54	59	52	54	55
Disagree	40	37	44	43	44
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

We all should be willing to
fight for our country, whether
it is right or wrong

Agree	54	57	55	57	53
Disagree	40	38	40	39	45
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

I often worry about the
chances of nuclear war

Agree	62	61	52	N/A	48
Disagree	27	37	45	N/A	51
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	N/A	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100		100

(Based on Q.39n, o, q and r)

MILITARISM

The best way to ensure
peace is through military
strength

Total 18-24 25-29 30-34 35-49 50-64 65+

Agree	55	38	40	59	57	58	64
Disagree	44	62	57	40	42	40	31
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

We all should be willing
to right for our country,
whether it is right or
wrong

Agree	52	50	51	44	51	55	62
Disagree	46	48	49	56	47	44	34
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.39o and q)

Americans' attitudes toward foreigners have remained relatively stable. Today just over 70% of the public agree that most of the countries that have gotten help from America end up resenting us. However, however some movement has occurred recently in American attitudes toward immigrants and immigration policy. Since 1992, the proportion of Americans who agree we should impose greater restrictions and control over people coming into our country to live has increased from 76% to 82% -- with 47% saying they "completely agree".

Those with the least education are much more likely to see a need to control immigration than those with a college education (52% vs. 34%). And Republicans and Independents are more likely to advocate greater restrictions than are Democrats.

**ATTITUDES TOWARD
FOREIGNERS**

Most of the countries that have
gotten help from America
end up resenting us

	1987	1988	1990	1992	1994
Agree	71	76	73	73	72
Disagree	21	18	20	22	24
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

American lives are worth
more than the lives of people
in other countries

Agree	24	24	28	N/A	26
Disagree	71	73	68	N/A	73
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	N/A	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100		100

We should restrict and control
people coming into our country
to live more than we do now

Agree				76	82
Completely				42	47
Disagree				21	17
Don't know				<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
Total				100	100

Japan has taken unfair advantage
of the United States

Agree				69	66
Disagree				27	26
Don't know				<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>
Total				100	100

(Based on Q.39m, p, s and v)

IMMIGRATION

We should restrict and control people coming into our country to live more than we do now

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Less than H.S. Grad.</i>	<i>H. S. Grad.</i>	<i>Coll. Grad.</i>
Agree	81	82	86	71
Completely	47	52	52	34
Disagree	18	17	12	28
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100

We should restrict and control people coming into our country to live more than we do now

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rep.</i>	<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Ind.</i>
Agree	81	87	76	82
Disagree	18	13	23	17
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.39m)

Environmentalism

Americans are no less likely to describe themselves as environmentalists today than they were in 1987, and large majorities say they agree that there need to be stricter laws and regulations to protect the environment. However, the public's willingness to pay higher prices for the sake of environmental protection has eroded significantly in the last couple of years. In 1992, 67% agreed that people should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment; in 1994, 57% agree.

This may be the result of recent skirmishes between environmental activists and certain economic interests that have highlighted the economic trade-offs involved in environmental protection, - e.g. the spotted owl controversy.

While lower income Americans appear less willing to make economic sacrifices to protect the environment, this is not a purely economic issue. It also has partisan or ideological overtones. Those who identify most strongly with the Republican party are among the least likely to agree we should all pay higher prices in order to protect the environment. And the politically vocal -- those who say they regularly listen to talk radio and frequently contact their representatives in Washington -- are even less likely than conservative Republicans to be willing to pay higher prices for the sake of the environment.

ENVIRONMENTALISM**1992 1994**

There need to be stricter laws
and regulations to protect
the environment

Agree	90	82
Completely	55	46
Disagree	9	17
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100

People should be willing to pay
higher prices in order to
protect the environment

Agree	67	57
Completely	26	17
Disagree	32	42
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100

(Based on Q.39a and b)

Political Vocalization

Total **Radio** **Contacted**
Listener **Wash.** **Both** **Neither**

ENVIRONMENTALISM

People should be willing to pay
higher prices in order to
protect the environment

Agree	57	51	51	46	60
Disagree	42	46	48	53	39
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.39b)

ARE YOU AN ENVIRONMENTALIST?

Description
Totally
Wrong

Description
Perfect

DK**1-3****4-7****8-10**

How well does the following
phrase describe you ...
an environmentalist?

1994	13	41	43	3 = 100
1990	9	43	42	6 = 100
1987	9	49	39	3 = 100

(Based on Times Mirror survey of April 1994, Q74c)

SECTION 2: TRENDS IN PARTY IDENTIFICATION AND PARTY ATTITUDES

Trends in party identification and party attitudes remain vital predictors of voter behavior for a significant portion of the electorate and are the other major keystones in creating the new typology.

During the 1980s, the Democrats lost much of their historic advantage in party identification at the grassroots level. By the time George Bush succeeded Ronald Reagan in the White House, the two major parties were at parity, at least according to telephone surveys.¹ In Times Mirror Center telephone surveys taken over the course of 1989, identical percentages of U.S. adults identified themselves as Republicans (33%) and Democrats (33%).

The GOP: Reversal Of Fortune

In the 1990s, the GOP's momentum was reversed, at least temporarily, as the recession shook people's confidence in the future and helped the Democrats recapture the White House. The percentage of self-identified Republicans declined by five points, from an average of 32% in 1990 surveys to 27% in 1993 surveys. Republican losses, however, did not translate directly into Democratic gains. Between 1990 and 1993, identification with the Democratic Party increased by only one percentage point, from 33% to 34%.

Over the past year, the GOP appears to have regained some of its lost momentum, most likely a consequence of increasing disenchantment with the Clinton presidency. Since the last quarter of 1993, 29%-30% have consistently identified with themselves with the Republican Party, up from 27% during the early days of the Clinton administration.

Over One Third Now Call Themselves Independents

In the summer of 1994, with the Republicans rebounding, the Democrats hold a slight edge in party identification -- 33% to 29%. More than a third (35%) of the public, however, chooses to identify with neither party and call themselves Independents. The "Independent" label has been popular throughout Bush and Clinton years. With the exception of 1990, yearly averages for 1989-1994 show at least a third of adults identifying themselves as Independents.

While the number of self-identified Independents today is certainly high by historical standards, these figures are not unprecedented. Gallup reports similar proportions of Independents in the post-Watergate era of the mid-to-late 1970s, another time of economic uncertainty and disillusionment with the political system.

¹ Measures of party identification based on personal interview surveys, such as the long-term trend reported by The Gallup Poll, tend to show a somewhat different distribution than telephone surveys. In general, personal interview surveys show higher proportions of Democrats and lower proportions of Independents.

PARTY IDENTIFICATION TRENDS*

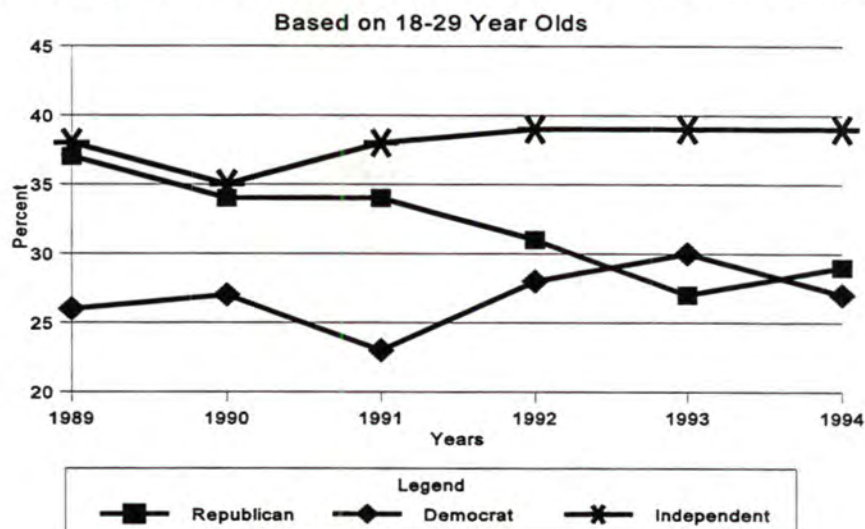
	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Independent</i>
<i>Current (July 1994)</i>	29	33	35
<i>1994</i>	29	32	34
<i>1993</i>	27	34	34
<i>1992</i>	28	34	34
<i>1991</i>	31	32	33
<i>1990</i>	32	33	30
<i>1989</i>	33	33	34
<i>1988</i>	27	30	38
<i>1987</i>	29	34	32

* These trends are based on telephone surveys conducted by the Times Mirror Center. Data for 1987-1989 based on surveys conducted by Gallup for Newsweek.

The Young: Missed Opportunity For The Democrats?

One of the biggest changes in party identification since the late 1980s is the decline in GOP affiliation among young people. The 11-point Republican advantage among adults under 30 recorded during George Bush's first year in office (37% vs. 26% in 1989) had disappeared by Bill Clinton's first year (27% Republican vs. 30% Democrat in 1993).

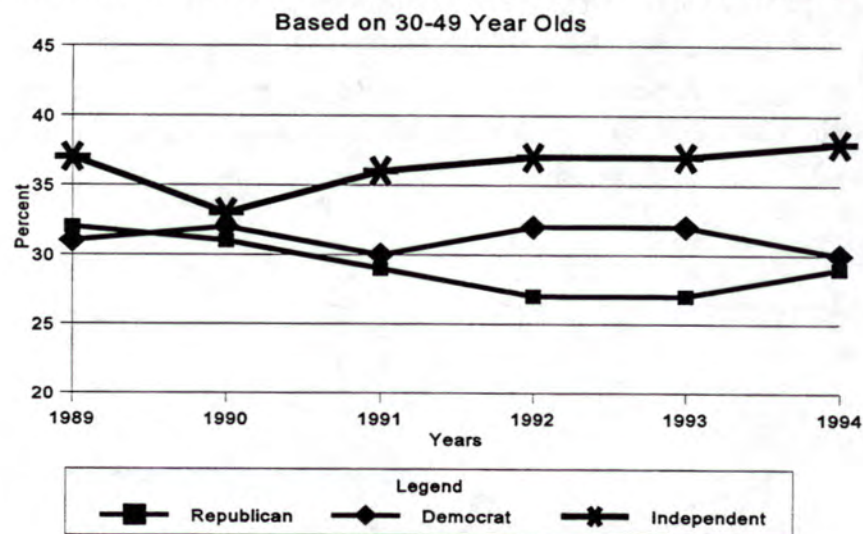
PARTY IDENTIFICATION TRENDS



Clinton and the Democrats, however, have failed to win over the so-called Generation X. Appeals to young people through appearances on MTV and other youth-oriented media may have succeeded in winning votes for the Democratic ticket in 1992, but did not make many long-term converts for the party. Since early 1993, identification with the Democratic Party among people under 30 has fallen off, while Republican identification has held steady. The latest figures show the Republicans regaining a slight advantage, 30% to 26%, among adults under 30. The highest proportion of the young (41%) now call themselves Independents.

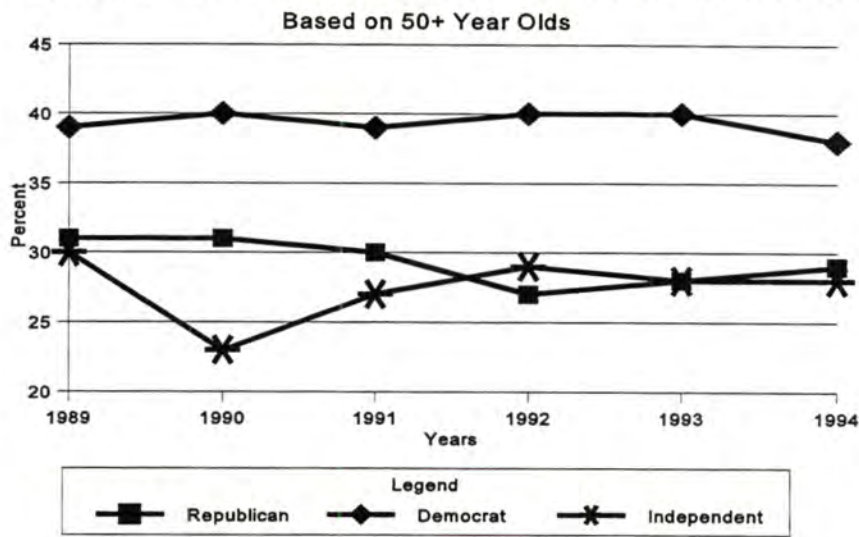
Among older generations of Americans, not surprisingly, there has been more stability in party identification. Those now aged 30 to 49 years old, a generation shaped by the political and social ferment of the '60s and '70s, are about equally likely to identify with each of the two major parties (29% Republican; 31% Democrat). Like the young, the highest percentage of this generation think of themselves as Independents.

PARTY IDENTIFICATION TRENDS



People over 50, whose political values were influenced by FDR's New Deal and/or the JFK presidency, continue to show an affinity for the Democratic Party. Four in ten (39%) people over 50 call themselves Democrats, while fewer than one in three (27%) call themselves Republicans. This is also the age group least likely to self-identify as Independent (30%).

PARTY IDENTIFICATION TRENDS

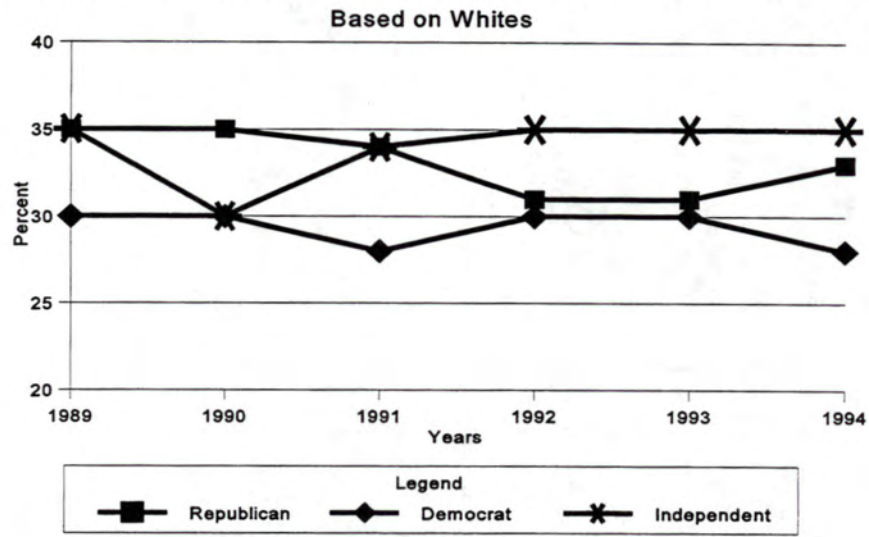


GOP Fails To Win Over Blacks; Regains Advantage Among Whites

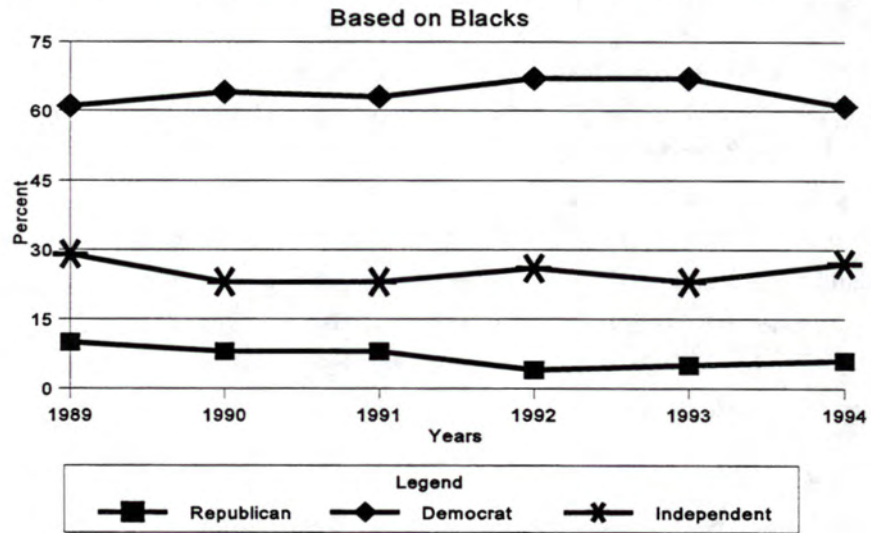
Recent trends in party identification by race show little change. Not only has the GOP failed to gain any ground among blacks; since 1989, the percentage of blacks who identify with the Democratic Party has increased from 61% to 66%. Times Mirror Center survey estimates for the incidence of black Republicans have been under 10% since the Persian Gulf War period.

During the last presidential campaign, the GOP temporarily lost its advantage in party identification among whites. Times Mirror Center data for both 1992 and 1993 shows the Republicans with a statistically insignificant one-point edge among whites nationally (31% vs. 30%). More recent polling suggests the GOP has retaken the lead. Even so, the largest proportion of whites -- 36% -- now associate themselves with neither major party and call themselves Independents.

PARTY IDENTIFICATION TRENDS



PARTY IDENTIFICATION TRENDS



Gender Differences In Party ID Persist

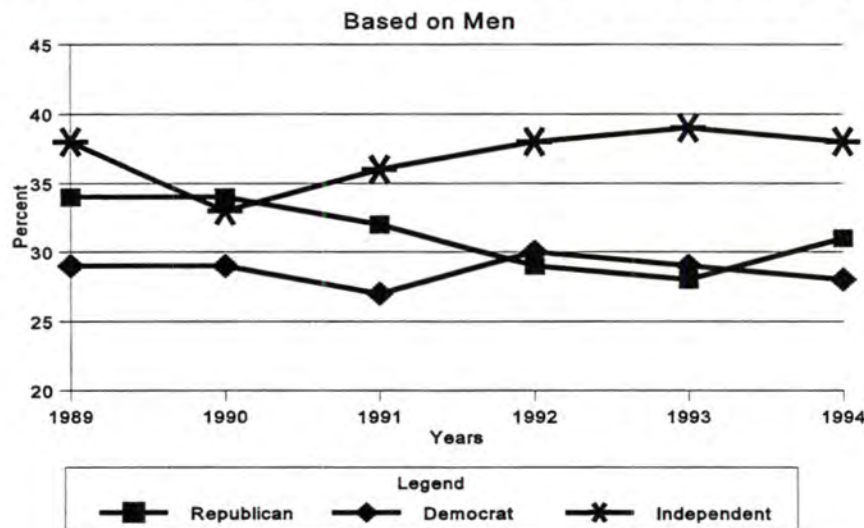
Differences in party identification by gender that developed during the 1980s remain part of today's political landscape. Partisan differences between men and women were first noted with respect to Ronald Reagan's "gender gap" in voter support in 1980 pre-election polls. Throughout most of his two terms, Reagan was regarded more favorably by men than women. This phenomenon was generally attributed to the more masculine appeal of Reagan's political agenda -- hawkish on foreign policy, anti-government social programs and supportive of business interests.

Today, more than five years since Reagan left office, gender differences in party identification are as large as they have ever been. Statistically similar percentages of men and women interviewed last July called themselves Republicans (30% of men vs. 27% of women), but the percentage of self-identified Democrats was 11 points higher among women than men (38% vs. 27%).

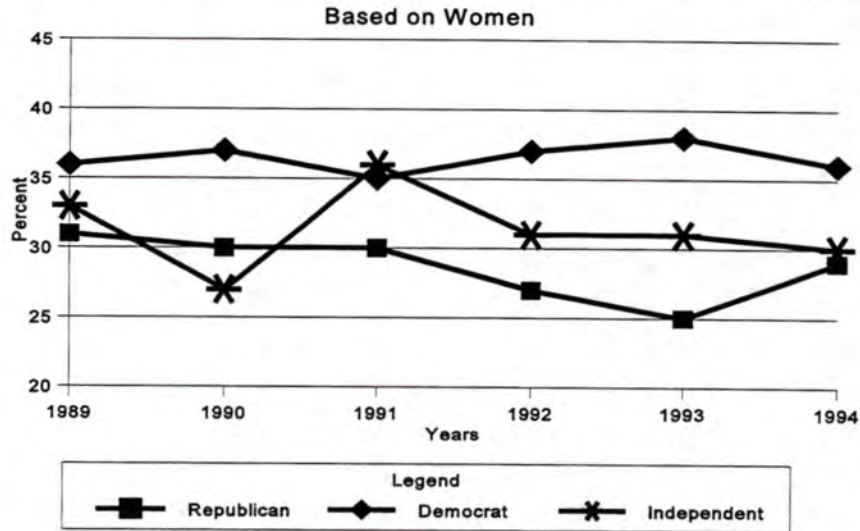
The GOP's appeal among men has declined somewhat since the Bush years. Given this slippage in Republican identification, neither party has held an advantage among males over the past few years. A plurality of men now see themselves as Independents (39% in the July 1994 survey).

Since 1992, the Democrats have enjoyed roughly a 10-point edge over the Republicans in party identification among women. Before the recession hit in 1990, the Democratic advantage was more often in the five-point range.

PARTY IDENTIFICATION TRENDS



PARTY IDENTIFICATION TRENDS



GOP Consolidates Gains Among Key Subgroups

Some demographic patterns in party identification have not changed much during the postwar era. Republicans still tend to be better educated and more affluent. Democrats are still more likely to be black, live in cities and belong to labor unions. At the same time, there have been major shifts in the political allegiances of key population subgroups over the last half century. The good news for the Republicans is that nearly all these shifts have been in the direction of the GOP. The good news for the Democrats is that these long-term trends appear to have finally run their course.

In achieving near parity with its rival, the Republican Party has overcome a major Democratic advantage -- family ties. In July 1994 close to half of U.S. adults (47%) said they grew up in a family that usually voted for Democratic candidates; only about three in 10 (28%) grew up in a Republican family. But when asked their current party preferences, the number of Republicans and Republican leaners about equals the number of Democrats and Democratic leaners (45% vs. 47%).

By comparing the party orientations of U.S. adults today with the reported voting habits of their parents, the nature of the generational shift to the GOP that has occurred since World War II is brought into sharp focus. As shown in the following table, the number of Republican-oriented Americans whose parents voted Democrat is nearly twice as large as the number of Democratic-oriented Americans whose parents voted Republican. The net shift to the GOP is +7 overall, but that figure is higher among the following subgroups:

* White Southerners (+12). The defection of white conservative Democrats to Republican presidential candidates has been evident since the Goldwater candidacy in 1964. Today, it is no longer a question of defection -- the party of Newt Gingrich has a firm foothold

in the South. The Democrats' 35% to 30% advantage in party identification in the Southern region now depends on the region's sizable black population. White Southerners have become more likely to consider themselves Republicans than Democrats (35% vs. 29%).

* White Evangelicals (+12). This group now represents nearly a quarter (24%) of the U.S. adult population. Jimmy Carter's courting of born-again Christian voters proved critical to his victory over Gerald Ford in 1976, but in subsequent presidential elections they have voted Republican. Today, this is a solidly Republican group: 38% identify themselves as Republicans, 28% as Democrats. While generally associated with the South, more than half of white Protestant Evangelicals live in other regions. This shift has changed the composition of the GOP at the grassroots level. Among all self-identified Republicans, there are now at least as many white Evangelicals as there are non-Evangelical white Protestants (32% vs. 29%). These two groups differ markedly in terms of socioeconomic class and political values.

* White, Non-Hispanic Catholics (+13). Once a key part of FDR's New Deal coalition, many white Catholics have found themselves at odds with the Democratic Party on issues of race, foreign policy, taxes and "family values" in the postwar era. Today, white Catholics are still more likely than white Protestants to call themselves Democrats. But they can no longer be regarded as a Democratic constituency. As a group, 47% of white Catholics are now Republicans or lean toward the GOP; 46% are Democrats or lean Democrat. The Catholic drift to the GOP has much to do with Republican candidates' newfound electoral viability in major urban centers. White Catholics were Rudolph Giuliani's political base for his successful New York City mayoralty campaign last year.

* Upper Middle Income People (+15). After moving up the socioeconomic ladder, many Americans born into Democratic families have left their parents' politics behind. Today, those with middle-range incomes of \$50,000 to \$74,999 are about as likely as the more affluent to call themselves Republicans (38% vs. 40%). By income groups, the Democrats have an advantage in party identification only below the \$30,000 income level. Those in the middle -- the \$30,000 to \$49,999 income category -- divide equally between the two parties (31% Republican; 31% Democrat)

* Men (+11). Women have not been swept along by the Republican tide as much as men. In part, this might be explained by the changing role of women in society. As more women have entered the workplace, wives have become more independent from their husbands, and less likely to reflect their spouse's political views.

One group that has been virtually unaffected by Republican shift are African Americans. Blacks are less likely than other major subgroups to say their own party preferences diverge from those of their parents; the small net shift observed in blacks' party orientations is actually in the

direction of the Democrats. The 1987 Times Mirror typology survey suggested some opportunity for the GOP to win over a new generation of blacks. The new survey shows no signs of any Republican progress -- while 6% of blacks aged 18 to 29 have shifted toward the GOP, 6% have shifted away from the party of Lincoln.

In the 1990s, the generational movement toward the Republican Party appears to have stalled, stopping short of a realignment that might have established the GOP as the new majority party. Analysis of the net shift by age groups provides clear evidence of major GOP gains among those over 35 years of age, but more limited GOP gains among younger people. In fact, the youngest group analyzed -- those aged 18 to 24 -- shows no significant movement toward the GOP.

GENERATIONAL PARTY IDENTIFICATION

	<i>Democrats Whose Parents Voted Republican</i>	<i>Republicans Whose Parents Voted Democrat</i>	<i>Net Shift Favoring Republicans</i>	<i>(N)</i>
Total	8	15	+ 7	(3800)
Sex				
Male	7	18	+ 11	(1893)
Female	8	22	+ 4	(1907)
Race				
White	8	16	+ 8	(3046)
Black	7	4	-3	(501)
Hispanic	7	11	+ 4	(200)
Age				
18-24	9	10	+ 1	(449)
25-29	7	13	+ 6	(370)
30-34	10	13	+ 3	(435)
35-49	7	16	+ 9	(1214)
50-64	8	17	+ 9	(707)
65 +	7	16	+ 9	(581)
Sex/Age				
18-29				
Male	7	15	+ 8	(470)
Female	9	8	-1	(349)
30-49				
Male	8	18	+ 10	(849)
Female	8	13	+ 5	(800)
50 +				
Male	6	21	+ 15	(557)
Female	9	13	+ 4	(731)
Blacks/Age				
18-29	6	6	0	(138)
30-49	6	3	-3	(236)
50 +	11	3	-8	(122)
Education				
College Grad.	11	16	+ 5	(1098)
Some College	8	18	+ 10	(929)
High School Grad.	6	14	+ 8	(1351)
< H.S. grad.	7	12	+ 5	(407)
Family Income				
\$75,000 +	10	19	+ 9	(351)
\$50,000-\$74,999	6	21	+ 15	(544)
\$30,000-\$49,999	8	17	+ 9	(1021)
\$20,000-\$29,999	7	15	+ 8	(683)
< \$20,000	10	9	-1	(855)

CONT.

	<i>Democrats Whose Parents Voted Republican</i>	<i>Republicans Whose Parents Voted Democrat</i>	<i>Net Shift Favoring Republicans</i>	<i>(N)</i>
<i>Region</i>				
East	8	14	+6	(751)
Midwest	8	13	+5	(910)
South	7	17	+10	(1376)
West	10	15	+5	(763)
<i>Community</i>				
Large city	7	15	+8	(813)
Suburb	9	15	+6	(917)
Small city/town	7	14	+7	(1345)
Rural area	8	16	+8	(712)
<i>Religion/Race/Region</i>				
White Protestant				
Evangelicals	6	18	+12	(829)
Other White				
Protestants	10	14	+4	(898)
White Catholics	6	19	+13	(772)
White Southerners	7	19	+12	(1009)
White Non-Southerners	8	15	+7	(2037)
Jewish	3	12	+9	(101)

Question: In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent? As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party? When you were growing up, did your parents usually vote for Republicans or Democrats?

Public Continues To See Differences Between Parties

Support for Independent political candidates hasn't gained momentum because Americans have come to see the two major parties as Tweedledum and Tweedledee. In fact, the percentage of Americans who see at least "a fair amount" of difference in what the parties stand for is somewhat higher in 1994 (74%) than it was in 1990 (69%) or 1987 (70%).

Each party continues to be associated with a specific class or interest group. By a margin of 66% to 23%, the Republicans are viewed as the party more "concerned with the needs and interests of business and other powerful groups;" by a similar margin of 65% to 21%, the Democrats are seen as the party more "concerned with the needs and interests of the disadvantaged."

The image of the Republicans as supporters of the business establishment and the Democrats as champions of the poor and underprivileged has changed little in recent years. Since the Times Mirror Center began asking these two party image questions in 1987, the Republicans were selected as the party of business by margins of 43, 42, and 43 percentage points. The Democrats have been selected as the party of the disadvantaged by margins of 50, 42 and 44 points.

GOP Gains Ground On Competence Dimension

Controlling both the White House and Congress has been a mixed blessing for the Democrats. The Clinton Administration's problems in getting its programs passed appear to have enhanced the Republicans' image as the more competent party. By a margin of 48% to 27%, the public is more likely to see the GOP as "well organized." Since 1987, the GOP has been consistently identified as better organized in Times Mirror Center surveys. Since Clinton took office, however, the public has also become more likely to regard the Republicans as "better able to manage the federal government." The Republicans now enjoy a 43% to 31% advantage on this item.

The Republicans, however, have yet to recoup their advantage as the party that "selects good candidates for office." The GOP's current edge is only 4 points (40% vs. 36%) overall, but is larger among some key population subgroups, including men (+12), adults under 30 (+15), white Evangelicals (+17), white Catholics (+12) and suburbanites (+10).

Democratic Image: More Compassionate

Being seen as more compassionate remains a Democratic Party strong point. By a 14-percentage-point margin, the party is now seen as more "concerned with the needs of people like me." The Democratic Party enjoyed a somewhat larger edge on compassion, however, in the Bush and Reagan years. Among the groups less apt to believe Democrats care more than Republicans are men, white Evangelicals and suburbanites.

Once seen as the party of change, the Democratic Party no longer holds this distinction. Its current 3-percentage-point edge is not statistically significant. The presence of a Democrat in the White House may be a factor, but even before Clinton announced his presidential candidacy, the Democrats' advantage as better able to bring about needed changes had slipped to 4 points (31% vs. 27% in May 1990).

At a time Americans increasingly distrust government and politicians, the Democratic Party has no significant advantage over the GOP in its image for honesty in government. "Govern[ing] in an honest and ethical way" is the party image item survey respondents were most apt to say applies well to "neither" party.

REPUBLICAN PARTY STRENGTHS

<i>Party Better Described By The Phrase:</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Difference Favoring REPS.</i>
Concerned with needs and interests of business and other powerful groups	66	23	+ 43
Well organized	48	27	+ 21
Able to manage the federal government well	43	31	+ 12
Selects good candidates for office	40	36	+ 4

DEMOCRATIC PARTY STRENGTHS

<i>Party Better Described By The Phrase:</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Difference Favoring DEMS.</i>
Concerned with needs and interests of disadvantaged	21	65	+ 44
Concerned with needs of people like me	35	49	+ 14
Can bring about kind of changes country needs	39	42	+ 3
Governs in an honest and ethical way	32	35	+ 3

Question: *I'm going to read you some phrases. Please tell me if you think each one better describes the REPUBLICAN Party and its leaders or the DEMOCRATIC Party and its leaders. (First,) which party do you think is better described by the phrase ...?*

GOP Stock Rises On Foreign Policy, Jobs

The view that Republicans are better equipped to deal with national defense and international problems has become conventional wisdom. Bill Clinton's unsteadiness on foreign policy, however, seems to have further enhanced the GOP image in this area. The Republicans now lead by a margin of 51% to 31% (+20) for their ability to "make wise decisions about this country's defense policies." A May 1990 survey found the GOP advantage to be only about half as large (+11).

The GOP has also closed the gap on the critical issue of jobs. The Democrats and Republicans are now statistically tied as the party that will do more to "protect U.S. jobs" (42% vs. 40%). That the GOP also continues to be regarded as better able to handle other economic

issues, including "mak[ing] America competitive in the world economy" and "reduc[ing] the federal budget deficit" is nothing new.

The public still prefers the Democrats to the Republicans on domestic issues other than the economy. The three areas where the Democratic Party has an advantage are "protect[ing] the environment," "reform[ing] the U.S. health care system" and "improving our educational system."

GOP Seen As Party Of "Traditional Values"

While Republicans Bush and Quayle were unable to ride the issue of "family values" to victory in the last presidential election, rising public concern about morality and personal character may boost the GOP's prospects for this fall's Congressional elections. The Republicans have the edge as both the party better able to "protect traditional American values" and "promote morality and personal responsibility."

The groups most likely to pick the Republicans over the Democrats as the party of traditional values include people under 30, parents and suburbanites. By region, the Republican advantage is even greater in the Midwestern region (+17) than it is in the South (+10).

REPUBLICAN PARTY STRENGTHS

<i>Party Better Able To:</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Difference Favoring REPS.</i>
Make wise decisions about country's defense policies	51	31	+ 20
Make America competitive in the world economy	48	35	+ 13
Protect traditional American values	47	35	+ 12
Promote morality and personal responsibility	46	34	+ 12
Reduce federal budget deficit	42	36	+ 6

DEMOCRATIC PARTY STRENGTHS

Party Better Able To:	Republicans	Democrats	Difference Favoring DEMS.
Protect the environment	28	56	+ 28
Reform U.S. health care system	34	48	+ 14
Improve our educational system	37	46	+ 9
Protect U.S. jobs	40	42	+ 2
Reform government	39	40	+ 1

Question: Next, please tell me if you think the REPUBLICAN Party or the DEMOCRATIC Party could do a better job in each of the following areas ... (First,) which party could do a better job of ...?

Public Supports Idea Of A Third Major Party

The public is more supportive of a third major party today than it was a decade ago. When the ABC/Washington Post poll presented the concept of a the third major political party to a national sample of adults in 1982, opinion was evenly divided: 44% thought it was a good idea; 44% thought otherwise. Today, the public responds positively: 53% for, 43% against.

In their demographic and political profile, third party proponents bear some resemblance to 1992 Perot voters. Like Perot voters, those in favor of a third party tend to be male, under 50, and politically Independent. And like Perot voters, they are *less* likely to be black, live in the South or to have very low incomes and education levels.

Aside from being a much larger group, third party supporters differ from Perot voters in other respects:

- * While Perot voters were more likely to live in rural areas, third party supporters today are more often found in the suburbs.
- * Perot's candidacy appealed more to Republicans than Democrats, but Democrats are now at least as likely to favor a third party. Jewish voters, a key Democratic constituency in large cities and their suburbs, were not inclined to support Perot in 1992, but a solid majority today (56%) like the idea of a third major party.
- * Perot was a centrist candidate, and appealed most to those who saw themselves as moderates. The opening for a new party is more toward the liberal side of the

ideological spectrum, perhaps more fertile territory for a Jesse Jackson or Jerry Brown.

- * While Perot's voters were not particularly knowledgeable about politics, third party supporters today tend to know more about politics than those who disapprove of a new major party.

SUPPORT FOR ALTERNATIVE TO MAJOR PARTIES

	<i>Agree We Should Have A Third Major Political Party (%)</i>	<i>Voted For Perot In 1992 Election (%)</i>
<i>Total</i>	53	14
<i>Sex</i>		
Male	58	17
Female	47	11
<i>Race</i>		
White	53	15
Black	46	5
Hispanic	54	19
<i>Age</i>		
18-24	60	12
25-29	63	17
30-34	58	15
35-49	57	16
50-64	47	13
65 +	36	10
<i>Education</i>		
College Grad.	55	15
Some College	60	15
High School Grad.	52	15
< H.S. grad.	41	10
<i>Family Income</i>		
\$75,000 +	56	15
\$50,000-\$74,999	59	14
\$30,000-\$49,999	58	18
\$20,000-\$29,999	52	15
< \$20,000	47	11
<i>Region</i>		
East	56	15
Midwest	50	14
South	49	11
West	59	18
<i>Community</i>		
Large city	52	11
Suburb	58	15
Small city/town	51	13
Rural area	51	18

CONT.

	<i>Agree We Should Have A Third Major Political Party</i>	<i>Voted For Perot In 1992 Election</i>
<i>Party Identification</i>		
Republican	45	12
Democrat	48	8
Independent	65	21
<i>Presidential Approval</i>		
Approve	51	10
Disapprove	54	18
<i>Religion/Race/Region</i>		
White Protestant		
Evangelicals	45	13
Other White		
Protestants	57	16
White Catholics	55	17
White Southerners	50	12
White Non-Southerners	55	17
Jewish	56	7
<i>Political Vocalization</i>		
Regular Listener	54	14
Contacted Wash.	56	16
Both	55	15
Neither	51	13
<i>Political Knowledge</i>		
High	57	13
Medium	54	14
Low	49	14
<i>Self-Described Ideology</i>		
Conservative	46	13
Moderate	56	16
Liberal	61	12

SECTION 3: THE NEW POLITICAL TYPOLOGY

Origins Of The 1994 Typology

In 1987, Times Mirror commissioned the most exhaustive study of the American electorate ever undertaken: *The People, the Press & Politics*. That study's primary objective was to describe the political landscape in a new and more meaningful way, going beyond labels that had outlived their usefulness, such as Democrat, Republican, conservative and liberal.

First, an extensive review of previous research was conducted to identify general beliefs, values, political outlooks and personal orientations that had been shown to influence voting behavior. Based on academic studies and survey data, 21 such factors were selected for inclusion in the survey questionnaire. To test these factors, 72 separate question items were developed. In addition to these items, the survey instrument included measures of party identification, political attitudes and behaviors, and basic demographic descriptors.

Over 4,000 in-depth personal interviews, averaging about one hour in length, were then administered to a national sample of adults, including an oversample of blacks. The results were then analyzed, using sophisticated statistical techniques to discern the critical factors that differentiate people politically and to create a voter "typology" that groups together those individuals who share similar political beliefs and attitudes.

In the end, 10 groups of voting-age Americans, each with its own distinct values system were identified, plus another group with virtually no interest in politics, no voting history and no inclination to become politically involved. In addition to revealing the characteristics of the individual groups, the typology was a valuable tool for describing the structure of the electorate and the composition of the two parties at the grassroots level:

- * The typology revealed each party's core voter constituencies -- two for the Republicans and four for the Democrats. This translated into a numeric advantage for the Democratic Party, but greater party loyalty and higher voter turnout among core GOP groups brought the parties into equilibrium in terms of electoral strength.
- * The two core GOP groups, about equal in size, represented two different varieties of Republicanism -- the economic conservatism of the upscale Enterprisers and the social conservatism of the populist Moralists, driven by moral issues and their strong anti-communist beliefs.
- * Major divisions were discovered in the core of the Democratic Party by class and generation. The New Dealers represented an older group of blue collar conservatives. The 60's Democrats were an upper middle class group whose values were shaped by the civil rights and antiwar movements. The Partisan Poor were a low income group, with high

concentrations of minorities, who saw the Democratic Party as their vehicle for improving their lives. The Passive Poor, although similar to the Partisan Poor demographically, were less politicized, less critical of institutions and more content with their own situation.

- * Two of the four Independent groups leaned toward the GOP. One was characterized by its optimism, the other by its negativism. The Upbeats, a young group with a strong faith in America and an uncritical view of institutions, appeared to be a legacy of Ronald Reagan. The Disaffected, a middle-aged, anti-elitist, angry and financially pressured group, suggested an '80s version of the old George Wallace vote.
- * One of the two Democratic-leaning Independent groups, the Followers, was politically marginal. But the other, the Seculars, was an important group and a key opportunity for the Democrats. This group stood apart from the other groups in its lack of religious belief. Affluent, but not fiscally conservative, its members' high tolerance and peace-orientation indicated Democratic values. Doubts about the party's competence and ability to deal with the economy, however, seemed to keep them from becoming full-fledged Democrats.

The 1987 typology was put to the test the following year, as Times Mirror surveys tracked voter support in the Bush-Dukakis race. It proved its value as a tool for understanding and explaining voter behavior. To win the election, Bush overcame a double-digit Dukakis lead in polls taken before the summer political conventions. Analysis of candidate-switching within the framework of the typology isolated the key "swing" voter group -- the Disaffected. Evenly divided in their preferences in the May survey, over two-thirds (68%) reported voting for Bush in the Times Mirror post-election survey.

Subsequent surveys showed the Disaffected to be the first group to jump ship when President Bush's approval ratings fell in 1990. It was a group Bush would never win back, epitomizing the "angry voters" who were part of the lexicon of '92 campaign coverage.

To keep step with the changing political environment, new items were added to Times Mirror surveys during the Bush years in order to measure values and orientations thought to be increasingly salient to political attitudes and behavior, most notably, environmentalism and xenophobia. While the typology continued to be constructed from the original items developed in 1987, these supplementary items helped lay the groundwork for the 1994 version of typology.

Bringing The Typology Into The '90s

In developing the new voter typology, updating the items measuring political values and orientations to reflect the current political environment was only one of the Times Mirror Center's goals. Another priority was reducing the number of questions necessary to define the groups, so the typology could be used more often in the Center's political surveys. Administering the items

necessary to create the original typology required almost 15 minutes of interviewing time. As a result, the typology did not lend itself to telephone surveys, now the preferred methodology for most public opinion research because of their lower costs and quicker turnaround time. In-person surveys permit long questionnaires averaging an hour or more in length, but telephone surveys are generally much more limited.

In modifying the typology to make it more useful and meaningful, the Times Mirror Center and Princeton Survey Research Association have fine-tuned the methodology used to derive it without fundamentally altering it. Once again, it is primarily constructed by classifying people according to nine basic values and orientations and party affiliation.

But three of these dimensions have been modified conceptually:

- * Social Justice had been a measure combining racial attitudes with beliefs about social welfare. In the new typology, this value is divided into two separate measures: 1) attitudes toward **Race**, or the situation for blacks in this country; and 2) attitudes toward **Social Welfare**.
- * Alienation. This measure had combined degree of trust in the political system with personal feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness. This is now two separate measures: 1) **Political Alienation**; and 2) **Individual Alienation**.
- * Militant Anti-communism had encompassed perceptions of communism's threat to the U.S., support for military solutions to international problems, and ethnocentrism. After the fall of Soviet communism, this measure has been changed to simple **Militarism**, without the anti-communist dimension.

The remaining six values and orientations drawn from the original typology are essentially unchanged:

- * Social Tolerance. Values regarding civil liberties and free speech, and acceptance of different lifestyles are central to this measure.
- * Anti-Government Sentiment. Attitudes toward the size and effectiveness of government are represented in this measure.
- * American Exceptionalism. This measure goes beyond simple love of country to reflect confidence in America's future and its ability to overcome almost any obstacle in its path.

- * Pro-Business Sentiment. This measure encompasses beliefs about the power and influence of corporations and the degree to which they are believed to operate responsibly.
- * Religious Faith. This measure goes beyond basic belief in God to include the role of prayer in peoples' lives and more specific concepts, such as a belief in Judgment Day.
- * Financial Pressure. This measure goes beyond income level to gauge satisfaction with one's personal economic status and feelings of financial security.

Two values and orientations not measured in 1987 have been added. *Environmentalism* combines beliefs about the costs of environmental protection and the country's efforts in this area. *Xenophobia* deals with attitudes toward immigrants and the way other countries treat the United States.

In total, the number of values and orientations measured in the new survey has been expanded to 13. In the past, multiple survey questions had been developed and tested to create a scale for each one. This time, two questions were used to measure each of these dimensions. To ensure that these questions are substantively on target, they are based on the original questions shown statistically to be the most valid and reliable measurements for each scale.

The new questions use a "balanced alternative" format that presents respondents with two options and asks them to weigh the merits of each one. For example, one measure of attitudes toward government asks whether "government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest" or whether "government regulation of business usually does more harm than good." To provide an intensity dimension, each question is followed by a probe to determine whether respondents feel strongly about their answers. The 13 scales are created by adding together responses to each pair of items.

How The Typology Was Created

To identify the values and orientations most important in explaining political attitudes and behaviors in the 90s, the 13 scales have been statistically evaluated for their effectiveness in predicting public opinion of contemporary political personalities and issues. Separate multiple regression analyses have been conducted, testing the 13 scales as predictors of the following:

- Clinton job approval
- Opinion of Bob Dole
- Opinion of Ross Perot
- Attitude toward government-funded abortions
- Attitude toward gays in the military
- Attitude toward Congressional term limits
- Attitude toward a ban on smoking
- Attitude toward the Korean nuclear threat

Based on these analyses, the scales used to create the new typology have been reduced to nine, consistent with the original typology. Xenophobia, financial pressure, individual alienation, and American exceptionalism proved to be less important than other values and orientations, and have therefore not been incorporated into the new typology. Each of the four was a significant predictor in no more than three regression analyses and was not a *strong* predictor in any case.

From this point, the procedures used to create the new typology do not differ from those employed in 1987. Once again, a political attentiveness and participation variable was created and used to extract a low involvement "Bystanders" group. A cluster analysis was used to sort the remaining respondents into homogeneous groups based on nine values scales and measures of party identification. Alternative cluster solutions were evaluated for their effectiveness in producing groups that are cohesive, distinct from one another, large enough in size to be practicable, and meaningful from a substantive point of view.

The cluster solutions were evaluated in statistical terms by comparing the average variance *within* each group with total variance for each of the nine scales and party affiliation. This analysis determined the degree to which the various cluster solutions produced homogeneous groups. To determine each cluster solution's performance in creating groups with a unique set of values and orientations, the size of the variance of the means *across* groups was computed for each of the nine scales and party affiliation.

The New Political Landscape

In the end, the cluster solution judged to be optimal on the basis of these statistical analyses is also the one most persuasive from a purely substantive point of view. The new Times Mirror voter typology describes a political landscape transformed by demographic shifts in party allegiances, disillusionment with government, and growing anxiety about the future.

Identified in the new typology are nine distinct groups of politically active voters, one fewer than the original typology. Five of the groups -- Enterprisers, Moralists, Seculars, New Dealers and the Partisan Poor -- are carryovers from Times Mirror's initial voter classification scheme. The other four groups, however, are new:

- * Libertarians are a fiscally conservative, pro-business group at odds with their GOP brethren on social tolerance issues
- * The conflicting political values of New Economy Independents make them highly unreceptive to traditional partisan appeals. This group, along with the Libertarians, gave Ross Perot the largest share of their vote in 1992.
- * The Embittered are an Independent group despite a Democratic demographic profile. Distrusting of institutions and the power structure, they lack the Partisan Poor's faith in the party to improve their lives.

- * New Democrats, who replaced 60s Democrats in the typology, have a much more centrist orientation. These middle-class Democrats are pro-environment and peace-oriented, but also have very favorable attitudes toward business and agree with the Republicans that discrimination is *not* the main barrier to black advancement.

Notable for its absence is the Upbeats, a Republican-leaning Independent group present in the original typology. Their attraction to the GOP had little to do with economic or social conservatism, but seemed a reflection of Ronald Reagan's optimism and economic good times of his second term. Lacking core Republican values, these young people have dispersed politically in an era of political and economic unrest.

The Structure Of The New Electorate

One of the most striking findings of the new survey is the declining role of the parties as a framework around which Americans organize their political thinking. Ross Perot's ability to capture almost one in five votes in the last presidential election sent a message to both parties that their traditional supporters could not be taken for granted. The new survey shows a widening divergence between party identification and political values:

- * In the original typology, six of the 10 politically active groups were identified as "core" constituencies of one or the other party based on self-identification and voting patterns. In the new typology, only two groups -- the Enterprisers at one ideological extreme and the Partisan Poor at the other -- display sufficient commitment to their parties to be regarded as "core" groups.

The new typology reflects an electorate becoming unhinged from the two major parties. On the right, identification with the GOP reaches 75% among Enterprisers, the only group that combines economic and social conservatism, but drops off to 65% for the Moralists and 54% for the Libertarians -- two groups whose political values are at odds.

In the center, the New Economy Independents yearn for a third major party, while the Embittered demonstrate that low-income and minority voters no longer automatically support Democrats.

In what passes for the left in this country, two older groups of voters continue to embrace the Democratic Party label -- the heavily minority Partisan Poor (89%) and the unionist, socially conservative New Dealers (82%). But the two younger groups that represent the party's future -- the pro-business New Democrats and the socially liberal Seculars -- have a weaker bond to the party (62% and 46%, respectively, call themselves Democrats).

Relative Party Strength: GOP Draws Even

The 1987 voter typology found that core Democratic groups accounted for 41% of probable voters, compared to 31% for core GOP groups. Now, Democrats and Republicans have equal numbers of loyalists: 36% of registered voters in the three Republican-oriented groups on the right, compared to 34% in the four Democratic-oriented groups. The greater enthusiasm of Republicans for their party and its candidates, today as in 1987, becomes more significant as the Democrats advantage disappears.

The GOP And The Rise Of The Moralists

The Republican Party's current problems are rooted in its recent success. In the process of expanding its base, the GOP has moved further to the right and is beginning to show signs of fragmentation. The near doubling in size of the Moralism group -- from 10% of all adults in 1987 to 18% today -- illustrates the GOP's gains among white Southerners and Evangelical Protestants. At the national level, the social and cultural conservatism of the Moralists has displaced the fiscal conservatism and pro-business views of the Enterprisers as the dominant strain of Republicanism.

The Enterprisers' political values and demographic characteristics have also changed somewhat. The group described in 1987 displayed moderate views on abortion and issues of personal freedom. They are still more moderate on some issues like gay rights, but are now the Moralists' equal in anti-abortion sentiment. Enterprisers are no longer the most affluent typology group, and they don't fit the image of country club Republicans as well as they did in 1987. Many are devotees of radio talk show host Rush Limbaugh.

Some former Enterprisers appear to have migrated to a new typology group, the Libertarians. They now make up only 4% of the adult population, but they may be a harbinger of a growing rift within the GOP. The issues likely to mobilize the Moralists tend to drive the Libertarians away from the party, and vice versa. As shown in the table below, these groups come into direct conflict on social tolerance and business attitudes. Ironically, the largest group within a party historically associated with business interests is in some respects anti-business.

The Moralists now dominate the Republican Party in Southern regions and in rural America, where they are now about twice as numerous as Enterprisers and Libertarians combined. Accounting for about a quarter of politically active adults in the South, Moralists are Oliver North's base in his Virginia Senate campaign, and have helped South Carolina gubernatorial candidate David Beasley become a rising star in the party.

In the Midwest, the Moralists also outnumber the other Republican-oriented groups, but by a smaller margin (20% vs. 15%). Their impact is evidenced by religious fundamentalist Allen Quist's challenge to Republican incumbent Governor Arne Carlson in Minnesota.

On the East and West coasts, and in cities and suburbs, the Moralists have not overtaken the other two GOP groups. It is not surprising, then, that Republican Governors Wilson of California, Weld of Massachusetts, and Whitman of New Jersey are more conventional, pro-business Republicans.

The Democratic Party Today: Discordant And Dispirited

While the GOP is now experiencing its own internal dissension, the Democrats continue to be the less cohesive party. Its primary constituencies are four disparate groups, differing by race, class and political values. Historically, the Democrats have had a more difficult time organizing their troops, but what is most alarming for the party today is the dispirited state of the rank and file. Only the Partisan Poor demonstrates a strong loyalty to the party, and even this group lacks the energy and enthusiasm of the Enterprisers on the Republican side.

The Partisan Poor and the New Dealers, two key voting blocs in FDR's coalition, represent the party's past. In the postwar era, they have clashed over racial issues, and the predominately white, socially conservative New Dealers became an political target for Republican presidential candidates. While this group has been reduced by aging, many also appear to have defected to the GOP. Their numbers have slipped from 11% in 1987 to 8% today.

The two groups that represent the future for the Democratic Party -- New Democrats and Seculars -- distance themselves more from the party (62% and 46%, respectively, call themselves Democrats). New Democrats have a pro-business orientation that sets them apart from the rest of the party, and they also disagree with party liberals on race and social issues. Seculars, despite liberal Democratic values, feel estranged from the party establishment. Their differences with the party have little to do with ideology. Instead, they see the party as old and tired. A majority of Seculars (66%) believe white males have too much say Washington politics, and want women, blacks and other minorities to have a greater voice. Six in ten (62%) Seculars think the country needs a third major party, but clearly Ross Perot was not what they had in mind. Only the Partisan Poor gave Perot a smaller share of their vote in 1992.

The New Democrats and Seculars share a commitment to the environment and dovish foreign policy views, but show potential to clash over race and social tolerance issues. Neither group regards Bill Clinton as a political hero. Their differences in religious belief and social tolerance shows why dealing with issues like abortion and gays rights is so politically risky for Clinton.

The concentrations of Seculars on the East and West coasts tilt the party to the left in those regions (15% of all adults in the Northeast, 12% in the West). Their greater numbers help explain the 1992 Senate victories of two Democratic women -- Diane Feinstein and Barbara Boxer -- in California. If Mario Cuomo is to be re-elected Governor in New York, maximizing the Secular vote will be critical. In the Midwest, Seculars and New Democrats are at about equal strength (8% vs. 9%).

The situation is very different in the South. New Democrats outnumber Seculars in the Southern region by a two-to-one margin (11% vs. 4%) tilting the party rightward. This is also the region where the two older Democratic-oriented groups -- the Partisan Poor and New Dealers -- are most numerous, together accounting for 18% all adults compared with 12% in the non-South.

Independents: Disconnected And Disillusioned

Since 1987, the center of the political typology has changed even more than the right or left. The two politically active Independent-oriented groups -- New Economy Independents and the Embittered -- differ from Independent groups in the previous typology in both demographic

characteristics and political values. Members of one group, the largest in the new typology, are fearful of losing their middle class status. Many members of the second group are not yet in the middle class and have little hope of reaching that level.

These two Independent groups highlight the link between political discontent and economic anxiety in this country today. New Economy Independents and the Embittered differ in many ways, but they share feelings of high financial pressure, distrust of politicians and lack of faith in America. They are among those with the darkest view of their personal future. One-third of working people in both groups doubt they will ever earn enough money to lead the kind of life they want.

These groups also exemplify the failures of the two major parties -- especially the Democrats -- to respond to economic and social changes. Both groups, the larger one with high proportions of single mothers, and the other with concentrations of minorities and poor people, are natural Democratic constituencies. Moreover, both groups have a family connection to the party. Roughly half the Embittered (51%) and a plurality of New Economy Independents (44%) report that their parents generally voted for Democrats.

New Economy Independents have a set of conflicting political values that makes them unresponsive to traditional partisan appeals. Although their pro-environment views and low militancy level pull them toward the Democratic Party, their lack of faith in government and more conservative views on race pull them in the other direction. Unlike the Embittered, however, they are less attracted to the GOP by moral issues. In fact, they are highly tolerant of gays.

Composed primarily of working-class women, this group -- like the Seculars -- believes political discourse is too dominated by white males. Many of them voted for Perot to express their dissatisfaction with the status quo, and say they would do so again, but he may not be their ideal candidate. Texas Governor Ann Richards, who maintains public favor while many of her colleagues seen their ratings sink, is the kind of politician who appeals to this group. Illinois gubernatorial candidate Dawn Clark Netsch, campaigning against business as usual, would seem to be a candidate with a natural appeal to this group.

The Embittered have broken away from the Democratic Party in part because they have lost faith in government's ability to improve their lives. This is the only group that strongly believes discrimination has been the major barrier to blacks' progress but does *not* strongly endorse social welfare programs. Three-quarters (73%) of the Embittered say government is always wasteful and inefficient.

Another factor is their differences with the Democratic party on issues of personal morality. This is evidenced in the Embittered's tendency to think the GOP does a better job promoting traditional values (37% vs. 33%) and promoting morality and personal responsibility (42% vs. 34%). Ted Kennedy, who symbolized the Democrats' problems on these issues, receives a 56% unfavorable rating among this group.

The Embittered, like the New Economy Independents, also have doubts about the party's competence. By 40% to 33%, they have more trust in the GOP to manage the federal government.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TYPOLOGY GROUPS

	<i>Enterprisers</i>	<i>Moralists</i>	<i>Libertarians</i>	<i>New Econ. Independents</i>	<i>The Em- bittered</i>	<i>Bystanders</i>	<i>Seculars</i>	<i>New Democrats</i>	<i>New Dealers</i>	<i>Partisan Poor</i>
<i>Total</i>	10	18	4	18	7	8	9	10	7	7
<i>Sex</i>										
Men	60	53	73	40	47	42	45	40	50	44
Women	40	47	27	60	53	58	55	60	50	56
<i>Race</i>										
White	97	95	97	87	71	80	90	81	86	58
Black	2	2	*	9	23	9	5	15	11	36
Hispanic	1	2	2	4	4	11	4	6	2	8
Asian	*	*	1	*	1	2	1	1	-	-
Other	1	1	1	3	4	9	2	2	3	5
<i>Age</i>										
18-29	14	16	22	26	19	51	29	22	7	11
30-49	44	42	40	48	41	35	47	43	30	36
50-64	18	24	18	17	21	10	11	14	30	25
65+	23	18	20	8	17	4	12	19	32	28
<i>Education</i>										
College Graduate	33	20	41	19	14	5	44	19	10	13
Some College	30	22	28	26	21	16	27	20	16	14
High School Grad.	30	42	26	42	41	49	23	40	45	38
< H.S. Grad.	7	16	5	13	24	30	6	21	29	35
<i>Region</i>										
East	19	16	20	22	17	23	35	22	18	14
Midwest	27	26	22	25	32	19	22	22	24	25
South	32	40	25	30	35	37	16	37	42	46
West	22	18	33	23	16	21	27	19	16	15

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TYPOLOGY GROUPS con't

	<i>Enterprisers</i>	<i>Moralists</i>	<i>Libertarians</i>	<i>New Econ. Independents</i>	<i>The Em- bittered</i>	<i>Bystanders</i>	<i>Seculars</i>	<i>New Democrats</i>	<i>New Dealers</i>	<i>Partisan Poor</i>
<i>Family Income</i>										
\$75,000+	16	7	17	6	4	5	14	5	5	3
\$50,000-\$74,999	17	15	25	13	8	7	13	10	10	7
\$30,000-\$49,999	31	31	24	30	24	22	28	25	24	17
\$20,000-\$29,999	14	16	12	19	25	22	16	21	20	20
< \$20,000	12	21	12	25	31	34	20	27	33	44
<i>Marital Status</i>										
Married	70	67	55	51	57	44	42	54	62	48
Single	16	13	24	23	19	37	37	21	9	14
Divorced/Separated	9	12	12	19	15	16	14	16	10	19
Widowed	6	8	10	7	8	3	7	9	19	19
Parent	35	36	24	43	41	44	30	41	20	32
Single Mother	2	4	0	11	11	13	7	9	3	7
<i>Union Household</i>										
Yes	12	17	8	17	21	14	16	18	25	19
No	88	83	92	83	79	86	83	82	75	81
<i>Religion/Race</i>										
White Protestant	66	66	46	50	43	47	28	47	58	36
Black Protestant	1	1	1	6	19	7	3	11	9	31
Catholic	26	24	22	27	23	26	19	29	26	25
Jewish	1	1	6	2	*	1	11	2	2	1
<i>Community</i>										
Large City	17	17	23	19	20	20	24	21	22	21
Suburb	28	23	33	25	16	20	29	23	16	16
Small City/Town	36	35	28	39	40	37	34	38	38	39
Rural Area	19	25	16	17	23	23	13	18	24	24

Despite their differences with the Democratic Party, the Embittered are not much attracted to the GOP, the party of business and the affluent. They prefer the Democrats on the key issue of jobs by nearly a two-to-one (47% vs. 26%), while New Economy Independents rate the two parties close to even (41% Democrats, 35% GOP).

The Embittered may well have been part of the coalition that elected Republican Bret Schundler in Jersey City, New Jersey, last year. Certainly, there is growing awareness that blacks are no longer in the pocket of the Democratic Party. Jesse Jackson's proposed third or fourth party candidacy might find support among this group as well as the New Economy Independents.

The Typology And Generational Politics

In the original typology, four of the 10 politically active groups had a distinct generational flavor, suggesting that values formed at the time of political socialization continued to affect contemporary political attitudes and behaviors. Two of these groups representing the pre-World War II generation -- The New Dealers and Partisan Poor -- recur in the new typology. No longer evident, however, is a unique set of political values associated with the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1960s, embodied in the '60s Democrats of the original typology. Also missing is the Upbeats, a GOP-leaning Independent group that reflected the "don't worry, be happy" mid-1980s. The recession and today's environment of economic uncertainty are probably responsible.

In effect, the electorate now divides politically at about age 50 -- between those born before and after World War II, or perhaps more importantly, between those who came of age before the television era and those who grew up with television. The Seculars and the New Economy Independents each have a set of values associated with people who came of age in the postwar era. But these two groups include as many individuals aged 30-49, essentially the baby-boom generation, as they do younger people who are often referred to as Generation X.

The youngest segment of the adult population analyzed -- those aged 18 to 26 years -- were too young to have been interviewed for the original typology survey in 1987. The typology group distribution for these young people, many of whom will be first-time voters in the 1994 and 1996 elections, reflects the recent partisan de-alignment. The largest clusters for 18-24 year-olds are the Bystanders (21%) and New Economy Independents (22%). The four Democratic-oriented clusters (29%) are only slightly larger in size than the three GOP-oriented clusters (29% vs. 24%).

The Typology And The Politics Of Black Americans

Trends in party identification among blacks show little change over the past seven years. The typology group distributions, however, indicate that a major change in black political thinking has taken place below the surface. Although blacks are no more inclined to embrace Republican attitudes, they have become less prone to hold a set of political values that is explicitly Democratic. As a result, Democrats can no longer take the black vote for granted.

In the new typology, only 5% of all black adults are classified in one of the three GOP-oriented groups, much like the 4% of blacks who were classed as Enterprisers or Moralists in 1987. More positive attitudes toward government, more negative opinions of business, and

greater support for social welfare programs are among the key political values of blacks that tend to keep most of them out of the GOP.

Over the same time period, however, the number of blacks classified in the four most solidly Democratic groups has fallen from 63% to 54%. Nearly one-third of the black adult population are now Independent-oriented in their thinking: 16% are New Economy Independents and another 16% are counted among the Embittered.

The generational changes in African Americans' loyalty to the Democratic Party are seen in shrinking size of the Partisan Poor group. Nearly half (44%) of blacks over 50 fall into this group, compared with only about one-fourth (23%) of those aged 30-49, and fewer still (14%) of blacks under 30. The Partisan Poor are also less common among urban blacks.

No single political way of thinking is predominate among blacks under 30. The largest cluster are New Economy Independents (23%), followed by Bystanders (17%), the Embittered (16%), New Democrats (15%) and Partisan Poor (14%).

The Typology And The Politics Of Gender

The new typology delineates the political values that underlie partisan differences between men and women in the 1990s. Women are less critical of government, more supportive of federal programs for the poor, more reluctant to use military force, and more tolerant of alternative lifestyles. Women are also tend to feel more financially pressured than men. All these differences tend to push women toward the left side of the political spectrum and men more toward the right.

- * New Economy Independents, one of the two groups with the highest proportions of women (60%), have a "female" set of values with one exception -- they are relatively critical of government. Together with the race issue, this may be enough to keep them out of the Democratic Party -- but not enough to embrace the GOP.
- * New Democrats are the other group dominated by women (60%). In this case, it is their extraordinarily positive view of government that seems critical to their identification with the Democratic Party. Their pro-business stance and more conservative views on race are more consistent with a Republican way of thinking.
- * The two predominately male groups are Republican-oriented and share a deep skepticism toward government and strong opposition to social welfare programs: Enterprisers (60% male) and Libertarians (73% male).

POLITICAL PROFILE OF TYPOLOGY GROUPS

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Enter- prisers</i>	<i>Moral- ists</i>	<i>Liber- tarians</i>	<i>New Econ. Indeps.</i>	<i>Embit- tered</i>	<i>Bystanders</i>	<i>Seculars</i>	<i>New Dems.</i>	<i>New Dealers</i>	<i>Partisan Poor</i>
<i>Party ID</i>											
Republican	29	75	65	54	17	16	15	6	6	1	*
Democrat	33	2	1	5	27	36	25	47	62	82	89
Independent	35	22	30	40	52	39	52	46	29	15	9
Repub./Lean Repub.	45	95	92	81	39	34	35	14	12	3	1
Dem./Lean Dem.	47	3	4	14	48	51	47	77	81	94	99
<i>Past Vote*</i>											
Clinton	44	6	14	20	45	51	--	74	69	70	83
Bush	37	79	66	52	25	28	--	11	15	13	8
Perot	19	14	20	27	29	21	--	14	15	17	9
Other	*	2	*	1	2	1	--	1	*	0	0
<i>1996 Vote Preference**</i>											
Clinton	39	7	11	20	37	49	--	73	61	65	71
Dole	36	79	63	57	27	21	--	10	15	14	10
Perot	20	10	22	17	30	25	--	14	18	19	16
Other/Undecided	5	4	4	6	6	5	--	3	6	2	3
<i>Clinton Approval</i>											
Approve	45	12	23	30	41	44	44	74	70	60	78
Disapprove	46	83	71	62	48	45	34	17	23	32	16
No Opinion	9	5	6	8	11	11	22	9	7	8	6
<i>Evangelicals</i>											
Republican											
Evangelicals***	17	34	44	7	13	14	12	2	5	1	*
White Democratic											
Evangelicals***	15	1	2	2	12	20	14	2	31	38	51
Black Democratic											
Evangelicals***	13	*	1	1	9	18	10	1	25	34	52
<i>Political Knowledge</i>											
High	29	55	29	47	23	23	10	49	19	18	19
Medium	29	27	35	31	31	28	23	26	28	36	25
Low	42	18	36	22	46	49	67	25	53	46	56

POLITICAL PROFILE OF TYPOLOGY GROUPS con't

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Enter- prisers</i>	<i>Moral- ists</i>	<i>Liber- tarians</i>	<i>New Econ. Indeps.</i>	<i>Embit- tered</i>	<i>Bystanders</i>	<i>Seculars</i>	<i>New Dems.</i>	<i>New Dealers</i>	<i>Partisan Poor</i>
<i>Political Vocalization</i>											
Regular Listener											
To Talk Radio	17	34	17	23	16	13	10	15	12	13	13
Contacted Washington											
In Past 12 Months	26	45	30	34	24	22	5	34	22	26	14
Both	6	19	6	8	5	5	1	6	4	4	3
Neither	64	40	59	51	65	70	86	57	70	65	77

* Based on those who report having voted for President in 1992

** Based on registered voters

*** Includes Leaners

SECTION 4: CONSEQUENCES

The impact of the changes in voter values and attitudes has major consequences for key areas of U.S. political life. These areas are arranged into four categories: priorities, policy issues, voter intentions, and institutions.

PUBLIC PRIORITIES

With the Cold War over, the public's priorities have shifted away from foreign affairs in favor of domestic issues. Over the past year, after having been an important issue at the local level for some time, national surveys find that crime has supplanted economic concerns as the country's top problem. In January 1992, only 3% of the public named crime as the top problem in a national Times Mirror Center survey. In the July 1994 survey, crime was cited as the most important problem by roughly one-fourth (26%) of the public.

Next on the public's list were health care (14%) and jobs/unemployment (12%). Concerns about public morals, ethics and values placed fourth (9%), followed by poverty and homelessness (7%).

Despite the international trouble spots that have been a focus of news coverage over the past year -- including Bosnia, Haiti, and Cuba -- all mentions of defense and foreign policy problems *combined* account for only 7% of responses to the question about the nation's most important problem.

The public's growing preoccupation with crime and a perceived decline in moral values have worked to the political advantage of the Republicans. Currently, the Republicans have a slight advantage (36% vs. 33%) as the party better able to handle the nation's top problem. During the last presidential campaign, when the economy and jobs were the public's primary focus, the Democrats were generally named more often than the Republicans.

As shown in the following table, those who believe crime is the number one issue are sharply divided on which party has a better approach to dealing with it, a view that may explain the difficulties Congress experienced in reaching agreement on a crime bill. By contrast, health care -- like poverty and homelessness -- is an issue of greater concern to Democrats and one on which the Democratic Party is regarded as better able to handle. By the same token, the morality issue is generally perceived as Republican turf.

While the public has traditionally held more confidence in the Democrats to deal with unemployment, this concern is now broader and encompasses *underemployment* as well as joblessness. At present, the Democrats have a sizeable edge on the issue of jobs and unemployment.

**POLITICAL PARTY BEST ABLE TO HANDLE
MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM**

Cited As Most Important Problem:

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Crime</i>	<i>Health Care</i>	<i>Unempl./ Jobs</i>	<i>Morality/ Values</i>	<i>Poverty/ Homeless</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Total	100	26	14	12	9	7
Which Party Better Able To Handle That Problem:						
Republican	36	36	27	32	54	26
Democrat	33	32	48	46	17	50
No Difference	16	17	12	11	18	14
Don't Know	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Crime now rates as the top concern of all 10 typology groups, but it is mentioned most often by two of the more affluent groups (the Republican-oriented Enterprisers and Libertarians) and two middle class groups (New Economy Independents and New Democrats). Issues other than crime are salient to a more narrow segment of the electorate:

- * Health Care is of greatest concern to two Democratic groups, one composed of liberal social reformers (Seculars) and the other a group containing a high proportion of retired people (New Dealers).
- * Jobs is most on the minds of three Democratic-oriented groups, the Partisan Poor, New Dealers and New Democrats.
- * Morality matters most to the Enterprisers and Moralists, the groups with the highest numbers of white Evangelicals.
- * Poverty is named as the top concern by two of the least affluent groups, the Partisan Poor and the Bystanders.

Another issue -- the federal budget deficit -- is of secondary concern to most of the public, but rates as a top concern among a specific typology group: the Libertarians. Thirteen percent of Libertarians cited the deficit as the top problem, placing it second only to crime on their list. This might help explain Perot's appeal to this group in 1992.

**MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM
BY TYPOLOGY GROUP**

	<i>Crime %</i>	<i>Health Care %</i>	<i>Unemploy./ Jobs %</i>	<i>Morality/ Values %</i>	<i>Poverty/ Homeless %</i>
<i>Total</i>	26	14	12	9	7
<i>Enterprisers</i>	29	9	5	18	1
<i>Moralists</i>	21	11	12	14	4
<i>Libertarians</i>	30	7	4	5	2
<i>New Economy</i>					
<i>Independents</i>	31	13	11	5	9
<i>The Embittered</i>	26	14	10	9	7
<i>Bystanders</i>	21	13	14	6	11
<i>Seculars</i>	25	19	12	6	8
<i>New Democrats</i>	29	16	16	6	9
<i>New Dealers</i>	24	20	18	6	6
<i>Partisan Poor</i>	27	16	17	5	11

While economic concerns are less on peoples' minds than a few years ago, they remain just as high as ever on the public's order of priorities for the President's attention. Since December of last year, Times Mirror has asked survey respondents to choose one issue from a list of five as Bill Clinton's top priority. Results to this question now show "reducing crime" holding the top position (24%). But Americans are about equally likely to select "improving the job situation" (23%), and nearly as apt to choose "reducing the budget deficit" (21%). "Reforming health care" (15%) and "reforming the welfare system" (15%), now bring up the rear.

Since last December, crime and welfare reform have risen slightly in their importance to the public, while jobs has declined modestly. Health care reform, despite all the debate this year on the issue, has never climbed above fourth place since then.

Crime has a lot of competition from other issues as a priority among the various typology groups. On the GOP side, Enterprisers cite the deficit slightly higher than they do crime and welfare reform nearly as high as crime while Moralists give crime and the deficit about equal priority. Libertarians see both crime and welfare as secondary to the deficit, their defining issue.

In the center of the electorate, jobs takes on greater importance, sharing the top position with crime among New Economy Independents, Bystanders and the Embittered.

On the Democratic side of the electorate, jobs are clearly number one in the minds of New Dealers and the Partisan Poor. New Democrats put jobs on a par with crime. Seculars alone among the groups say health care should be Clinton's top concern.

**PRIORITIES FOR THE PRESIDENT
BY TYPOLOGY GROUP**

	<i>Reducing Crime %</i>	<i>Improving Job Situation %</i>	<i>Reducing Deficit %</i>	<i>Reforming Health Care %</i>	<i>Reforming Welfare %</i>
<i>Total</i>	24	23	21	15	15
<i>Enterprisers</i>	28	9	31	5	25
<i>Moralists</i>	27	20	27	8	17
<i>Libertarians</i>	22	18	32	7	20
<i>New Economy</i>					
<i>Independents</i>	26	25	20	15	13
<i>The Embittered</i>	24	25	18	18	14
<i>Bystanders</i>	27	31	14	13	12
<i>Seculars</i>	17	20	17	30	13
<i>New Democrats</i>	27	26	19	17	10
<i>New Dealers</i>	18	30	16	18	14
<i>Partisan Poor</i>	19	34	13	21	11

Bill Clinton's job performance ratings on these five specific issues are even lower than his overall approval rating. Last July, he scored a 45% rating overall, but received lower scores for his handling of the jobs situation (40%), health care policy (39%), welfare reform (38%), crime (35%), and the federal budget deficit (31%).

On four other issues tested, the public gave Clinton equally negative scores on two items, his handling of the economy (38%) and foreign policy (38%). His approval exceeded the 50% mark for only two of the other four issues tested, relations with Russia (62%) and race relations (57%).

**APPROVAL OF CLINTON'S HANDLING
OF VARIOUS ISSUES**

	<i>Approve %</i>	<i>Disapprove %</i>	<i>Don't Know %</i>
<i>Relations With Russia</i>	62	22	16 = 100
<i>Race Relations</i>	57	27	16 = 100
OVERALL	45	46	9 = 100
<i>Jobs Situation</i>	40	52	8 = 100
<i>Health Care Policy</i>	39	54	7 = 100
<i>Welfare Reform</i>	38	50	12 = 100
<i>Foreign Policy</i>	38	53	9 = 100
<i>Economic Conditions</i>	38	56	6 = 100
<i>Crime</i>	35	55	10 = 100
<i>Federal Budget Deficit</i>	31	58	11 = 100

Analysis of issue priorities and Clinton job approval ratings for the various typology groups highlights the President's vulnerabilities across the political spectrum. The deficit and crime are two issues that register a high negative impact² for all three Republican groups -- Enterprisers, Moralists and Libertarians. Welfare reform -- which has taken a back seat to health care reform -- is an issue compounding the President's problems among the very vocal Enterprisers.

In the center of the electorate, crime and jobs are the issues most damaging to Clinton politically, although the deficit also plays a role.

Despite the improving economy, the jobs issue is hurting Clinton somewhat among his Democratic base. Among both the Partisan Poor and the New Democrats, two groups that have become less likely to vote to re-elect the President, the jobs issue is having a high negative impact.

ISSUE IMPACT ON PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

*Cited As TOP PRIORITY For Clinton
And DISAPPROVE Of Clinton's Handling Of That Issue*

	<i>Reducing Crime</i>	<i>Improving Job Situation</i>	<i>Reducing Deficit</i>	<i>Reforming Welfare</i>	<i>Reforming Health Care</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Total</i>	16	16	15	9	4
<i>Enterprisers</i>	23	6	24	18	3
<i>Moralists</i>	19	15	20	12	5
<i>Libertarians</i>	18	12	24	14	1
<i>New Economy</i>					
<i>Independents</i>	19	19	15	9	6
<i>The Embittered</i>	15	24	15	10	7
<i>Bystanders</i>	16	18	16	7	4
<i>Seculars</i>	8	10	10	7	4
<i>New Democrats</i>	13	16	9	3	2
<i>New Dealers</i>	14	14	10	5	5
<i>Partisan Poor</i>	9	21	5	8	4

² An issue scores a high negative impact if 15% or more of a typology group's members rate it the President's top priority and disapprove of the way he is handling the issue.

ISSUES

Americans are more divided on economic and social policy issues, with those divisions evident on the left as well as the right as well as the public as a whole. There is more consensus on issues involving foreign policy and crime.

In foreign policy, substantial support was shown across the board for using U.S. military force to prevent North Korea from obtaining nuclear weapons. For the most part, Democratic- and Republican-oriented groups say they favor such a policy. Those least likely to express support for the use of force in North Korea are the liberally-oriented Seculars. Even among this group, however, nearly 70% say they would favor this course of action. New Dealers are the most likely to favor using force in North Korea (78% in favor) followed closely by Moralists (77%).

Americans are far less likely to favor the use of force to restore democracy in Haiti. A minority of the public -- 43% -- say they would favor such a policy. Democratic groups are more inclined toward committing U.S. forces in Haiti than are the Republican groups. Among New Democrats, 52% say they favor the use of force there, with the Partisan Poor and New Dealers also counted among the most supportive. Enterprisers and the Embittered express least support -- only 33% and 34% in favor, respectively.

In general, the public wants to keep nuclear weapons out of the hands of a distant, unfriendly regime than it wants to restore democracy to a nearby, Third World nation. U.S. administrations are likely to see these attitudes reflected in the degree of public support for its foreign initiatives.

A Consensus On Crime

Crime has topped the list of the nation's most important problems for some time now. This concern is clearly illustrated in the overwhelming public support for a policy of lifetime jail sentences with no chance of parole for anyone convicted of three or more violent crimes -- the so-called "three strikes and you're out" approach. Eighty-five percent of the public say they favor such a policy, including at least 75% of each typology group. Seculars and the Partisan Poor are the least likely to favor this policy, but the uniformity on this issue is nonetheless remarkable.

On another crime-related issue, gun control, support for restrictions on hand gun sales is less intense and less consistent. Fifty-eight percent of Americans say they would favor a policy restricting the sale of hand guns. Seculars, although least likely to favor the "three strikes" policy, are most likely to favor hand gun control (75% in favor). New Independents and New Democrats are also more likely than most to say they favor tougher gun control policies. Overall, Republicans are less likely to favor gun control than Democrats, and Enterprisers are the least likely of all.

On economic issues, large majorities of the public favor new federal spending for education and job training for American workers whose jobs have been eliminated. Eighty-eight percent of the public say they would favor such an initiative, with higher levels of support coming from Seculars and New Economy Independents and more tepid support coming from Enterprisers and Libertarians. Predictably, nearly all New Economy Independents (95%) favor this type of federal spending; job security is a major concern among them, and they are among the most likely beneficiaries of such programs. Similarly, Libertarians, one of the most fiscally conservative groups in the public, are most resistant to new federal spending initiatives.

In contrast to attitudes on federal job training and education programs, far fewer Americans are willing to pay higher taxes to cut the deficit. Again, Enterprisers are most resistant to such a policy; only 16% favor it. Republicans are united on this particular issue. Only one out of four Moralists and an equal proportion of Libertarians would be willing to pay higher income taxes for this purpose.

Democrats Split On Taxes To Cut Deficit

Democrats, on the other hand, are largely divided on the issue. Forty-one percent of Seculars and 36% of New Democrats favor higher taxes for reducing the deficit; but only 24% of New Dealers and 33% of the Partisan Poor say they would be willing to make such a sacrifice.

Independent groups line up with the Republican-oriented groups on deficit reduction, though presumably more for economic than ideological reasons. New Economy Independents and the Embittered may also be concerned about the deficit, but their own economic circumstances could be driving them against new taxes for this purpose.

More than any other economic policy proposal, reducing the capital gains tax to encourage investment in U.S. companies appeals to the Republican-oriented groups, but it also gets majority support from every other group as well. Eighty-three percent of Enterprisers say they would favor a cut in the capital gains tax, 82% of Libertarians agree, as do 71% of Moralists. Least support comes from the Partisan Poor, but most of them are nonetheless in favor (54%), with Independent groups in the middle (roughly seven out of ten in favor).

Trade Issues Divisive

Free trade appears divisive for Democrats and Republicans alike. A majority of the public (62%) favors free trade agreements between the United States and other countries, such as NAFTA and GATT. Moralists are much less likely to favor such agreements than are Enterprisers and Libertarians. While Seculars and Enterprisers don't agree on much, this is an issue where they do see eye to eye. Among both groups 75% say they favor NAFTA-like agreements, a full 13% points higher than the average. New Dealers and the Partisan Poor are much less likely to favor free trade; both blue collar Democratic groups are evenly split on this issue. New Democrats, on the other hand, are closer to Seculars, with over two out of three (68%) favoring free trade agreements.

Social policy initiatives stir a great deal of controversy among the various typology groups. Medicaid funding for abortions is a particularly divisive issue. Forty-three percent of the public say they favor allowing government Medicaid benefits to help pay for abortions for low-income women. Across typology groups the percent in favor of such a policy ranges from a low of 28% among Enterprisers to a high of 79% among Seculars. Moralists are close to Enterprisers on this issue (26% in favor), while Libertarians are a world apart (66% in favor). New Democrats, New Dealers and the Partisan Poor are all of a like mind on the issue of Medicaid funding for abortion, around 40% of each group say they would favor such a policy. Half of New Economy Independents say they would favor this type of funding, while only 37% of the Embittered agree -- not surprising given that they are more religious overall than the New Economy group.

On the issue of employer mandates as part of a health care reform package, the parties are less divided. Among the four Democratically-oriented groups, roughly seven out of ten favor reform that would require employers to pay most insurance costs for their workers. New Dealers are slightly less likely to favor an employer mandate, probably because many in this aging group are already enjoying Medicare benefits. On the right, Enterprisers (25%) and Libertarians (38%) are the least likely to favor employer mandates, while most Moralists (55%) are in favor.

Shifting Allies On The Right

Conservative alliances shift again on the issue of allowing gays to serve openly in the military. Here Enterprisers and Moralists are closely aligned in opposition. Libertarians, on the other hand, are overwhelmingly in favor. Democratic groups are also divided on this issue. Seculars stand out in favor of such a policy (88%), while less than half of New Dealers and the Partisan Poor share the same view.

New Economy Independents and the Embittered are also divided on gays in the military. The attitude of the Embittered is probably related to their intense religious beliefs; much as they oppose abortion, they may well oppose the homosexual lifestyle more generally.

Public opinion is more consistent -- and largely opposed -- on welfare benefits, both for Americans and for illegal immigrants living in this country. Overall, more than three out of four Americans say they would favor a two-year limit for welfare beneficiaries. Nearly as many, 69%, would favor changing U.S. policy so illegal immigrants are not eligible for welfare, Medicaid and other government benefits. The only group to show less than overwhelming support for both of these initiatives is the Partisan Poor, many of whom are probably welfare recipients themselves. There is strong support for welfare reform among Enterprisers and Libertarians, both staunchly anti-big government in their thinking.

Smoking Ban Majorities

The last social issue in the survey dealt with attitudes toward banning cigarette smoking in all public places. Overall, 57% of the public favors a smoking ban. Bystanders and New Dealers are the only two groups in which a majority was opposed.

More bad news for Congress comes in strong public support for congressional term limits. Always a popular issue, the idea attracts overwhelming support today (80%). This proposal finds its greatest support among Libertarians, Moralists and New Dealers, and least among Seculars.

Finally, the issue of school prayer continues to divide the public and highlight the sharp schisms within the two major parties over issues dealing with religion and morality. On the Republican side, Enterprisers and Moralists are united in their support for a constitutional amendment allowing prayer in school (86% and 88% in favor, respectively). Libertarians are much less inclined to favor school prayer (52% in favor). Large majorities of both Independent groups favor prayer in school, as do at least 75% of all New Democrats, New Dealers and Partisan Poor. Seculars stand out among the crowd on this issue, with less than a third in favor of such a constitutional amendment.

VIEWS ON THE ISSUES BY TYPOLOGY GROUP
(Percent Who FAVOR)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Enter- prisers</i>	<i>Moral- ists</i>	<i>Liber- tarians</i>	<i>New Econ. Indeps.</i>	<i>Embit- tered</i>	<i>Bystanders</i>	<i>Seculars</i>	<i>New Dems.</i>	<i>New Dealers</i>	<i>Partisan Poor</i>
<i>Foreign Policy:</i>											
Using U.S. military force to prevent N. Korea from obtaining nuclear weapons	71	70	77	70	70	70	71	63	73	78	68
Using U.S. military force to restore democracy in Haiti	43	33	45	44	40	34	40	40	52	50	51
<i>Crime:</i>											
Restricting sale of hand guns	58	40	53	56	64	59	62	75	63	54	58
Three-strikes and your out policy	85	87	89	88	89	80	83	75	85	84	76
<i>Economics:</i>											
Increasing income tax to reduce deficit	26	16	24	24	24	21	25	41	36	24	33
Free trade agreements between U.S. and other countries (like NAFTA)	62	75	55	73	62	55	57	75	68	49	51

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Enter- prisers</i>	<i>Moral- ists</i>	<i>Liber- tarians</i>	<i>New Econ. Indeps.</i>	<i>Embit- tered</i>	<i>Bystanders</i>	<i>Seculars</i>	<i>New Dems.</i>	<i>New Dealers</i>	<i>Partisan Poor</i>
New federal spending for education and job training for displaced American workers	88	70	89	80	95	86	90	96	89	86	89
Reducing capital gains tax to encourage invest- ment in U.S. companies	69	83	71	82	72	69	60	69	65	61	54
<i>Social Policy:</i>											
Allowing Medicaid to help pay for abortions	43	28	26	66	51	37	45	79	41	38	39
Health care reform requiring employer mandate	62	25	55	38	73	65	72	72	76	68	72
Allowing gays to serve openly in the military	52	34	30	66	71	44	51	88	54	46	43
Two-year limit on welfare benefits	76	85	85	84	75	70	68	69	73	79	58
Eliminating welfare and other benefits for illegal immigrants	69	83	75	86	72	65	58	63	57	72	55

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Enter- prisers</i>	<i>Moral- ists</i>	<i>Liber- tarians</i>	<i>New Econ. Indeps.</i>	<i>Embit- tered</i>	<i>Bystanders</i>	<i>Seculars</i>	<i>New Dems.</i>	<i>New Dealers</i>	<i>Partisan Poor</i>
<i>Other:</i>											
Total ban on cigarette smoking in all public places	57	51	63	62	55	56	48	61	65	45	54
Term limitations for members of Congress	80	81	84	89	86	80	70	69	76	83	73
Constitutional Amend- ment allowing prayer in schools	74	86	88	52	73	85	69	31	75	77	80

(Based on Q.25)

INTENTIONS

Clinton Approval

When we asked Americans in July how they felt about the job Bill Clinton is doing as President, we found them evenly divided. Forty-five percent of the public said they approve of the way Clinton is handling his job; a nearly equal proportion (46%) said they disapprove. Six weeks later, when we called back a sample of the same respondents, the disapproval rate had risen to 52%, reflecting the difficulty he had in getting the crime bill passed and his reduced hopes for health care reform this year.

These numbers mask a deeper problem Clinton faces: those who disapprove of the job the President is doing are more likely to hold strong opinions than those who approve. Twenty-nine percent of the public express strong disapproval of Clinton, only 17% express strong approval.

Independents, GOP Down On President

Predictably, Clinton receives his highest overall job approval ratings from Democratic-oriented groups and his lowest ratings from Republicans. Independents fall in between, but like Republicans, they are more likely to express strongly negative views of the President than strongly positive ones.

Enterprisers, who are not only the most partisan Republican group in the electorate but are also the most politically vocal, are the least approving of Clinton overall; 83% disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job, and 68% disapprove very strongly. Clinton's strongest supporters, the Partisan Poor, show nowhere near that level of intensity in their approval of the President. Seventy-eight percent of the Partisan Poor say they approve of the job Clinton is doing, but only 42% characterize that approval as very strong. Noteworthy in this respect is that the Partisan Poor are the least politically vocal group in the electorate, with the exception of Bystanders.

In sum, Democrats are less intensely positive toward Bill Clinton and less likely to articulate their approval. Republicans feel more strongly about the president and are more likely to make their voices heard.

Clinton Approval by Typology Group

	<i>APPROVE</i>		<i>DISAPPROVE</i>		<i>No Opinion</i>
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Strongly</i>	
<i>Total</i>	45	17	46	29	9 = 100
<i>Enterprisers</i>	12	4	83	68	5 = 100
<i>Moralists</i>	23	5	71	51	6 = 100
<i>Libertarians</i>	30	7	62	40	8 = 100
<i>New Economy</i>					
<i>Independents</i>	41	11	48	25	11 = 100
<i>Embittered</i>	44	18	45	26	11 = 100
<i>Bystanders</i>	45	11	34	16	21 = 100
<i>Seculars</i>	74	33	17	6	9 = 100
<i>New Democrats</i>	70	33	23	11	7 = 100
<i>New Dealers</i>	60	34	32	20	8 = 100
<i>Partisan Poor</i>	78	42	16	9	6 = 100

1996 Presidential Trial Heats

With approval ratings significantly below the 50% mark, Bill Clinton would have difficulty winning re-election in today's political environment. But many voters who are unhappy with Clinton's performance seem reluctant to vote for a Republican. Voter demand for a major Independent or third party alternative is at least as high in 1994 as it was in 1992, when Clinton was elected with 43% in a three-way race. If Clinton faced the voters in a similar three-way race today, he might still be able to pull out a victory, although perhaps by a closer margin.

Matched in a three-way test election against Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole -- the front-runner in most Republican presidential preference polls -- and Independent Ross Perot, Clinton wins a slight plurality of the vote (39%). Dole places second with 36%, and Perot receives 20%, one point better than his actual share of the vote in 1992. The high vote total for Perot seems to be more an indicator of voters' desire for a third choice than their support for Texas billionaire. The public's view of Perot himself has become more negative since the last presidential election.

An analysis of presidential preferences for 1996 by major demographic and political subgroups, compared to 1992 election results, shows the President losing favor among the following groups:

- * Black Voters. Critical to Clinton's success in the Democratic primaries and the general election, black support has fallen from 85% to 77%, for a loss of 8% points (-8). They have shifted to the Perot column, and appears to represent a protest vote. Many blacks are still waiting for the "jobs, jobs, jobs" which candidate Clinton has failed to deliver.

- * The Least Well Educated. Clinton's support among this traditionally Democratic group has declined from 49% to 41% (-8). Here, too, the shift has been toward Perot. People without a high school education have an especially difficult time in today's economy, and Clinton seems to be held accountable.
- * Union Households. Clinton's vote is down from 52% to 45% (-7) among voters in labor union households. In this case, the shift has been to Bob Dole. In part, this may be a consequence of NAFTA.
- * Jewish Voters. Support for Clinton has dropped from 80% to 65% (-15) among Jewish voters, with Bob Dole the beneficiary of this shift. Among this well educated, affluent group, Clinton is especially vulnerable on crime and foreign policy, and less so on the economy.

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE PREFERENCE
Three-Way Race

	1992*				1996**			
	<i>Clinton</i>	<i>Bush</i>	<i>Perot</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Clinton</i>	<i>Dole</i>	<i>Perot</i>	<i>Other</i>
Total	43	37	19	1=100	39	36	20	5=100
Sex								
Male	38	37	23	2=100	35	39	23	3=100
Female	47	36	16	1=100	43	34	18	5=100
Race								
White	38	40	20	2=100	35	40	21	4=100
Black	85	7	7	1=100	77	6	13	4=100
Hispanic	48	19	31	2=100	48	20	30	2=100
Asian	33	45	21	1=100	53	29	10	8=100
Other	57	23	16	4=100	47	26	20	7=100
Age								
18-29	34	37	27	2=100	35	30	31	4=100
30-49	41	37	21	1=100	36	36	23	5=100
50-64	46	36	16	2=100	43	39	15	3=100
65 +	51	37	11	1=100	45	39	11	5=100
Education								
College Grad.	41	41	17	1=100	40	42	13	5=100
Some College	41	39	19	1=100	38	39	19	4=100
H. S. Grad.	43	34	22	1=100	39	34	23	4=100
< High School	49	32	16	3=100	41	28	26	5=100
Income								
\$75,000 +	36	45	18	1=100	34	44	18	4=100
\$50,000-74,999	35	47	17	1=100	33	48	17	2=100
\$30,000-49,999	41	35	23	1=100	37	37	23	3=100
\$20,000-29,999	44	34	21	1=100	40	34	22	4=100
< \$20,000	52	29	16	3=100	49	26	20	5=100
Marital Status								
Married	38	40	21	1=100	34	40	22	4=100
Single	47	33	19	1=100	44	30	21	5=100
Divorced/ Separated	49	28	21	2=100	52	26	18	4=100
Widowed	59	32	7	2=100	51	33	10	6=100
Parent	39	37	22	2=100	35	35	26	4=100
Union Household								
Yes	52	27	20	1=100	45	30	21	4=100
No	41	39	19	1=100	38	38	20	4=100
Religion/Race								
White Protestant	33	46	19	2=100	31	44	21	4=100
Black Protestant	85	7	7	1=100	79	5	12	4=100
Catholic	41	35	23	1=100	38	35	22	5=100
Jewish	80	11	9	0=100	65	18	8	9=100

	1992*				1996**			
	Clinton	Bush	Perot	Other	Clinton	Dole	Perot	Other
Region								
East	46	33	20	1 = 100	41	33	20	6 = 100
Midwest	41	39	19	1 = 100	39	37	19	5 = 100
South	42	42	15	1 = 100	39	37	21	3 = 100
West	43	30	24	3 = 100	39	38	20	3 = 100
Community Size								
Large City	56	28	15	1 = 100	51	30	15	4 = 100
Suburb	39	40	20	1 = 100	36	40	20	4 = 100
Small City/Town	43	39	17	1 = 100	39	38	19	4 = 100
Rural Area	37	36	24	3 = 100	32	35	27	6 = 100

(Based on Q.3,4 and 53)

* Based on those who report having voted for President in 1992

** Based on registered voters

Analysis of presidential preferences and reported vote by the typology groups goes beyond demographics to identify three types of voters -- one Independent-oriented and two Democratic-oriented -- who have become less likely to vote for Bill Clinton:

- * New Economy Independents. Deeply dissatisfied with the state of the nation, the large group of swing voters gave Clinton 45% of their vote last time, but only 37% said they would vote for him in a 1994 test election (-8). The President is vulnerable on both crime and jobs, the two issues this group rates as his most important priorities.
- * New Democrats. Support for Clinton among his original constituency of pro-business Democrats has declined from 68% to 61% (-7). The issue of crime is a key source of their dissatisfaction.
- * Partisan Poor. No group gave Clinton in larger share of its vote in 1992, but he is losing his hold on this bedrock Democratic group. His support has fallen from 82% to 71% (-11). The jobs issue is their source of dissatisfaction.

In general, patterns of support for hypothetical GOP candidate Bob Dole mirror those seen for George Bush in the last election. Dole's base of support is the Enterprisers (79%). The two other GOP-oriented groups, the Moralists and Libertarians, are no more likely to vote for Dole than the Democratic-oriented groups are to support Clinton.

While the Perot vote in the test election is numerically similar to his share of the vote in 1992, its composition has changed. His most supportive groups were the New Economy Independents (29%) and the Libertarians (27%). The New Economy Independents show potential to again be one of his most supportive groups for 1996 (30%), but the Libertarians do not (17%). In part, this may be because Libertarians have more positive views of Bob Dole than they did of George Bush. Perot, however, appears to have lost favor with Libertarians since the election; they view him as much negatively as positively (49% vs. 49%).

If an election were held today, Perot's coalition would shift more to the left politically. While fewer Enterprisers and Libertarians would vote for him, he would be likely to win more voters from the Partisan Poor, the Embittered and New Democrats.

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE PREFERENCE BY TYPOLOGY GROUP
Three-Way Race

	1992*				1996**			
	<i>Clinton</i>	<i>Bush</i>	<i>Perot</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Clinton</i>	<i>Dole</i>	<i>Perot</i>	<i>Other</i>
Total	43	37	19	1 = 100	39	36	20	5 = 100
Enterprisers	6	78	14	2 = 100	7	79	10	4 = 100
Moralists	14	66	20	* = 100	11	63	22	4 = 100
Libertarians	20	52	27	1 = 100	20	57	17	6 = 100
New Economy								
Independents	45	24	29	2 = 100	37	27	30	6 = 100
Embittered	51	27	21	1 = 100	49	21	25	5 = 100
Seculars	72	11	14	3 = 100	73	10	14	3 = 100
New Democrats	68	15	15	2 = 100	61	15	18	6 = 100
New Dealers	69	13	17	1 = 100	65	14	19	2 = 100
Partisan Poor	82	8	9	1 = 100	71	10	16	3 = 100

(Based on Q.3, 4 and 53)

* Based on those who report having voted for President in 1992

** Based on registered voters

Without a Ross Perot in the race, Bill Clinton's chances of being re-elected are diminished. In two-way test elections, Clinton fails to defeat either Bob Dole or Colin Powell. But a race between Clinton and Dole, another conventional politician, promises to be much closer than a race between Clinton and Powell, an military hero and political outsider.

Huge Powell Edge

Powell's advantage over Clinton in the trial heat is 10 points (51% vs. 41%), while Dole's lead is 3 points (49% vs. 46%). The Clinton-Powell race has a larger proportion undecided vote (8% vs. 5%), presumably because Powell's politics are more of an unknown quantity.

Bob Dole's voter support is concentrated in the Republican-oriented groups. He garners a significantly higher share of the Moralists vote than Powell (84% vs. 77%) and does marginally better among Enterprisers and Libertarians. Powell, however, shows a greater ability to win votes outside of the GOP's core. Most importantly, his vote among New Economy Independents is 7 points higher than Dole's, converting a 49% to 43% Clinton (vs. Dole) advantage into a 50% to 41% advantage for Powell (vs. Clinton) and the Republicans.

Powell non-ideological appeal is evident. He ran significantly better than Dole among both the liberal Seculars (+12) and conservative New Dealers (+9). The Embittered, who have a low opinion of the military, are the only non-Republican group that is less likely to support Powell than Dole.

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE PREFERENCE BY TYPOLOGY GROUP
Two-Way Race*

	1996			1996		
	Clinton	Dole	Other	Clinton	Powell	Other
Total	46	49	5 = 100	41	51	8 = 100
Enterprisers	13	85	2 = 100	9	82	9 = 100
Moralists	12	84	4 = 100	17	77	6 = 100
Libertarians	19	77	4 = 100	19	74	7 = 100
New Economy						
Independents	49	43	8 = 100	41	50	9 = 100
Embittered	54	39	7 = 100	59	33	8 = 100
Seculars	84	13	3 = 100	66	25	9 = 100
New Democrats	67	26	7 = 100	65	27	8 = 100
New Dealers	71	22	7 = 100	63	31	6 = 100
Partisan Poor	81	18	1 = 100	74	21	5 = 100

(Based on Q.5-8)

* Based on registered voters

Congressional Preferences for 1994

As the off-year congressional elections approach, the political climate is turning against Bill Clinton and the Democrats. A Times Mirror Center survey this month (September, 1994) of 1,500 respondents who had participated in the July survey, shows that Clinton's approval ratings have further deteriorated. Today, more Americans disapprove than approve of the way he is handling his job as president (52% vs. 42%). Even after the passage of the crime bill, the public is not significantly more likely to see Clinton as an effective leader; 54% do not believe he is "able to get things done."

Registered voters have become increasingly likely to say they will vote for a Republican for Congress this fall. Last July, the Republicans trailed the Democrats by two points, 45% to 47%, in a trial heat measuring congressional voting intentions at the national level. In September, the congressional vote has shifted to a two-point Republican edge (48% vs. 46%).

OPINION CHANGE OVER THE SUMMER

	July 12-27 1994	Sept. 9-11 1994
<i>Opinion of Way Clinton Is Handling Job As President:</i>		
Approve	45	42
Disapprove	46	52
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100
<i>Congressional Voting Intentions*:</i>		
Republican	45	48
Democrat	47	46
Other/Undecided	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100
<i>Image of Clinton:</i>		
Trustworthy	46	47
Not Trustworthy	49	49
Neither	2	3
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100
Able to Get Things Done	40	41
Not Able to Get Things Done	56	54
Neither	2	5
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100

* Based on Registered Voters

Since there is no national election for the U.S. House of Representatives, but 435 separate local contests instead, voting intentions at the national level do not translate directly into specific number of House seats for each party. The party which holds the White House nearly always suffers losses in the House during the off-year elections, and 1994 is not likely to be an exception. Bill Clinton's unpopularity and the degree to which he tends to polarize the electorate, however, decreases further the prospects for Democrats. They can expect to lose more than the 22-seat average loss in the House for off-year elections since World War II.

A Times Mirror analysis finds that voter opinion of Bill Clinton is as strong a predictor of the congressional vote as opinion of Ronald Reagan was in 1982 when the Democrats made major gains in the House. The relationship between presidential approval and congressional voting intentions was much weaker in 1990, when there was very little turnover in the House.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL & CONGRESSIONAL VOTER INTENTIONS

September 1982		
Opinion of Ronald Reagan*		
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>
Congressional Voting Intentions:		
Republican	64	11
Democrat	24	78
Undecided/Don't Know	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100

May 1990		
Opinion of George Bush		
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>
Congressional Voting Intentions:		
Republican	45	9
Democrat	31	63
Undecided/Don't know	<u>24</u>	<u>28</u>
	100	100

September 1994		
Opinion of Bill Clinton		
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>
Congressional Voting Intentions:		
Republican	21	73
Democrat	73	20
Undecided/Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100

* Based on Newsweek, Sept. 1982

A demographic analysis of congressional voting intentions and reported 1992 vote shows the GOP gains to be most pronounced in the following groups:

- * Middle to Upper Middle Income Voters. Currently, 62% of those in the \$50,000-\$74,999 income ranges plan to vote Republican in 1994; only 49% of them reported voting for the GOP in 1992 (+13). Those in the \$30,000-\$49,999 income range have also become more likely to vote GOP this time (+10).
- * Hispanics. A group that will be key to Republican chances of winning gubernatorial races in Texas and Florida is now more likely to support GOP House candidates (+9).
- * Former Bush and Perot Voters. While the congressional preferences of '92 Clinton voters have not shifted significantly, both Bush voters and Perot voters are more likely to vote Republican for Congress (+10 and +9, respectively).

CONGRESSIONAL VOTE PREFERENCE

	1992*			September 1994**		
	Repub.	Democ.	Other/ Undesignated	Repub.	Democ.	Other/ Undecided
Total	43	45	12 = 100	48	46	6 = 100
Sex						
Male	47	44	9 = 100	50	43	7 = 100
Female	40	47	13 = 100	46	48	6 = 100
Race						
White	47	41	12 = 100	52	41	7 = 100
Black	10	86	4 = 100	12	85	3 = 100
Hispanic	28	66	6 = 100	37	52	11 = 100
Age						
18-29	48	41	11 = 100	53	43	4 = 100
30-49	42	46	12 = 100	48	46	6 = 100
50-64	43	46	11 = 100	50	44	6 = 100
65 +	42	45	13 = 100	42	50	8 = 100
Education						
College Graduate	49	41	10 = 100	54	40	6 = 100
Some College	46	41	13 = 100	52	44	4 = 100
High School Grad.	42	46	12 = 100	46	47	7 = 100
< H.S. Grad.	35	51	14 = 100	39	53	8 = 100
Income						
\$75,000 +	55	37	8 = 100	51	44	5 = 100
\$50,000-74,999	49	42	9 = 100	62	35	3 = 100
\$30,000-49,999	43	45	12 = 100	53	42	5 = 100
\$20,000-29,999	42	46	12 = 100	44	49	7 = 100
< \$20,000	34	55	11 = 100	36	55	9 = 100
Marital Status						
Married	46	42	12 = 100	52	42	6 = 100
Single	41	49	10 = 100	43	53	4 = 100
Divorced/Separated	38	50	12 = 100	42	50	8 = 100
Widowed	33	55	12 = 100	41	53	6 = 100
Parent	44	46	10 = 100	50	45	5 = 100
Union Household						
Yes	33	56	11 = 100	36	56	8 = 100
No	45	43	12 = 100	51	43	6 = 100
Religion/Race						
White Protestant	52	35	13 = 100	57	36	7 = 100
Black Protestant	9	86	5 = 100	10	86	4 = 100
Catholic	42	46	12 = 100	48	46	6 = 100
Jewish	19	74	7 = 100	18	70	12 = 100

	1992*			September 1994**		
	Repub.	Democ.	Other/ Undesignated	Repub.	Democ.	Other/ Undecided
Region						
East	44	45	11 = 100	52	42	6 = 100
Midwest	45	43	12 = 100	47	46	7 = 100
South	41	49	10 = 100	47	47	6 = 100
West	43	43	14 = 100	48	46	6 = 100
Community Size						
Large City	37	53	10 = 100	40	55	5 = 100
Suburb	49	41	10 = 100	54	42	4 = 100
Small City/Town	43	46	11 = 100	45	47	8 = 100
Rural Area	43	43	14 = 100	54	40	6 = 100
Presidential Vote						
Clinton	16	75	9 = 100	16	80	4 = 100
Bush	74	16	10 = 100	84	12	4 = 100
Perot	45	38	17 = 100	54	32	14 = 100

(Based on Q's 9/10 & 55)

* Based on those who reported having voted for a House candidate in 1992

** Based on registered voters

Analysis of voting intentions and past vote by typology groups reveals significant gains for the Republicans among all three Republican-oriented groups, Enterprisers (+7), Moralists (+9) and Libertarians (+10). The GOP's prospects for the fall congressional elections are further enhanced by growing Republican support among the most important swing voter group in the electorate -- the New Economy Independents (+9) -- as well as the Embittered, a group that can help Republican chances in urban districts.

Among the four Democratic-oriented groups, there has been an increase in support for Democratic House candidates. With the exception of the Partisan Poor (+11), however, who seem much more loyal to their House candidates than to Clinton, these increases are not of the same magnitude as the growing party loyalty on the Republican side. Given the lack of enthusiasm in the ranks of the Democratic party, getting a high turnout of supporters this year is likely to be a big problem for the Democrats.

CONGRESSIONAL VOTE PREFERENCE BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

	1992*			September 1994**		
	Repub.	Democ.	Other/ Undesignated	Repub.	Democ.	Other/ Undecided
<i>Total</i>	43	45	12 = 100	48	46	6 = 100
<i>Enterprisers</i>	82	11	7 = 100	89	7	4 = 100
<i>Moralists</i>	74	15	11 = 100	83	14	3 = 100
<i>Libertarians</i>	65	26	9 = 100	75	21	4 = 100
<i>New Economy</i>						
<i>Independents</i>	35	48	17 = 100	44	44	12 = 100
<i>Embittered</i>	30	56	14 = 100	36	56	8 = 100
<i>Seculars</i>	17	74	9 = 100	14	80	6 = 100
<i>New Democrats</i>	16	70	14 = 100	18	75	7 = 100
<i>New Dealers</i>	14	77	9 = 100	13	81	6 = 100
<i>Partisan Poor</i>	12	80	8 = 100	7	91	2 = 100

(Based on Q.9 and 10)

* Based on those who report having voted for a House candidate in 1992

** Based on registered voters

Attitudes Toward National Political Figures

When Bill Clinton is evaluated in terms of overall favorability, as opposed to approval of the job he is doing, he emerges slightly better, although he appears to trail his predecessors on this measure of as he does on others of public opinion.

In our most recent survey, 58% of the public say their opinion of Clinton is favorable; 41% hold an unfavorable opinion. Among the 58% who express a favorable opinion, only 15% characterize that opinion as "very favorable." A far larger proportion (43%) say their opinion is "mostly favorable." To put Bill Clinton's numbers into perspective, George Bush's favorability ratings began to fall in early 1992 but the percentage of the public who viewed him "very" favorably remained at 20% or higher -- a level of approval Clinton has yet to attain.

Hillary And Bill

Hillary Rodham Clinton's favorability ratings are nearly identical to her husband's: 58% of Americans have a favorable opinion of the First Lady, 40% have an unfavorable opinion. Hillary's support, like the President's, comes mostly from Democratic-oriented groups. Strong majorities of Republican-oriented groups --Enterprisers, Moralists and Libertarians -- express negative views about the First Lady. However, in Hillary Clinton's case, the intensity of opinion is not nearly as strong as it is against her husband.

Public sentiment toward other political figures has undergone significant change in recent years. In general, those public figures on the outside of the political system now, including former leaders, have gained in stature. On the other hand, insiders and prominent partisan figures of today are viewed less favorably by the public. This is not surprising in light of the current anti-politics, anti-government mood which has taken hold across America.

Past Presidents Up

Specifically, former Presidents Carter and Reagan are both viewed favorably today by large majorities of the public. Carter, a symbol of Democratic ineffectiveness for Republican candidates in the 1980s, has clearly rehabilitated his image in recent years. Today 73% of the public holds a favorable opinion of the former President. Ronald Reagan's favorability ratings have improved markedly since he left office in 1988. Even Dan Quayle has shown some improvement in terms of public opinion since he and George Bush lost the 1992 election. In June, 1992, 33% of the public had a favorable opinion of Quayle; today nearly half (49%) feel favorably toward the former Vice President.

Jesse Jackson has also gained some stature in recent years. More people express favorable opinions about Jackson today (58%) than did so in 1988, when he was actively pursuing the presidency (46%). Jackson may have become more attractive and less racially divisive because he has altered his message to include themes of morality and personal responsibility.

Public attitudes toward Ross Perot have shifted some in the two years since he burst on the political scene -- though not in the direction of increased favorability. Perot has maintained a base of around 50% of the public who view him favorably. In June of 1992, in the midst of the presidential campaign, 53% of Americans held a favorable opinion of Perot. Today, 51% say their opinion of Perot is favorable. However, the percentage of the public who view Perot

unfavorably has increased dramatically in the last two years. Apparently those who didn't know enough about Perot to rate him in 1992 have since developed an unfavorable opinion of him. In June, 1992, 26% of Americans had an unfavorable opinion of Perot, 21% had either never heard of him or said they couldn't rate him. Today 45% view Perot unfavorably, and only 4% give him no rating at all.

Current Politicians Down

Attitudes toward two high profile politicians from opposing parties illustrate the growing antipathy on the part of the public toward the current political leadership. Bob Dole, the Senate GOP leader and a likely candidate for President in 1996, has not improved his public image over the last seven years. In 1987, 60% of the public viewed Dole favorably, and 14% viewed him unfavorably. In 1994, Dole is rated favorably by 59% of the public, while some 28% give him an unfavorable rating. Favorable opinions toward Ted Kennedy, a prominent Democratic senator and well-known champion of liberal causes, have fallen significantly since 1987. In May, 1987, 64% of the public expressed a favorable view of Kennedy; today only 45% view the Senator favorably. Half of the public holds an unfavorable view of Kennedy today, which helps explain why he faces his toughest reelection battle ever in November.

Evaluating attitudes toward these various public figures by typology groups reveals sharp divisions among the major parties. In order to get a clear reading of favorability, we looked at the favorable-to-unfavorable ratio, based only on those in the public who were familiar enough with an individual -- i.e., they recognized the name -- to give him or her a rating.

Powell Liked By All

Overall, Colin Powell, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan receive the public's most favorable ratings. Powell, one of the few "non-pols" included in the group, receives high favorability ratings across the board. His favorable/unfavorable ratio for each typology group is .85 or higher, meaning that 85% or more of each group who recognized Powell gave him a favorable rating. No other figure receives such consistent ratings across typology groups. For Jimmy Carter and Al Gore, high ratings among Democratic groups are tempered by lower ratings among Republican groups. The opposite pattern holds true for Ronald Reagan.

Schisms within the two major parties become quite pronounced when attitudes toward some of their prominent leaders are examined. On the Republican side, there seems to be some consensus on Jack Kemp, Bob Dole, and Ronald Reagan. All three are viewed favorably by high percentages of the Enterprisers, Moralists and Libertarians, although the Libertarians -- who are more skeptical of political leaders overall -- don't give Reagan and Dole quite the ringing endorsement they receive from the other two right-leaning groups.

But with regard to several other public figures most often associated with the GOP, the Republican groups appear to be sharply divided. Clarence Thomas, a conservative and a Bush nominee to the Supreme Court, is rated favorably by 88% of Enterprisers; fewer Moralists and Libertarians give him a similar rating (71% by each group). Newt Gingrich -- GOP leader in the House and a staunch partisan -- is also a favorite of the Enterprisers: 76% of Enterprisers familiar

with Gingrich's name rated him favorably.³ Moralists also give Gingrich high favorable ratings. However, Libertarians appear to find him somewhat less appealing: 64% rate him favorably.

Conservatives Divide GOP

The Republican party also appears divided over such well-known conservatives as Dan Quayle, Oliver North, Jerry Falwell and Rush Limbaugh. In each case it is the Libertarians who express the lowest levels of support. The Libertarians and the Enterprisers present an especially sharp contrast on these popular GOP figures. Seventy-seven percent of Enterprisers feel favorably toward Dan Quayle, compared to 51% of Libertarians. Only 40% of Libertarians are favorably inclined toward Senate-hopeful Oliver North, while 76% of Enterprisers rate him favorably. Rush Limbaugh, the hero of many Enterprisers, is rated favorably by only 37% of Libertarians. And, finally, while Jerry Falwell is clearly nobody's favorite public figure, far more Enterprisers and Moralists express favorable attitudes toward him (43%) than can be said of Libertarians (12%). The culturally conservative messages of these popular GOP figures may be contributing to the alienation of the traditionally-Republican Libertarians.

Not only do Republicans disagree over who they like, they disagree over who they dislike. Enterprisers express much more negative attitudes toward the liberal figures included in our list than do the other Republican groups. Enterprisers are the least likely group to give favorable ratings to Al Gore, Hillary Clinton, Jesse Jackson, Ben Chavis, Ted Kennedy and Lani Guinier. The Libertarians are also the least likely to rate Ross Perot favorably, in spite of the fact that nearly a third of them voted for him in 1992. Perot's strongest base of support among Republicans seems to be coming from the Moralists, 59% of whom give him a favorable rating.

Democratic Divisions

On the Democratic side we see different heroes and villains, but similar schisms between the party groups. The Democrats are mostly in agreement in their attitudes toward Jimmy Carter, Al Gore, and Bill and Hillary Clinton. These well-known Democratic figures receive favorable ratings from large majorities of Seculars, New Democrats, New Dealers, and the Partisan Poor. The New Dealers, however, are less favorably inclined toward the Clintons than are most other Democrats.

Seculars and New Democrats, though both in the Democratic camp, show sharply divided opinions toward public figures in and out of their own party. Only 40% of Seculars rate Ronald Reagan favorably, while 68% of New Democrats do so. Similarly 26% of Seculars rate Dan Quayle favorably, compared to 52% of New Democrats. Even fewer Seculars have a favorable opinion of Oliver North. Fifteen percent rate North favorably compared to nearly 50% of New Democrats. Attitudes toward Rush Limbaugh and Jerry Falwell follow a similar pattern. In short, New Democrats are much more favorably inclined toward most well-known Republican figures than are Seculars -- the other key, young Democratic group in the electorate.

³ It is important to keep in mind, however, that these high ratings are based on only 52% of the Enterpriser group who recognized his name.

New Dealers Different

When it comes to attitudes toward prominent Democrats, the New Dealers stand out among the crowd. They are less favorably inclined toward black leaders in their own party. Fifty-four percent express favorable opinions toward Jesse Jackson, while among the other three Democratic groups, 75% or higher view Jackson favorably. New Dealers are also less likely to rate Ben Chavis and Lani Guinier favorably than are Seculars, New Democrats and the Partisan Poor.

Democrats are also split in their attitudes toward Ross Perot. A majority of New Democrats (53%) give Perot a favorable rating, 46% of the Partisan Poor rate him favorably, and among New Dealers and Seculars he is rated favorably by 26% and 23%, respectively.

The Independent groups actually show more cohesion with regard to their attitudes toward these public figures than do those with more well-defined party attachments. Both New Economy Independents and the Embittered express favorable opinions toward Colin Powell and Jimmy Carter. They don't like Rush Limbaugh, and they're not crazy about Ted Kennedy. Neither group rates the Clintons as among their favorite public figures, though they are not any more negative about Bill or Hillary Clinton than is the public as a whole.

Outsiders Have Appeal

The types of figures that most appeal to the New Economy Independents are non-politicians or self-proclaimed outsiders. This group shows higher than average favorability ratings for Ross Perot, Jesse Jackson, and Ann Richards (one of the few women on the list).

The Embittered are more favorably inclined toward certain conservative figures than the New Economy Independents, though they are clearly not inclined toward the current Republican party leadership. The Embittered are more likely to rate Dan Quayle, Oliver North and Jerry Falwell favorably -- though these are clearly not among their favorite public figures. They come down more negatively than do the New Economy Independents, however, on Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich, two high-profile members of the current GOP leadership.

EVALUATING PUBLIC FIGURES
(Favorable/Unfavorable Ratio*)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Enter- prisers</i>	<i>Moral- ists</i>	<i>Liber- tarians</i>	<i>New Econ. Indeps.</i>	<i>Embit- tered</i>	<i>Bystanders</i>	<i>Seculars</i>	<i>New Dems.</i>	<i>New Dealers</i>	<i>Partisan Poor</i>
High Recognition											
<i>Colin Powell</i>	.90	.97	.94	**	.89	.88	.87	.87	.86	.87	.92
<i>Jimmy Carter</i>	.76	.52	.63	.67	.81	.79	.81	.88	.85	.81	.90
<i>Al Gore</i>	.72	.40	.61	.63	.77	.70	.72	.89	.88	.84	.88
<i>Bob Dole</i>	.68	.89	.85	.79	.64	.56	.67	.41	.61	.53	.59
<i>Ronald Reagan</i>	.66	.90	.88	.77	.59	.57	.77	.40	.68	.37	.47
<i>Clarence Thomas</i>	.65	.88	.71	.71	.60	.64	.67	.37	.64	.57	.64
<i>Jesse Jackson</i>	.61	.32	.47	.41	.70	.64	.74	.77	.75	.54	.78
<i>Hillary Rodham Clinton</i>	.59	.23	.37	.40	.61	.60	.66	.85	.83	.73	.86
<i>Bill Clinton</i>	.58	.20	.36	.42	.58	.58	.65	.84	.84	.78	.87
<i>Ross Perot</i>	.53	.46	.59	.50	.61	.53	.69	.37	.53	.44	.45
<i>Oliver North</i>	.52	.76	.71	.40	.44	.54	.51	.15	.48	.46	.46
<i>Dan Quayle</i>	.51	.77	.69	.51	.41	.47	.43	.26	.52	.46	.48
<i>Ted Kennedy</i>	.47	.16	.30	.24	.47	.42	.57	.59	.71	.71	.71
<i>Rush Limbaugh</i>	.43	.78	.63	.47	.37	.37	.44	.11	.24	.29	.16
<i>Jerry Falwell</i>	.29	.43	.43	**	.19	.26	.42	.05	.30	.23	.25
Low Recognition											
<i>Jack Kemp</i>	.77	.90	.79	**	.73	.76	**	.68	.80	**	**
<i>Ann Richards</i>	.69	.39	.53	**	.76	**	**	.87	.78	**	**
<i>Patrick Moynihan</i>	.66	.59	.68	**	.60	**	**	.80	.77	**	**
<i>Benjamin Chavis</i>	.64	.31	.60	**	.66	**	**	**	**	**	**
<i>Newt Gingrich</i>	.55	.76	.71	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
<i>Lani Guinier</i>	.54	.24	.41	**	.59	**	**	.83	**	**	**
<i>Louis Farrakhan</i>	.21	.07	.13	.09	.22	.37	.39	.13	.36	.27	.35

(Based on Q.23)

* Based on percentage favorable among those able to rate the individual

** Ratio is not reported where there are less than 75 cases

PUBLIC EVALUATIONS

	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>Never Heard Of/DK</i>	<i>Favorable/ Unfavorable Ratio*</i>
<i>Bill Clinton</i>	58	41	1	.58
<i>Former Presidents</i>				
Jimmy Carter	73	24	3	.76
Ronald Reagan	65	34	1	.66
<i>National Political Figures</i>				
<u>High Recognition:</u>				
Colin Powell	74	8	18	.90
Al Gore	66	26	8	.72
Bob Dole	59	28	13	.68
Clarence Thomas	50	28	22	.65
Jesse Jackson	58	37	5	.61
Hillary Rodham Clinton	58	40	2	.59
Ross Perot	52	45	3	.53
Oliver North	47	43	10	.52
Dan Quayle	49	46	5	.51
Ted Kennedy	45	50	5	.47
Rush Limbaugh	35	47	18	.43
Jerry Falwell	22	54	24	.29
<u>Low Recognition:</u>				
Jack Kemp	41	12	47	.77
Ann Richards	31	14	55	.69
Patrick Moynihan	33	17	50	.66
Benjamin Chavis	11	6	83	.64
Newt Gingrich	14	12	74	.55
Lani Guinier	12	10	78	.54
Louis Farrakhan	10	38	52	.21
<i>Institutions</i>				
The Military	87	10	3	.90
The Supreme Court	80	16	4	.84
The United Nations	76	20	4	.80
The Republican Party	63	33	4	.66
The Democratic Party	62	35	3	.64
The Congress	53	43	4	.55
<i>Media</i>				
Daily Newspaper	79	18	3	.81
Network TV News	68	29	3	.70
MTV	36	46	18	.43
<i>Movements</i>				
The Women's Movement	68	27	5	.71
The Animal Rights Movement	65	30	5	.69
The Feminist Movement	56	37	7	.60
Evangelical Christians	44	31	25	.58
The Gay Rights Movement	33	61	6	.35

<i>Organizations</i>	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>Never Heard Of/DK</i>	<i>Favorable/ Unfavorable Ratio</i>
Business Corporations	70	24	6	.74
Wall Street Investors	59	23	18	.72
Labor Unions	58	37	5	.61
The National Rifle Association	54	38	8	.59
Insurance Companies	40	58	2	.40
Tobacco Companies	24	73	3	.24

(Based on Q.23 & 24)

* Based on the percentage favorable among those able to rate the individual, institution, etc.

INSTITUTIONS

Public attitudes toward major *institutions, movements* and *organizations* show important shifts in recent years. Negative views of the federal government generally are reflected in the negative opinions of Congress and, to a lesser degree, of the governing Democratic party as well. In May, 1987, 74% of the public held a favorable opinion of Congress; today a bare majority of 53% do.

While the Democratic party has maintained a certain base of support over the last year or two, the percentage of the public which see the Republican party favorably has increased dramatically. In July, 1992, as George Bush's popularity plummeted and a Clinton victory seemed inevitable, 46% held a favorable view of the Republican party. Since that low point, however, the public's estimation of the GOP has increased steadily - to 54% in May, 1993, and 63% today. The Republican party may be benefitting from the public's anger toward the current political establishment.

The military, enjoying increasingly favorable ratings since the end of the Vietnam war, received a huge boost from the Gulf War: from 73% in May, 1990, to 87% today. The increase is probably tied not only to the U.S. military's strong performance in that war but also to the higher public morale more generally which resulted from that performance.

Business Image Improves

Another important change in public attitudes is the improved ratings of business corporations, in spite of the recession and widespread corporate down-sizing. Apparently the public doesn't hold business corporations responsible for the economic woes the country has suffered in recent years. In January, 1988, 59% of the public expressed a favorable opinion toward business corporations; today seven out of ten Americans hold a favorable view.

Other institutions, organizations and social movements fare considerably worse with the public, reflecting the deep divisions within the major political parties toward them. These divisions, in turn, are indicative of the difficulties of forming strong governing coalitions within the parties.

Republican divisions on Congress -- nobody's favorite institution -- are symptomatic of these divisions. Enterprisers and Libertarians express the lowest approval ratings of Congress among all the groups, while Moralists are much more supportive of Congress as an institution (50% favorable). Enterprisers and Libertarians agree on Congress, but they disagree on several social movements, reflecting ideological differences. Libertarians, for example, are very favorable toward women's movement (73%), compared to the Enterprisers (42%), and also much more supportive of the gay rights movement than are Enterprisers (41% favorable versus 13%).

Evangelical Christians are also divisive in the Republican party. Enterprisers are most favorable to Evangelicals, with Moralists not far behind (76% and 71% favorable, respectively). This is not surprising since most Evangelicals are found in these two groups. In sharp contrast, only one-in-four Libertarians expresses a favorable view of Evangelicals.

Libertarians may turn out to be the break-away group in the Republican party. They are much less drawn to messages and movements which could be construed as closely aligned with the far right wing of the party, except in attitudes toward big business and Wall Street investors.

In their attitudes toward institutions, what the Libertarians are to the Republican party, the Seculars are to the Democrats. They are significantly less favorable toward the military, the Congress, Evangelical Christians, the National Rifle Association, insurance companies, and the network TV news than other Democratic-oriented groups. In addition, the Seculars express the most favorable views toward the women's movement and the gay rights movement of all groups in the typology.

Centrists And Wall Street

New Democrats, the centrist wing of the party, are more likely to view business and Wall Street favorably than are other Democratic groups, and some 57% of them hold a favorable opinion of the Republican party.

Among Independents, the New Economy group expresses more favorable views toward all institutions, across the board, than does the Embittered. They feel more favorably also toward three of the four movements in the survey -- women's, animal rights, and gay rights. They are less favorable toward Evangelicals than the Embittered, however.

The two Independent groups have strikingly similar views toward most of the six organizations we tested. They deviate from the overall public by being less favorable toward business and toward insurance companies. They are more favorably disposed toward the Democratic party than toward the Republicans, though without much enthusiasm.

PUBLIC EVALUATIONS BY TYPOLOGY GROUP
(Favorable/Unfavorable Ratio*)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Enter- prisers</i>	<i>Moral- ists</i>	<i>Liber- tarians</i>	<i>New Econ. Indeps.</i>	<i>Embit- tered</i>	<i>Bystanders</i>	<i>Seculars</i>	<i>New Dems.</i>	<i>New Dealers</i>	<i>Partisan Poor</i>
<i>Institutions</i>											
The Military	.90	.97	.95	.91	.84	.79	.86	.78	.94	.97	.97
The Supreme Court	.84	.77	.81	.89	.83	.78	.81	.88	.93	.84	.89
The United Nations	.80	.64	.78	.73	.78	.69	.87	.87	.90	.81	.91
The Republican Party	.66	.92	.91	.83	.61	.55	.66	.37	.57	.44	.45
The Democratic Party	.64	.19	.40	.46	.67	.65	.69	.84	.91	.91	.97
The Congress	.55	.36	.50	.39	.47	.45	.65	.61	.83	.63	.71
<i>Movements</i>											
The Women's Movement	.71	.42	.57	.73	.82	.58	.85	.92	.81	.64	.87
The Animal Rights Movement	.69	.37	.64	.63	.79	.70	.76	.77	.77	.70	.74
Evangelical Christians	.58	.76	.71	**	.53	.69	.57	.17	.62	.62	.58
The Gay Rights Movement	.35	.13	.14	.41	.52	.29	.40	.81	.33	.31	.27
<i>Organizations</i>											
Business Corporations	.74	.93	.82	.91	.62	.65	.72	.64	.84	.71	.64
Wall Street Investors	.72	.90	.74	.81	.70	.55	.57	.69	.83	.67	.67
Labor Unions	.61	.31	.54	.46	.64	.64	.72	.63	.77	.73	.65
The National Rifle Association	.59	.72	.74	.54	.55	.59	.59	.34	.54	.67	.50
Insurance Companies	.40	.58	.42	.43	.32	.29	.40	.32	.47	.42	.47
Tobacco Companies	.25	.29	.23	.26	.24	.24	.30	.10	.22	.33	.31

(Based on Q.24)

* Based on percentage favorable among those able to rate the institution, movement, or organization

** Ratio is not reported where there are less than 75 cases

Views On The Media

We measured public attitudes toward the media in various ways. First we looked at media usage to see which news and entertainment outlets Americans are reading, watching and hearing. We also asked respondents to rate certain "media institutions" in term of favorability. Finally, we sought a more general assessment of the role the media plays, namely whether the news media helps society solve its problems or gets in the way.

What emerges is a picture of an American public which uses more media outlets more frequently than at any time in recent history, expresses largely favorable views of its two major media institutions (the network news and daily newspapers), and yet is highly critical of the role the news media plays in solving the nation's problems.

News Readership Still Up

In spite of speculation over the demise of the newspaper industry, readership remains high and has even rebounded somewhat from 1990 levels. Today 74% of the public read a newspaper regularly.

More than eight out of ten Americans watch TV news regularly. This figure is somewhat lower than the percentage who reported watching TV news during a major crisis or national event -- specifically, the Persian Gulf War and the most recent presidential election -- but it is nonetheless very high and shows no substantial drop-off in recent years.

Some groups rely on TV news more than others: New Dealers, the Partisan Poor, and Enterprisers are the most likely to report regular viewing. Bystanders and Seculars are the least likely. In fact, Seculars are the only group more likely to be regular newspaper readers than TV news viewers (81% versus 76%, respectively).

A bare majority (52%) of the public regularly listens to news on the radio. Enterprisers and Libertarians are more likely to be news radio listeners, and not surprisingly, they're also among the most likely to say they listen to call-in radio shows.

TV Magazines Grow Like Topsy

TV news magazine shows, like *60 Minutes* and *20/20*, which have proliferated in recent years, are extremely popular. Eighty-six percent of Americans say they watch these shows sometimes or regularly. Tabloid TV shows, such as *Hard Copy* and *A Current Affair*, have also become popular. Today 64% of the public tunes into these shows at least occasionally. In comparison to the more mainstream TV newsmagazines, these shows have a more limited appeal. Less than half of Enterprisers, Libertarians and Seculars say they watch these types of shows, although among all other groups the proportion is well above 60%.

Many Americans are tuning into cable news channels these days. Sixty-nine percent report watching CNN at least sometimes, and over a third say they watch C-SPAN -- the all-Congress network.

Among the various radio options, nearly equal percentages of the public report listening to National Public Radio and Rush Limbaugh's radio show. Not surprisingly, however, the two have unequal appeal across typology groups. Enterprisers and Moralists are among the most likely to be Rush listeners. Seculars and Libertarians are more likely to listen to NPR.

Public attitudes toward the media are complex. Although more people watch TV news programs than read newspapers, more of them hold a favorable opinion of their daily newspaper than of network TV news. Enterprisers are especially hostile toward the network news; only 50% have a favorable view, which is fully 20% points below the national average. Looking much more favorably on network news are Democrat-oriented groups, particularly the Partisan Poor and New Democrats (83% and 79% favorable, respectively).

MTV Appeal Limited

Americans express luke warm opinions toward MTV. Less than half of the public has a favorable view of this all-music channel, and among culturally conservative Enterprisers and Moralists less than a third express a positive view. MTV is most highly regarded by Bystanders, the youngest group in the electorate, and the Partisan Poor, the group with the largest concentration of minorities.

The public's negative attitudes toward the news media come into sharper focus when they are asked whether the media helps or hinders society in solving its problems. Seventy-one percent of Americans said the news media gets in the way of solutions, while 25% said it helps.

The most strongly negative views in this respect come from the Embittered, Moralists and New Economy Independents, in that order. Least criticism is heard from the Seculars, although even with this group, 57% said the media is more a part of the problem than the solution.

MEDIA USAGE BY TYPOLOGY GROUP
(Percent Who Regularly Or Sometimes Read, Listen or Watch)

	Total	Enter- prisers	Moral- ists	Liber- tarians	New Econ. Indeps.	Embit- tered	Bystanders	Seculars	New Dems.	New Dealers	Partisan Poor
Daily Newspaper	74	78	75	81	74	74	49	81	72	78	75
TV News Programs	81	86	82	83	80	79	67	76	81	88	87
News on the Radio	52	64	56	57	50	47	39	55	50	47	44
News Magazines (Time, US News...)	59	64	59	64	65	49	46	67	58	56	58
Business Magazines (Fortune, Forbes...)	26	38	26	41	24	27	9	22	24	24	25
National Enquirer, The Sun, The Star	18	10	14	7	17	21	26	10	26	23	33
TV News Magazines (60 Minutes, 20/20...)	86	81	88	81	87	82	81	82	93	91	86
MacNeil Lehrer TV Shows Like	30	44	30	41	29	27	4	47	28	21	26
A Current Affair, Hard Copy, Inside Edition	64	49	67	45	64	69	70	47	72	76	76
Cable News Network	69	65	70	84	69	66	58	73	73	72	69
C-SPAN	35	40	33	49	34	33	25	46	33	34	36
MTV	25	12	20	29	24	21	31	29	37	24	32
Programs on NPR (Morning Edition or All Things Considered)	27	23	27	32	26	27	21	38	30	22	31
Rush Limbaugh's Radio Show	26	56	39	27	22	19	16	11	18	20	11
Howard Stern's Radio Show	7	7	5	10	7	8	9	9	7	7	4
"Imus in the Morning" Radio Show	8	9	8	7	5	6	6	9	10	7	10
Call-In Radio Shows which focus on current issues, public affairs, politics	46	63	46	53	46	47	35	39	42	41	45

(Based on Q.30-35)

PUBLIC EVALUATIONS OF THE MEDIA
(Favorable/Unfavorable Ratio*)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Enter- prisers</i>	<i>Moral- ists</i>	<i>Liber- tarians</i>	<i>New Econ. Indeps.</i>	<i>Embit- tered</i>	<i>Bystanders</i>	<i>Seculars</i>	<i>New Dems.</i>	<i>New Dealers</i>	<i>Partisan Poor</i>
Media											
Daily Newspaper	.81	.75	.78	.77	.80	.83	.90	.75	.89	.84	.88
Network TV News	.70	.50	.70	.73	.69	.67	.76	.66	.79	.75	.83
MTV	.43	.30	.30	.51	.48	.33	.57	.55	.45	.48	.57

(Based on Q.24)

* Based on percentage favorable among those able to rate

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

The Times Mirror Political Typology Survey is a national telephone interview opinion survey conducted among 3,800 adults, 18 years of age and older, living in the continental United States. The survey includes an oversample of 197 black adults. However, the results are weighted to produce a final sample that is representative of the general population of adults in the continental United States. The interviews were conducted from July 12 through July 27, 1994. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. 1500 respondents were also re-interviewed from September 9-11, 1994. For results based on this re-interview sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The sample for the survey consisted of a random digit dial telephone sample designed to be representative of all telephone households in the continental United States and a separate random digit dial race-targeted sample which was used for the black oversample.

The black oversample was designed to be representative of all telephone households, yet efficient in locating households containing a black person. These competing goals are met by selecting random telephone numbers from exchanges such that a disproportionately large sample of telephone numbers is selected from telephone exchanges serving areas with a high density of blacks and a disproportionately small sample is selected from other (lower black density) telephone exchanges. Thus, the incidence of black households is increased over their incidence in a sample design where the selection probabilities are proportionate.

The resulting sample is unbiased because all telephone households have an opportunity of being included in the sample, regardless of the racial makeup of their exchanges and regardless of whether their telephone numbers are listed or unlisted (the actual telephone numbers are randomly generated). The sample becomes representative after weights are applied to eliminate the disproportionality in selection probabilities related to the black density of the area served by the telephone exchange.

The race-targeted sample was drawn by first ranking all telephone exchanges according to the percentage of blacks in the area served by the exchange. The information on the racial makeup of the area is taken from Census information at the Census tract level. The tract information is linked to telephone exchange on the basis of the rough geographic boundaries of the exchange.

With black density estimated for each telephone exchange, sample can be drawn with selection probabilities related to the density of blacks in the exchange, i.e., the higher the density of blacks in the exchange, the greater the probability of selecting a number from that exchange.

Weighting to eliminate the selection disproportionalities is based on information collected in the course of screening respondents for qualification. An estimate of the qualification incidence of telephone households is computed separately for each of the sampling strata and is used, together with information about the number of telephone households in each stratum, to re-proportionalize the sample of completed interviews. This weighting was supplemented by demographic weighting which is discussed below.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates for each of the four black density strata and for the general population sample. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample and ensures an appropriate number of completed interviews from each strata. Again, this works to increase the representativeness of the final sample.

At least six attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a respondent. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home". If there is no eligible man at home,

interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who lives in the household". This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

In addition to the black density stratum weighting necessary to compensate for the disproportionate sample selection, demographic weighting was used to bring the characteristics of the total sample (the general population sample and the black oversample combined) into alignment with the demographic characteristics of the population of all adults 18 and older.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau Annual Demographic File (from the March 1993 Current Population Survey). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental U. S. where there is a telephone in the household.

The total sample was weighted to the CPS distributions of sex, age, education, race, and region. Additionally, the sample of blacks (combining the blacks from the general population sample and from the oversample) was weighted to the CPS distributions of sex, age, education and region for black adults living in telephone households in the continental United States.

The weights were derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters. After an optimum sample balancing solution was reached, the weights were constrained to fall within the range of 1 to 7. This constraint is useful to ensure that individual respondents do not exert an inordinate effect on the survey's overall results.

METHODOLOGY FOR CREATING THE 1994 TYPOLOGY

The Times Mirror political typology is primarily constructed by classifying people according to nine basic values and orientations and party affiliation.

In previous surveys conducted by Times Mirror over the past seven years, thirteen value scales have been identified as centrally important to the configuration of voting and other political behaviors. These include attitudes toward government, environmentalism, business, social welfare, social policy issues, religion, racial relations, the military, the place of the United States in world affairs and feelings of political alienation, individual alienation, financial pressure and xenophobia. Over the years and many surveys, multiple survey questions have been developed and tested to measure these thirteen value scales. In the current survey, two items were selected to measure each of the thirteen values. These items had been previously identified as the most valid and reliable items to measure each scale. The two items were added together to create each of the thirteen scales.

Regression analyses were used to identify the most important of these thirteen scales in predicting various political behaviors and attitudes. Separate multiple regressions were conducted using the thirteen scales and party affiliation as the independent variables and the following dependent variables:

- Clinton approval
- Dole approval
- Perot approval
- Attitude toward abortion
- Attitude toward gays in the military
- Attitude toward term limits
- Attitude toward banning smoking
- Attitude toward Korea

This set of regression analyses was examined to see which of the scales was most often a significant predictor of the dependent variable (had a significant T statistic). On the basis of these analyses, four of the thirteen scales were dropped from the cluster analyses: xenophobia, financial pressure, individual alienation, and American exceptionalism. These scales were significant predictors in only three or fewer of the regression analyses and were not strong predictors in any.

The typology was then created by using a statistical technique known as "cluster analysis". This technique classifies people into the most homogeneous and meaningful statistical groups possible based on the remaining nine value scales and party affiliation. Several different cluster solutions were evaluated on the basis of the variance of the groups on the nine scales and party affiliation, the distribution of the groups in terms of their size, the party affiliation distribution across the groups, and the substantive description of the groups.

To evaluate the cluster solutions in terms of the variance, we looked at the average group variance and compared it to the total variance for each of the nine scales and party affiliation. This told us which solution had created groups with the least amount of within group variance

when compared to the variance of the total sample; in other words, which were the most homogeneous groups.

We also evaluated the cluster solutions to see which solution had the most between group variance by looking at the size of the variance of the means across groups for each of the nine scales and party affiliation.

The cluster solutions were also evaluated on the basis of the size of the groups and the substantive interpretation of the groups. On the basis of all of these analyses, one cluster solution was chosen.

THE QUESTIONNAIRES

**TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
NEW POLITICAL LANDSCAPE SURVEY**

-- TOPLINE RESULTS --

N= 3,800 18+ nationwide (Main Sample, includes an oversample of 197 black adults)
1,009 18+ nationwide (Supplemental Sample)

Field period: 7/12-25/94 (Main Sample)
7/13-27/94 (Supplemental Sample)

NOTE: Unless otherwise indicated, results are based on the Main Sample of 3,800 interviews.

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

		Mar <u>1994</u>	Jan <u>1994</u>	Early Jan <u>1994</u>	Dec <u>1993</u>	Oct <u>1993</u>	Early Sept <u>1993</u>	Sept <u>1993</u>	Aug <u>1993</u>	June <u>1993</u>	May <u>1993</u>	April <u>1993</u>	Feb <u>1993</u>
45	Approve	45	51	48	48	44	49	43	39	39	45	49	56
46	Disapprove	42	35	35	36	42	35	43	46	43	37	29	25
<u>9</u> 100	DK/Refused	<u>13</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>22</u> 100	<u>19</u> 100

2. Do you (approve/disapprove) very strongly, or not so strongly?

		⁴ Reagan <u>6/83</u>	Carter <u>4/78</u>
45	Approve		
18	Very strongly	21	14
27	Not so strongly	26	34
46	Disapprove		
17	Not so strongly	15	22
29	Very strongly	29	17
<u>9</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>9</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100

⁴ Trends are from The Gallup Poll

Q.3 THROUGH Q.10: BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

3. Suppose the 1996 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were Bill Clinton, the Democrat; Bob Dole, the Republican; and Ross Perot, an Independent. Who would you vote for?
4. As of TODAY, do you LEAN most to Clinton, the Democrat; Dole, the Republican; or Perot, the Independent?

RESULTS INCLUDE LEANERS

39 Clinton

36 Dole

20 Perot

5 Undecided/Other
100

Q'S 5/6 BASED ON HALF SAMPLE A (N=1440)

5. Suppose there were only two major candidates for president and you had to choose between Bill Clinton, the Democrat, and Bob Dole, the Republican. Who would you vote for?
6. As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to Clinton, the Democrat; or Dole, the Republican?

RESULTS INCLUDE LEANERS

46 Clinton

49 Dole

5 Undecided/Other
100

Q'S 7/8 BASED ON HALF SAMPLE B (N=1449)

7. Suppose there were only two major candidates for president and the Republican Party nominated Colin Powell. If you had to choose between Bill Clinton, the Democrat, and Colin Powell, the Republican, who would you vote for?
8. As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to Clinton, the Democrat; or Powell, the Republican?

RESULTS INCLUDE LEANERS

41 Clinton

51 Powell

8 Undecided/other
100

ASK ALL:

9. If the 1994 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

10. As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

45 Republican

47 Democrat

8 Undecided/Other
100

11. Now I'd like your views on the state of the nation... All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

		Mar <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1993</u>	Early Sept <u>1993</u>	June <u>1993</u>	Jan <u>1993</u>	Jan <u>1992</u>	Nov <u>1991</u>	May <u>1990</u>	Feb <u>1989</u>	Oct <u>1988</u>	May <u>1988</u>	Jan <u>1988</u>
24	Satisfied	24	22	20	22	39	28	34	41	45	56	41	39
73	Dissatisfied	71	73	75	71	50	68	61	54	50	40	54	55
<u>3</u> 100	No Opinion	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100

12. What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

		June <u>1994</u>	Mar <u>1994</u>	Dec <u>1993</u>	Sept <u>1993</u>	June <u>1993</u>	April <u>1993</u>	Jan <u>1992</u>	May <u>1990</u>	Feb <u>1989</u>	April <u>1987</u>
26	Crime/Gangs/Justice system	22	31	25	15	7	5	3	7	8	3
14	Health care (cost/accessibility)	20	14	14	12	11	13	3	3	1	*
12	Unemployment/Lack of jobs	12	12	15	23	19	18	22	7	9	13
9	Morality/Ethics/Family values	10	10	6	8	7	3	3	5	2	3
3	Drugs/Alcohol	6	10	8	5	5	4	4	37	23	6
4	Dissatisfaction with government/Politics	5	5	2	5	5	3	2	2	1	0
5	Deficit/National debt/Balanced budget	4	5	6	9	13	17	4	11	19	12

12. CONTINUED....

	June 1994	Mar 1994	Dec 1993	Sept 1993	June 1993	April 1993	Jan 1992	May 1990	Feb 1989	April 1987
3 Education	4	5	5	4	5	2	2	4	4	0
5 Economy (general)	4	4	6	9	17	18	43	5	4	7
2 Taxes	1	3	2	3	4	4	1	3	2	0
1 Racism	1	3	1	3	2	3	1	2	0	0
4 Homeless	2	3	5	2	5	2	6	8	10	*
3 Poverty	2	2	3	2	3	3	1	3	4	6
2 Inflation/Difference between wages/Costs	*	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3
2 Too much foreign aid/ Spend money at home	1	2	1	*	2	2	1	3	1	0
1 Environment/Pollution	1	2	1	1	*	2	1	8	2	0
2 Welfare abuse	4	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1 AIDS	2	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
* Issues related to elderly Other Social Issues	* 0	1 *	1 3	* 4	2 *	2 *	1 *	2 *	2 *	0 *
3 Other domestic	1	1	3	1	2	1	10	11	10	21
2 Other international	4	1	2	3	3	1	4	6	10	22
6 Other	2	2	*	2	4	8	1	5	9	1
3 Don't know/No answer	5	4	6	4	2	4	3	1	3	3
26 ECONOMIC (NET)	22	26	33	47	53	58	76	26	28	35
7 POVERTY/HOMELESS (NET)	4	6	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
7 DEFENSE/INTER- NATIONAL (NET)	4 (511)	2 (989)	* (1479)	4 (2000)	* (1507)	* (1011)	* (1220)	* (3004)	* (2048)	* (4244)

13. Which political party do you think can do a better job of handling the problem you just mentioned -- the Republicans or the Democrats?

		Mar <u>1994</u>	June <u>1993</u>	Jan <u>1992</u> ⁵	May <u>1990</u>	May <u>1988</u>	Jan <u>1988</u>	May <u>1987</u>
36	Republicans	29	28	32	29	26	30	28
33	Democrats	29	35	41	30	38	35	38
16	No difference (VOL)	26	23	12	31	22	24	24
<u>15</u> 100	Don't know	<u>16</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100

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

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

⁵Based on registered voters.

15. I'd like you to rate the way Bill Clinton is handling his job in some specific areas. (First,) do you approve or disapprove of the way Clinton is handling... **(READ AND ROTATE)**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Economic conditions in this country	38	56	6=100
b. Foreign policy	38	53	9=100
c. Race relations	57	27	16=100

ITEMS d-f BASED ON HALF SAMPLE A (N=1899)

d. The federal budget deficit	31	58	11=100
e. Crime	35	55	10=100
f. The jobs situation	40	52	8=100

ITEMS g-i BASED ON HALF SAMPLE B (N=1901)

g. Relations with Russia	62	22	16=100
h. Health care policy	39	54	7=100
i. Welfare reform	38	50	12=100

Q.16 BASED ON HALF SAMPLE A (N=1899)

16. As I read some pairs of opposite phrases, tell me which ONE best reflects your impressions of Bill Clinton so far. (First,) does Bill Clinton impress you as... **(READ AND ROTATE)**

		Dec <u>1993</u>	Aug <u>1993</u>	Jan <u>1993</u>
a.	46 Trustworthy or	56	56	63
	49 Not trustworthy	35	37	29
	2 (DO NOT READ) Neither particularly	3	2	3
	<u>3</u> (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100
b.	85 Warm and friendly or	87	87	90
	11 Cold and aloof	6	8	7
	2 (DO NOT READ) Neither particularly	3	3	1
	<u>2</u> (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100
c.	40 Able to get things done or	63	36	
	56 Not able to get things done	27	54	
	2 (DO NOT READ) Neither particularly	5	6	
	<u>2</u> (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	
	100	100	100	
d.	57 Well informed or	69	63	79
	38 Not well informed	22	30	14
	1 (DO NOT READ) Neither particularly	3	2	2
	<u>4</u> (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100
e.	42 Well Organized or	59	47	
	53 Not well organized	32	46	
	2 (DO NOT READ) Neither particularly	3	2	
	<u>3</u> (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	
	100	100	100	
f.	37 Liberal,	32	38	
	47 Middle of the road or	49	44	
	13 Conservative	12	11	
	1 (DO NOT READ) Neither particularly	2	2	
	<u>2</u> (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	
	100	100	100	
g.	36 Keeps his promises or	41	32	
	56 Doesn't keep his promises	42	53	
	3 (DO NOT READ) Neither particularly	7	8	
	<u>5</u> (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	
	100	100	100	

17. Now I'd like to ask you about some things that have been in the news recently. Not everyone will have heard about them all... Can you tell me the name of the current vice president of the United States?

		Feb
		<u>1994</u>
65	Al Gore; Gore	70
<u>35</u>	Any other person/Don't Know/Refused	<u>30</u>
100		100

18. Do you happen to know which political party has a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives?

		Feb	Sept	June	May
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
60	Democratic Party	58	57	52	55
<u>40</u>	Republican Party/Don't know/Refused	<u>42</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>45</u>
100		100	100	100	100

19. Can you tell me the name of the President of Russia?

		Feb
		<u>1994</u>
46	Boris Yeltsin; Yeltsin	47
<u>54</u>	Other/Don't know/Refused	<u>53</u>
100		100

20. Of all the U.S. presidents who have been elected SINCE YOU FIRST STARTED FOLLOWING POLITICS, which ONE do you think has done the BEST job?

22 Reagan

19 Kennedy/JFK

11 Bush

8 Nixon

8 Franklin Roosevelt/FDR

7 Carter

6 Clinton

6 Truman

4 Eisenhower/Ike

1 Ford

1 Johnson/LBJ

* Other (SPECIFY)

3 None in particular/All about the same (VOLUNTEERED)

4 Don't know/Refused
100

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

- a. 66 Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient

54 Strongly

12 Not strongly

31 Government often does a better job than people give it credit for

17 Strongly

14 Not strongly

3 Neither/Don't know
100

21. **CONTINUED....**

- b. 41 Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest
24 Strongly
17 Not strongly
- 54 Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good
39 Strongly
15 Not strongly
- 5 Neither/Don't know
100
- c. 53 Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return
37 Strongly
16 Not strongly
- 39 Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently
27 Strongly
12 Not strongly
- 8 Neither/Don't know
100
- d. 48 The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt
35 Strongly
13 Not strongly
- 47 The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy
32 Strongly
15 Not strongly
- 5 Neither/Don't know
100
- e. 72 The position of blacks in American society has improved in recent years
52 Strongly
20 Not strongly
- 25 There hasn't been much real progress for blacks in recent years
18 Strongly
7 Not strongly
- 3 Neither/Don't know
100

21. **CONTINUED....**

- f. 32 Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days
 20 Strongly
 12 Not strongly
- 59 Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition
 43 Strongly
 16 Not strongly
- 9 Neither/Don't know
 100
- g. 31 Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents
 17 Strongly
 14 Not strongly
- 63 Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care
 49 Strongly
 14 Not strongly
- 6 Neither/Don't know
 100
- h. 19 Other countries generally treat the United States about as fairly as we treat them
 10 Strongly
 9 Not strongly
- 78 Other countries often take unfair advantage of the United States
 68 Strongly
 10 Not strongly
- 3 Neither/Don't know
 100
- i. 36 The best way to ensure peace is through military strength
 28 Strongly
 8 Not strongly
- 58 Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace
 46 Strongly
 12 Not strongly
- 6 Neither/Don't know
 100

21. **CONTINUED....**

- j. 52 We should all be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong
 43 Strongly
 9 Not strongly
- 45 It's acceptable to refuse to fight in a war you believe is morally wrong
 35 Strongly
 10 Not strongly
- 3 Neither/Don't know
 100
- k. 68 Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard
 59 Strongly
 9 Not strongly
- 30 Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people
 22 Strongly
 8 Not strongly
- 2 Neither/Don't know
 100
- l. 18 Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside of our control
 12 Strongly
 6 Not strongly
- 79 Everyone has it in their own power to succeed.
 67 Strongly
 12 Not strongly
- 3 Neither/Don't know
 100
- m. 76 Too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few large companies
 59 Strongly
 17 Not strongly
- 19 The largest companies do NOT have too much power
 9 Strongly
 10 Not strongly
- 5 Neither/Don't know
 100

21. **CONTINUED....**

- n. 52 Business corporations make too much profit
 43 Strongly
 9 Not strongly
- 43 Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit
 27 Strongly
 16 Not strongly
- 5 Neither/Don't know
 100
- o. 71 Elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly
 58 Strongly
 13 Not strongly
- 25 Elected officials in Washington try hard to stay in touch with voters back home
 14 Strongly
 11 Not strongly
- 4 Neither/Don't know
 100
- p. 34 Most elected officials care what people like me think
 18 Strongly
 16 Not strongly
- 64 Most elected officials don't care what people like me think
 51 Strongly
 13 Not strongly
- 2 Neither/Don't know
 100

Q.22 BASED ON SUPPLEMENTAL SAMPLE (N=1009)

22. Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(READ ITEMS, IN ORDER. DO NOT ROTATE)**

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	22	32	31	15	*=100
May, 1993	15	37	31	16	1=100
June, 1992	14	36	32	17	1=100
Nov, 1991	22	28	28	21	1=100
May, 1990	19	38	31	11	1=100
Feb, 1989	22	40	29	8	1=100
May, 1988	16	39	33	11	1=100
May, 1987	14	38	34	12	2=100
b. Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly	39	44	13	3	1=100
May, 1993	29	53	13	3	2=100
June, 1992	35	49	12	3	1=100
Nov, 1991	41	43	11	4	1=100
May, 1990	30	48	17	2	3=100
Feb, 1989	30	50	16	2	2=100
May, 1988	26	50	19	3	2=100
May, 1987	22	51	21	3	3=100
c. Most elected officials care what people like me think	4	29	41	25	1=100
May, 1993	5	35	42	16	2=100
June, 1992	5	31	46	16	2=100
Nov, 1991	7	29	39	23	2=100
May, 1990	7	37	39	14	3=100
Feb, 1989	5	39	42	12	2=100
May, 1988	5	42	40	11	2=100
May, 1987	5	42	40	9	4=100
d. Voting gives people like me some say about how government runs things	24	42	21	11	2=100
Nov, 1991	32	42	15	9	2=100
May, 1990	23	50	18	7	2=100
Feb, 1989	25	48	20	5	2=100
May, 1988	26	49	18	5	2=100
May, 1987	23	55	15	4	3=100

22. CONTINUED....

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
e. Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control	14	25	33	26	2 = 100
May, 1993	11	30	41	16	2 = 100
June, 1992	11	27	38	21	3 = 100
May, 1990	11	29	39	18	3 = 100
May, 1988	13	28	37	19	3 = 100
May, 1987	8	30	41	16	5 = 100
f. Hard work offers little guarantee of success					
June, 1992	15	24	32	28	1 = 100
Nov, 1991	20	24	29	25	2 = 100
May, 1990	10	26	40	23	1 = 100
Feb, 1989	14	27	36	21	2 = 100
May, 1988	11	21	40	26	1 = 100
May, 1987	7	22	44	24	3 = 100
g. I admire people who get rich by working hard	51	37	8	3	1 = 100
June, 1992	47	42	7	3	1 = 100
h. The strength of this country today is mostly based on the success of American business	26	52	15	5	2 = 100
June, 1992	24	54	15	5	2 = 100
Nov, 1991	29	47	15	6	3 = 100
May, 1990	20	57	14	3	6 = 100
Feb, 1989	23	54	14	4	5 = 100
May, 1988	25	54	14	3	4 = 100
May, 1987	16	60	16	3	5 = 100
i. Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good	27	36	28	5	4 = 100
June, 1992	19	42	28	5	6 = 100
May, 1990	16	42	29	4	9 = 100
May, 1988	17	40	31	4	8 = 100
May, 1987	12	43	30	4	11 = 100
j. The federal government should run ONLY those things that cannot be run at the local level	38	40	14	5	3 = 100
May, 1990	26	51	16	2	5 = 100
May, 1987	22	53	16	3	6 = 100

22. CONTINUED....

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
k. When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful	33	36	25	5	1=100
May, 1993	24	45	24	5	2=100
June, 1992	29	41	24	4	2=100
Nov, 1991	32	36	23	7	2=100
May, 1990	22	45	25	4	4=100
Feb, 1989	26	39	26	5	4=100
May, 1988	24	42	26	3	5=100
May, 1987	19	44	27	4	6=100
l. The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives	37	32	25	5	1=100
May, 1993	26	39	30	4	1=100
June, 1992	28	36	29	5	2=100
Nov, 1991	32	31	28	7	2=100
May, 1990	22	40	29	5	4=100
Feb, 1989	22	35	34	9	3=100
May, 1988	25	36	31	5	3=100
May, 1987	18	40	32	5	5=100
m. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	10	32	38	19	1=100
June, 1992	8	36	37	17	2=100
Nov, 1991	11	37	34	16	2=100
May, 1990	10	42	35	10	3=100
Feb, 1989	12	45	31	10	2=100
May, 1988	11	42	34	10	3=100
May, 1987	9	48	31	8	4=100
n. Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public interest	7	38	38	15	2=100
June, 1992	5	35	42	14	4=100
Nov, 1991	8	32	38	19	3=100
May, 1990	5	38	37	13	7=100
Feb, 1989	5	33	44	12	6=100
May, 1988	6	36	39	13	6=100
May, 1987	4	39	38	10	9=100
o. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	31	42	22	4	1=100
May, 1993	26	46	22	3	3=100
June, 1992	30	47	18	3	2=100
Nov, 1991	41	39	14	3	3=100
May, 1990	29	48	15	3	5=100
Feb, 1989	35	49	12	1	3=100
May, 1988	35	44	15	2	4=100
May, 1987	27	50	16	2	5=100

22. CONTINUED....

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
p. Business corporations make too much profit	22	39	28	7	4=100
May, 1993	22	41	27	5	5=100
June, 1992	21	39	29	5	6=100
Nov, 1991	29	36	23	7	5=100
May, 1990	23	40	24	6	7=100
Feb, 1989	27	45	20	3	5=100
May, 1988	25	40	25	4	6=100
May, 1987	21	44	24	4	7=100
q. It is time for Washington politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders	34	45	14	4	3=100
June, 1992	38	46	12	2	2=100
Nov, 1991	32	45	16	4	3=100
May, 1990	21	40	26	4	9=100
Feb, 1989	20	38	30	4	8=100
May, 1988	26	42	22	3	7=100
May, 1987	16	46	26	3	9=100
r. Dealing with a federal government agency is often not worth the trouble	26	43	22	6	3=100
June, 1992	21	43	27	4	5=100
May, 1990	21	44	24	4	7=100
May, 1988	20	43	27	4	6=100
May, 1987	14	44	29	3	10=100
s. Many people today think they can get ahead without working hard and making sacrifices	27	38	22	12	1=100
June, 1992	24	39	22	13	2=100
t. As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	20	48	24	6	2=100
May, 1993	12	47	31	7	3=100
June, 1992	16	50	24	8	2=100
Nov, 1991	19	49	22	8	2=100
May, 1990	13	52	24	6	5=100
Feb, 1989	14	55	23	5	3=100
May, 1988	15	51	23	7	4=100
May, 1987	12	56	24	4	4=100

22. CONTINUED....

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
u. I don't believe that there are any real limits to growth in this country today	22	40	28	8	2=100
May, 1993	14	42	34	7	3=100
June, 1992	19	39	30	8	4=100
Nov, 1991	24	38	26	9	3=100
May, 1990	19	46	25	5	5=100
Feb, 1989	22	46	23	5	4=100
May, 1988	19	45	26	6	4=100
May, 1987	17	50	24	4	5=100
v. We need new people in Washington even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians	20	40	28	10	2=100
June, 1992	20	36	30	11	3=100
May, 1990	13	34	37	10	6=100
May, 1988	16	35	33	10	6=100
May, 1987	9	35	38	10	8=100

ASK ALL:

23. I'd like your views on some people in the news. Some of them may not be familiar to you. If I read a name you don't recognize, please say so. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... **(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE START)** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	<u>Very Favor- able</u>	<u>Mostly Favor- able</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavor- able</u>	<u>Very Unfavor- able</u>	<u>Never Heard Of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>
a. Benjamin Chavis	2	9	4	2	73	10=100
b. Bill Clinton	15	43	25	16	*	1=100
May, 1993	18	42	23	12	0	5=100
July, 1992	17	42	25	9	0	7=100
June, 1992	10	36	33	14	1	6=100
May, 1992	11	42	32	10	*	5=100
March, 1992	10	43	29	11	1	6=100
February, 1992	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
c. Hillary Rodham Clinton	19	38	22	18	1	2=100
May, 1993	19	41	18	11	1	10=100
d. Bob Dole	14	45	19	9	6	7=100
May, 1993	11	37	20	8	11	13=100
May, 1990	7	45	15	5	13	15=100
May, 1987	9	51	11	3	9	17=100
e. Louis Farrakhan	2	8	14	24	44	8=100

23. CONTINUED....

	Very Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Never Heard <u>Of</u>	Can't <u>Rate</u>
f. Al Gore	18	49	19	7	2	5=100
g. Lani Guinier	2	10	7	3	68	10=100
h. Jesse Jackson	12	46	25	12	1	4=100
November, 1991	12	44	25	13	1	5=100
May, 1990	12	38	23	22	1	4=100
May, 1988	11	35	27	19	1	7=100
September, 1987	12	37	26	19	*	6=100
May, 1987	13	38	24	17	2	6=100
i. Ross Perot	13	38	29	16	1	3=100
May, 1993	21	43	21	10	*	5=100
July, 1992	18	30	21	14	1	16=100
June, 1992	18	35	18	8	5	16=100
May, 1992	11	39	20	7	2	21=100
March, 1992	11	18	15	6	29	21=100
j. Clarence Thomas	11	40	19	8	13	9=100
ITEMS k-p BASED ON HALF SAMPLE A (N=1899)						
k. Jimmy Carter	20	53	18	6	1	2=100
May, 1990	18	49	19	10	2	2=100
May, 1987	14	56	19	8	*	3=100
l. Newt Gingrich	2	12	8	4	65	9=100
m. Ted Kennedy	11	34	32	18	1	4=100
May, 1990	18	43	19	15	1	4=100
May, 1987	21	43	21	10	1	4=100
June, 1985	17	42	22	12	1	6=100
n. Pat Moynihan	5	28	12	4	37	14=100
o. Dan Quayle	10	39	31	15	1	4=100
June, 1992	7	26	34	27	1	5=100
November, 1991	9	40	28	15	1	7=100
May, 1990	6	41	24	15	4	10=100
⁶ October, 1988	10	33	21	24	*	12=100
³ September, 1988	9	32	17	15	2	25=100
³ August, 1988	12	38	19	9	2	20=100

⁶ Based on registered voters

23. CONTINUED....

	Very Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Never Heard <u>Of</u>	Can't <u>Rate</u>
p. Ronald Reagan	22	44	20	13	*	1=100
May, 1990	18	44	20	16	*	2=100
May, 1988	16	40	22	18	7	3=100
January, 1988	17	42	24	13	*	4=100
May, 1987	21	41	22	14	*	2=100
June, 1985	26	43	18	10	0	3=100

ITEMS q-v BASED ON HALF SAMPLE B (N=1901)

q. Jerry Falwell	4	18	29	25	17	7=100
May, 1987	4	22	26	25	10	13=100
r. Jack Kemp	9	32	10	2	30	17=100
June, 1992	9	26	21	5	18	21=100
s. Rush Limbaugh	11	24	22	25	11	7=100
May, 1993	12	21	16	19	17	15=100
t. Oliver North	14	33	26	17	4	6=100
u. Colin Powell	33	41	6	2	10	8=100
June, 1992	30	35	11	4	10	10=100
March, 1991	51	28	2	1	7	11=100
v. Ann Richards	8	23	10	4	42	13=100

24. Now I'd like your opinion of some groups and organizations. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... **(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE START)** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly Unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	Very Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Never Heard <u>Of</u>	Can't <u>Rate</u>
a. The Republican Party	12	51	25	8	*	4=100
May, 1993	12	42	25	10	0	11=100
July, 1992	9	37	31	17	*	6=100
b. The Democratic Party	13	49	27	7	*	4=100
May, 1993	14	43	25	9	0	9=100
July, 1992	17	44	24	9	*	6=100
c. ⁷ The women's movement	20	48	19	9	*	4=100
November, 1991	19	52	16	6	0	7=100
June, 1985	19	44	19	11	1	6=100
⁸ The feminist movement	11	44	26	11	2	6=100
ITEMS d-j BASED ON HALF SAMPLE A (N=1899)						
d. The Congress	7	46	34	9	*	4=100
May, 1993	8	35	35	13	0	9=100
November, 1991	7	44	34	9	0	6=100
May, 1990	6	53	25	9	1	6=100
May, 1988	8	56	23	5	0	8=100
January, 1988	6	58	25	4	0	7=100
May, 1987	10	64	16	4	*	6=100
January, 1987	7	52	23	8	0	10=100
June, 1985	9	58	21	5	*	7=100
e. The United Nations	21	55	14	5	1	4=100
May, 1993	21	52	13	4	0	10=100
May, 1990	15	55	13	6	1	10=100
f. The military	30	57	8	3	*	2=100
May, 1993	32	53	8	2	0	5=100
May, 1990	18	55	15	6	*	6=100
April, 1987	17	63	12	4	0	4=100
January, 1987	19	54	11	5	*	11=100
June, 1985	24	53	13	5	*	5=100
g. Wall Street investors	8	51	18	4	2	17=100
April, 1987	5	33	30	11	2	19=100

⁷ Half sample A (N=1899)

⁸ Half sample B (N=1901)

24. CONTINUED...

	Very Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Never Heard <u>Of</u>	Can't Rate
h. The National Rifle Association	19	36	21	16	1	7=100
i. Insurance companies	6	34	38	20	*	2=100
j. MTV	7	29	26	20	6	12=100
k. Tobacco companies	6	18	35	38	*	3=100
ITEMS l-s BASED ON HALF SAMPLE B (N=1901)						
l. Labor unions	14	43	28	10	*	5=100
June, 1985	9	37	30	17	*	7=100
m. The Supreme Court	18	62	13	3	*	4=100
May, 1993	17	56	14	4	0	9=100
November, 1991	18	54	16	5	0	7=100
May, 1990	10	55	18	7	1	9=100
January, 1988	14	65	11	2	*	8=100
May, 1987	13	63	15	2	*	7=100
n. Evangelical Christians	10	33	22	10	11	14=100
May, 1990	12	31	19	19	7	12=100
o. Business corporations	8	62	19	5	*	6=100
November, 1991	8	57	22	6	0	7=100
January, 1988	6	53	27	5	*	9=100
June, 1985	8	50	24	7	1	10=100
p. The gay rights movement	7	26	27	34	*	6=100

24. CONTINUED...

	Very Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Never Heard <u>Of</u>	Can't Rate
q. Network TV news	17	52	22	7	*	2=100
May, 1993	23	58	12	3	0	4=100
January, 1992	27	55	11	2	0	5=100
November, 1991	24	51	16	5	0	4=100
March, 1991	40	51	5	2	0	2=100
May, 1990	22	60	12	3	*	3=100
August, 1989	28	54	11	3		4=100
February, 1989	21	61	12	3		3=100
August ⁹ , 1988	29	52	9	5		5=100
May, 1988	20	58	14	4		4=100
January 27, 1988	12	69	13	3		3=100
January 7-18, 1988	18	60	14	4		4=100
October, 1987	19	62	10	3		6=100
May, 1987	21	63	11	3		2=100
January, 1987	19	55	16	6		4=100
July, 1986	30	53	10	4		3=100
August, 1985	30	51	8	2		7=100
June, 1985	25	59	8	2		6=100
r. The daily newspaper you are most familiar with	23	57	13	5	*	2=100
May, 1993	26	55	10	4	0	5=100
January, 1992	27	51	13	5	0	4=100
November, 1991	24	56	11	5	0	4=100
March, 1991	30	55	7	3	*	5=100
May, 1990	22	56	12	5	*	5=100
August, 1989	25	52	12	5		6=100
February, 1989	22	56	13	4		5=100
August ⁹ , 1988	30	48	10	5		7=100
May, 1988	19	59	13	4		5=100
January 27, 1988	19	62	11	3		5=100
January 7-18, 1988	21	59	12	4		4=100
October, 1987	21	58	9	4		8=100
May, 1987	22	59	12	3		4=100
January, 1987	19	57	13	6		5=100
July, 1986	28	51	11	6		4=100
August, 1985	25	52	10	5		8=100
June, 1985	25	56	8	3		8=100
s. The animal rights movement	23	42	21	9	1	4=100

⁹ Based on Registered Voters

25. I'd like your opinion of some programs and proposals being discussed in this country today. Please tell me if you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose each one. The first one is... **(READ AND ROTATE)**

	<u>Strongly Favor</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Strongly Oppose</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Allowing government Medicaid benefits to help pay for abortions for low-income women	14	29	22	33	2=100
b. A constitutional amendment to permit prayer in the public schools	40	34	15	9	2=100
May, 1993	31	38	19	7	5=100
April, 1987	30	41	17	8	4=100
c. Health care reform that would require employers to pay most costs of health insurance for all their workers.	27	35	21	15	2=100
d. Increasing the federal income tax in order to reduce the deficit	5	21	35	37	2=100
May, 1993	4	33	35	23	5=100
e. Restricting the sale of hand guns	35	23	19	21	2=100
May, 1993	28	27	26	17	2=100
May, 1990	38	27	20	13	2=100
f. Allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military	16	36	19	26	3=100
g. Using American military force, if necessary, to make sure North Korea does not obtain nuclear weapons (HALF SAMPLE A (N=1899))	35	37	17	7	4=100
h. Using American military force, if necessary, to restore democratic government to Haiti (HALF SAMPLE B (N=1901))	13	30	31	19	7=100
i. "Term limitations" to limit the number of years members of Congress can serve	43	37	12	6	2=100
May, 1993	34	42	14	4	6=100
j. Free trade agreements between the United States and other countries, such as NAFTA and GATT	18	44	18	10	10=100
k. A two-year limit on how long someone can receive welfare benefits	40	36	14	7	3=100
l. New federal spending to provide education and job training for American workers whose jobs have been eliminated	46	42	8	3	1=100

25. CONTINUED....

	<u>Strongly Favor</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Strongly Oppose</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
m. Reducing the capital gains tax to encourage investment in U.S companies	26	43	15	7	9=100
n. Changing policy so illegal immigrants are not eligible for welfare, Medicaid and other government benefits	41	28	18	10	3=100
o. A total ban on cigarette smoking in all public places	34	23	21	21	1=100
p. Lifetime jail sentences with no chance of parole for anyone convicted of three or more violent crimes	56	29	8	5	2=100

26. Over the course of the next year, do you think the financial situation of you and your family will improve a lot, improve some, get little worse or get a lot worse?

		Times Mirror	U. S. News & World Report			
		Mar <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1992</u>	Aug <u>1992</u>	May <u>1992</u>	Jan <u>1992</u>
9	Improve a lot	10	9	6	8	9
54	Improve some	57	51	50	49	46
12	Stay the same (VOL)	16	15	14	13	16
18	Get a little worse	11	14	20	22	19
5	Get a lot worse	3	3	5	4	5
<u>2</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100

ASK ALL:

27. Are you now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

		Times Mirror
		Mar <u>1994</u>
55	Full-time	53
12	Part-time	14
33	Not employed	32
<u>*</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u> 100

Q's.28-29 BASED ON THOSE EMPLOYED FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME

28. Do you now earn enough money to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

		Times Mirror	U. S. News & World Report			
		Mar	Oct	Aug	May	Jan
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
40	Yes	44	36	33	34	39
60	No	56	63	66	65	61
<u>*</u>	Don't know	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100
(2652)		(1394)	(817)	(777)	(852)	(1002)

Q.29 ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAID NO TO Q.28

29. Do you think you will be able to earn enough money in the future to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

		Times Mirror	U. S. News & World Report			
		Mar	Oct	Aug	May	Jan
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
34	Yes	33	35	36	34	34
24	No	20	23	25	28	22
<u>2</u>	Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
60%		56%	63%	66%	65%	61%
(2652)		(1394)	(817)	(777)	(852)	(1002)

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

		June	July	May	Jan	Nov	Oct	July	May
		<u>1992</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1990</u>
74	Yes	75	73	70	72	74	72	71	71
26	No	25	27	30	27	26	28	29	29
<u>*</u>	Don't know	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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

		June	July	May	Jan	Nov	Oct	July	May
		<u>1992</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1990</u>
81	Yes	85	84	84	88	80	81	81	80
19	No	15	16	16	12	20	19	19	20
<u>*</u>	Don't know	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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

		<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>
52	Yes	54	53	53	55	55	54	55	56
48	No	46	47	47	45	45	46	45	44
$\frac{0}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{0}{100}$	$\frac{0}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$

Q.33 BASED ON HALF SAMPLE A (N=1899)

33. I'd like to know how often you read certain types of publications. As I read each, tell me if you read them regularly, sometimes, hardly ever or never. (First,) how about...(READ AND ROTATE)

	<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>Know</u>
a. News magazines such as Time, U.S. News, or Newsweek	18	41	18	23	*=100
May, 1993	24	39	14	23	*=100
June, 1992	20	39	18	23	*=100
July, 1990	18	34	18	30	*=100
June, 1990	21	39	16	24	*=100
May, 1990	17	34	19	30	*=100
April, 1990	20	35	16	29	*=100
March, 1990	16	35	19	30	*=100
February, 1990	17	36	18	29	0=100
January, 1990	18	34	17	31	0=100
b. Business magazines such as Fortune and Forbes	5	21	21	53	0=100
June, 1992	5	17	21	57	*=100
July, 1990	5	15	14	66	*=100
June, 1990	6	16	16	62	*=100
May, 1990	4	14	15	67	*=100
April, 1990	5	15	14	66	*=100
March, 1990	5	14	14	67	0=100
February, 1990	4	12	14	70	*=100
January, 1990	5	13	14	68	0=100
c. The National Enquirer, The Sun or The Star	5	13	16	66	*=100
June, 1992	5	13	14	68	*=100
March, 1990	5	15	13	67	*=100
February, 1990	7	13	13	67	*=100
January, 1990	7	12	13	68	0=100

Q.34 BASED ON HALF SAMPLE B (N=1901)

34. I'd like to know how often you watch or listen to certain TV and radio programs. As I read each, tell me if you watch or listen regularly, sometimes, hardly ever or never. (First,) how about...(READ AND ROTATE)

	<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. News magazine shows such as					
60 Minutes or 20/20	43	43	8	6	*=100
May, 1993	52	37	6	5	*=100
Feb, 1993	49	32	11	8	*=100
June, 1992	46	40	8	6	*=100
July, 1990	46	38	8	8	*=100
June, 1990	50	36	6	8	*=100
May, 1990	45	37	8	10	*=100
April, 1990	47	37	7	9	*=100
March, 1990	41	42	7	10	*=100
February, 1990	39	41	10	10	0=100
January, 1990	43	40	8	9	*=100
b. MacNeil Lehrer	7	23	11	58	1=100
May, 1993	10	24	14	51	1=100
June, 1992	6	19	17	56	2=100
July, 1990	7	16	11	66	*=100
June, 1990	7	16	12	64	1=100
May, 1990	8	15	11	65	1=100
April, 1990	6	16	11	66	1=100
March, 1990	5	19	12	63	1=100
February, 1990	5	15	11	69	0=100
January, 1990	6	15	12	67	*=100
c. TV shows such as A Current					
Affair, Hard Copy or Inside Edition	24	40	18	18	0=100
d. Programs on National Public					
Radio, such as Morning Edition					
or All Things Considered	9	18	11	62	*=100
May, 1993	15	20	15	49	1=100
June, 1992	7	16	17	59	1=100
July, 1990	9	13	8	70	*=100
June, 1990	9	10	11	69	1=100
May, 1990	7	11	10	72	*=100
April, 1990	7	12	9	71	1=100
March, 1990	7	9	10	74	*=100
February, 1990	8	10	8	74	*=100
January, 1990	5	10	7	78	*=100

34. CONTINUED....

	<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
e. Cable News Network (CNN)	33	36	7	24	*=100
May, 1993	35	34	7	24	*=100
June, 1992	30	32	10	27	1=100
July, 1990	27	28	8	36	1=100
June, 1990	30	27	6	37	*=100
May, 1990	27	25	7	40	1=100
April, 1990	26	29	7	37	1=100
March, 1990	22	28	8	41	1=100
February, 1990	23	29	8	40	0=100
January, 1990	26	25	7	41	1=100
f. C-Span	9	26	12	52	1=100
May, 1993	11	25	13	48	3=100
Feb, 1993	7	18	14	45	16=100
June, 1992	6	19	18	54	3=100
g. MTV	6	19	15	60	*=100
h. Rush Limbaugh's radio show	6	20	13	61	*=100
i. Howard Stern's morning radio show	2	5	6	87	*=100
j. The "Imus in the Morning" radio show	3	4	5	87	1=100

ASK ALL:

35. How often, if ever, do you listen to radio shows that invite listeners to call in to discuss current events, public issues and politics...(READ)

	<u>June</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Jan</u>
	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
17 Regularly	22	19	18
29 Sometimes	27	29	26
24 Rarely	25	27	27
30 Never	26	25	29
$\frac{*}{100}$ Don't know	$\frac{0}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$

36. Have you EVER called, sent a letter, or faxed a letter to your Congressional representative or Senator to express your opinion on an issue?
37. Have you done so IN JUST THE PAST 12 MONTHS?

		Mar <u>1994</u>	Jan <u>1994</u>
CONTACT WITH CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVE/SENATOR			
48	Ever contacted	45	41
26	In past 12 months	23	22
22	Not in past 12 months	22	18
*	Last contact undesignated	*	1
52	Never contacted	55	58
<u>*</u>	Don't know	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

38. Now I'm going to read you some more pairs of statements. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is... **(READ AND ROTATE)** **(AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE: Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?)**
- q. 78 This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment
62 Strongly
16 Not strongly
- 19 This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment
12 Strongly
7 Not strongly
- 3 Neither/Don't know
100
- r. 33 Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy
21 Strongly
12 Not strongly
- 62 Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost
45 Strongly
17 Not strongly
- 5 Neither/Don't know
100
- s. 51 There are no real limits to growth in this country today
33 Strongly
18 Not strongly
- 45 People in this country should learn to live with less
30 Strongly
15 Not strongly
- 4 Neither/Don't know
100
- t. 52 As Americans, we can always find ways to solve our problems and get what we want
35 Strongly
17 Not strongly
- 45 This country can't solve many of its important problems
30 Strongly
15 Not strongly
- 3 Neither/Don't know
100

38. **CONTINUED....**

- u. 46 Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society
 26 Strongly
 20 Not strongly

 49 Homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged by society
 41 Strongly
 8 Not strongly

 5 Neither/Don't know
 100
- v. 46 Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries
 37 Strongly
 9 Not strongly

 51 Public school libraries should be allowed to carry any books they want
 39 Strongly
 12 Not strongly

 3 Neither/Don't know
 100
- w. 84 Miracles are performed by the power of God
 72 Strongly
 12 Not strongly

 12 There is no such thing as a miracle performed by God
 7 Strongly
 5 Not strongly

 4 Neither/Don't know
 100
- x. 80 We will all be called before God on Judgment Day to answer for our sins
 71 Strongly
 9 Not strongly

 16 I don't believe we will have to answer for our sins on Judgment Day
 9 Strongly
 7 Not strongly

 4 Neither/Don't know
 100

38. **CONTINUED....**

- y. 56 I'm generally satisfied with the way things are going for me financially
 36 Strongly
 20 Not strongly
- 43 I'm not very satisfied with my financial situation
 33 Strongly
 10 Not strongly
- 1 Neither/Don't know
 100
- z. 36 I often don't have enough money to make ends meet
 27 Strongly
 9 Not strongly
- 63 Paying the bills is generally not a problem for me
 43 Strongly
 20 Not strongly
- 1 Neither/Don't know
 100

Q.39 BASED ON SUPPLEMENTAL SAMPLE (N=1009)

39. Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(READ ITEMS, IN ORDER. DO NOT ROTATE)**

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. There needs to be stricter laws and regulations to protect the environment	46	36	13	4	1=100
June, 1992	55	35	7	2	1=100
b. People should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment	17	40	28	14	1=100
May, 1993	12	45	31	10	2=100
June, 1992	26	41	22	10	1=100
c. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed	52	39	6	2	1=100
June, 1992	59	34	4	2	1=100
Nov, 1991	64	30	3	2	1=100
May, 1990	45	46	6	1	2=100
Feb, 1989	49	42	6	2	1=100
May, 1988	48	43	6	1	2=100
May, 1987	37	53	7	1	2=100
d. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country	21	27	28	22	2=100
May, 1993	14	29	34	20	3=100
June, 1992	16	24	30	27	3=100
Nov, 1991	16	22	32	27	3=100
May, 1990	15	28	32	21	4=100
Feb, 1989	17	24	34	22	3=100
May, 1988	17	28	32	20	3=100
May, 1987	11	31	37	16	5=100
e. It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves	20	37	26	15	2=100
May, 1993	19	43	26	9	3=100
June, 1992	28	41	20	8	3=100
May, 1990	23	44	23	6	4=100
May, 1988	26	48	17	6	3=100
May, 1987	21	50	20	4	5=100

39. CONTINUED....

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly * Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
f. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	13	28	37	19	3=100
May, 1993	9	34	40	12	5=100
June, 1992	18	35	31	12	4=100
Nov, 1991	20	31	31	15	3=100
May, 1990	15	36	34	10	5=100
May, 1988	17	35	30	12	6=100
May, 1987	13	40	33	7	7=100
g. The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep	27	32	25	14	2=100
June, 1992	32	33	22	10	3=100
Nov, 1991	41	32	16	9	2=100
May, 1990	27	35	25	9	4=100
Feb, 1989	35	30	22	10	3=100
May, 1988	28	38	22	9	3=100
May, 1987	22	40	26	7	5=100
h. I am very patriotic	51	40	6	2	1=100
June, 1992	52	39	5	2	2=100
Nov, 1991	58	33	5	2	2=100
May, 1990	48	40	8	2	2=100
Feb, 1989	51	40	6	1	2=100
May, 1988	51	38	6	2	3=100
May, 1987	43	46	7	1	3=100
i. In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country	14	33	35	14	4=100
May, 1993	14	37	37	9	3=100
June, 1992	21	36	30	9	4=100
Nov, 1991	17	28	33	16	6=100
May, 1990	10	28	42	16	4=100
Feb, 1989	13	29	39	16	3=100
May, 1988	12	25	41	18	4=100
May, 1987	8	28	45	14	5=100
j. I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other	35	33	13	16	3=100
June, 1992	33	31	14	18	4=100
Nov, 1991	35	31	12	18	4=100
May, 1990	19	30	18	26	7=100
Feb, 1989	21	29	20	25	5=100
May, 1988	21	28	18	28	5=100
May, 1987	13	35	22	24	6=100

39. CONTINUED....

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
k. We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment	10	19	35	34	2=100
May, 1993	8	26	41	22	3=100
June, 1992	11	23	36	27	3=100
Nov, 1991	10	20	33	34	3=100
May, 1990	8	16	39	33	4=100
Feb, 1989	8	20	36	32	4=100
May, 1988	7	19	36	35	3=100
May, 1987	6	18	43	28	5=100
l. Discriminations against blacks are rare today	6	18	45	28	3=100
June, 1992	6	13	43	35	3=100
May, 1990	5	26	42	23	4=100
May, 1988	7	25	41	24	3=100
May, 1987	6	28	43	18	5=100
m. We should restrict and control people coming into our country to live more than we do now	47	35	12	5	1=100
June, 1992	42	34	15	6	3=100
n. It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the United States	19	24	35	19	3=100
June, 1992	19	27	34	15	5=100
Nov, 1991	21	24	31	20	4=100
May, 1990	14	33	33	13	7=100
Feb, 1989	20	34	30	12	4=100
May, 1988	19	34	29	11	7=100
May, 1987	11	33	37	10	9=100
o. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	20	35	27	17	1=100
May, 1993	16	38	33	10	3=100
June, 1992	21	33	30	13	3=100
Nov, 1991	21	31	29	16	3=100
May, 1990	17	35	31	13	4=100
Feb, 1989	22	39	26	10	3=100
May, 1988	22	37	25	12	4=100
May, 1987	14	40	30	10	6=100

39. CONTINUED....

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
p. American lives are worth more than the lives of people in other countries	12	14	31	42	1=100
Nov, 1991	11	12	28	46	3=100
May, 1990	10	18	32	36	4=100
Feb, 1989	8	15	31	43	3=100
May, 1988	9	15	34	39	3=100
May, 1987	7	17	39	32	5=100
q. We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	25	28	25	20	2=100
May, 1993	21	34	29	13	3=100
June, 1992	24	33	25	14	4=100
Nov, 1991	30	30	21	16	3=100
May, 1990	22	33	24	16	5=100
Feb, 1989	22	35	23	15	5=100
May, 1988	23	34	24	14	5=100
May, 1987	17	37	27	13	6=100
r. I often worry about the chances of nuclear war	24	24	32	19	1=100
May, 1990	21	31	29	16	3=100
May, 1988	28	33	25	12	2=100
May, 1987	23	39	27	0	2=100
s. Most of the countries that have gotten help from America end up resenting us	29	43	21	3	4=100
June, 1992	30	43	19	3	5=100
May, 1990	27	46	18	2	7=100
May, 1988	32	44	16	2	6=100
May, 1987	21	50	19	2	8=100
t. It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs	51	39	7	2	1=100
May, 1993	33	54	9	1	3=100
June, 1992	47	44	5	2	2=100
Nov, 1991	54	38	4	2	2=100
May, 1990	39	50	6	1	4=100
Feb, 1989	51	42	3	1	3=100
May, 1988	47	43	6	1	3=100
May, 1987	32	55	7	1	5=100
u. Poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs	46	39	10	3	2=100
May, 1993	31	49	15	3	2=100
June, 1992	35	44	14	4	3=100

39. CONTINUED....

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
v. Japan has taken unfair advantage of the United States	29	37	21	5	8=100
June, 1992	34	35	21	6	4=100
w. We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home	46	38	12	3	1=100
May, 1993	40	45	12	2	1=100
June, 1992	48	40	9	2	1=100

ASK ALL:

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

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

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

	<u>June 1992</u>	<u>May 1990</u>	<u>Feb 1989</u>	<u>May 1988</u>	<u>Jan 1988</u>	<u>May 1987</u>
13 Strong	11	13	15	13	12	11
16 Not strong	17	15	15	15	15	14
<u>0</u> 29 Don't know	<u>0</u> 28	<u>0</u> 28	<u>1</u> 31	<u>0</u> 28	<u>0</u> 27	<u>0</u> 25

42. Do you consider yourself a **STRONG** Democrat, or **NOT** a strong Democrat?

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

43. As of **TODAY**, do you **LEAN** more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

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

NOTE ON TRENDS FOR Q.40 - Q.43: Surveys conducted prior to June, 1992 are based on in-person interviews. Surveys based on personal interviews tend to show higher percentages of self-identified Democrats than telephone surveys.

44. When you were growing up, did your parents usually vote for Republicans or Democrats? **(IF PARENTS VOTED DIFFERENTLY, ASK: How did the parent you felt closer to usually vote?)**

28	Republicans
47	Democrats
6	Both/Split ticket (VOL)
4	Didn't vote/Not eligible (VOL)
2	Other response
<u>13</u> 100	Don't know/Refused

Q.45 BASED ON HALF SAMPLE A (N=1899)

45. I'm going to read you some phrases. Please tell me if you think each one better describes the REPUBLICAN Party and its leaders or the DEMOCRATIC Party and its leaders. (First,) which party do you think is better described by the phrase... (INSERT ITEM. ROTATE START)?

	Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	Both <u>Equally</u>	<u>Neither</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
a. Well organized	48	27	7	13	5=100
May, 1990	40	16	22	13	9=100
May, 1988	39	23	15	14	9=100
January, 1988	38	20	19	14	9=100
May, 1987	34	19	25	13	9=100
b. Selects good candidates for office	40	36	6	13	5=100
May, 1990	32	22	21	17	8=100
May, 1988	28	30	13	19	10=100
January, 1988	31	24	18	18	9=100
May, 1987	27	26	25	13	9=100
c. Is concerned with the needs and interests of the disadvantaged	21	65	4	5	5=100
May, 1990	14	56	12	10	8=100
May, 1987	11	61	14	7	7=100
d. Able to manage the Federal government well	43	31	4	17	5=100
May, 1990	28	20	12	31	9=100
May, 1988	33	30	10	17	10=100
January, 1988	30	28	12	20	10=100
May, 1987	24	25	13	28	10=100
e. Can bring about the kind of changes the country needs	39	42	4	10	5=100
May, 1990	27	31	13	18	11=100
May, 1988	27	43	9	11	10=100
January, 1988	28	37	14	11	10=100
May, 1987	26	36	14	14	10=100
f. Is concerned with the needs and interests of business and other powerful groups	66	23	5	1	5=100
May, 1990	57	15	15	5	8=100
May, 1987	58	15	16	3	8=100
g. Is concerned with the needs of people like me	35	49	4	8	4=100
May, 1990	21	42	12	18	7=100
May, 1988	23	51	8	11	7=100
January, 1988	22	47	11	13	7=100
h. Governs in an honest and ethical way	32	35	6	21	6=100

Q.46 BASED ON HALF SAMPLE B (N=1901)

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

	<u>Republican Party</u>	<u>Democratic Party</u>	<u>Both Equally</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Improving our educational system May, 1990	37 30	46 42	4 NA	5 14	8=100 14=100
b. Protecting U.S. jobs May, 1990	40 30	42 40	3 NA	8 16	7=100 14=100
c. Protecting the environment May, 1990	28 24	56 40	4 NA	4 19	8=100 17=100
d. Reforming the U.S. health care system	34	48	2	8	8=100
e. Making America competitive in the world economy May, 1990	48 41	35 25	4 NA	5 17	8=100 17=100
f. Making wise decisions about the country's defense policies May, 1990	51 39	31 28	4 NA	6 17	8=100 16=100
g. Reducing the federal budget deficit	42	36	2	13	7=100
h. Reforming government	39	40	3	11	7=100
i. Protecting traditional American values	47	35	4	7	7=100
j. Promoting morality and personal responsibility	46	34	4	8	8=100

47. In general, would you describe your political views as... (READ)

7 Very conservative

32 Conservative

39 Moderate

15 Liberal, OR

4 Very liberal?

3 Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)
100

48. Thinking again about the Democratic and Republican Parties, would you say there is a great deal of difference in what they stand for, a fair amount of difference, or hardly any difference at all?

	May <u>1990</u>	May <u>1987</u>
23 A great deal	24	25
51 A fair amount	45	45
24 Hardly at all	27	25
<u>2</u> No opinion/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
100	100	100

49. Now I'm going to read you some different groups in American society. Please tell me if you think each has TOO MUCH say in the way the government in Washington is run, NOT ENOUGH say, or about the RIGHT AMOUNT of say in the way the government is run. (First,) do...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE START) have too much say, not enough say, or about the right amount?

	Too <u>Much</u>	Not <u>Enough</u>	Right <u>Amount</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
a. Women	11	46	41	2=100
b. Blacks	11	47	39	3=100
c. Hispanics	10	47	35	8=100
d. Gays and lesbians	41	25	30	4=100
e. Religious leaders	30	29	38	3=100
f. Middle income voters	3	68	27	2=100
g. White males	37	13	47	3=100

50. Which of the following two statements about the news media do you agree with more...(READ)

25 The news media helps society to solve its problems.

OR...

71 The news media gets in the way of society solving its problems.

4 Don't know/Refused
100

51. Some people say we should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans. Do you agree or disagree?

		ABC/Washington ¹⁰	
		Post	
		Jan	Sept
		<u>1984</u>	<u>1982</u>
53	Agree	41	44
43	Disagree	48	44
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100

¹⁰ Trends based on a somewhat different question wording: "Tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with [the following statement], or if perhaps, you have no opinion about the statement -- 'We should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans.'"

Q.52 BASED ON SUPPLEMENTAL SAMPLE (N=1009)

52. I'm going to read you some more statements on a different topic. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements. The first one is... **(READ ITEMS, IN ORDER. DO NOT ROTATE)**

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Prayer is an important part of my daily life	52	26	14	8	*=100
Nov, 1991	50	30	13	6	1=100
May, 1990	46	31	16	6	1=100
May, 1988	46	32	15	6	1=100
May, 1987	41	35	17	6	1=100
b. We all will be called before God at the Judgment Day to answer for our sins	61	23	7	7	2=100
May, 1993	56	26	6	5	7=100
June, 1992	62	21	7	7	3=100
May, 1990	52	29	9	5	5=100
Feb, 1989	62	22	6	5	5=100
May, 1988	52	28	8	6	6=100
May, 1987	52	29	9	5	5=100
c. Even today miracles are performed by the power of God	58	26	8	6	2=100
June, 1992	58	25	8	6	3=100
May, 1990	49	33	9	4	5=100
Feb, 1989	53	30	7	5	5=100
May, 1988	51	29	9	6	5=100
May, 1987	47	35	9	4	5=100
d. I never doubt the existence of God	72	16	6	5	1=100
Nov, 1991	71	17	8	3	1=100
May, 1990	60	27	8	3	2=100
Feb, 1989	66	22	6	4	2=100
May, 1988	63	24	7	4	2=100
May, 1987	60	28	7	3	2=100
e. School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals	24	15	29	29	3=100
May, 1993	17	17	34	26	6=100
June, 1992	24	16	27	28	5=100
Nov, 1991	23	16	28	28	5=100
May, 1990	29	20	24	21	6=100
Feb, 1989	28	20	26	21	5=100
May, 1988	29	22	25	18	6=100
May, 1987	27	24	28	14	7=100

52. CONTINUED....

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
f. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	30	21	23	24	2=100
May, 1993	26	26	23	21	4=100
June, 1992	30	18	22	27	3=100
Nov, 1991	29	20	20	28	3=100
May, 1990	29	21	24	21	5=100
Feb, 1989	26	24	23	23	4=100
May, 1988	29	22	22	22	5=100
May, 1987	24	26	25	19	6=100
g. Nude magazines and X-rated movies provide harmless entertainment for those who enjoy it	15	29	25	29	2=100
May, 1990	12	29	27	27	5=100
May, 1988	15	30	28	23	5=100
May, 1987	14	34	26	21	5=100
h. Freedom of speech should not extend to groups like the Communist Party or the Ku Klux Klan	21	20	29	28	2=100
May, 1990	17	18	32	27	6=100
May, 1988	17	20	32	26	5=100
May, 1987	16	23	36	19	6=100
i. The police should be allowed to search the houses of known drug dealers without a court order	33	18	22	26	1=100
May, 1990	33	24	23	18	2=100
May, 1988	31	23	21	22	2=100
May, 1987	25	26	27	18	4=100
j. Women should return to their traditional roles in society	12	18	27	40	3=100
Nov, 1991	10	13	26	49	2=100
May, 1990	10	20	32	35	3=100
Feb, 1989	10	16	30	41	3=100
May, 1988	11	20	30	36	3=100
May, 1987	9	21	37	29	4=100
k. Too many children are being raised in day care centers these days	39	36	16	7	2=100
May, 1990	26	47	17	5	5=100
May, 1988	29	40	19	7	5=100
May, 1987	23	45	22	5	5=100

52. CONTINUED....

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
l. AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior	17	22	21	36	4=100
May, 1993	13	22	24	33	8=100
June, 1992	17	19	19	38	7=100
May, 1990	16	22	19	33	10=100
May, 1988	20	24	20	28	8=100
May, 1987	17	26	22	25	10=100
m. I have old-fashioned values about family and marriage	53	31	10	4	2=100
Nov, 1991	49	32	10	8	1=100
May, 1990	49	38	8	4	1=100
Feb, 1989	46	37	9	6	2=100
May, 1988	50	35	9	4	2=100
May, 1987	45	42	9	2	2=100
n. There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	44	36	12	6	2=100
June, 1992	41	35	12	9	3=100
Nov, 1991	42	34	13	9	2=100
May, 1990	36	43	11	6	4=100
May, 1988	38	41	12	6	4=100
May, 1987	34	45	12	4	5=100
o. Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	33	38	20	7	2=100
June, 1992	38	40	16	4	2=100
Nov, 1991	45	35	13	5	2=100
May, 1990	38	40	16	3	3=100
Feb, 1989	40	38	15	4	3=100
May, 1988	34	42	18	3	3=100
May, 1987	31	43	19	3	4=100
p. I can usually tell whether I'll have a lot in common with someone by knowing how much education he or she has	8	25	42	25	*=100
Nov, 1991	10	22	40	27	1=100
May, 1990	7	23	46	21	3=100
Feb, 1989	8	25	42	22	3=100
May, 1988	6	24	44	23	3=100
May, 1987	5	23	49	18	5=100

52. CONTINUED....

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
q. I don't have much in common with people of other races	3	9	45	41	2=100
May, 1990	5	19	50	22	4=100
May, 1988	6	19	46	26	3=100
May, 1987	3	20	54	18	5=100
r. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	19	24	37	19	1=100
May, 1993	25	29	30	14	2=100
June, 1992	26	26	31	16	1=100
Nov, 1991	27	24	32	16	1=100
May, 1990	19	28	41	11	1=100
Feb, 1989	20	30	37	12	1=100
May, 1988	17	28	42	12	1=100
May, 1987	14	29	44	11	2=100
s. Money is one of my most important concerns	15	25	36	24	*=100
Nov, 1991	23	29	29	18	1=100
May, 1990	18	35	35	11	1=100
Feb, 1989	19	34	32	14	1=100
May, 1988	17	35	35	12	1=100
May, 1987	13	34	39	12	2=100
t. I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially	17	47	24	11	1=100
May, 1993	12	46	28	13	1=100
June, 1992	16	42	25	16	1=100
Nov, 1991	16	41	26	16	1=100
May, 1990	9	49	28	13	1=100
Feb, 1989	13	49	25	12	1=100
May, 1988	13	52	25	9	1=100
May, 1987	11	52	27	8	2=100
u. I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote	66	27	4	3	*=100
May, 1993	66	28	4	1	1=100
June, 1992	69	22	6	2	1=100
Nov, 1991	72	21	4	2	1=100
May, 1990	50	35	9	4	2=100
Feb, 1989	64	26	6	2	2=100
May, 1988	56	32	7	2	3=100
May, 1987	46	39	9	3	3=100

52. CONTINUED....

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
v. I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	46	43	9	2	*=100
June, 1992	51	40	6	2	1=100
Nov, 1991	46	44	7	2	1=100
May, 1990	33	49	12	4	2=100
Feb, 1989	34	50	12	2	2=100
May, 1988	39	47	10	2	2=100
May, 1987	28	53	12	3	4=100
w. I'm generally bored by what goes on in Washington	17	34	33	15	1=100
June, 1992	20	35	31	13	1=100
Nov, 1991	16	36	30	16	2=100
May, 1990	12	36	38	12	2=100
Feb, 1989	10	37	37	13	3=100
May, 1988	11	37	38	12	2=100
May, 1987	8	34	41	13	4=100
x. I'm pretty interested in following local politics	24	52	18	5	1=100
June, 1992	26	47	21	5	1=100
Nov, 1991	29	48	16	5	2=100
May, 1990	17	53	23	6	1=100
Feb, 1989	24	49	21	5	1=100
May, 1988	21	51	22	5	1=100
May, 1987	16	54	22	4	4=100
y. Most issues discussed in Washington don't affect me personally	5	25	42	27	1=100
June, 1992	7	26	43	22	2=100
Nov, 1991	8	25	41	23	3=100
May, 1990	7	28	46	16	3=100
Feb, 1989	7	26	44	20	3=100
May, 1988	7	29	45	17	2=100
May, 1987	5	26	50	15	4=100
z. I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	38	32	18	9	3=100
June, 1992	39	30	16	9	6=100
Nov, 1991	46	28	14	8	4=100
May, 1990	30	37	22	8	3=100
Feb, 1989	38	34	17	7	4=100
May, 1988	32	37	18	8	5=100
May, 1987	25	41	22	6	6=100

52. CONTINUED....

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
aa. Sometimes I vote for a candidate without really knowing enough about him or her	14	38	27	20	1=100
June, 1992	14	38	25	20	3=100
Nov, 1991	18	36	22	22	2=100
May, 1990	12	41	27	15	5=100
Feb, 1989	15	41	24	17	3=100
May, 1988	12	44	24	15	15=100
May, 1987	9	44	28	13	6=100

ASK ALL:

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

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

54. Thinking back to the 1992 presidential election, when Clinton ran against Bush and Perot, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? IF YES, ASK: Did you vote for Clinton, Bush or Perot?

32	Yes, Clinton
27	Yes, Bush
14	Yes, Perot
*	Yes, other candidate
1	Yes, don't remember which candidate
23	No, didn't vote/Too young
*	Don't Remember if voted
<u>3</u> 100	Refused

55. In that same 1992 election, did you happen to vote for a Republican candidate or a Democratic candidate for U.S. Congress in your district?

31	Republican
32	Democrat
*	Other candidate
2	Didn't vote for Congress/Only voted for President
8	Don't remember which candidate
23	Didn't vote/Don't remember
<u>4</u>	Refused
100	

56. Thinking back to the 1988 presidential election, when Bush ran against Dukakis, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? **IF YES, ASK:** Did you vote for Bush or Dukakis?

48	Yes, Bush
17	Yes, Dukakis
*	Yes, other candidate
1	Yes, don't remember which candidate
30	No, didn't vote/Too young
2	Don't Remember if voted
<u>2</u>	Refused
100	

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

58. Are you absolutely certain you are registered to vote, or is there a chance your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

	June 1992
79 Yes, registered	76
75 Absolutely sure	73
4 Chance	3
0 Don't know	0
20 No	23
<u>1</u> Not sure/Don't know	<u>1</u>
100	100

59. How often would you say you vote...(READ)

		June 1992	May 1992	Nov 1991	May 1990	Feb 1989	Jan 1988	May 1987
40	Always	47	41	38	33	45	39	34
30	Nearly always	26	32	37	35	30	33	37
14	Part of the time	10	13	13	12	10	12	11
11	Seldom	11	11	9	10	8	8	6
*	(DO NOT READ) Other	1	*	0	1	1	1	2
5	(DO NOT READ) Never vote	5	3	3	8	6	6	9
$\frac{*}{100}$	Don't know/no answer	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

60. Please tell me which of the following activities, if any, you personally do. First, do you...(READ AND ROTATE)

	<u>Yes</u>
a. Jog, work out in a gym, play a racquet sport, or otherwise get regular vigorous exercise.	60
b. Read more than six books for pleasure a year	61
c. Regularly watch daytime TV "soap operas"	17
d. Go out to the movies at least once a month	36
e. Closely follow the stock market or other financial markets	24
f. Attend Bible study or prayer group meetings	33
e. Go hunting	18
f. Go hiking or camping	48
g. Work with, lead or coach a youth group	21
h. Go to a shopping mall	61
i. Do volunteer work for a charity or other non-profit organization	47
j. Go out to nightclubs	26

60. CONTINUED....

	<u>Yes</u>
k. Attend theater, ballet, opera or classical music concerts	36
l. Use a personal computer at home	31

61. What is your favorite kind of music to listen to...(READ. ACCEPT MULTIPLE ANSWERS BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR THEM)

31	Country/Western
21	Oldies rock
21	Contemporary pop or rock
16	Classical
11	Gospel
9	Something else? (SPECIFY)
9	Jazz
8	Rhythm & Blues
3	Show tunes, OR
3	Rap
1	Don't listen to music (VOL)
1	Don't know/Refused

ASK ALL:

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

D1. Which of the following BEST describes the place where you now live...(READ)

20 A large city?

23 A suburb near a large city?

37 A small city or town?

20 OR a rural area?

* Don't know (**DO NOT READ**)

$\frac{*}{100}$ Refused (**DO NOT READ**)

D2. Do you own or rent your home?

69 Own

28 Rent

3 Other arrangement (**VOL**)

* Don't know

$\frac{*}{100}$ Refused

D3. Are you married, divorced, separated, widowed, or have you never been married?

56 Married

11 Divorced

3 Separated

9 Widowed

21 Never married

$\frac{*}{100}$ Refused

D4. Are you the parent or guardian of any children under 18 now living in your household?

36 Yes

64 No

$\frac{*}{100}$ Refused

D5. Are you, or is your (husband/wife), a member of a labor union?

9 Yes, respondent

6 Yes, spouse

2 Yes, both

83 No, neither

0 Don't know

$\frac{*}{100}$ Refused

D6. What is the last grade or class that you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ)**

4 None, or grade 1-8

14 High school incomplete (grades 9-11)

35 High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate)

4 Business, technical, or vocational school AFTER high school

22 Some college, no 4-year degree

13 College graduate (B.S., B.A. or other 4-year degree)

8 Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college (e.g., toward a master's degree or Ph.D; law or medical school)

* Don't Know

$\frac{*}{100}$ Refused

D7. What is your age?

22 18-29

42 30-49

19 50-64

17 65+

 * Refused
100

D8. What is your religious preference - Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Mormon, or an orthodox church such as the Greek or Russian Orthodox Church?

58 Protestant (Baptist, Christian, Episcopal, Jehovah's Witness, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, etc.)

25 Roman Catholic

2 Jewish

1 Orthodox Church (Greek or Russian)

2 Mormon (include Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints)

* Islam/Muslim

2 Other religion (**SPECIFY**)

8 No religion, Atheist

1 Don't know

 1 Refused
100

D9. Would you describe yourself as a "born again" or evangelical Christian, or not?

35 Yes, would

61 No, would not

 4 Don't know/Refused
100

D10. Do you go to church, synagogue or some other place of worship...(READ)

- 27 Every week
- 12 Almost every week
- 15 Once or twice a month
- 28 A few times a year, OR
- 17 Never?

1 Don't know/Refused
100

D11. Last year, that is in 1993, what was your total family income from all sources, before taxes? Just stop me when I get to the right category. (READ)

- 10 Less than \$10,000
- 16 \$10,000 to under \$20,000
- 18 \$20,000 to under \$30,000
- 27 \$30,000 to under \$50,000
- 13 \$50,000 to under \$75,000
- 4 \$75,000 to under \$100,000
- 3 \$100,000 or more
- 4 Don't know (DO NOT READ)

5 Refused (DO NOT READ)
100

D12. What is your race? Are you white, black, Asian or some other race?

86 White

10 Black or African American

* Asian

3 Other or mixed race

0 Don't know

1 Refused
100

D13. Are you, yourself, of Hispanic or Latino background, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Spanish background?

4 Yes

95 No

* Don't know

1 Refused
100

D14. **ENTER RESPONDENT'S SEX:**

48 Male

52 Female
100

**TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
NEW POLITICAL TYPOLOGY RE-INTERVIEW**

FINAL TOPLINE

Sept. 9 - 11, 1994

N=1500

INTRODUCTION: Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates. We interviewed a _____ year old (Q04) in your household a few week ago for a national opinion survey we are conducting for leading newspapers, radio and television stations. I'd like to ask just a few quick follow-up questions to update his/her answers. Could I please speak to that person?

(If necessary: "This update will take no longer than 3 to 4 minutes and your opinions are very important to us.")

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president? **(IF "DON'T KNOW", ENTER AS CODE 9. IF "DEPENDS," PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president? IF STILL "DEPENDS," ENTER AS CODE 9.)**

41	Approve
52	Disapprove
$\frac{7}{100}$	Don't know/Refused

Q.2 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. **(READ AND ROTATE LIST)** How closely did you follow news stories about ... **(READ SCALE IF NECESSARY)?**

		<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all Closely</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	The civil war in Bosnia	9	29	39	23	*=100
b.	Passage of the crime bill in Congress	30	38	19	13	*=100
c.	The IRA cease-fire announcement	8	24	37	31	*=100
d.	Discussion of a U.S. invasion of Haiti	23	37	26	14	*=100
e.	The Clinton Administration's health care reform proposals	32	41	18	9	*=100
f.	The World Population Conference in Cairo	9	20	33	38	*=100
g.	The baseball strike	13	21	28	38	*=100
h.	The flight of Cuban refugees	29	43	18	10	*=100
i.	The OJ Simpson case	30	33	22	15	*=100
j.	News about the candidates and election campaigns in your state	19	34	29	18	*=100

Q.3 In your opinion, are the news organizations you are familiar with being fair or unfair to the Clinton administration?

67 Fair

26 Unfair

7 Don't know/Refused
100

ASK OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED "2" TO Q.50 IN ORIGINAL SURVEY:

Q.4 In the earlier survey, you said that the news media generally gets in the way of society solving its problems. Can you tell me the most important reason WHY you feel this way? **ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES.**

36 Biased/Slanted/One-sided reporting/Views/Offer their own opinions views

30 Sensationalism/Media blows things out of proportion

9 Over-emphasize the negative/Sensationalize the negative

9 Distort the facts/Truth

7 Too selective in disseminating information/Write only what they want the public to know

5 Don't check their facts/Facts aren't accurate

5 Don't get all the facts/Not in-depth reporting

5 Too much information/Too many issues presented at once

2 All other reporting of information mentions

14 Don't know/Refused
100 (N = 1084)

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS (N=1201)

Q.5 If the 1994 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

Q.6 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

48 Republican -- **GO TO Q.7**

46 Democratic -- **GO TO Q.7**

1 Other candidate (VOL.)

5
100 Don't know/Refused

ASKED ORIGINALLY OF FORM 1 RESPONDENTS ONLY:

Q.7 As I read some pairs of opposite phrases, tell me which ONE best reflects your impressions of Bill Clinton so far. (First,) does Bill Clinton impress you as... (**READ AND ROTATE**)

a. Trustworthy or NOT trustworthy?

47 Trustworthy

49 Not trustworthy

3 Neither particularly (VOL.)

1
100 Don't know/Refused

b. Able to get things done or NOT able to get things done?

41 Able to get things done

54 Not able to get things done

5
100 Neither particularly (VOL.)

Q.8 Who would you say is most responsible for things not getting done in Washington these days, the Clinton Administration, the Republicans in Congress, the Democrats in Congress, or the news media?

16 Clinton Administration
 30 Republicans in Congress
 17 Democrats in Congress
 12 The News Media
 16 Other (VOL.)
 $\frac{9}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

NOW ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.9 As you may know, health care reform has not passed in Congress so far. Who do you think is most responsible for this ... the Clinton Administration, the Republicans in Congress or the Democrats in Congress?

15 Clinton Administration
 49 Republicans in Congress
 11 Democrats in Congress
 16 All/Combination (VOL.)
 $\frac{9}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

Q.10 All other things being equal, would you be likely to vote FOR or AGAINST a member of Congress who did each of the following...? **(READ ITEMS, IN ORDER)**

	<u>Vote For</u>	<u>Vote Against</u>	<u>Won't Affect</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. Supported major health care reform	62	28	4	6=100
b. Opposed major health care reform	31	57	4	8=100

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.11 Comparing your present family circumstances with those when you were a child, would you say you are better off, or worse off, than your parents were then?

72	Better off
21	Worse off
6	Same (VOL.)
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

IF RESPONDENT HAS CHILDREN ("1" TO Q.D4 IN ORIGINAL SURVEY):

Q.12 Looking to the future, when your children grow up do you think they will be better off or worse off than you are now? **If no children, "2" or "9" to Q.D4, ASK:** Looking to the future, do you think most children in this country will grow up to be better off or worse off than their parents?

38	Better off
55	Worse off
2	Same (VOL.)
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.13 How do you feel about the problem of low moral and ethical standards in this country today. Do you think this problem is ABOUT THE SAME as it has been, that the country is MAKING PROGRESS in this area, or that the country is LOSING GROUND in this area?

10	About the same
9	Making progress
80	Losing ground
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.14 Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree, or completely disagree with the following statement:

Many people today think they can get ahead without working hard and making sacrifices.

16	Completely agree
38	Mostly agree
24	Mostly disagree
21	Completely disagree
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

BASED ON THOSE WHO ARE EMPLOYED:

Q.15 In your current job, what kind of work do you do? (**RECODE VERBATIM RESPONSE; PROBE FOR CLARITY.**)

25	Profession Worker - lawyer, doctor, scientist, teacher, engineer, nurse (RN), accountant, programmer, musician
14	Skilled Tradesman - printer, baker, tailor, electrician, machinist, linesman, plumber, carpenter, mechanic, etc.
13	Clerical or Office Worker - typist, secretary, postal clerk, telephone operator, computer operator, bank clerk, etc.
9	Service Worker - policeman/woman, fireman/woman, waiter or waitress, maid, nurse's aide, attendant, barber, hairstylist, etc.
8	Laborer - plumber's helper, construction worker, longshoreman, garbage man/woman, or other physical work
8	Manager - store manager, sales manager, office manager
7	Semi-skilled Worker - operates machine in factory, assembly line worker, truck driver, taxi or bus driver, etc.
6	Sales Worker - clerk in store, door-to-door salesman
3	Business owner
1	Manufacturer's Representative - outside salesperson, sales rep.
5	Other
<u>1</u>	No answer/Refused
100 (N = 1001)	

Q.16 What kind of company or organization do you work for? That is, what does it make or do?

12	Manufacturing
12	Educational, social services/membership organizations
9	Health services
8	Construction
8	Retail trade
6	Transportation/Public Utilities/Communication
6	Finance/Insurance/Real estate
5	Business services/law
3	Agricultural services/Forestry/Fishing
2	Wholesale trade
*	Mining
22	Other services
4	Other/unclassified
<u>3</u>	No answer/Refused
100	(N=1001)

STILL LOOKING FOR CHANGE:
AMERICA'S ASSESSMENT OF
THE CLINTON PRESIDENCY AT 500 DAYS

Analysis of voter focus groups conducted in
Mount Laurel, New Jersey; Akron, Ohio; and Miami, Florida
June 1994

Focus groups designed and conducted by
Peter D. Hart and Geoffrey D. Garin

Report written by Guy D. Molyneux

Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc.

OVERVIEW AND HIGHLIGHTS

As a whole, the focus group discussions reveal a complex political landscape, one that is different in critical respects from that suggested by the current conventional political wisdom. While the focus group findings do demonstrate that President Clinton and the Democratic Party face substantial challenges today, at the same time they reveal considerable underlying strengths. Even more important, the discussions help illuminate voters' framework for evaluating this presidency--a framework that appears to have less to do with the President's issue agenda or his personal behavior than with the fundamental questions of **performance** and **leadership**. This, in turn, points the way toward some clear, if difficult, steps President Clinton needs to take in order to strengthen his standing among the American people.

The key findings from the research are summarized in the following points:

- ★ The two principal forces that shaped the 1992 election--**economic anxiety and anger at the political process**--are still at work today. A third factor--**deep concern over social breakdown and moral decline**--is the other major dimension defining the current political environment.
- ★ Bill Clinton was elected to bring change to Washington and to America. This was the hope and expectation of those who voted for him in November 1992, and even of some who did not. **Today, most voters do not yet see the kinds and scope of change they were promised. Their dominant feeling about this, however, tends to be disappointment, rather than outright rejection.**

- ★ **The public's doubts about the Clinton Administration relate to performance more than to issue positions or ideology.** Voters are hard pressed to name a single noteworthy accomplishment of the Administration at this point, and have little sense that the White House has moved effectively to strengthen the economy--the centerpiece of Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign. At the same time, few voters voice concern about taxes or big government, and those who do are primarily conservative voters who are not truly available to President Clinton in any case. The bottom line is that the public feels Bill Clinton has accomplished too little of his agenda, rather than too much.

- ★ The much-discussed "character" problem for President Clinton is real, but this issue has been badly misunderstood in many quarters. **Voters are concerned about the quality of Bill Clinton's political leadership, not his personal morality.** They would like to have confidence in his *public* honesty, but fear that he is instead a typical politician--no worse than most, but also no better--who will say whatever his audience wants to hear. As voters struggle to assess and understand what they perceive as the President's broader failure to bring about promised change, the negative information they hear regarding his honesty and character seems to "fill in the blanks" and influence their evaluation process.

- ★ **Voters today express concerns about Bill Clinton's "political backbone," and they have little notion of what his core political principles are.** This finding is of critical importance in understanding attitudes toward this president and his leadership, because, though voters feel strongly that the country needs a better sense of direction, they cannot say what Bill Clinton has done toward that end nor can they discern in what direction he is taking the nation.

- ★ **Whatever doubts voters may have about the President and his ultimate success, however, the Republicans appear to have gained little public ground during Bill Clinton's first 500 days.** While the GOP's language of traditional values is attractive to many voters, most see Republicans as the party of the status quo in an era of needed change. Few participants think the country would be better off today if George Bush or another Republican were president.

- ★ **The large majority of Clinton voters are still with the President, despite their disappointment with the pace of change.** They believe he sincerely is trying to effect change--something even many non-Clinton voters concede--and feel he may still succeed. Most of them suggest Bill Clinton is still a long way from losing their electoral support.

- ★ **In the end, most voters have an open mind regarding Bill Clinton and his potential for success.** Though they may be dissatisfied with the story line so far, voters have not closed the book on the Clinton presidency. What they are looking for is the kind of **effective political leadership** that they hoped they were getting in November 1992--and that they believe is the answer to the economic and moral decline they see in America today.

AMERICANS' VIEW OF THE NATION

We began each focus group discussion by asking participants how things are going in America today. The news is not good. While some voters say they are "satisfied" or "optimistic," words such as "dismal," "concerned," "stressed," and "discouraging" emerge much more often. Most people feel the country is in trouble, and many are pessimistic about its prospects. Their national weather forecast may not call for rain, but "mostly cloudy" is a frequent prediction, and though people are not necessarily upset or angry, they are decidedly downbeat.

These reactions are consistent with national polling results. Fully half of all Americans now believe the nation is "on the wrong track," while just a third feel things are "generally headed in the right direction." While this is hardly the level of dissatisfaction recorded in the spring of 1992, when seven in ten Americans said the country was on the wrong track, it is significantly higher than was the case in January 1993 (when 47% of Americans felt things were moving in the right direction and just 27% said the nation was off course), when hopes and expectations for Bill Clinton's presidency were at their height. So, while the public's dissatisfaction is not at the level that brought down the Bush Administration, it is very substantial and heading upward.

Why do people feel so negative? Three dominant themes surface in the focus groups, which together define today's political playing field: economic anxiety, a sense of moral decline, and deep political cynicism. Overall, people feel

the nation is adrift--or is headed in unsettling directions to the extent that it is following any course--and is lacking in effective leadership.

Despite the country's economic upturn, many voters continue to feel the same kinds of economic pressures as they did in 1992. In Miami, among those in the lowest-income group, concerns about unemployment and health care surface frequently. When we asked voters where they would take Bill Clinton to give him a sense of how the economy was doing in their community, they suggest showing him a bridge under which homeless people live or taking him to Overtown--one of the city's poorest neighborhoods--and to a house shared by four single working people who cannot afford to live on their own.

Even among the upper-income New Jersey voters, economic anxiety is apparent. One woman, a college graduate and accountant, puts it this way:

The middle class is shrinking; there are more poor people. It's just so hard to make it. I have a two-year-old son, and I'm trying to think about putting him through school. I want to put him in a good school, but I don't know how I'm going to afford it. It's just so hard to make it, especially in New Jersey.

In every focus group, voters articulate a sense that the nation is "degenerating" or "going downhill" in terms of its moral values. An Akron man notes that "drugs have invaded our country, the family is breaking down, and our country is losing any moral anchor that it had." Survey data suggest that this sentiment has become increasingly prevalent since 1992, and is now a momentous political factor.

In the May NBC/WSJ survey, for example, we asked Americans to explain in their own words why they felt the country was off on the wrong track. Two years ago, the same question elicited almost nothing but economic concerns; today, however, issues such as drugs, family breakdown, and violent crime are even more salient than are economic factors. In fact, it is the fear of violent crime that most seems to drive this feeling of moral decay.

In addition to this sense of economic and moral decline, participants feel America's political system is badly broken. They express almost no trust in political leaders. To them, public officeholders never seem to get anything done, instead pursuing their own personal interests--either in the form of outright corruption or narrowly partisan agendas that promote gridlock rather than action--rather than what is best for the country, a phenomenon that voters find enormously frustrating:

Everybody is out for themselves. They're not looking out for the good of everybody else. They just want to know, "What am I going to get out of this? Am I going to be reelected?" And then you get in, and you spend the next four years trying to get reelected.

When asked what percentage of the members of Congress who went to Washington with good intentions still "have their hearts in the right place," Miami participants offer responses that average to a meager 9%.

We offered focus group participants the hypothetical opportunity to add a message to their ballot in the next congressional election. The loud and clear

sentiments, expressed by Miami voters and echoed by those in the two other groups, are *Remember why you're there*, and *Keep your promises*.

Concern about the *future*, even more than dissatisfaction with the present, seems to be what most troubles the Americans with whom we spoke. Many express the feeling that the nation is either directionless or sliding downward. An Akron woman thinks of the country as at a "standstill," noting that "there are all these problems, and nothing is being done about [them]." An Akron man observes, "We are suffering from an identity crisis" as a nation, and a New Jersey voter offers this characterization of the nation today:

We are going downhill. There seems to be hopelessness in the people; they don't seem to have the goals they used to have. . . . I think we're a country without a vision. I see aimlessness.

Many voters feel that America was stronger in the past because people had better values, especially a "willingness to work hard and invest in the future," as one man puts it. "They weren't so focused on immediate gratification." There also was a collective sense of confidence that is lacking today, according to these voters. "When Kennedy said, '*We're going to send a man to the moon*,' everybody believed that could be done," recalls a New Jersey man. "And that's why it was done, because everybody believed in it. That's all you need. If the people believe in it, then it's a done deal."

Voters indicate that it is political leaders who should provide the sense of direction and common purpose that America needs, but participants do not see

this kind of leadership evidenced in the political process today. They had hoped that President Clinton might be the answer, but they are not sure now whether he is up to the challenge.

RATING THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION

The public's responses to President Clinton and his administration vary widely. Some voters in the focus groups admire Bill Clinton and his efforts, while others feel quite negative. Most voters fall between these extremes, offering a mixed assessment.¹

Even among the people who hold mixed or positive views, however, there are real misgivings about the first 500 days of the Clinton presidency. We would characterize the overall feeling as one of **disappointment** rather than rejection, and the cause of this disappointment is clear: voters feel they elected Bill Clinton to bring change to Washington and to America, but do not yet see the change they were promised.

We began our discussions of President Clinton in the groups by posing this question: "On Election Day 1992, what was your first thought when you learned that Bill Clinton had won?" Not unexpectedly, some Bush and Perot voters recall

¹ In all three groups, we found some participants--usually very socially conservative people--who feel strongly negative toward Bill Clinton. These individuals are, in nearly every case, people who voted for George Bush in 1992. Since no president can hope to gain everyone's support, and while we occasionally will take note of the strong anti-Clinton voters' views, we have focused our analysis here principally on Clinton voters, Perot voters, and those Bush voters who seem at least open to the possibility of supporting Bill Clinton. Together, these are the members of the electorate who will determine whether the President succeeds in implementing his agenda and, ultimately, whether he wins reelection.

feeling upset or disappointed. But Clinton voters, as well as some participants who had voted against Bill Clinton, say they felt hopeful that day. More specifically, they felt hopeful that change was coming: "I was hoping for a change, and the way he promised it, it sounded good," recalls a Miami voter, whose feeling is echoed by a woman in the New Jersey session: "I was hopeful that he could bring about some changes." Another voter asserts, "We sent the Republicans a message that things were going to be different."

Change was the hope and expectation in November 1992, but today there is general agreement that Bill Clinton has not yet wrought that change. Even his supporters have little to point to in this regard, saying perhaps that he needs more time. Some think there have been minor changes and others see none at all, but very few voters are satisfied with the progress to date. A participant in Akron notes, "I thought a change was needed; we needed a new direction; we needed more leadership. We need what Clinton claimed, and so far not much has been accomplished." The disillusionment also is articulated by the New Jersey voter who insists, "He has not done anything. He said that he has done a lot, and he has talked a lot about his health care [plan], but no one really knows what it is about. He wants to do a lot, and maybe he is taking on too much." One Clinton voter in Miami puts it simply: "I'm still waiting on a change."

Voters' thirst for change has not abated, nor has it been quenched. This state of unmet expectations, more than anything else, sets the parameters for the public's assessment of Bill Clinton's presidency.

Voters in our groups give varied assessments of the President's performance. Asked to grade Bill Clinton, some participants award him a "B" or an "A," and some a "D" or an "F." A sizable plurality, however, send the President home with a "C" report card--middle-range grades consistent with his current approval ratings (52% in the latest NBC/WSJ survey).

In a sense though, this "average" mark appears to be an implicit average of two separate assessments: effort and accomplishment. Many participants volunteer that Bill Clinton deserves an "A" for effort. Even people who do not like him generally concede that he is working hard, and most voters feel that he wants to do the right things. But they fault his effectiveness. An Akron voter who gives the President a "C+" offers an explanation typical of the participants: "I give him an 'A' for effort, [but] he has been rendered ineffective in a lot of ways. Things are out of his control."

The bad news is that, while the President earns an "A" for effort, an overall rating of "C" suggests deep problems on the performance front. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the three focus groups is people's almost complete inability to name a major accomplishment of Bill Clinton. This is true even among Clinton supporters. When asked to name the high point of Bill Clinton's first 500 days, people have genuine difficulty providing an answer. No single accomplishment comes readily to people's minds.

Particularly troubling for this Administration is that the economy is rarely mentioned in discussions of President Clinton's efforts. Voters are of varying

opinions on the state of the economy: some see recent improvement, though they remain cautious or concerned about the future; others simply do not see any progress. Those who do perceive improvement are loathe to give the President credit, saying that recovery was already underway when he took office. Especially striking is how little awareness people have of the Administration's efforts on the economic front. Some voters believe that Bill Clinton has not even addressed the issue of the economy.

Few voters seem to recall the 1993 budget deal, for example, much less associate this program with any subsequent economic upturn. Perhaps the greatest irony of the first 500 days is that the Administration stepped up to the plate, made some tough choices to achieve meaningful deficit reduction, and then received essentially no acknowledgement from the public for hitting solidly and safely. Though concern about the budget deficit does seem to have eased--it is mentioned only very infrequently--there is little indication that people recognize that progress has been made.

In Akron, the moderator prompted the group by reminding them of the 1992 phrase, "It's the economy, stupid." This rings a bell, but still fails to elicit any sense of post-election action. A couple of people recall the NAFTA vote, without enthusiasm, but otherwise participants draw a blank. One voter notes that the economy had indeed "been one of his big issues during the election," but that, come to think of it, "[the President] hasn't really done anything about it." A strong Clinton supporter says simply, "I haven't heard much on it."

As far as voters can determine, strengthening the economy--the centerpiece of his 1992 campaign--is not a major priority on Bill Clinton's agenda. National polls confirm the startling finding that even as a Democratic president presides over an economic recovery, the public has no more faith in the Democrats' capacity to manage the economy than it does in the Republicans' ability to do so. For an administration that came to power on a wave of economic discontent, and that sees its central strategic mission as reassuring the middle class that it understands their economic situation, this is discouraging news.

The President's unknown or untested aptitude as a military leader provokes some degree of worry, in the event that the nation were to face a crisis, and this is the one area in which voters seem to feel George Bush would be better were he president today. The larger context surrounding these misgivings reveals, however, that voters are essentially in an isolationist mood, and therefore do not consider foreign policy and the President's military role a top priority. "I think Bush was very good internationally, but we don't need that type of person; we need a United States person," is the way a New Jersey voter puts it. A woman in the Miami group elaborates: "I don't think [Clinton] has the military background to handle it. But--he was elected to accomplish different things."

Indeed, some voters also seem to feel that President Clinton's tentativeness in approaching potential conflict situations abroad--the subject of considerable criticism in both Democratic and Republican circles--is particularly appropriate to the public's current mood. "I think the country does not want to see any military

action from him and he feels that, so he is being supercautious on certain issues. He's up against the whole country not wanting any kind of war. I think he's all right in that respect. I think he's cautious because we want him to be."

If voters have trouble coming up with major achievements of the Administration, they are generally familiar with its current agenda. Virtually everyone knows of Bill Clinton's drive to reform the health care system, and most applaud his tackling of this problem. But there is a great deal of uncertainty regarding the specifics of his plan, and there are considerable doubts as to whether he has gotten it right yet. In one focus group, a discussion of the Clinton plan quickly devolves into a discussion of welfare, and it becomes clear that most of the people around the table believe that the essence of the health care plan is to extend health benefits to the non-working poor. While many express support for the goal of universal coverage, only a few seem to see this plan as having the potential to help them or other working people.

The President's support for welfare reform that would "end welfare as we know it" is something that voters seem to be both aware and supportive of. Some also indicate awareness of Bill Clinton's push for crime legislation. From these signs, it would seem that the President's efforts to position himself as a "new Democrat" have succeeded. Once again, however, the question comes back to performance. "The first positive thing was when he first became president and expressed his views on welfare and training and all that," observes a Miami woman, who adds the caveat, "I'm still waiting."

Sometimes public opinion analysts can learn as much from what people do *not* say in focus groups as from what they do. Especially notable in these groups is how rarely people mention concerns over taxes or big government (and those who do are generally Republican voters whose support Bill Clinton could never reasonably hope to get anyway). Just as voters seem unaware of the deficit reduction in the 1993 budget deal, they exhibit virtually no memory of the tax increases included in that legislation, so roundly attacked by Republicans as the "largest in history." Those tax increases have not registered significantly with participants, and certainly have not provoked any kind of anger.

More generally, relatively few voters voice the types of criticisms offered regularly by Republican critics. No one volunteers, for example, that Bill Clinton is an out-of-touch liberal or that he wants to coddle criminals. A few Republican voters say they think he is too fond of big government in general, but these objections are infrequent and raised without much passion.

In sum, voters do not seem to feel that Bill Clinton has the wrong agenda for America. Instead, they are frustrated that--as seems so often the case in politics--the President currently seems incapable of implementing that agenda.

BILL CLINTON THE MAN

While there is rough consensus regarding President Clinton's performance in office--voters believe the President is trying hard, but is not getting much accomplished--impressions of Bill Clinton the man are sharply polarized.

In describing Bill Clinton, some Akron participants offer such phrases as "a good man in office," "progress," or "genuinely concerned about the country." Others reply in a distinctly different tone: "crisis of character," "orchestrated and difficult to trust," or, simply, "untrustworthy." The same distinct split appears when they try to characterize Bill Clinton's values: "a family type" and "hard-working" are the adjectives that come to mind for some participants, while "power-hungry" or "valueless" are the appellations offered by others.

In two of the three focus groups, Mount Laurel and Akron, the negative sentiments are generally expressed more often and more forcefully than are the positive ones. This is not surprising; in our experience, negative opinions often easily overwhelm the positive in political discussions. Whether in the theater of talk-radio or the research setting of a focus group facility, the cynical comment seems to "trump" a more idealistic notion, and the pessimistic view always seems more "realistic" than does the upbeat assessment. Because the individuals who feel fairly positive toward the President tend to retreat in the face of sharply negative assessments, it becomes easy to take away from the sessions an exaggerated sense of the breadth of hostility toward Bill Clinton. In our opinion, some analysts and commentators have made this mistake in assessing the President's public standing.

At the same time, we suspect that this dominance of the negative view may often reflect the reality of political discussion as it occurs across America these days. It is hard to overstate the degree of cynicism toward and disgust with

politics and politicians. And it is of some consequence that critics of the President feel far more passionate and assertive than do those who support him. Bill Clinton certainly would be in a stronger position today if more average Americans felt good enough about his character and performance to stand up for him in the conversations that take place daily in the nation's coffee shops, laundromats, and living rooms.

In terms of Bill Clinton's personal strengths, common themes emerge in all three groups. The President is widely credited with making a serious effort to tackle the important issues facing the country, something voters feel his immediate predecessors in office did not do. Voters also feel that he brings both great energy and keen intelligence to those efforts--a combination they also have not seen in many years. As well, they have a strong sense that he cares about average people and their lives.

On the negative side, some voters are deeply offended by what they perceive to be Bill Clinton's low moral standards, citing Paula Jones' charges or the Whitewater issue. These impressions generally come from deeply conservative people who almost certainly would never vote for a Democratic president.

Other voters draw a crucial line between personal and public behavior. They are concerned about the latter, but not the former. "There are things with his personal life that people can poke at. Ultimately, I am sure that they are going to prove that he had an affair, but that is not my concern. My concern is what he is going to do for this country. I personally am against that type of behavior, but I

am not going to judge the man." A New Jersey voter speaks to the Whitewater allegations: "Everyone makes mistakes financially. My question is whether there were illegalities involved." Many voters blame the media for all the attention given the Jones and Whitewater issues. Even a Bush voter expresses anger that *The Star* and the *National Enquirer* seem to be driving the nation's agenda.

The Paula Jones story and other personal matters ultimately seem to be of limited interest to most of these voters. Whitewater is potentially a different problem, because it involves more public activities. Voters do not now see any clear evidence that the Clintons engaged in any illegal or unethical financial activities, however, and as long as this remains the case, Bill Clinton's public standing is unlikely to be seriously harmed.

We asked the New Jersey focus group participants where they would like to be if they could be a "fly on the wall" and listen in on Bill Clinton unobserved, to gain the kind of insight in which they are most interested. Although this group is by far the most negative toward the President, no participants express any voyeuristic interest in Bill Clinton's bedroom or hotel rooms. Instead, participants want to see him in a Cabinet meeting or just before a press conference; in other words, they wish to understand how he goes about doing his job.

Nevertheless, the President does confront a serious and important "character" problem with the voters. But this has been widely mischaracterized in the press and the political community as principally a question of personal

morality. Our research suggests that this is better understood as public doubts about Bill Clinton's capacity for effective **political leadership**.

For one thing, all the attention to scandals and charges reinforces people's doubts about President Clinton's ability to get the job done. At a minimum, the innuendoes are a major distraction. One Clinton supporter in New Jersey raises this concern:

All that has been focused on is this stuff that happened five years ago, and I don't see anything happening with the country. I just hear about his past life and/or maybe affairs. How can the man focus on what he is supposed to do . . . if he is being sidetracked with all this other stuff? You are hoping that he can do the best job, but I don't see how he possibly can with all this other stuff.

Much more important, though, are the doubts raised in voters' minds regarding Bill Clinton's honesty and trustworthiness in the public arena. In our focus groups, one major concern about the President stands out, emerging in every session and being voiced even by some participants who voted for him: **voters are not confident that they can trust Bill Clinton to be straight with them.** The NBC/WSJ survey underscores the breadth of this problem: only 26% of the public rates Bill Clinton well on the quality of "telling the truth," while 43% rate him poorly.

Many people in the focus groups describe Bill Clinton's level of honesty as that of a typical politician: no worse, but also no better. Given their great cynicism toward politicians, this is a discouraging assessment. The problem is that they do not see Bill Clinton as someone who really speaks his mind or who will tell the

nation what it may need to hear, if doing so will have a political downside. A New Jersey teacher says that although President Clinton "gave the country some hope, . . . he doesn't have a direction. I consider him a 'yes' man; he just does everything that people want him to do." Many other participants express a sense that Bill Clinton frequently is guilty of overpromising, which they think gets him into trouble: "I think that politicians do come in--I think Bill Clinton did this--and make all these unrealistic promises that he now realizes he cannot do. It's basically because people are dishonest."

Just as voters have trouble identifying any notable Clinton accomplishments, so too do they seem--even after a year and a half--not to have formed a clear image of this president. Only scattered images are offered when these voters try to recall the defining moments of Bill Clinton's term so far, and are often from very recent events such as the Nixon and Onassis funerals. It seems there has not yet been an event or action that has captured the essence of Bill Clinton for voters. The danger in this is that, in the absence of any clear sense of what he is about as a leader, the President's popularity will continue to depend entirely on the "what have you done for me lately" syndrome. His public standing then rises and falls with the news of the week.

Exacerbating this problem, of course, is the general atmosphere of political cynicism within which Bill Clinton must operate. Politicians are automatically suspect, and people will assume the worst unless they have clear evidence to the contrary. Some voters already see in President Clinton (or project onto him) the

very embodiment of what is most wrong with politics and the nation today. As is articulated by an Akron man, it is that "the nation votes for leaders that it sees like them, and we [now] have a man in office who tells the truth when it is convenient. I honestly don't know when I hear him speak if I am hearing the truth or hearing what he wants me to hear. I think the nation as a whole is going in that direction. There is no backbone anymore."

As voters try to come to grips with Bill Clinton's failure to achieve change, they often reach for the word, "backbone." This term implies not only honesty, but also strength and convictions--a willingness to fight for what one believes in, even in the face of powerful opposition or great risks. They see this as an essential quality in effective leaders: it takes backbone to face down political adversaries, to rally the nation to a common cause, or to fight against special interests on behalf of the entire nation. Unfortunately, many voters do not today see this critical leadership ingredient in their current president.

Indeed, when we asked the people in Miami what kind of backbone Bill Clinton has, their answers include "sawdust," "papier-maché," and "clay." When participants are asked to contemplate which qualities Bill Clinton could usefully take from previous presidents, a New Jersey man suggests "the guts of Truman," while a Miami man wants to "make him more of a 'The buck stops here' kind of guy." In addition, when considering the question of whether Bill Clinton still could become a great president, those who answer "no" express these same types of concerns in explaining the obstacles to greatness. "I would say 'no' only because

I don't think he has strong convictions," notes one woman, and another voter asserts, "I don't believe that he could become a great president. If we think back to who we consider great presidents, it is the ones that take a moral stand, whether we agree with them or not. It is the ones that take the stand and fight for what they believe in; those are the great ones."

The passage of NAFTA is an interesting exception to this assessment--one that proves the larger rule. While voters do not generally express any great enthusiasm for NAFTA as a policy, several participants cite this as a case in which Bill Clinton demonstrated some conviction. In that fight, they saw the President stake out a firm position, take on strong opponents (Ross Perot and congressional leaders), and prevail--demonstrating exactly their model of effective presidential leadership. In voters' minds, the NAFTA victory pointed to the broader possibility that change was coming, that Bill Clinton was going to be able to break gridlock and achieve his goals. This explains why the President's approval ratings went up considerably at the time, even though public support for the treaty was fairly modest. Tellingly, however, NAFTA stands nearly alone when voters are asked to recall an example of the President displaying strong convictions.

In addition to helping a president achieve legislative or policy victories, strong convictions have another value: they give voters a fuller sense of where their president hopes to take the country. If Americans are then called upon to make sacrifices or to be patient, this deeper understanding of their leader's vision makes it easier to comprehend why. But today, voters have little sense of what

core political principles Bill Clinton holds dear or what vision of America animates him and drives him forward. Just as voters cannot say what Bill Clinton has done, neither can they say where he is taking the nation. And this makes them uneasy, for it is precisely a clear sense of direction, one that can unite the efforts of the American people, that people most want from their president today.

AMERICANS' ADVICE TO THE PRESIDENT

Toward the end of each focus group, we asked voters what would have to happen in order for Bill Clinton to gain their vote if they had voted against him in 1992, or to lose their vote if they had been a Clinton voter. Almost all the Clinton voters, significantly, say they are still behind the President and expect to be again next time. Most indicate that things would have to go very badly--several say the situation would have to get "drastic"--for them to abandon Bill Clinton. Despite their disappointments, then, Bill Clinton's voters are still with him.

These participants are with him primarily, it seems, because they believe he sincerely is trying to make change happen--a point even many non-Clinton voters concede--and they hope he can still succeed. Voicing a feeling common to many participants, an Akron man proclaims, "As long as he tries to confront issues and move the country forward, he will keep my vote," and a woman in that group says the only way Bill Clinton could lose her vote is if "he stops the change."

The issue of change also remains an important frame of reference for voters in comparing this Democratic president to the Republicans. Most of the focus

group participants see the GOP as being very much a party of the status quo, with little interest in change. For most of the Republican voters, that is just fine. They generally are satisfied with the state of the nation or are at least convinced that anything government does to address problems will only make things worse.

But most people do not agree: despite voters' substantial skepticism toward government and their cynicism about politics, in the end, they say that attempts must be made to solve the very serious problems they see around them. Participants also admire Bill Clinton's willingness to face up to these challenges. An Akron accountant, somewhat favorably inclined toward Clinton, sums up this sentiment aptly:

I believe that there are significant changes that need to take place, and the Democratic Party traditionally is the party of change. Republicans just want to maintain the status quo, and that was Bush's theme during the campaign. I happen to think [there are] major problem[s] . . . and the Democratic Party is the one that will undertake those changes, just as Bill Clinton has decided to take on the health care and welfare problems.

This contrast should become more important as the country moves toward 1996. While voters now judge Bill Clinton mostly against the expectations he raised in 1992, voters in 1996 will evaluate him against an actual nominee from the party of the status quo. Significantly, few of the Democratic or Independent voters in our focus groups seem at all eager to trade in Bill Clinton for George Bush or another Republican. Even those who have doubts about Bill Clinton do not necessarily perceive that the political universe contains more attractive options.

Show improvement in a few areas. Push one all the way through and have the others following behind . . . If he could push these things [crime and economy] through a little bit, and maybe finish one of them.

 Communicate conviction and honesty.

Try to be honest, and communicate more what he is doing and how he is doing it.

When he says he is going to do something, do it. Be more decisive about his decision-making.

Demonstrate that he is above reproach; restore his credibility.

Be strong; convince us of your convictions.

Although people are disappointed with the story line thus far, they are far from closing the book on Bill Clinton. Most are reserving judgment; some are still optimistic that he will bring change. Many feel torn in their assessment: they like this president's energy and intelligence, but do not feel they can trust him as much as they would like to. Voters also recognize that the problems President Clinton is facing are substantial and long-standing, and many comment that both the press and the public are far less respectful of the presidency than they once were. These voters seem to consider the Clinton presidency a work in progress, and are not yet sure how it will turn out in the end.

His success, voters believe, will be determined by whether he shows himself to be a stronger leader than they have seen so far. Even a very conservative young woman in Akron concedes that Bill Clinton could still be a great president, if "he gets a backbone and uses it." What voters most want to see from Bill

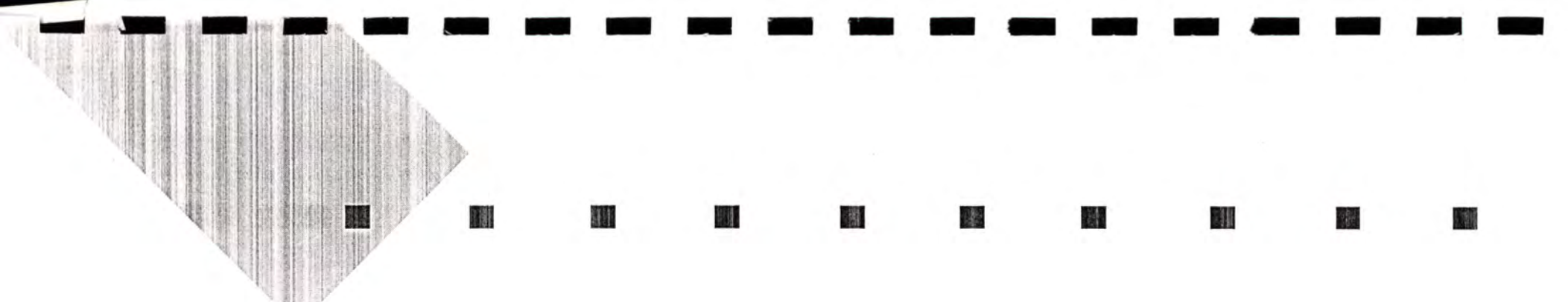
Clinton are some occasions in which he tells the nation where he stands, faces down his opponents, and comes out a winner in the end. Two George Bush voters in New Jersey, one favorable toward Bill Clinton and one not, offer the following as the scenario for how Bill Clinton might win their 1996 vote:

He has become more focused; he stands behind a particular issue; he sees it all the way through and gets it done. He is strong in his decisions: he says something, he does it, and he is not afraid of the repercussions.

He would have to show that he could carry through something that he proposes, something significant. Find an issue and push it through.

Can Bill Clinton do that? The voters are not yet sure--but most still want him to succeed. And they believe a lot is riding on the outcome. The Miami session concluded with this advice from four Clinton voters, which encapsulates the potential, the expectations, and the opportunity that await the President's response:

- ★ Keep plugging away.
- ★ Get a little tougher.
- ★ This is the time to move.
- ★ Everybody is waiting.

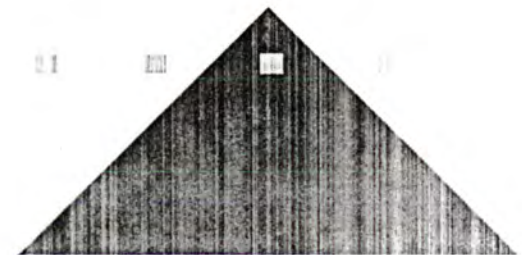


The 1994 Elections and Gender Gaps in Economic Insecurity

Presentation of Findings



11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19





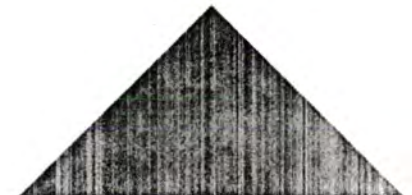
Overview

Elections

- ✓ Democrats had trouble with white women, middle brow women, married women, and boomer and senior women.
- ✓ Women's turnout was down. In 1992, women made up 54% of the electorate. In 1994, 51% with declines among white non-college educated women.

Economic Insecurity and Money

- ✓ Women were less likely to think the economy was in recovery and felt worse off, not better.
- ✓ Women worry about jobs and keeping up.
- ✓ Men worry most about taxes and deficit.
- ✓ Women also tend to worry more about health care and crime.
- ✓ In 1992, both men and women worried that government had become too intrusive.





The Democratic Coalition Has Frayed

Our Vote Among Key Groups Dropped Steeply From 1992 to 1994

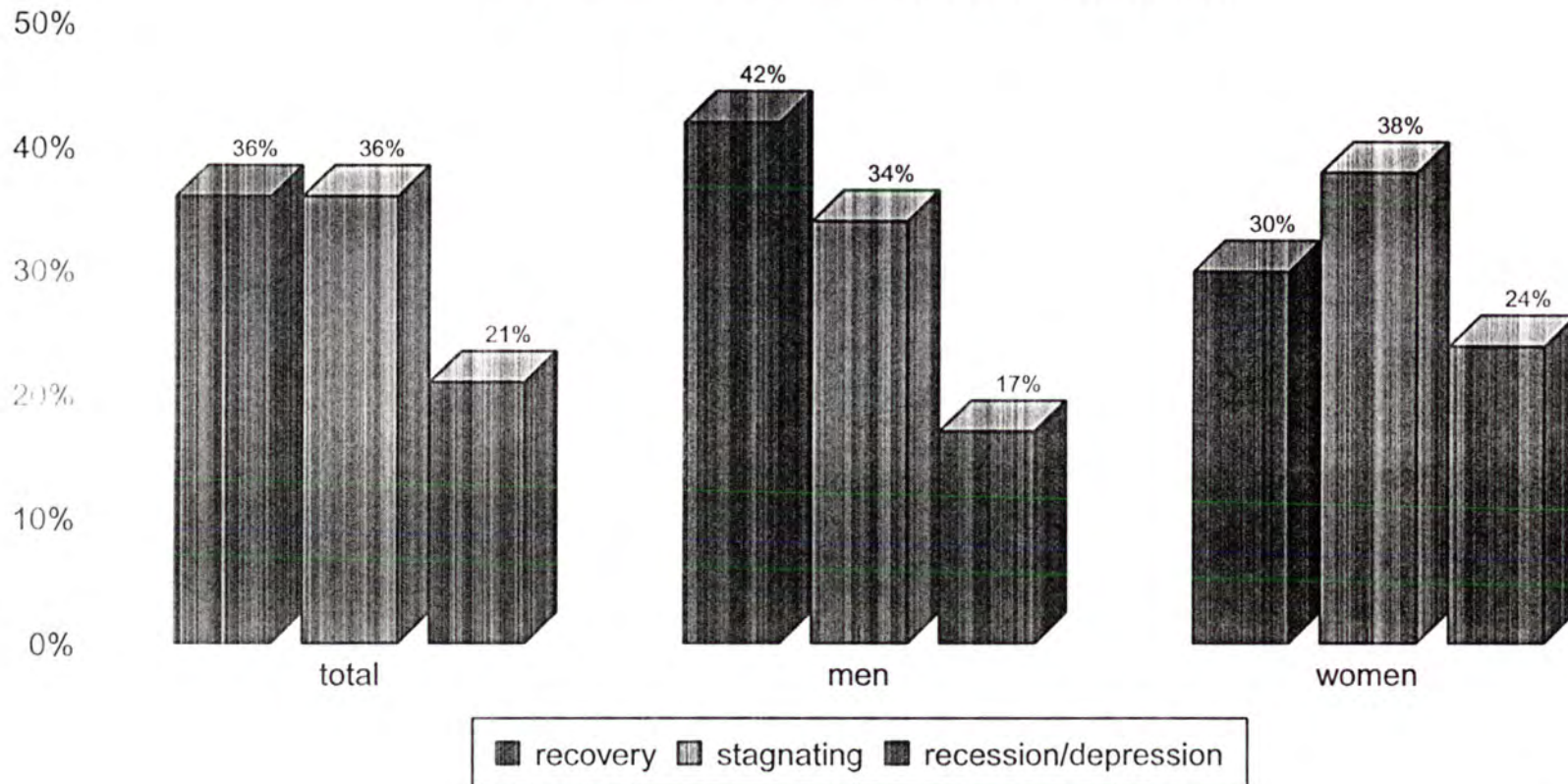
(% Democrat minus % Republican)

	1992	1994	Shift
Total	8	0	-8
Men	4	-8	-12
Women	10	8	-2
White men	-2	-24	-22
White women	2	-10	-12
No HS men	34	20	-14
No HS women	30	40	10
HS men	18	-4	-22
HS women	14	10	-4
Some coll men	2	-12	-14
Some coll women	10	0	-10
Coll men	-6	-10	-4
Coll women	6	6	0
Men 18-29	4	4	0
Women 18-29	16	12	-4
Men 30-44	2	-14	-16
Women 30-44	8	2	-6
Men 45-59	0	-8	-8
Women 45-59	8	12	4
Men 60+	12	-2	-14
Women 60+	14	6	-8
Married men	-4	-12	-8
Married women	2	-4	-6
Unmarried men	16	4	-12
Unmarried women	26	32	6



Voters Are Not Convinced That The Economy Is In Recovery

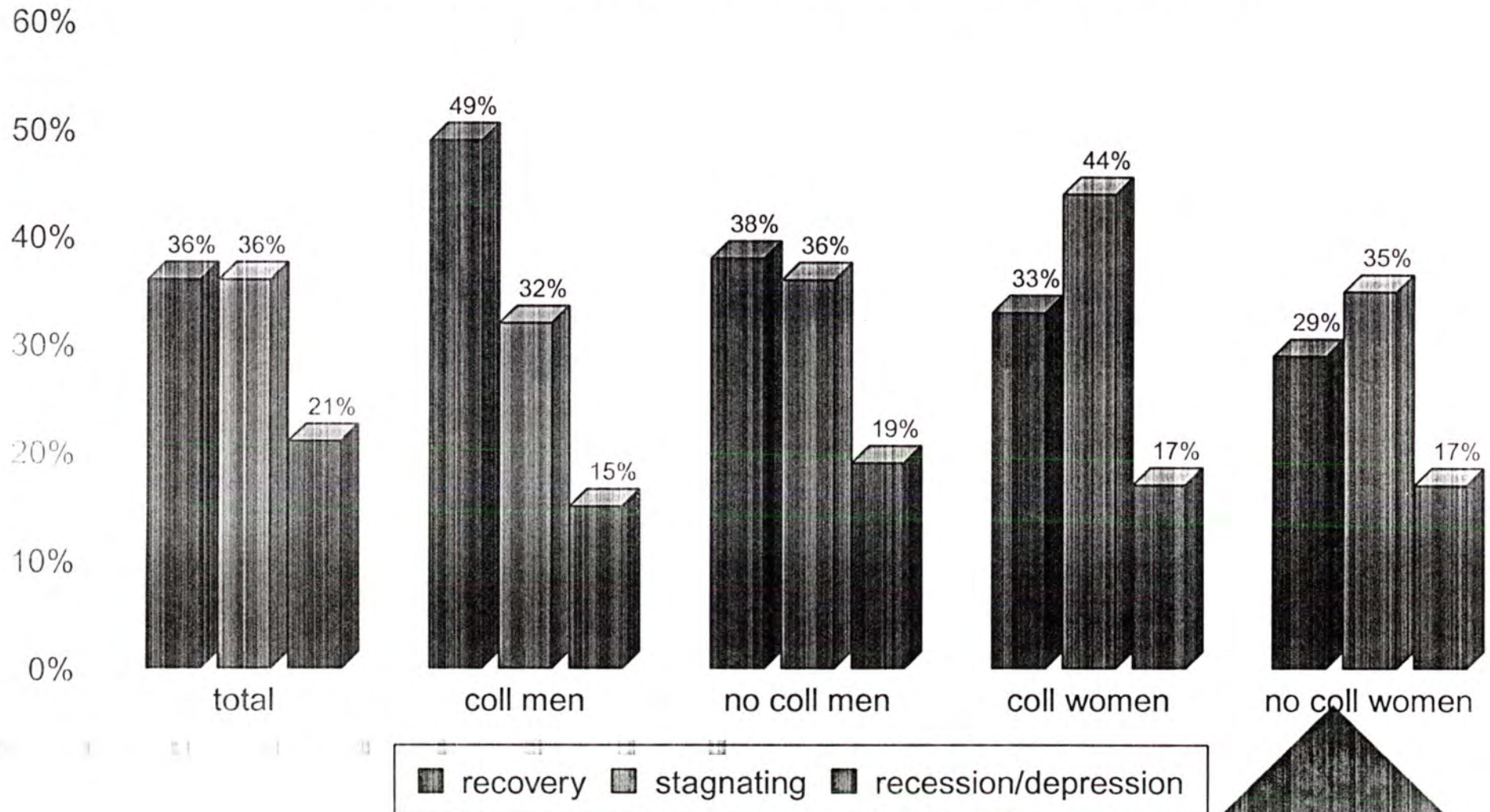
Women Are More Pessimistic Than Men





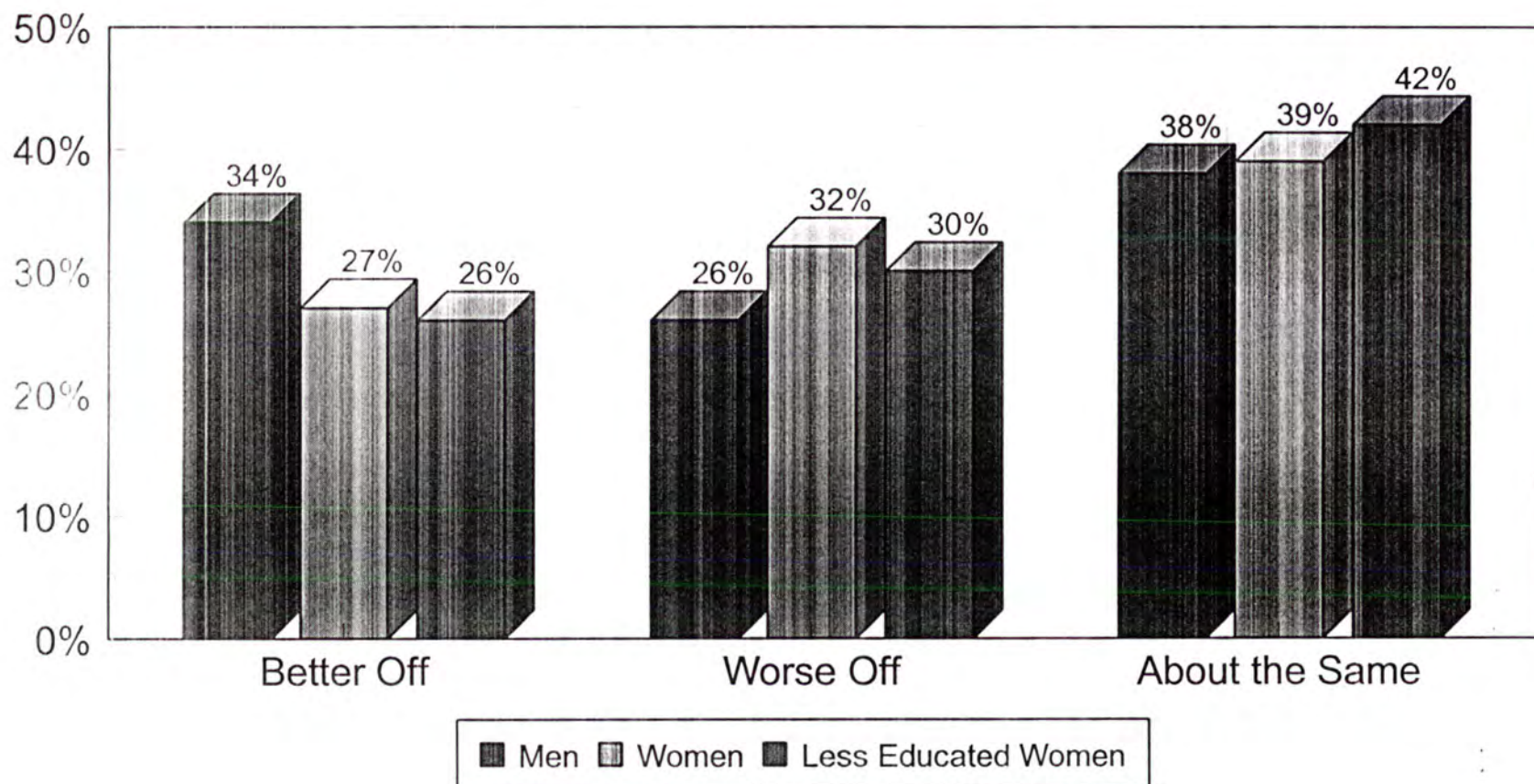
Voters Are Not Convinced That The Economy Is In Recovery

College Educated Women Are Most Pessimistic





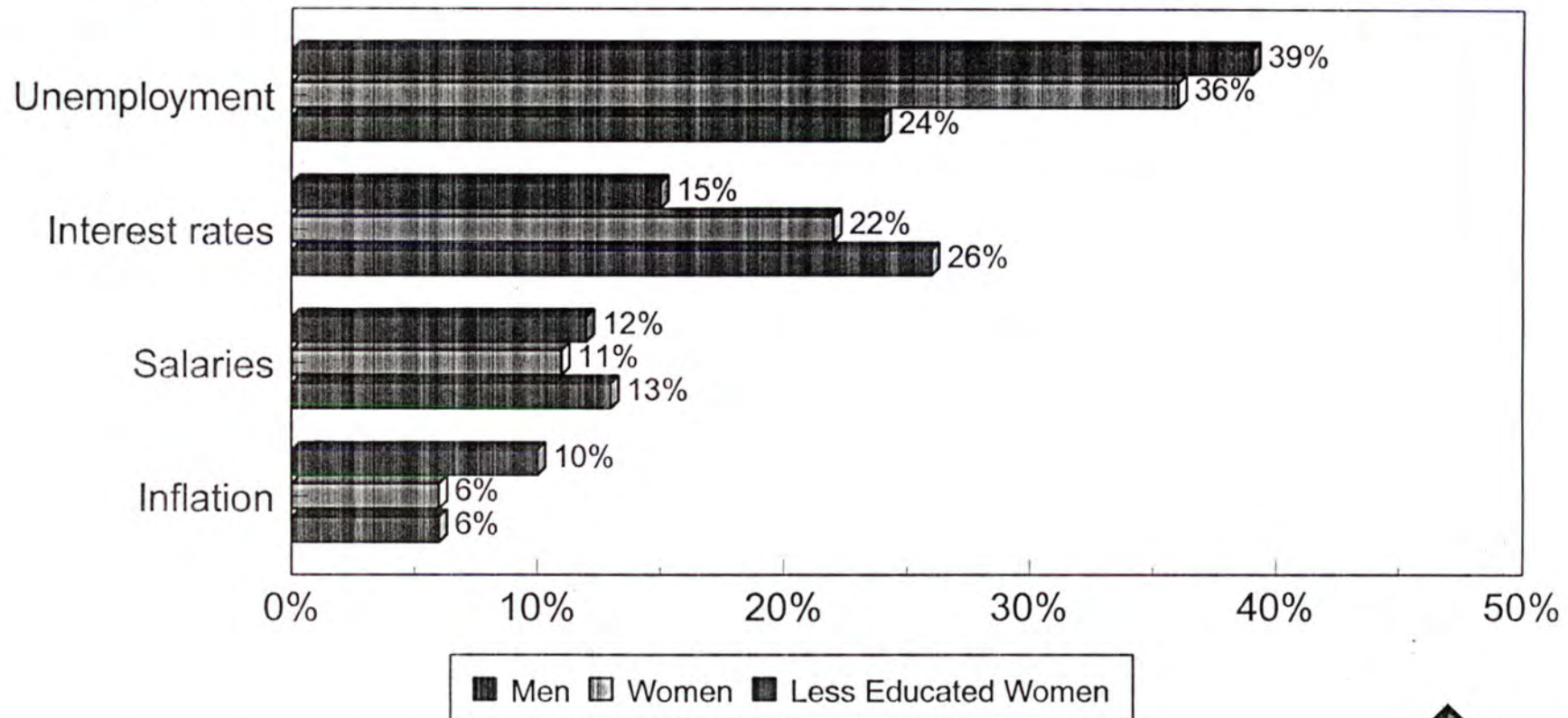
Compared to a Year Ago, Women Are More Likely to Believe They Are Financially Worse Off Than Are Men





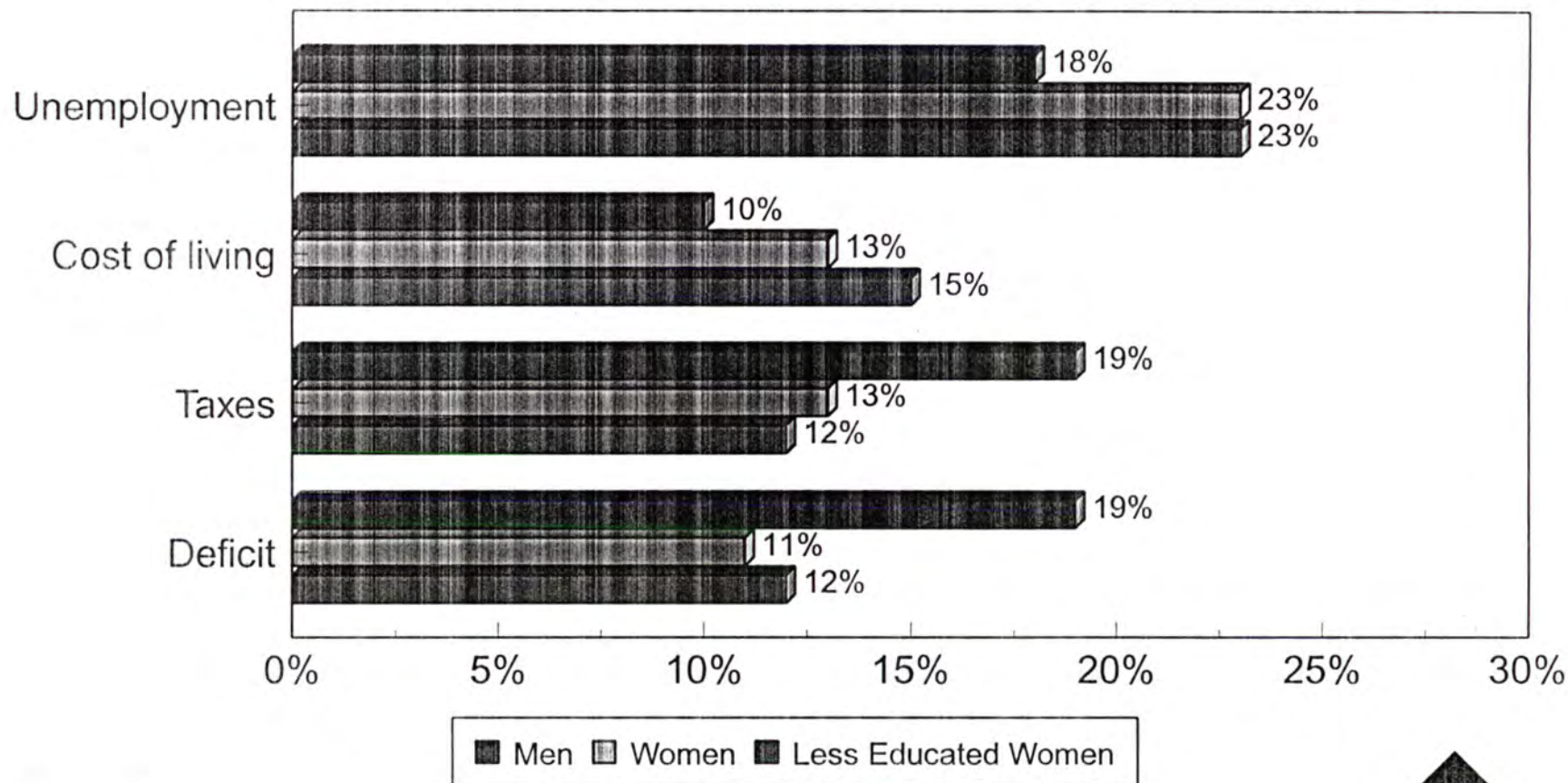
Women and Men Agree That The Unemployment Rate Is Better -- Less Educated Women Are Most Insecure About Jobs

When you think about what is better about the economy, what comes to mind?



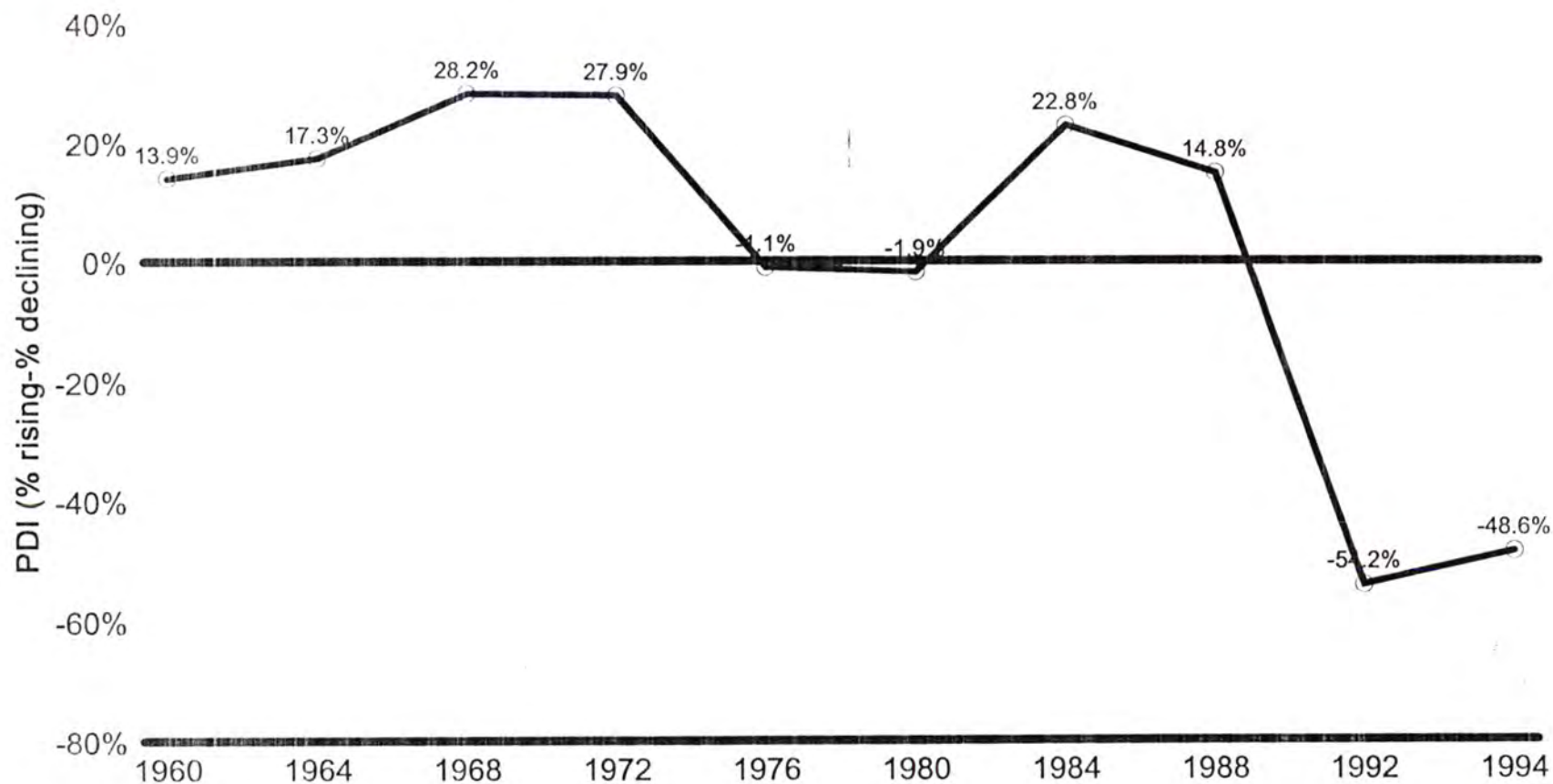


Currently Women Are More Worried Than Men That Unemployment and Cost of Living Are Not Going Well For the Economy -- Men Worry More About Taxes and the Deficit





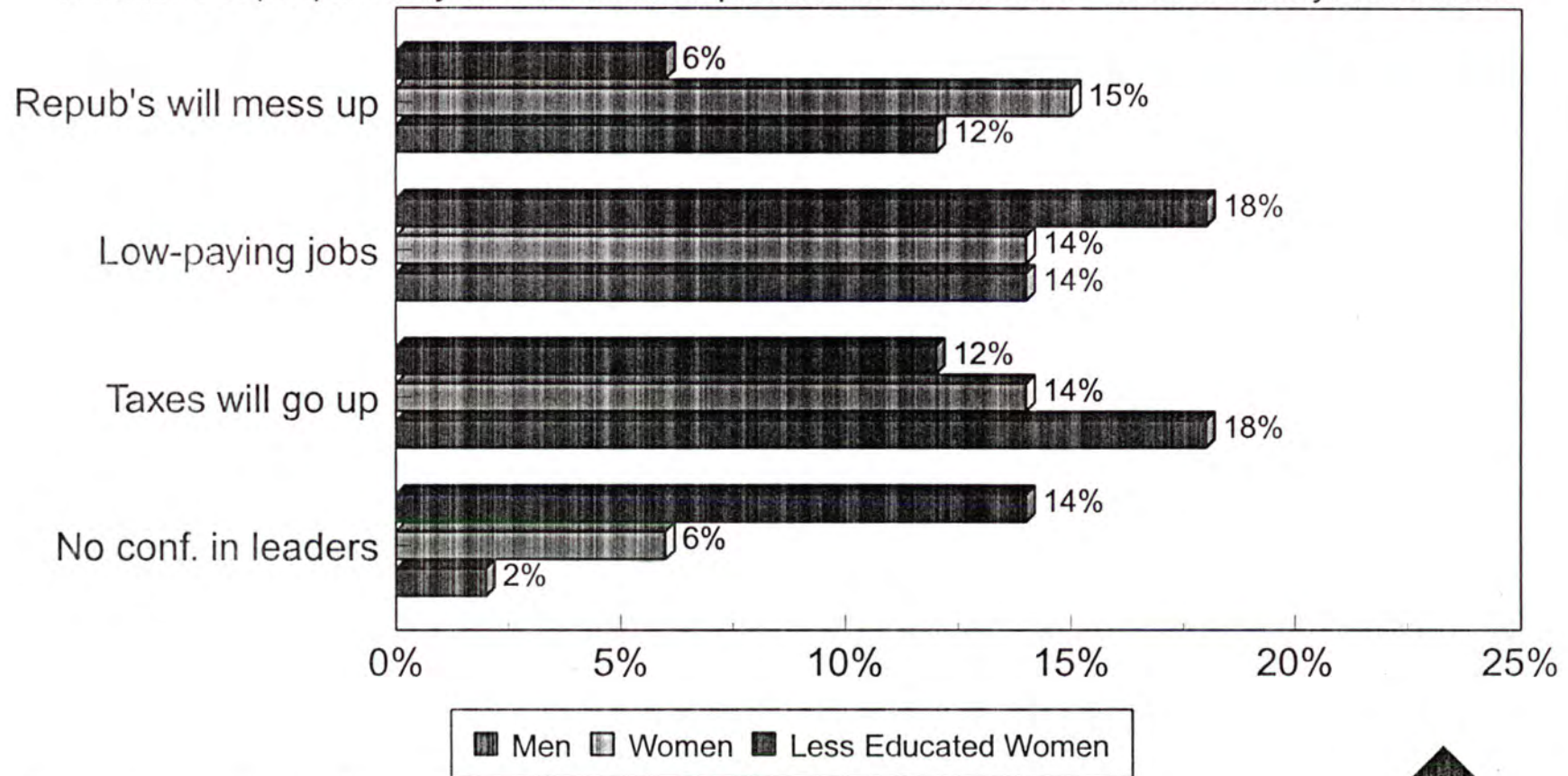
Voters Believe Their Incomes Are Declining





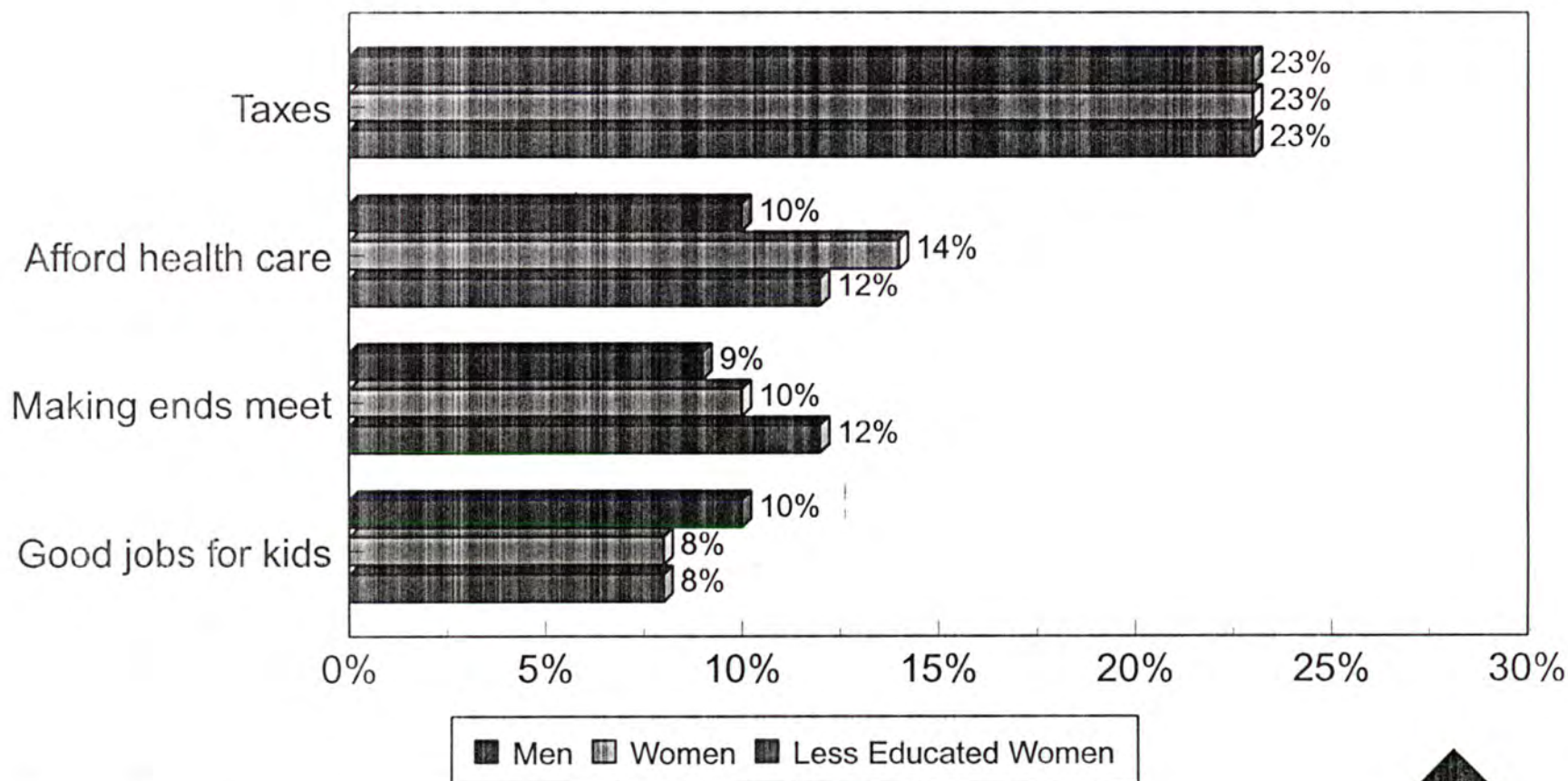
Non-College Educated Women Are Most Apt to Think Taxes Will Go Up -- Men That Jobs Pay Little and Have No Confidence in the Country's Leaders

A number of people worry that economic improvements will not last -- what worries you the most?



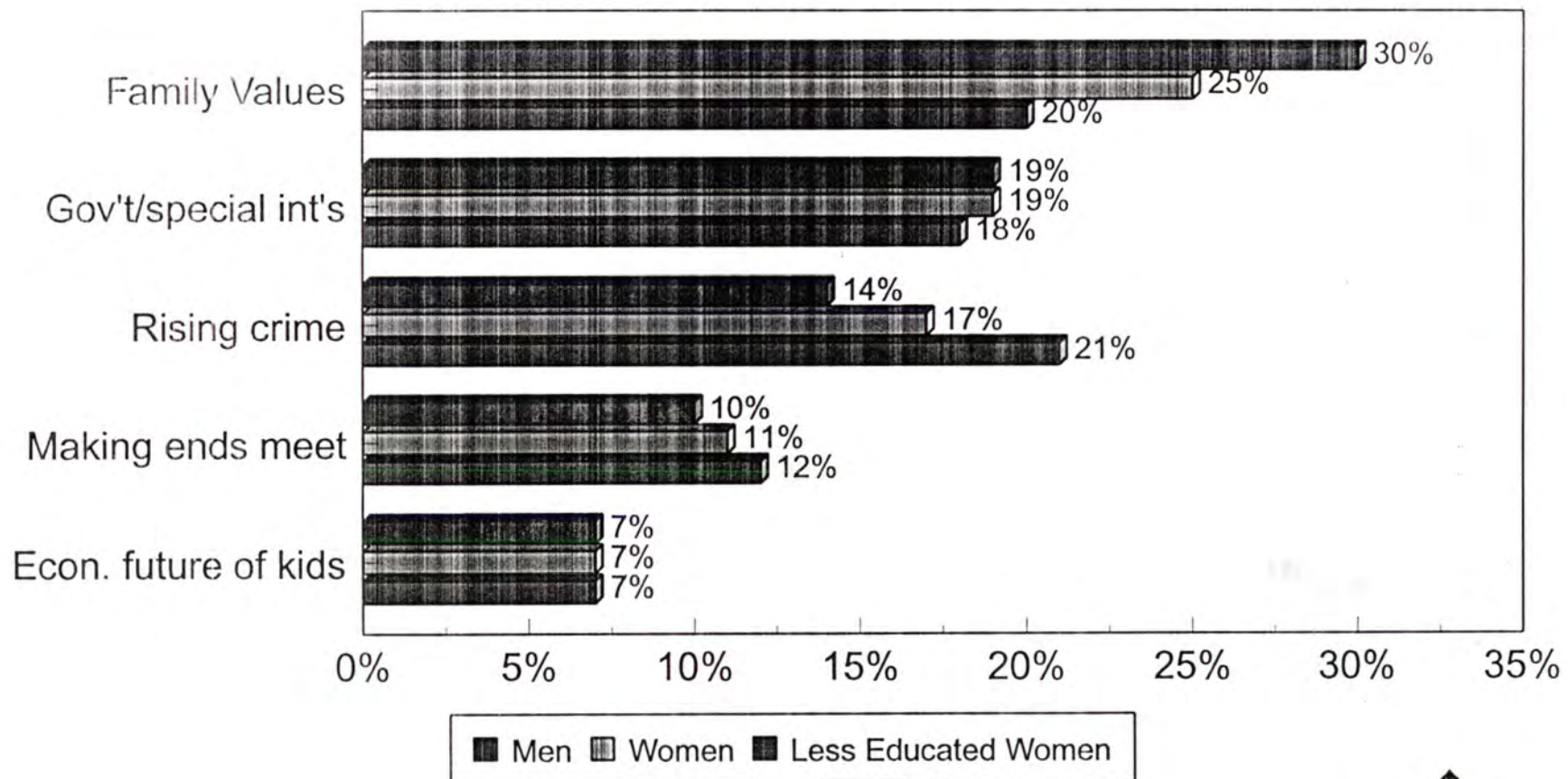


Thinking About Future Pressure on Families -- All Worry About Taxes, Making Ends Meet, and Good Jobs; Women Worry Slightly More About Health Care





Men Are More Likely to Believe Family Values Is The Biggest Problem Facing the Middle Class -- Non-College Educated Women Are More Worried about Crime

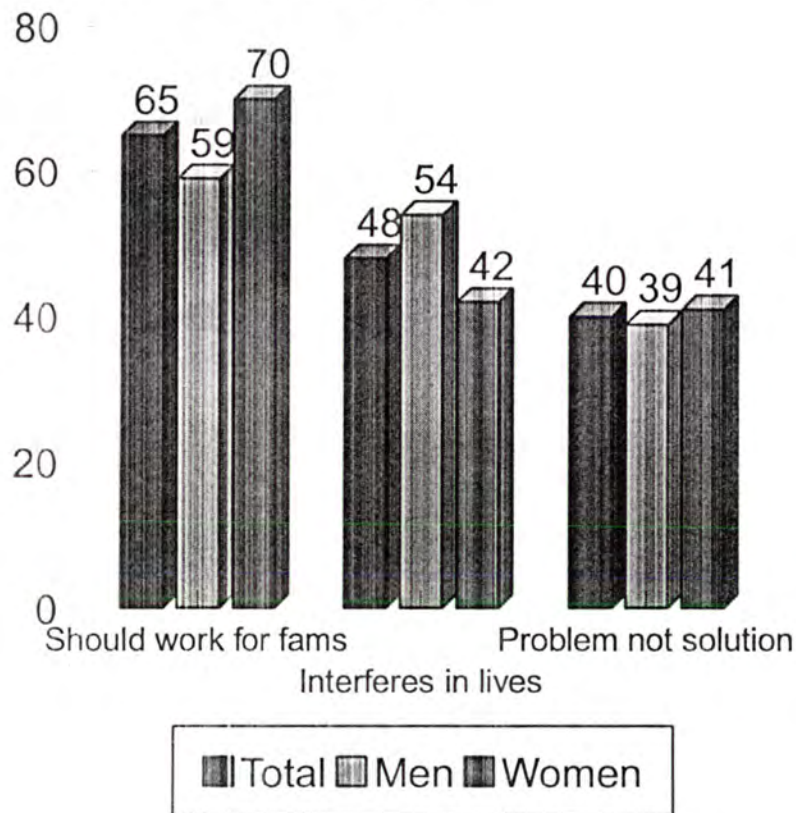




Voters Have Fundamental Doubts About Big Government

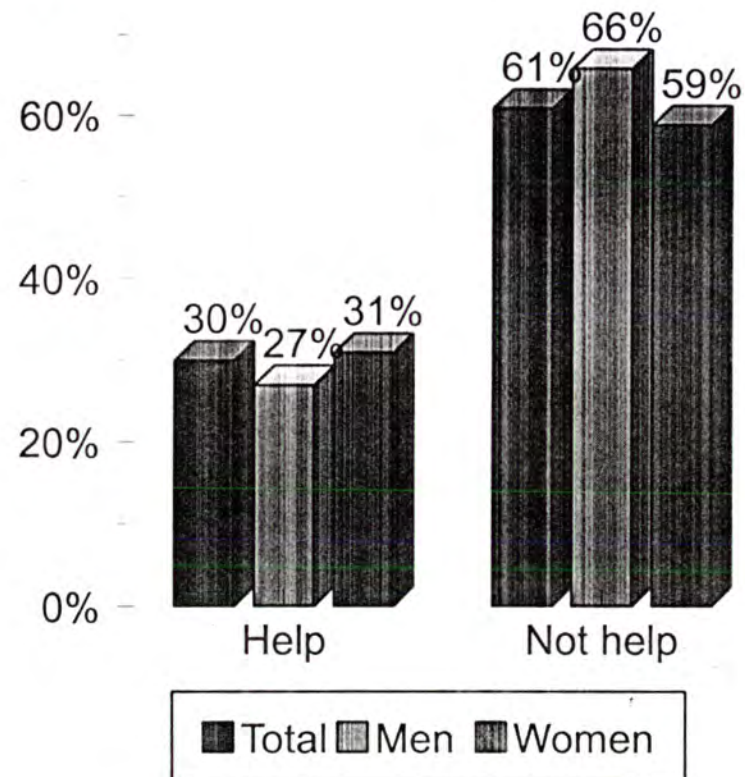
Government...

(agree minus disagree)



Should government do more to help families achieve the American Dream, or should government stay out of these issues and let people get ahead on their own?

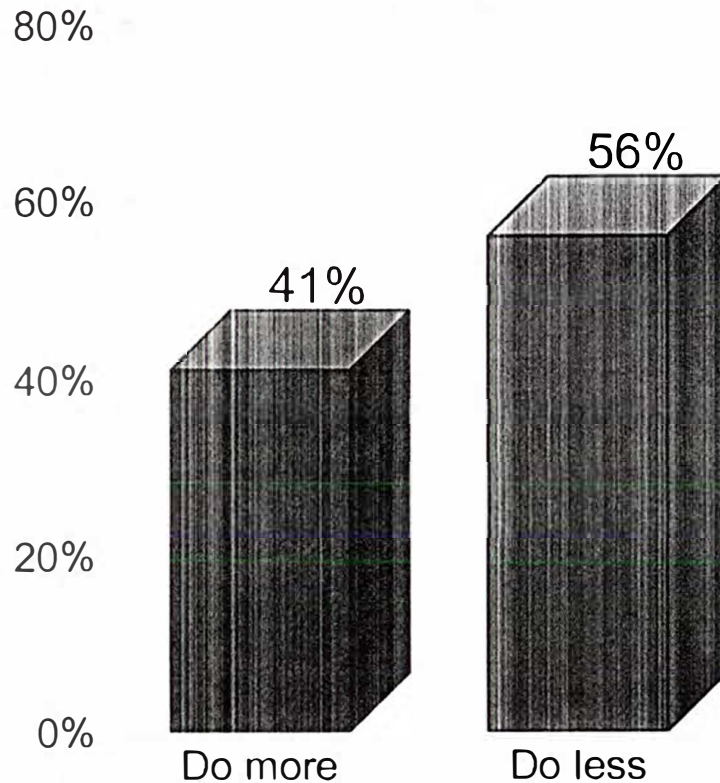
80% -





Voters Have Fundamental Doubts About Big Government

Government should...



Government is too intrusive

