

Discussion Draft, December 6, 1995

Mainstream Voter Education and Mobilization Project

**Interim Report on 1995
Pilot Projects
&
Proposed Plan for 1996
Election Cycle**

December, 1995

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Michael Hudson &
National Education Association**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Led by the Christian Coalition, the extreme right political movement has ascended to unprecedented influence through grassroots political organizing and electoral activity. The movement's success in mobilizing right-wing voters, through so-called "voter guides" and ultra-fundamentalist churches has given it national prominence. This electoral clout is now fully acknowledged by the national media, both parties, and candidates for office. Moreover, especially with the 1994 election results, this electoral power has resulted in expanding right-wing policy successes in local school boards, state legislatures and the U.S. Congress.

On the mainstream/progressive side, our advocacy organizations are failing to compete with the Far Right. Because of timidity regarding the IRS and tax laws for non-profits, we have been far more restrained in electoral and voter mobilization projects. This imbalance in election work and grassroots political organizing is resulting in diminished capacity in legislative action affecting our values and programs.

Early in 1995, political consultant Michael Hudson, created a proposal -- Mainstream Voter Education & Mobilization Project -- to address this problem. The concept is:

**Convene multi-issue coalitions in target states
for 1996 to educate & mobilize mainstream
voters around issues and to counter Far Right
election programs.**

With seed funding from the National Education Association, Hudson initiated the project in May of 1995. Exploration began with cultivation of a core group of national organizations, which were thought to be committed to greater electoral roles. An initial meeting was convened by NEA, and subsequently Hudson conducted individual meetings with the groups (See list at Appendix ____). It was anticipated that the initial core group of organizations would be expanded in the 1996 plan.

Similarly, we agreed to test the Mainstream Voter Project concept with pilot projects in two states holding elections in 1995 -- Mississippi and Kentucky. And, we decided to coordinate strategy with several groups

planning get-out-the-vote efforts in Virginia, but not to undertake a separate project there. Late in the cycle we also added Oregon and its special U.S. Senate election to replace Senator Packwood as a pilot project. (See state evaluations in full report).

From these exploratory discussions and the 1995 state pilot projects the following key conclusions have been drawn:

- 1) **The Concept** -- Increasingly moderate and progressive advocacy groups readily acknowledge that our side must become more active in voter mobilization and are willing to explore programs to achieve this goal .
- 2) **Complement Other Projects** -- Many groups have expanded voter registration, and ID projects, and the Mainstream Voter Project would complement these efforts. For example, HumanServe, Rock-The-Vote, AAUW have indicated that Mainstream Voter Project voter guides could be sent to their newly-registered or ID'd voters in target states.
- 3) **The State Program Must Be "Home Grown"**-- The projects must be organized in target states by local groups or coalitions. A project viewed as "imported" by a national organization could actually be counter-productive.
- 4) **Staff Intensive** -- These projects are difficult, time-consuming work and require local staff resources to implement.
- 5) **Distribution of Voters Guides** -- Although everyone seems committed to the concept of producing voters guides, there is little in the way of an adequate distribution system in place through mainstream groups. We must explore new and creative ways to get this information into the hands of potential mainstream voters.
- 6) **Candidate Questionnaires** -- We caution our candidates not to complete candidate questionnaires from the Christian Coalition and they do the same for ours. The frequent result is some Democrats respond to progressive questionnaires and Republicans do not. We must develop a research methodology that distinguishes candidates on critical issues without relying on questionnaire responses.

7) **Menu of Coalition Activities** -- Experience shows that groups have differing comfort levels with various election-related activities. For example, some are willing to distribute candidate-specific guides and some are not. Therefore, we need to creatively develop a menu of potential activities to accommodate different organizations.

8) **No Single National Organizational Sponsor** -- We have concluded that no existing national group can visibly sponsor the state projects. Some groups, like the NEA are too aligned with candidates and the parties, some are too controversial, and many do not have organizations and resources in the states. Therefore, we are suggesting a new umbrella group, **Mainstream America**, as the facilitating entity.

9) **Tax-deductible Funding**-- The training, facilitation and convening of state coalitions can be done with tax-deductible funds, thus opening the way for foundation funds to the project.

Based on this experience and conclusions, the following are tentative recommendations for the 1996 Mainstream Voter Education and Mobilization Project:

1) **Target Ten States** -- It seems that 10 targeted critical states are the most we could handle with hands-on Mainstream Voter Projects. However, we intend to publish a guide that could be made available as a resource to groups in all states.

2) **Staffing** -- Mainstream Voter Project will attempt to raise funds to place at least a 1/2 time staff/consultant in each targeted state for a period of 3-months prior to the election.

3) **Primary Elections** -- We will target primaries in the states where there are key races and where the Right seems likely to intervene.

4) **Umbrella Facilitating Organization** -- Mainstream America, a 501 (c)(3) non-profit will serve as the national facilitating group for the project, with key representation from participating organizations on the National Advisory Board.

5) **Distribution Plan** -- We will devote significant energy to developing creative ways to distribute mainstream voters guides, to include publication in institutional newsletters and advertisements in newspapers and magazines.

6) **Evaluation** -- The project will design an evaluation component, including exit polling in target states, to measure the actual impact of the program.

II. Evaluation of 1995 Pilot

Admittedly, we undertook the 1995 pilot projects under severe time constraints and with limited expectations. There was no staff available in the states, no local funding, or any existing agreement among state or national groups to participate. We were starting from scratch. Under these conditions, the results and lessons learned are significant and provide the basis for continuing and improving the project for the 1996 elections.

At the outset, we expected considerable far right activity in the five states with elections in 1995. Press reports detailed Christian Coalition plans to print and distribute 5 million voter guides in the five states. However, initial research indicates that this activity did not fully materialize.

A. National Organizational Support -- A major premise for the Mainstream Voter Project concept was that many national advocacy groups, in addition to NEA, would be interested in collaborating on state voter projects. It seemed that increasingly national non-profit groups representing varying issues realized that their values and programs were being threatened by the political activism of the Radical Right.

In July, NEA convened an initial discussion among 7 other groups -- AARP-VOTE, AAUW, Interfaith Alliance, People For the American Way, Planned Parenthood, Voters for Choice, National Council of Jewish Women. These groups were selected because they seemed ready to move more into the electoral area and are groups with some state base. The meeting confirmed the shared concern about the electoral process and the Mainstream Voter Project concept. Moreover, it seemed that the Mainstream Voter Project would be complementary to other projects being undertaken by the organizations. After the joint meeting, Michael Hudson met with the groups individually and made two presentations to the National Network, which meets quarterly in Washington to share strategy to counter the Far Right.

It was agreed that we would keep the groups abreast of developments, seek their participation in the state pilot projects, and reconvene after the November elections to evaluate the results and discuss possible cooperation

for 1996. Most of the national groups did help in identifying state contacts for the pilot projects in Mississippi, Kentucky and Oregon.

B. Mainstream Mississippi -- On August __, we convened the initial meeting in Jackson with invitations coming from the NEA-affiliate, Mississippi Association of Educators. MAE executive director, Tom Harvey, was an enthusiastic supporter of the program. There was broad-based attendance from groups including Children's Defense Fund, Women's Network, Methodist Church, Urban League, etc. (See Invitation List at Appendix __). The need for a Mainstream Voter Project was widely endorsed. The second day of meetings involved the difficult and rigorous task of actually drafting issues and language for the voter guide and candidate questionnaire.

Ultimately, the coalition named spokespersons, including significant clergy representation, sent questionnaires to all statewide and contested legislative candidates, circulated a letter to clergy, distributed the voters guides and conducted a series of press briefings around the state. (See the Mainstream Mississippi materials at Appendix __).

The regular involvement of Rev. Lee Berg, NEA Human and Civil Rights Department, who had been the minister at First Baptist Church in Meridian, was instrumental in the project's success.

Mainstream Mississippi encountered some of the problems highlighted above. After printing 200,000 voter guides, we found that the participating groups were not able to distribute them. The Republican candidates, in general, did not respond to the questionnaire. And, the media was not particularly interested in our voter guides or the project.

It appears that Mainstream Mississippi will remain active for the federal elections in 1996 and consider other non-electoral coalition activities.

C. Mainstream Kentucky -- Mainstream Kentucky was started even later, with the initial meeting convened by the Kentucky Education Association on September __. It was more difficult bringing together diverse organizations in Kentucky although the interest level was high. Part of the difficulty seemed to be conflicts with other meetings and the short time

before the elections. A notable addition was the active role undertaken by the state NAACP and Urban Leagues.

Charlie Vice, Executive Director of KEA and State President, Janet Carrico, provided energized leadership, and Human and Civil Rights staff, Marilyn Hutton and Jerry Alleyne from KEA served as invaluable lead staff.

In the end, Mainstream Kentucky circulated a letter to clergy with a voter guide on the Governor's race. Additionally, with support from the Louisville Urban League, the coalition ran newspaper ads the Monday prior to election day urging citizens to vote. In a significant development, the Catholic Bishop advised priests around the state not to distribute Christian Coalition materials.

It appears that the Christian Coalition did not distribute voters guides, but that another extreme right group _____ did in some parts of the state. (See Appendix ____ for Mainstream Kentucky materials.)

D. Oregon Special Election -- Because of the national interest in the special election to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Sen. Packwood and the history of right-wing activity in the state, we were asked to consider an expedited Mainstream Voter Project in Oregon.

The mail-ballot special election will be decided on January 30, 1996. Oregon Education Association convened a initial meeting in October and two follow-up meetings in November. The breadth of organizational attendance and interest exemplified the more advanced state of coalition work in Oregon, with attendance by the Trial Lawyers Association, state Human Services Network, and union officials.

At this time, a detailed proposal has been submitted to carry out the Mainstream Voter Project over the next two months through the general election.

E. Virginia -- Early on, we recognized the intense interest in Virginia races, which the press was touting as a measure of the trend toward Republican domination of the South and a test of Governor George Allen. Because of the proximity to Washington, many national groups would be active in the elections. Therefore, we decided not to create a separate

Mainstream Project, but rather to consult with other groups. Throughout the election we coordinated with groups including the Interfaith Alliance, who produced voter guides in targeted races, the Virginia Education Association and People For the American Way, which produced guides in some school board elections. The candidate issues and language developed in Mississippi provided a model for Virginia voter guides.

At this writing it seems clear that the Far Right and Republicans did poorly in Virginia. The level of Radical Right activity in the elections is being evaluated.

In summary, the 1995 experience revealed that the Mainstream Voter Project concept was valid and endorsed by a wide variety of groups. The difficulty of actually implementing the project and impacting election results became clear. The lessons learned from the pilots will improve planning for the 1996 cycle.

III. Proposal and Plan for 1996 Cycle

Based on the experience of the past six months and the pilot state programs, the following proposal is suggested for the 1996 Mainstream Voter Education & Mobilization Project. A preliminary budget for the program is enclosed as well.

Mainstream America, as the umbrella facilitating entity, will conduct at least 10 target state voter projects during the 1996 election cycle, to include primary elections where practical. The projects will be undertaken in partnership with other mainstream organizations including the National Education Association. The proposed target states are:

Top Priority:

California	Iowa
Oregon	Michigan
Washington	Ohio
Colorado	Georgia
Texas	Florida

Secondary List:

Nebraska
Wisconsin
Pennsylvania
New York

These target states have been selected based on numerous criteria including, critical elections in '96. (US Senate, Congress, Presidential, Legislative); projected right-wing election activity; and existence of an ongoing coalition and organizational interest.

Early in 1996 we will arrange initial meetings, convened usually by NEA affiliates, in each state. The project will focus first on target states with early primaries - like Texas in March . The meetings will be coordinated where possible with other events, like NEA conferences, state network meetings, etc.

Early identification of potential staff/consultants is also a priority. Parallel funding solicitation, both nationally and with state groups, to support the staff will be pursued.

At initial state meetings, the agenda will include:

- 1) Scope of the state project
- 2) Targeted races
- 3) Other groups to be included
- 4) Staffing
- 5) Draft plan and timeline
- 6) Voter Guide issues
- 7) Funding sources
- 8) Steering committee and spokespersons

Mainstream Voter Project will provide technical assistance to each state coalition to include:

- 1) Convening initial coalition meetings
- 2) Assistance in locating staff
- 3) Model voter guides
- 4) Polling and research on the issues
- 5) Model letter to clergy and to other groups
- 6) Voter guide distribution plans and options
- 7) Model Press Statements
- 8) Evaluation assistance and exit polling
- 9) General technical assistance and consultation

Using experience from 1995, Mainstream Voter Project we will produce a model Mainstream Voter Project Resource Kit, with model voter guides, including both national and state issues, distribution plans, press statements, letters, etc. This material can be used by local organizations to create voter projects in states where we do not provide direct staff assistance.

For 1996, we will attempt to implement an evaluation component that focuses on results in addition to coalition activities. Focus group research with members of participating groups will be used to gauge the impact of our products. Similarly, we will design an exit poll process to determine the extent to which our project affected targeted voters.

Early next year we plan a major national media announcement of the project, to include partner organizations, target states and model voter guides.

The results of the 1996 Mainstream Voter Project will be evaluated after the November elections and plans developed to expand the program for 1998.

Mainstream Kentucky

11/6

P.O. Box 3194
Frankfort, Kentucky 40602-0736

Co-Chair Nancy Jo Kemper, Kentucky Council of Churches
Co-Chair Mark Hopper, Minister, First Baptist Church, Frankfort
Co-Chair Greg Brooks, Minister, Immanuel Baptist Church, Frankfort
Co-Chair William S. Cofield, NAACP
Co-Chair Anne Joseph, Kentucky Task Force on Hunger

Dear Colleague:

We are working with an informal coalition of local organizations called "Mainstream Kentucky" to promote maximum participation by informed voters in the upcoming November election.

In this regard, we are concerned that biased and inaccurate voter materials are being distributed by groups including the Christian Coalition. While we fully acknowledge the right of these groups to be involved in the electoral process, our concern is that voters receive accurate and balanced information. Though this practice is not uncommon for a special interest group, it is problematic when such a guide claims to represent the special interest of people of faith in general and Christians in particular. We, as religious leaders, must not be silent when others claim to speak with our voice and thereby compartmentalize our diverse and complex views to fit an orchestrated political platform.

We expect that the Christian Coalition will be contacting you seeking your assistance in distribution of their election materials at your church. The organization has told the media that it will distribute 5 million voter guides this November, including within Kentucky. In the interest of fairness and complete voter education, we hope that you would either decline to distribute these materials or provide equal access for distribution of other materials.

Thank you for helping to promote voter education and participation in our democratic process.

Mainstream Kentucky Voter Education Guide

VOTE NOVEMBER 7

	FORGY	PATTON
Maintain state funding level for programs that support Kentucky disadvantaged families and children.	No response	Supports
Using public tax dollars to fund private schools.	No response	Opposes
Maintain state funding level for Medicaid.	No response	Supports
Maintenance of current funding for Kentucky public education.	No response	Supports
Equal opportunity for economic growth by all Kentuckians regardless of their race, religion, or gender.	No response	Supports

The Kentucky Mainstream Voters Guide is not intended to endorse or oppose any candidate, but rather to encourage citizens to cast informed votes on issues of critical concern to mainstream Kentuckians. The Voters Guides are sponsored by Mainstream Kentucky, an ad hoc association of public interest and public service organizations. They are available for any organization to reproduce and distribute to their memberships.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 17, 1993

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 has been a topic of substantial discussion in recent days. I want to make absolutely clear my full support for the Act.

The Voting Rights Act is central to our Nation's efforts to eradicate racial discrimination and secure equal opportunity for all Americans. As I said last month upon signing the "motor voter" bill, the Voting Rights Act is part of a great tradition of laws that have widened the circle of liberty to encompass more and more of our citizens. This Administration remains unwavering in its commitment to effective enforcement of the Act and the Nation's other civil rights laws.

The Voting Rights Act was adopted to give reality to the 15th amendment's guarantee of the right to vote -- the most basic right of a democracy. When first adopted in 1965, the Act responded to long-entrenched barriers that systematically denied voting rights to African-Americans. As more subtle forms of disenfranchisement came to be employed, the Congress, with bipartisan agreement, strengthened and extended the Voting Rights Act in 1982. The Voting Rights Act offers two major protections: it imposes a nationwide prohibition of any electoral process that results in discrimination, and requires that certain specially covered jurisdictions obtain administrative or judicial preclearance before implementing voting changes.

I fully and enthusiastically support Attorney General Janet Reno, and the attorneys of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, in their efforts to enforce vigorously the Voting Rights Act. Where the Voting Rights Act is violated, this Administration will continue, as it has in pending Supreme Court litigation in which the Department of Justice has filed briefs, to seek effective relief by applying the full range of remedies available under law, including remedies that have previously been employed by the Department of Justice or approved by the courts. I also look forward to working with Attorney General Reno and Members of Congress to enact legislation, as needed, to clarify and reinforce the protections of the Voting Rights Act.

In 1965, President Johnson hailed the Voting Rights Act as "a triumph for freedom as huge as any victory that has ever been won on any battlefield." Effective enforcement of the Voting Rights Act will allow us to continue that triumph. Inclusion of all Americans in the political process is necessary if we are to work together as communities, States, and a Nation to address the difficult challenges that confront us all.

LADIES' HOME JOURNAL

Myrna Blyth *Editor-in-Chief & Publishing Director*

June 11, 1996

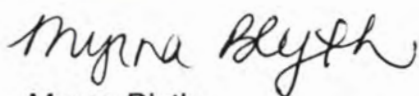
Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House, Room 100 OEOB
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Melanne:

I am sending you the enclosed material at the suggestion of Pat Lewis. *Ladies' Home Journal*, in partnership with the League of Women Voters, would very much like to interview President and Mrs. Clinton as part of our special election project called "Power the Vote." You'll find the complete information in the enclosed letter, as well as copies of the the election reports that *Ladies' Home Journal* has published this year.

If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to call me. Thank you for your time and attention.

Sincerely,



Myrna Blyth
Editor-in-Chief

LADIES' HOME JOURNAL

Myrna Blyth *Editor-in-Chief & Publishing Director*

June 11, 1996

President and Mrs. William Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton:

As you know, women will be instrumental in determining the outcome of this year's election. Since January, the League of Women Voters and *Ladies' Home Journal* have worked together on a project called "Power the Vote." This unique partnership project includes a series of special reports in the magazine that provide women with information about the issues in the campaign which are most important to them, a voter registration drive, a Web site and town meetings across the country.

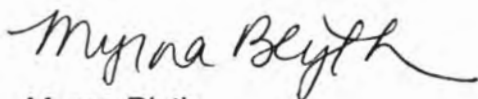
As part of our election coverage, Becky Cain, president of the League, and I would like to interview both of you. We will also be interviewing Senator and Mrs. Dole. This will be the perfect opportunity for you to speak directly to the seventeen million women who read *Ladies' Home Journal* and who are registering and voting this year.

The voice of the American woman for over a century, *Ladies' Home Journal* reaches women who are involved and interested in their communities and their nation. *LHJ* readers want to make the best choice for themselves and their family. The League of Women Voters is a nonpartisan political organization that has encouraged the informed and active participation of citizens in government. Today the 1,100 state and local Leagues form a unique grassroots network that extends into the mainstream of community life. Through "Power the Vote '96", *Ladies' Home Journal* and the League have become an important resource for informing women about the upcoming election.

We'd like to conduct the interview with both of you at your earliest convenience, sometime before the end of July. We would need approximately forty five minutes of your time.

Thank you for your consideration and we look forward to meeting with you.

Sincerely,



Myrna Blyth
Editor-in-Chief



Election '96

The biggest story of this year will be Election '96. The results of this historic election will inevitably set priorities for our families' lives in the next century. It also promises to prove the truth of the

Ladies' Home Journal slogan—"Never underestimate the power of a woman." Many commentators believe the deciding factor in this year's crucial election will be the votes of women like yourself.

That's why *Ladies' Home Journal* has joined with the League of Women Voters in a unique partnership. The League of Women Voters is the nation's leading nonpartisan political organization, which for the past seventy-six years has encouraged the

Becky Cain, president of the League of Women Voters (second from right, below), and Myrna Blyth spent a day on Capitol Hill discussing our joint project

active participation of citizens in government.

Over the next months, *Ladies' Home Journal* and the League plan to keep you informed about the issues and concerns that matter most to women through a series of Election '96 reports. We're proud that

NBC's Katie Couric will be acting as our special correspondent for some of these features. LHJ and the League will also have a site on the World Wide Web that will include up-to-the-minute campaign information especially of interest to women.

We have made the commitment to cover the election in this way because we want to add more light and less heat to the political debate. Our goal is this: to encourage you to register and to become more knowledgeable so that you make the best choices for yourself and your family when you vote.

MYRNA BLYTH,
Editor-in-Chief



Never
Underestimate
Your Power

VOTE!

LADIES' HOME
JOURNAL

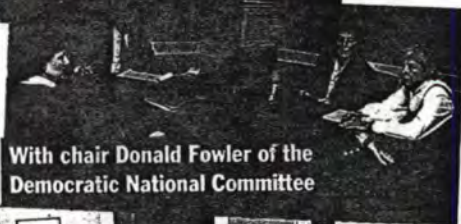
Katie Couric
is teaming up
with LHJ and
the League
of Women
Voters to get
out the vote



With Congresswomen Constance A. Morella (far left) and Nita Lowey, co-chairs of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues



With chair Haley Barbour and co-chair Evelyn McPhail of the Republican National Committee



With chair Donald Fowler of the Democratic National Committee



With Congressman Donald Payne, chair of the Congressional Black Caucus

WOMEN VOTERS FED UP AND FURIOUS

Move over, Mr. Angry White Male. This election year, the angry female is a force to be reckoned with, according to a new survey by Ladies' Home Journal and the League of Women Voters. From coast to coast, the women we polled told us they're tired of politics as usual, and they want real solutions to the problems facing their families—and the country.

Here are the issues women are most concerned about and what they'd do to change things. —Katie Couric



The Moody Blues

Women are discouraged and anxious about the future. Sixty-eight percent say the country is moving in the wrong direction, and 69 percent are concerned about what the next five years will be like.

When it comes to their own future, women are more optimistic—but not much. Fifty-four percent say they worry about what the next five years will bring for them and their families.

Respondents have little faith that political candidates will change things—or do much of anything at all. A whopping 68 percent say they feel negative about elections and politics, using such words as “frustrated” and “disillusioned.”

The American Woman Today

OUR POLL SHOWED FOUR TYPES—WHICH ARE YOU?

1. The Friends Wannabe She's young (between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five) and has some college education, but she can't find a good job. Unlike her TV counterparts, she feels little hope that she'll become upwardly mobile. She's not interested in politics and rarely—if ever—votes.



2. Mrs. Home Improver A middle-class mom, she's in her thirties or forties, has a full-time job and is her family's main caretaker of kids and home. In addition, this busy woman does her share of good works—charity groups, the PTA. What she doesn't do: politics. Though she is likely to vote, she elects not to volunteer her time and efforts to political groups or causes.



3. Grace Under Pressure This working mom is barely making ends meet. She may be divorced. She has no college education, so she holds down a blue-collar or service job and worries constantly about paying the bills. She's angry at all things political, describing herself as “disgusted with the whole process.”



4. Edith Bunker She's a homemaker in her fifties or sixties. Her top concern: retirement. She hasn't been able to save much, and she's counting on her husband's pension. While she doesn't trust Social Security to be there for her, she does believe in the government. She always votes.



Seventy-seven percent of women who are registered to vote say they'll cast a ballot this year. In 1992, 90 percent voted

This poll of 1,000 American women—both registered and non-registered voters—was conducted by Celinda Lake, of Lake Research, and Linda DiVall, of American Viewpoint, January 24–29, 1996. Overall margin of error: plus or minus 3.1 percent. Percentages may not add up to 100 because some respondents answered “don't know.”

What Worries Women

Once called "women's issues," these are now America's biggest concerns

THE ECONOMY

this is, by far, the biggest worry for women. Their financial fears fall into three main categories:

Time and money

The two scarcest resources, our survey respondents say. (See chart, below right.)

Retirement and health care

For many, the road ahead looks rocky. Fifty-two percent wonder how secure their retirement will be, and 57 percent fear that Social Security and Medicare won't be there for them. Of equal concern: health insurance. Fifty-four percent worry about finding a plan that's affordable and secure.

Taxes and government waste

No surprise here: Fifty-four percent say the IRS takes too big a bite out of their family's income, and 53 percent fret about how much money the government wastes.



Robin Lillegard, 25
Houston
Secretary
Daughter, Morgan, 2
"I'm not very interested in politics—except for the economy. I'm raising my daughter alone,

and it's a never-ending battle against the bills. I don't know how I'll get ahead."

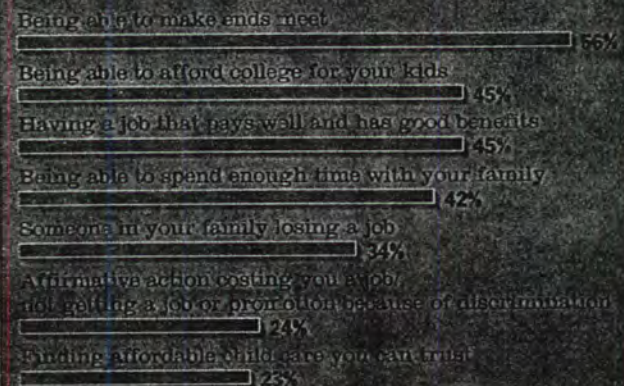
Twenty-three percent of women say they don't bother to register because voting doesn't make a difference; 17 percent are too angry to vote



Mellyn Wallace, 35
Tulsa, Oklahoma
Systems engineer
Son, Daniel, 6

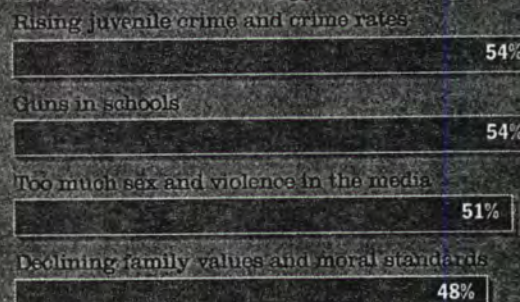
"I worry about losing my job. I work for a large corporation that's been downsizing in the last three years, and I was recently asked to justify my job. It's scary. Jobs are not a dime a dozen."

THE BIGGEST TIME AND MONEY TROUBLES

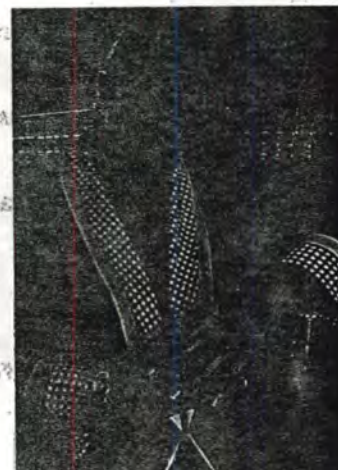


CRIME, VIOLENCE—AND VALUES

This is a major worry for all women but especially for those with children. Of the biggest concerns:



PHOTOS, FROM TOP: PAUL HOWELL/GAMMA LIAISON, JOHN SOUTHERN, ERIC CHU, GRAPHICS, MYRA KLOCKENBINK



Carol Kokinis, 35, Chicago
Attorney (former prosecutor)
"Crime is the biggest issue to influence my vote. Look at the jump in crimes committed by juveniles. I want real problem-solving, not just more police and bigger jails."



Anise Yarbrough, 32
Albuquerque, New Mexico
Homemaker/freelance writer

"I believe in getting involved on a grass-roots level. I volunteer for Meals on Wheels, delivering dinners to shut-ins and the elderly. But politics? I vote, but I've never worked for a political candidate. I just don't see that politicians get a lot done; few ever really change anything."

INVOLVED IN EVERYTHING—EXCEPT POLITICS

Women who are registered to vote are more likely than their non-registered counterparts to be active in their communities, from volunteering for a local organization to joining the PTA. Here are the many ways women have made a difference in the past five years:

	Reg.	Not reg.
Made a financial contribution to a community organization	54%	35%
Volunteered for a church or religious organization	50%	39%
Volunteered in a school or PTA	37%	28%
Wrote to or called an elected official	33%	23%
Joined a neighborhood crime watch	23%	17%
Made a financial contribution to a political campaign	18%	10%
Wrote a letter to the editor of a local newspaper	12%	13%
Volunteered for a political candidate or political party	10%	10%

The women most likely to participate in civic life: • Those who are somewhat more educated and affluent • Those aged forty-five to sixty-five • Moms with children between the ages of six and eighteen are the most active of all.

EDUCATION This is a major issue, women say. The reason for their concern: They perceive education to be the solution to both the economic and moral crises their children face. Fifty-two percent of moms fret all the time about the quality of schooling; the younger their kids, the stronger their concern.



Ann Marie Hannon, 34
Salt Lake City, Utah
Graduate student in nursing
Children, Benjamin, 5, and Jackson, 4
"Public schools aren't doing as well as they could be academically. Inner-city kids, in particular, aren't getting the opportunities they deserve."

Jonicé Crawford-Wilson, Ph.D., 45
Detroit
Gerontologist and psychologist
"A smart voter looks at the presidential candidate's wife. I check him out and check her out."



This article was compiled and edited by Pamela Guthrie O'Brien

The Deciding Vote

Call it the new battle of the sexes: When it comes to politics, men and women have very different priorities. For instance, as angry as women are at the system, they haven't given up on it. In fact, 49 percent say government should take a more active role in solving national problems, such as crime and the economy, and 52 percent say government can help people. Men, on the other hand, want less government—period.

Women are also independent in the voting booth. Only 37 percent vote the same as their husbands. They're likely to consider the candidate's wife, too: Fifty-one percent say a presidential spouse influences their vote. As our survey shows, one thing is very clear this election: Never underestimate the power of a woman.

For the latest election news and voter-registration information, visit the LHM/League of Women Voters Web site (<http://www.lhj-lwv.com>). You can also call a special election phone line, 800-249-VOTE, for registration information. The Web site and phone line are sponsored by the Chrysler and Plymouth Division.

The Cost Of Living



In this election year, the economy is the biggest issue for women across the country, according to Ladies' Home Journal's recent survey. From fear of being downsized to the everyday reality of trying to make ends meet, from higher taxes to the budget deficit, women are worried about their own—and the country's—economic security.

Just how bad is the financial state of our union? This special report will give you the information you need to know. Pull it out and keep it handy; debate and analyze the facts and figures with your family and friends. And, most important, as the presidential campaign continues, use this guide as a reference—to keep track of the candidates' statements, to see if they change their positions or their promises—and to help you decide how to vote.

—Katie Couric



Special election
correspondent
Katie Couric

Where those with the highest—and lowest—incomes reside

Blue: \$26,994 to \$32,274

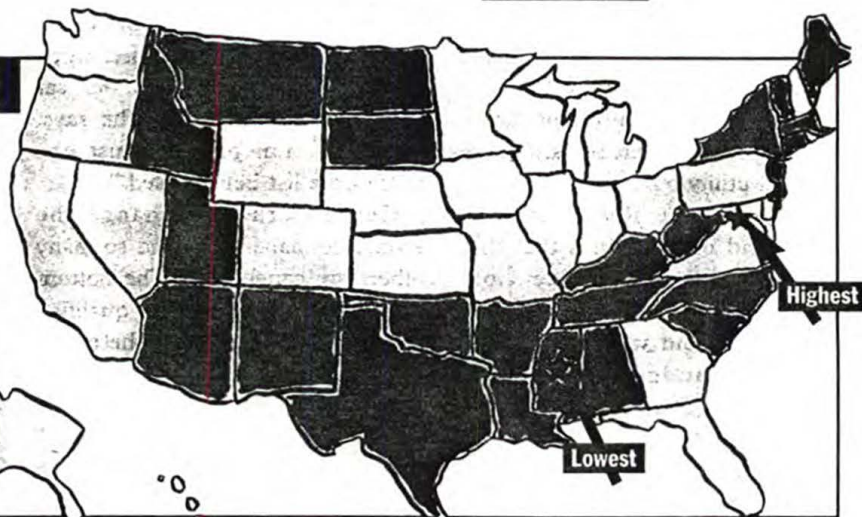
Yellow: \$21,012 to \$25,927

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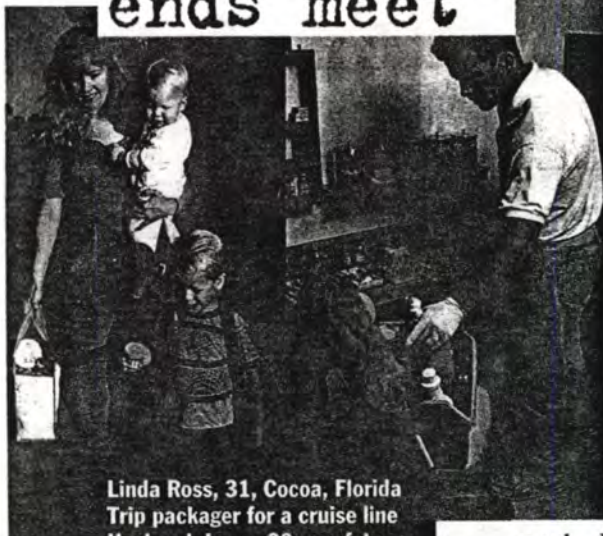
Highest Income: District of Columbia

Lowest Income: Mississippi

PERSONAL INCOME PER CAPITA IN CURRENT DOLLARS, BY STATE, PRELIMINARY 1995 NUMBERS. SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF ECONOMIC ANALYSIS.



"Three jobs—and we still can't make ends meet"



Linda Ross, 31, Cocoa, Florida
Trip packager for a cruise line
Husband: Larry, 30, a safety
monitor for a defense contractor
Children: Jerel, 4, Logan, 1

often wish we could go back in time," says Linda as she looks through the bills piled up on her kitchen table. "I don't know what went wrong."

Even though she and Larry work full-time, the Rosses' combined income of \$43,000 doesn't support their family of four. In fact, for the past six months, Larry—a college graduate—has resorted to a second job cleaning doctors' offices.

The family's monthly expenses are a testimony to how tight things are—a \$700 house payment; \$480 for child care; \$450 for food; a \$250 car payment; plus taxes, student loans and credit-card, medical and utility bills.

Recently, the Rosses were so far behind on their bills that they went to an office of the Consumer Credit Counseling Service for advice. "But when we showed them our budget, they didn't have any suggestions for us," says Linda. "There was nothing left to cut." Already gone are family vacations, new clothes and dinners

out. Occasionally the family does splurge, as they did last spring when they took Jerel to Disney World for a day. "You get to the point where you feel like if we don't have an extra dime to enjoy, what are we doing it for?" says Linda.

That's why Larry decided to get a second job. But the additional dollars he earns come at a high price. "For the first four months, Larry worked five nights a

week. He only saw the baby on weekends," Linda recalls sadly. "Jerel would ask, 'Is Daddy going to be home tonight?' By the middle of the week he was crying, 'Daddy's never coming home!'"

In March, Larry decided that for Jerel's sake, he needed to spend more time with his family. He cut back to three nights a week, which brings in an additional \$500 a month—barely enough to balance the household budget. "If anything out of the ordinary happens, like the car breaking down, we're in trouble," says Linda. "And something always happens."

Still, Linda insists that she and Larry don't feel sorry for themselves. "I try not to get upset when someone calls asking why our car payment is late again," she says. "After all, I'm probably just one name on a list being called."

Can government change the economic malaise she and so many others are caught in? "The bottom line is, there are so many qualified people looking for work, there's always somebody willing to do the job for less money," says Linda. "Can the government change that? I don't know. But if it can't, then who can?" —Kathryn M. Casey

A look at our economy today vs. the last two decades

UNEMPLOYMENT

1995: 5.6 percent
1994: 6.1 percent
1993: 6.9 percent
1992: 7.5 percent
1982: 9.7 percent
1976: 7.7 percent

SOURCE: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS,
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

THE NUMBER OF NEW JOBS CREATED:

1993 to 1996: 8.4 million (Clinton administration)
1989 to 1992: 1.9 million (Bush administration)
1985 to 1988: 10.1 million (Reagan administration)

SOURCE: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS,
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

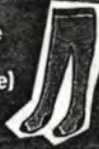
THE MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME

1994: \$38,782
1993: \$37,905
1992: \$38,632
1982: \$36,326
1976: \$37,319

SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

HOW MUCH THINGS COST:

Before the last presidential election and today

ITEM	1992	1996
Half gallon of milk 	\$1.40	\$1.48
Loaf of bread 	\$.73	\$.86
Toothpaste 	\$2.01	\$2.39
Diapers 	\$9.39 (for 40)	\$6.94 (for 32)
Lipstick (sold in drugstore) 	\$4.00	\$4.19
Pantyhose (sold in dept. store) 	\$4.95	\$5.50

SOURCES: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS CONSUMER PRICE INDEX, CONSUMER REPORTS, PROCTOR & GAMBLE, IRI RESEARCH

IF THE ECONOMY IS UP, WHY ARE WE SO DOWN?

Are we worrying more than we should?

Although the most recent recession ended in 1991, many Americans feel like it's still going on. But experts agree that the economy is actually faring well. "Unemployment has been fairly low, despite the downsizing," says Phillip Braun, Ph.D., assistant professor of finance at the Kellogg Graduate School of Management, Northwestern University, in Evanston, Illinois. "Inflation and interest rates are low. The stock market, which is very high, means investors expect the economy to stay strong."

So why aren't more Americans sharing in this economic comfort zone? The following reasons all play a part:

- The median family income has not grown (see chart at left). And in general, real wages (salary after inflation) have not increased since 1980.
- Downsizing is now an

acceptable practice, says Dean Baker, Ph.D., an economist at the Economic Policy Institute, in Washington, D.C. "In the past there was an implicit understanding that an employee who did his or her job well could expect to be in a secure position." Now, he says, if a firm isn't doing as well as it should be, Wall Street wants to see "layoffs, to show that the company is serious about profitability."

- Consumers have changed. "People are much more

price-conscious than they used to be," says Saranna Thornton, Ph.D., assistant professor of economics at Colby College, in Waterville, Maine. The bottom line: Shoppers want sales; paying full price is a thing of the past.

- Sky-high expectations. For years, Americans have believed that they would do better than their parents did; baby boomers, says Thornton, "expected to do a whole lot better." That's because they grew

up in a period of unusually rapid growth after World War II, when anything seemed economically possible. But when growth slowed to a normal rate in the seventies, their expectations didn't.

- Technology "is having a major impact on our society," says Thornton. "There's now a growing dichotomy between people who have technical skills and those who don't. The best insurance a woman can buy herself is to upgrade those skills."

GOOD THINGS ABOUT THE ECONOMY



- 1) More jobs down the road. Downsizing has improved the efficiency of U.S. companies competing in the global economy. Ironically, in the long term, that will result in more jobs for U.S. workers.
- 2) Stocks are soaring. Between 1991 and 1995, the market gave a total return of 115.35 percent—great news for those invested in stocks through a 401(k) plan at work.
- 3) The budget deficit is shrinking—which means lower interest rates and cheaper consumer loans.

BAD THINGS ABOUT THE ECONOMY

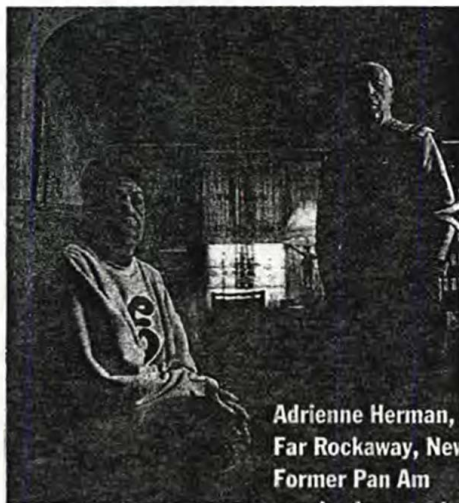


- 1) The wage gap between the CEO and the average worker is widening. While CEO pay has risen 19 percent, worker pay has decreased 2.1 percent.
- 2) Only the rich are getting richer. Since 1973, the income of the wealthy has increased almost 20 percent; middle-class income has risen 5 percent and those at the bottom have actually lost money.
- 3) Companies are paying fewer health-care benefits; workers are paying for more of their own care—a trend experts say will only get worse as the baby boomers grow older.

"I lost my pension"

don't know when—or if—I'll ever be able to retire," laments Adrienne as she shuffles through her bank statements. "I can't honestly envision myself working at seventy, but now that's not out of the question."

While financial experts chastise Americans for switching jobs too often and socking away too little for retirement years, Adrienne did everything "right." For thirty-two years she worked for a major U.S. corporation with a company-funded pension plan—Pan American Airlines.



Adrienne Herman, 58
Far Rockaway, New York
Former Pan Am
purchasing agent
Single, lives with father

Then in December 1991, after more than a decade of financial strife, Pan Am closed its doors.

"We walked into the office at seven-thirty, and at nine-thirty, we were told to pack up," Adrienne recalls bitterly. "They gave us half an hour to get out of the building."

At first, Adrienne had the immediate concerns of finding a new job—not an easy task for a woman who was almost fifty-four. It took a year and a half to land her present position as an (continued)

(continued) office manager of a mental-health facility. Still, her annual salary is now \$8,000 less than the \$33,000 she made at Pan Am. She sold her car when she couldn't afford the insurance, and her savings dwindled as she struggled to pay \$3,600 for health insurance during the year and a half she was unemployed. To save money, she moved in with her father. "If I hadn't been able to live here, I'd be homeless," she says.

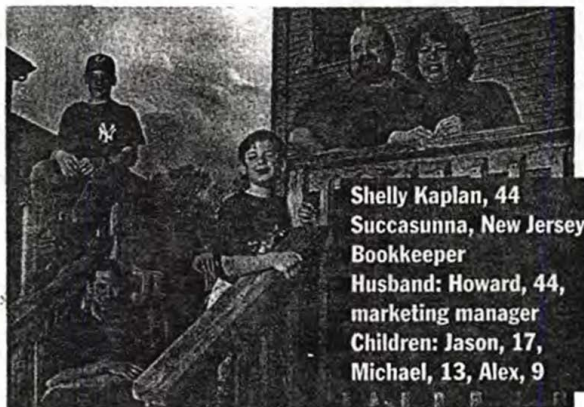
Thirteen of Adrienne's male co-workers were unable to make the adjustment; they committed suicide. "I think with both the financial and mental stress, they couldn't cope," she says sadly.

She, too, had some tough times.

Since she was more than a year short of Pan Am's minimum retirement age of 55 at the time of the shutdown, her benefits were nearly 60 percent less than she'd thought they'd be. Instead of the \$900 she'd anticipated, her pension was only \$338 a month. "At first I thought it had to be a mistake, says Adrienne. "Then I felt betrayed."

Though her own retirement is uncertain, the lesson that Adrienne has learned the hard way is one that she wants to pass along to others. "I never was much of a saver," she says. "I'd tell young people starting out today to buy their own IRAs. They are their only security, because nothing is guaranteed anymore." —K.M.C.

"We were downsized"



Shelly Kaplan, 44
Succasunna, New Jersey
Bookkeeper
Husband: Howard, 44,
marketing manager
Children: Jason, 17,
Michael, 13, Alex, 9

things tight, so Shelly found a full-time bookkeeping job.

Then the nightmare began. In January 1993, Howard was laid off. He pursued other jobs, but nothing panned out. With Shelly's salary alone to support them, the Kaplans felt the financial strain. "By May we were very nervous," she says.

never believed something like this could happen to us," says Shelly. "We're both college educated. We worked hard. But then everything came apart."

The unraveling began in 1990 when the Kaplans relocated from New Jersey to Orange County, California, where Howard took a job with a plastics company. They left behind not only family, but the financial security they'd amassed during Howard's thirteen years with an East Coast manufacturer.

Excited about the new job, which offered a 15 percent increase in wages, the Kaplans invested most of their savings in a \$300,000 California contemporary home. Their large house payment made

"Our credit cards were maxed. I was thankful we'd made the mortgage payment."

Finally, in August, Howard found consulting work—ironically, for his former employer in New Jersey. A month later they offered him a job, albeit at a 20 percent cut in pay. The family moved back across the country and now live in a rental house in New Jersey.

Today, the Kaplans still haven't recovered from the months of unemployment. The biggest problem: They've been unable to sell the house in California. "Before we moved, we were able to meet our expenses, pay our bills," Shelly says. "Now I feel like we're just a paycheck away from disaster."—K.M.C.

THE AVERAGE WEEKLY GROCERY BILL

1995: \$83.25

1992: \$78.98

PRICE CHECK

Overall, the prices of consumer goods (food and fuel) rose 12.9 percent from 1992 to mid-1996, versus a rise of 19.5 percent from 1988 to 1991. And health-care costs went up 24.1 percent from 1992 to mid-1996, compared to an increase of 37.2 percent from 1988–1991.

INFLATION

1995: 2.8 percent

1994: 2.6 percent

1993: 3 percent

1992: 3 percent

1982: 6.2 percent

1972: 3.2 percent

SOURCE: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS,
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

TAXING MATTERS

The median two-paycheck family with an income of \$52,000 paid less federal income tax last year than they did in 1985—9.5 percent versus 11.5 percent. However, they did pay more in payroll and state/local taxes, according to the Tax Foundation, a public-policy research group in Washington, D.C. In 1995, the payroll tax was 7.3 percent. In 1985, it was 6.8 percent. State and local taxes took a 12.5 percent bite of income last year, compared to 11.9 percent in 1985.

HOME OWNERSHIP

The percentage of families who own their homes:

1994: 64 percent

1993: 64 percent

1988: 63.8 percent

1982: 64.8 percent

SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

THE NATIONAL DEBT

(in millions of dollars)

1994: 4,643,711

1993: 4,351,416

1992: 4,002,136

1982: 1,137,345

1975: \$541,925

SOURCE: OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

Dole vs. Clinton

What the candidates would do to strengthen the economy

HEALTH CARE: Both parties support the health-care reform initiative proposed by Senators Nancy Kassebaum [R-Kansas] and Ted Kennedy [D-Mass.], which would let employees keep their health insurance even if they lose or change jobs. It also prevents insurance companies from dropping people for pre-existing conditions.

TRADE: Dole and Clinton favor free trade and opening new markets for American goods through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

THE MINIMUM WAGE: The Democrats proposed raising it from \$4.25 to \$5.15 an hour; some Republicans support the raise, others don't. At press time, the bill was still pending.

TAXES: In 1993, the Democrats increased rates for married couples with taxable incomes over \$140,000 and single people with taxable incomes over \$115,000, bumping them into a higher tax bracket. They also expanded the earned-income tax credit, which cut taxes for 21 million working families earning less than \$28,500 per year to include those without children. They continue to support that tax credit and have proposed tax cuts for the middle class.

The Republicans would like to limit the earned-income tax credit to low-income families with

children and to prevent illegal immigrants from qualifying for it. Dole would like to cut the tax rate on capital gains (profits on the sale of assets), lower the estate tax on family businesses and scale back the 1993 tax increases. He also endorses a \$500 per child tax credit for families who earn less than \$200,000 a year.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING: The Republicans want a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. They'd also like to transfer control of programs such as welfare from the federal government to the states, and reform other entitlement programs.

The Democrats want to balance the bud-

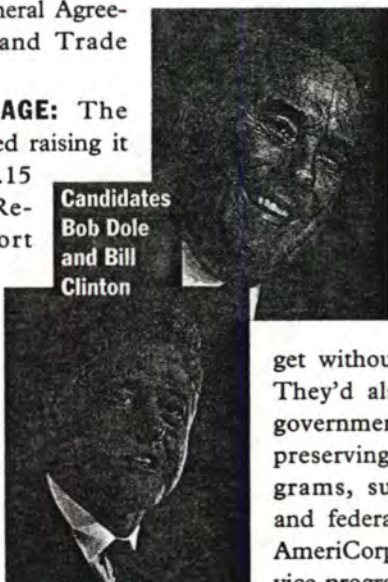
get without an amendment. They'd also like to control government spending while preserving entitlement programs, such as Medicaid, and federal services such as AmeriCorps, a national service program.

NEW BUSINESSES: Clinton established tax breaks to help small companies, and simplified the Small Business Administration's loan applications.

Dole believes "big government" is restricting business growth. He would require government agencies and departments to conduct cost-benefit analyses before imposing major new federal regulations on businesses.

SOURCES: THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE, THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, BOB DOLE'S OFFICE, BILL CLINTON'S OFFICE

Candidates
Bob Dole
and Bill
Clinton



☒ Evaluate each candidate's stance on economic issues. Do they seem realistic? Do his economic priorities agree with yours?

☒ Compare the candidates' records (you can get this information from each candidate's office) to their current promises. If they're pledging to reduce the deficit now, did they vote for this legislation before the campaign?

☒ Keep track of what candidates say about the economy in the coming months. Do their positions change as they get closer to the election? Do they promise different groups (say, business leaders vs. workers) different things?

☒ Look into campaign contributions the candidates received. All contributions must be reported to the Federal Election Commission (call 800-424-9530 for information). How might these contributions affect the candidates' conduct in office?

☒ Initiate a discussion about the candidates with friends, family and others whose opinions you respect. Analyze and debate how well each politician will be able to fulfill his promises about the economy.

☒ Finally, make your voice heard. Write to the candidates and tell them about the economic issues that matter most to you. Explain what you'd like them to do once they're in office.

SOURCE: THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Visit our World Wide Web site for voter-registration information (<http://www.lhw.com>), or call the LHW/League of Women Voters toll-free voter-registration number, sponsored by the Chrysler and Plymouth Division, at 800-249-VOTE.

Edited by Pamela Guthrie O'Brien. Reported by Katherine Lee, Clint Willis, Catherine Fredman and Anna Roufos.

No More Name-Calling!

Voters are fed up with negative campaigns and character attacks. Here's how politics—and candidates—must change
By Kathleen Kennedy Townsend

LADIES' HOME
JOURNAL
LEAGUE
OF WOMEN
VOTERS

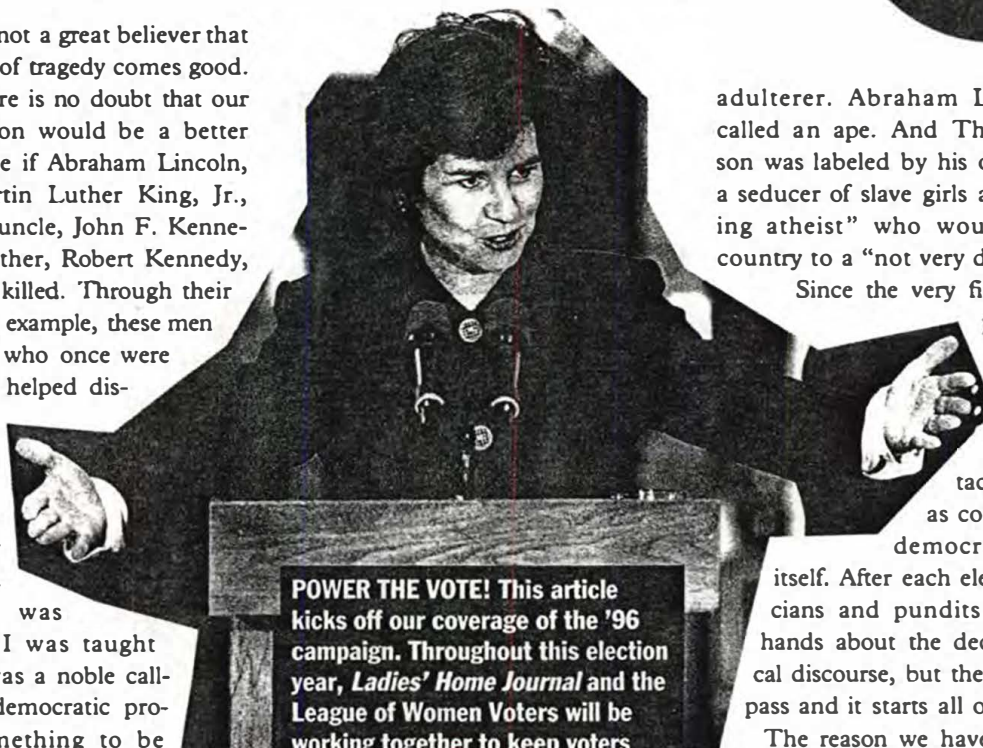
Power
The
Vote '96
ELECTION



I am not a great believer that out of tragedy comes good. There is no doubt that our nation would be a better place if Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther King, Jr., my uncle, John F. Kennedy, and my father, Robert Kennedy, had not been killed. Through their work and their example, these men united people who once were separate; they helped disparate groups see and understand each other. We are a lesser country for their deaths.

When I was growing up, I was taught that politics was a noble calling and the democratic process was something to be treated with respect. When my father ran for president in 1968, he earned a reputation for discussing serious issues with honesty. I recall, for example, that while he was talking to a group of medical students about the need for a national health-care system, one future doctor asked who was going to pay for this new system. My father looked him in the eye and said, "You are."

Today, the issues seem to have taken a backseat to name-calling and demonizing. And there is reason to believe that this presidential election campaign could rank among the ugliest of the century. In the past two years, the political debate has grown coarse and vicious, with-



POWER THE VOTE! This article kicks off our coverage of the '96 campaign. Throughout this election year, *Ladies' Home Journal* and the League of Women Voters will be working together to keep voters informed about the issues that matter most to women. In addition to special reports in the magazine each month, we have a site on the World Wide Web with up-to-the-minute campaign information (the address: <http://www.lhj-lwv.com>). But most important of all is getting out to vote. If you're not registered, you can get a registration form by calling the LHI/League of Women Voters toll-free voter-registration number, sponsored by the Chrysler and Plymouth Division. Call 800-249-VOTE.

out even the pretense of propriety.

Of course, there is nothing new about negative campaigning. Our seventh president, Andrew Jackson, was branded a murderer and an

adulterer. Abraham Lincoln was called an ape. And Thomas Jefferson was labeled by his opponents as a seducer of slave girls and a "howling atheist" who would lead the country to a "not very distant ruin."

Since the very first contested presidential election, mudslinging and character attacks have been as constant as the democratic process itself. After each election, politicians and pundits wring their hands about the decay of political discourse, but then three years pass and it starts all over again.

The reason we have freedom of speech is not because our words have no consequences. Quite the opposite, in fact. And while it is naive to draw a direct cause-and-effect relationship from speech to action, violent words do create a context in which violent actions can be seen as legitimate political statements. We have seen this with tragic frequency in the past year: the rantings of militants against the federal government may well have contributed to the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. [For more on the Oklahoma City bombing, see page 132.] And when politicians and newspapers in his own country accused Israeli Prime Minister

(continued on page 96)

NO MORE NAME-CALLING!

Continued from page 93

Yitzhak Rabin of treason, it seemed to make it easier in the mind of accused assassin Yigal Amir to justify Rabin's murder last November as a morally defensible act.

The other danger—less violent but no less profound—is that attack-dog campaigning allows candidates to avoid addressing the real problems in our country. It's easy to decry your opponent's lack of character, loyalty or patriotism; it's much more difficult to talk about how we can instill those qualities in our children.

So what can we do to get back to days of kinder, gentler politicking? First of all, everyone—the candidates, the voters and the media—must be willing to play a part.

The press has grown sophisticated in analyzing campaign rhetoric and checking the facts behind candidates' assertions. They can go one

to register their opinions of a campaign. Each opinion poll taken, each reporter's question asked, is an opportunity. If voters look critically at the nominees' statements, and call them on it when they slip into the mud, candidates will learn the lesson.

The greatest responsibility, of course, falls upon the candidates themselves. Presidential hopefuls should remember that once they get to the White House, they have to govern. And the manner in which they campaign determines the flavor of their years in office. Those who win by dividing the country against itself will surely suffer from the return volleys of the disenfranchised.

In the end, both Republicans and Democrats are committed to keeping America's defense strong. Both want crime and the fear of crime to be erased. Both want our children to have the best educations possible. And both want the poor to be less poor, the sick to be better cared for.

Where we differ is how to get there. So let's have a civil, reasonable discussion of the problems and our differences. How do we create jobs that provide a decent wage? How do we stop teenagers from having babies? How do we deal with crime and the fear of crime?

These are the questions Americans depend upon their leaders to answer. These are the issues that affect all of us. Once we realize our shared interest, candidates—and all Americans—will be less likely to demonize those who want to take different routes to the same goal.

As we ready ourselves for the 1996 presidential election, each of us would do well to remember part of Thomas Jefferson's first inaugural address: "Let us then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and one

In Her Father's Footsteps

the oldest of Robert F. Kennedy's eleven children, Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, forty-four, knows what it's like to make headlines. Not only is she Maryland's first female lieutenant governor, she is also the first woman in her famous family to take elective office. She joins three other third-generation Kennedys in the political arena: Her brother, Joseph, is a U.S. Representative from Massachusetts; her cousin Patrick—son of Senator Edward Kennedy—is the youngest member of Congress (he represents Rhode Island); and another cousin, Mark Shriver—son of Eunice Kennedy Shriver and brother of TV journalist Maria—is a Maryland state legislator.

Since becoming lieutenant governor, Townsend has helped pass legislation to toughen the state's criminal-justice system and drunk-driving laws. She also spearheaded the first community-policing academy in the country—where citizens and officers train together to learn how to reduce neighborhood crime—and she has championed efforts to reform domestic-violence programs. The current mandate for this mother of four (daughters Meaghan, eighteen; Maeve, sixteen; Kate, twelve; and Kerry, four) is to develop programs that will help children in need before they get into trouble—a goal of which her father, no doubt, would be proud. —Katherine Lee

mind. . . . And let us reflect that . . . we have gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and as capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions." •

Next month, as part of our special election coverage, political analyst Richard Reeves writes about the making of the candidates.



All in the family: Townsend in 1964 with her father, Robert Kennedy, then the U.S. Attorney General, and her mother, Ethel

step further by focusing less on who's up and who's down and more on the substance of the candidates' positions—where they differ and, just as important, where they agree. If we can establish that there is a consensus on even a small number of issues, it will go a long way toward restoring dignity to the process.

Voters, too, have dozens of chances

file - women's vote

The Cost Of Living



In this election year, the economy is the biggest issue for women across the country, according to Ladies' Home Journal's recent survey. From fear of being downsized to the everyday reality of trying to make ends meet, from higher taxes to the budget deficit, women are worried about their own—and the country's—economic security.

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—Katie Couric

Special election
correspondent
Katie Couric



Where those with the highest—and lowest—incomes reside

Blue: \$26,994 to \$32,274

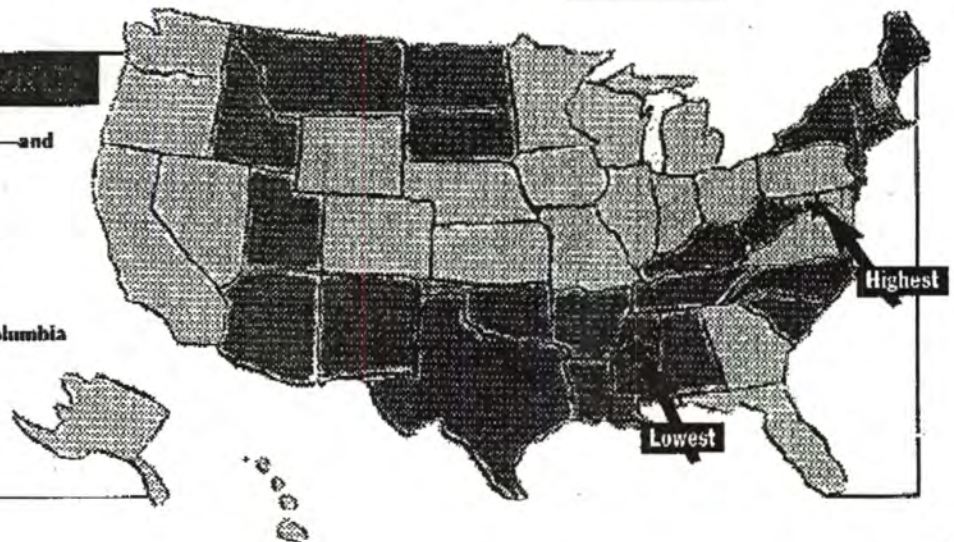
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Highest income: District of Columbia

Lowest income: Mississippi

PERSONAL INCOME PER CAPITA IN CURRENT DOLLARS, BY STATE, PRELIMINARY 1995 NUMBERS. SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF ECONOMIC ANALYSIS.



ELECTION '96

"Three jobs—and we still can't make ends meet"



Linda Ross, 31, Cocoa, Florida
Trip packager for a cruise line
Husband: Larry, 30, a safety
monitor for a defense contractor
Children: Jerel, 4, Logan, 1

often wish we could go back in time," says Linda as she looks through the bills piled up on her kitchen table. "I don't know what went wrong."

Even though she and Larry work full-time, the Rosses' combined income of \$43,000 doesn't support their family of four. In fact, for the past six months, Larry, a college graduate—has resorted to a second job cleaning school offices.

The family's monthly expenses are a testimony to how tight things are—a \$700 house payment; \$480 for child care; \$450 for food; a \$250 car payment; plus taxes, student loans and credit-card, medical and utility bills.

Recently, the Rosses were so far behind on their bills that they went to an office of the Consumer Credit Counseling Service for advice. "But when we showed them our budget, they didn't have any suggestions for us," says Linda. "There was nothing left to cut." Already gone are family vacations, new clothes and dinners

out. Occasionally the family does splurge, as they did last spring when they took Jerel to Disney World for a day. "You get to the point where you feel like if we don't have an extra dime to enjoy, what are we doing it for?" says Linda.

That's why Larry decided to get a second job. But the additional dollars he earns come at a high price. "For the first four months, Larry worked five nights a week. He only saw the baby on weekends," Linda recalls sadly. "Jerel would ask, 'Is Daddy going to be home tonight?' By the middle of the week he was crying, 'Daddy's never coming home!'"

In March, Larry decided that for Jerel's sake, he needed to spend more time with his family. He cut back to three nights a week, which brings in an additional \$500 a month—barely enough to balance the household budget. "If anything out of the ordinary happens, like the car breaking down, we're in trouble," says Linda. "And something always happens."

Still, Linda insists that she and Larry don't feel sorry for themselves. "I try not to get upset when someone calls asking why our car payment is late again," she says. "After all, I'm probably just one name on a list being called."

Can government change the economic malaise she and so many others are caught in? "The bottom line is, there are so many qualified people looking for work, there's always somebody willing to do the job for less money," says Linda. "Can the government change that? I don't know. But if it can't, then who can?" —Kathryn M. Casey

A look at our economy today vs. the last two decades

UNEMPLOYMENT

1995: 5.6 percent
1994: 6.1 percent
1993: 6.9 percent
1992: 7.5 percent
1982: 9.7 percent
1976: 7.7 percent

SOURCE: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS,
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

THE NUMBER OF NEW JOBS CREATED

1993 to 1996: 8.4 million (Clinton administration)
1989 to 1992: 1.9 million (Bush administration)
1985 to 1988: 10.1 million (Reagan administration)

THE MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME

1994: \$38,782
1993: \$37,905
1992: \$38,632
1982: \$36,326
1976: \$37,319

SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

HOW MUCH THINGS COST

Before the last presidential election and today

ITEM	1992	1996
Half gallon of milk	\$1.40	\$1.46
Loaf of bread	\$1.75	\$1.86
Toothpaste	\$2.01	\$2.39
Diapers	\$9.39 (for 40)	\$6.94 (for 32)
Lipstick (sold in drug store)	\$4.00	\$4.19
Pantyhose (sold in dept. store)	\$4.95	\$5.50

PHOTO: SUSAN GREENWOOD; ILLUSTRATION: JOHN BOTEY

IF THE ECONOMY IS UP, WHY ARE WE SO DOWN?

Are we worrying more than we should?

Although the most recent recession ended in 1991, many Americans feel like it's still going on. But experts agree that the economy is actually faring well. "Unemployment has been fairly low, despite the downsizing," says Phillip Braun, Ph.D., assistant professor of finance at the Kellogg Graduate School of Management, Northwestern University, in Evanston, Illinois. "Inflation and interest rates are low. The stock market, which is very high, means investors expect the economy to stay strong."

So why aren't more Americans sharing in this economic comfort zone? The following reasons all play a part:

- The median family income has not grown (see chart at left). And in general, real wages (salary after inflation) have not increased since 1980.

- Downsizing is now an

acceptable practice, says Dean Baker, Ph.D., an economist at the Economic Policy Institute, in Washington, D.C. "In the past there was an implicit understanding that an employee who did his or her job well could expect to be in a secure position." Now, he says, if a firm isn't doing as well as it should be, Wall Street wants to see "layoffs, to show that the company is serious about profitability." • Consumers have changed.

"People are much more

price-conscious than they used to be," says Saranna Thornton, Ph.D., assistant professor of economics at Colby College, in Waterville, Maine. The bottom line: Shoppers want sales; paying full price is a thing of the past.

- Sky-high expectations. For years, Americans have believed that they would do better than their parents did; baby boomers, says Thornton, "expected to do a whole lot better." That's because they grew

up in a period of unusually rapid growth after World War II, when anything seemed economically possible. But when growth slowed to a normal rate in the seventies, their expectations didn't.

- Technology "is having a major impact on our society," says Thornton. "There's now a growing dichotomy between people who have technical skills and those who don't. The best insurance a woman can buy herself is to upgrade those skills."

GOOD THINGS ABOUT THE ECONOMY



1) More jobs down the road. Downsizing has improved the efficiency of U.S. companies competing in the global economy. Ironically, in the long term, that will result in more jobs for U.S. workers.

2) Stocks are soaring. Between 1991 and 1995, the market gave a total return of 115.35 percent—great news for those invested in stocks through a 401(k) plan at work. 3) The budget deficit is shrinking—which means lower interest rates and cheaper consumer loans.

BAD THINGS ABOUT THE ECONOMY



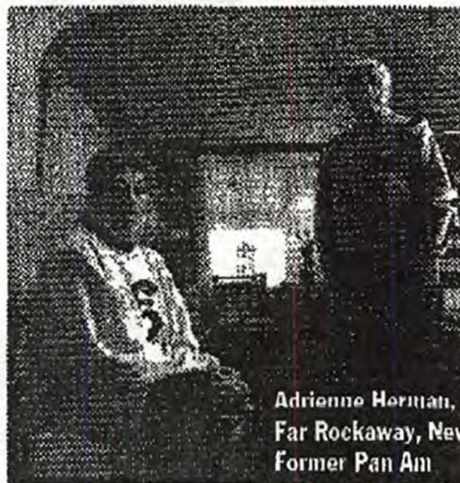
1) The wage gap between the CEO and the average worker is widening. While CEO pay has risen 19 percent, worker pay has decreased 2.1 percent.

2) Only the rich are getting richer. Since 1973, the income of the wealthy has increased almost 20 percent; middle-class income has risen 5 percent and those at the bottom have actually lost money. 3) Companies are paying fewer health-care benefits; workers are paying for more of their own care—a trend experts say will only get worse as the baby boomers grow older.

"I lost my pension"

don't know when—or if—I'll ever be able to retire," laments Adrienne as she shuffles through her bank statements. "I can't honestly envision myself working at seventy, but now that's not out of the question."

While financial experts chastise Americans for switching jobs too often and socking away too little for retirement years, Adrienne did everything "right." For thirty-two years she worked for a major U.S. corporation with a company-funded pension plan—Pan American Airlines.



Adrienne Herman, 58
Far Rockaway, New York
Former Pan Am
purchasing agent
Single, lives with father

Then in December 1991, after more than a decade of financial strife, Pan Am closed its doors.

"We walked into the office at seven-thirty, and at nine-thirty, we were told to pack up," Adrienne recalls bitterly. "They gave us half an hour to get out of the building."

At first, Adrienne had the immediate concerns of finding a new job—not an easy task for a woman who was almost fifty-four. It took a year and a half to land her present position as an (continued)

ELECTION '96

(continued) office manager of a mental-health facility. Still, her annual salary is now \$8,000 less than the \$33,000 she made at Pan Am. She sold her car when she couldn't afford the insurance, and her savings dwindled as she struggled to pay \$3,600 for health insurance during the year and a half she was unemployed. To save money, she moved in with her father. "If I hadn't been able to live here, I'd be homeless," she says.

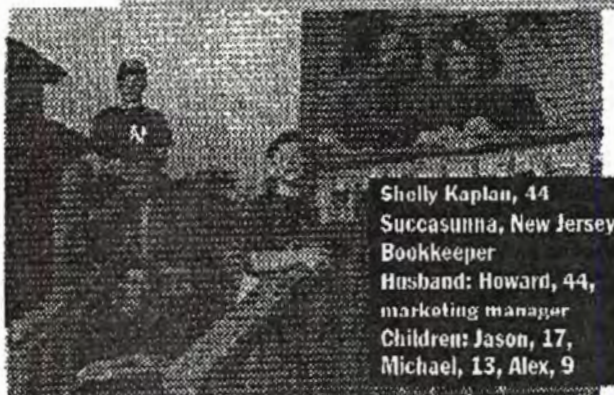
Thirteen of Adrienne's male co-workers were unable to make the adjustment; they committed suicide. "I think with both the financial and mental stress, they couldn't cope," she says sadly.

She, too, had some tough times.

Since she was more than a year short of Pan Am's minimum retirement age of 55 at the time of the shutdown, her benefits were nearly 60 percent less than she'd thought they'd be. Instead of the \$900 she'd anticipated, her pension was only \$338 a month. "At first I thought it had to be a mistake, says Adrienne. "Then I felt betrayed."

Though her own retirement is uncertain, the lesson that Adrienne has learned the hard way is one that she wants to pass along to others. "I never was much of a saver," she says. "I'd tell young people starting out today to buy their own IRAs. They are their only security, because nothing is guaranteed anymore." —K.M.C.

"We were downsized"



Shelly Kaplan, 44
Succasunna, New Jersey
Bookkeeper
Husband: Howard, 44,
marketing manager
Children: Jason, 17,
Michael, 13, Alex, 9

things tight, so Shelly found a full-time bookkeeping job.

Then the nightmare began. In January 1993, Howard was laid off. He pursued other jobs, but nothing panned out. With Shelly's salary alone to support them, the Kaplans felt the financial strain. "By May we were very nervous," she says.

never believed something like this could happen to us," says Shelly. "We're both college educated. We work hard. But then everything came apart."

The unraveling began in 1990 when the Kaplans relocated from New Jersey to Orange County, California, where Howard took a job with a plastics company. They left behind not only family, but the financial security they'd amassed during Howard's thirteen years with an East Coast manufacturer.

Excited about the new job, which offered a 15 percent increase in wages, the Kaplans invested most of their savings in a \$300,000 California contemporary home. Their large house payment made

"Our credit cards were maxed. I was thankful we'd made the mortgage payment."

Finally, in August, Howard found consulting work—ironically, for his former employer in New Jersey. A month later they offered him a job, albeit at a 20 percent cut in pay. The family moved back across the country and now live in a rental house in New Jersey.

Today, the Kaplans still haven't recovered from the months of unemployment. The biggest problem: They've been unable to sell the house in California. "Before we moved, we were able to meet our expenses, pay our bills," Shelly says. "Now I feel like we're just a paycheck away from disaster." —K.M.C.

THE AVERAGE WEEKLY GROCERY BILL

1995: \$83.25

1992: \$78.98

PRICE CHECK

Overall, the prices of consumer goods (food and fuel) rose 12.9 percent from 1992 to mid-1995, versus a rise of 19.5 percent from 1988 to 1991. And health-care costs went up 24.1 percent from 1992 to mid-1995, compared to an increase of 37.2 percent from 1988 to 1991.

INFLATION

1995: 2.8 percent

1994: 2.6 percent

1993: 3 percent

1992: 3 percent

1982: 6.2 percent

1972: 3.2 percent

SOURCE: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS,
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

TAXING MATTERS

The median two-paycheck family with an income of \$52,000 paid less federal income tax last year than they did in 1985—9.5 percent versus 11.5 percent. However, they did pay more in payroll and state/local taxes, according to the Tax Foundation, a public-policy research group in Washington, D.C. In 1995, the payroll tax was 7.3 percent. In 1985, it was 6.8 percent. State and local taxes took a 12.5 percent bite of income last year, compared to 11.9 percent in 1985.

HOME OWNERSHIP

The percentage of families who own their homes:

1994: 64 percent

1993: 64 percent

1988: 63.8 percent

1982: 64.8 percent

SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

THE NATIONAL DEBT

(in millions of dollars)

1994: 4,643,711

1993: 4,351,416

1992: 4,002,139

1982: 1,137,345

1975: 551,925

ELECTION '96

Dole vs. Clinton

What the candidates would do to strengthen the economy

HEALTH CARE: Both parties support the health-care reform initiative proposed by Senators Nancy Kassebaum [R-Kansas] and Ted Kennedy [D-Mass.], which would let employees keep their health insurance even if they lose or change jobs. It also prevents insurance companies from dropping people for pre-existing conditions.

TRADE: Dole and Clinton favor free trade and opening new markets for American goods through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

THE MINIMUM WAGE: The Democrats proposed raising it from \$4.25 to \$5.15 an hour; some Republicans support the raise, others don't. At press time, the bill was still pending.

TAXES: In 1993, the Democrats increased rates for married couples with taxable incomes over \$140,000 and single people with taxable incomes over \$115,000, bumping them into a higher tax bracket. They also expanded the earned-income tax credit, which cut taxes for 21 million working families earning less than \$28,500 per year to include those without children. They continue to support that tax credit and have proposed tax cuts for the middle class.

The Republicans would like to limit the earned-income tax credit to low-income families with

children and to prevent illegal immigrants from qualifying for it. Dole would like to cut the tax rate on capital gains (profits on the sale of assets), lower the estate tax on family businesses and scale back the 1993 tax increases. He also endorses a \$500 per child tax credit for families who earn less than \$200,000 a year.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING: The Republicans want a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. They'd also like to transfer control of programs such as welfare from the federal government to the states, and reform other entitlement programs.

The Democrats want to balance the bud-

get without an amendment. They'd also like to control government spending while preserving entitlement programs, such as Medicaid, and federal services such as AmeriCorps, a national service program.

NEW BUSINESSES: Clinton established tax breaks to help small companies, and simplified the Small Business Administration's loan applications.

Dole believes "big government" is restricting business growth.

He would require government agencies and departments to conduct cost-benefit analyses before imposing major new federal regulations on businesses.

SOURCES: THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE, THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, BOB DOLE'S OFFICE, BILL CLINTON'S OFFICE.

Edited by Pamela Guthrie O'Brien. Reported by Katherine Lee, Clint Willis, Catherine Fredman and Anna Roufus.

☒ Evaluate each candidate's stance on economic issues. Do they seem realistic? Do his economic priorities agree with yours?

☒ Compare the candidates' records (you can get this information from each candidate's office) to their current promises. If they're pledging to reduce the deficit now, did they vote for this legislation before the campaign?

☒ Keep track of what candidates say about the economy in the coming months. Do their positions change as they get closer to the election? Do they promise different groups (say, business leaders vs. workers) different things?

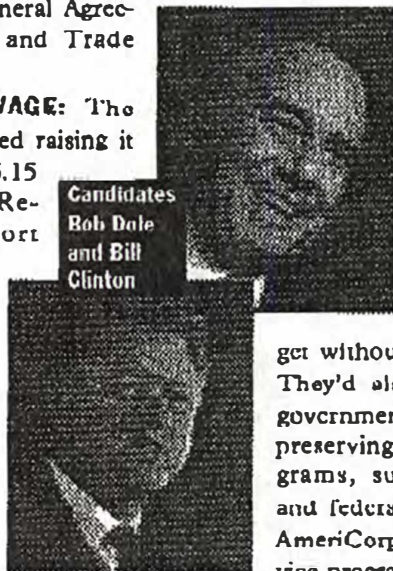
☒ Look into campaign contributions the candidates received. All contributions must be reported to the Federal Election Commission (call 800-424-9530 for information). How might these contributions affect the candidates' conduct in office?

☒ Initiate a discussion about the candidates with friends, family and others whose opinions you respect. Analyze and debate how well each politician will be able to fulfill his promises about the economy.

☒ Finally, make your voice heard. Write to the candidates and tell them about the economic issues that matter most to you. Explain what you'd like them to do once they're in office.

Visit our World Wide Web site for voter-registration information (<http://www.lhw.com>), or call the LHW/League of Women Voters toll-free voter-registration number, sponsored by the Chrysler and Plymouth Division, at 800-249-VOTE.

Candidates
Bob Dole
and Bill
Clinton



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**LADIES' HOME JOURNAL
WOMEN AND VOTING
NATIONAL SURVEY**

FEBRUARY 29, 1996

Prepared for

The Ladies' Home Journal

by

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MEMORANDUM

TO: LADIES' HOME JOURNAL

FROM: LINDA DIVALL & SHANNON PETRUZZELLO

RE: NATIONAL SURVEY FINDINGS

DATE: 2/29/96

A national survey of 1,000 women was conducted January 24 through 29, 1996, by Lake Research in conjunction with American Viewpoint. This research was conducted at the 95% confidence level, yielding a margin of error of ± 3.2 percent. This study was undertaken for *The Ladies' Home Journal* to establish women's attitudes toward the electoral process, their motivations for voting or not voting, and what the key issues to them are in making their decision about which candidates to support. This memo provides a brief executive summary of significant research findings.

The objective of this study is to assess women's attitudes toward politics, their beliefs, their priorities in the political arena, and their motivations for voting or not voting. Former studies have shown that women tend to vote less frequently than men, feel disassociated from the political process, are hesitant to get involved, and may feel that their vote does not matter. This study attempts to go beyond those symptomatic conditions to attempt to discover some of the differences between those women who are registered to vote and those who are unregistered.

OVERVIEW OF ALL WOMEN

GENERAL VOTING BEHAVIOR

1. Of the respondents interviewed, all were women, 69% were registered voters, 31% were not registered to vote.
2. A clear majority of those registered women interviewed have every intention of voting in the November 1996 elections. 77% say they are certain they will vote, while another 15% say it is very likely, yielding a 92% group who intend to voting. Of the unregistered women, 58% say that it is likely they will register to vote by the 1996 elections, 13% say there is a half and half chance, and 17% say they will probably not register.
3. Over half of the registered women in the study say they vote in all elections (52%), and another 26% say they vote in most elections. This shows a solid majority of over three-quarters of registered women consistently voting in most elections.
4. Of the political split in the survey, 38% of the women consider themselves to be Democrats, while 28% consider themselves to be Republican, with another 25% who said they are Independents. This trend is somewhat reversed in political ideology, where 26% consider themselves liberal, 35% consider themselves conservative, and 31% said they are moderate.

The women who are registered to vote are 40% Democrat, 26% Independent, and 30% Republican, with 5% who do not know. Ideologically, the registered women identify themselves as 26% liberal, 31% moderate, and 38% conservative, and 5% do not know.

The women who are unregistered to vote are 37% Democrat, 25% Independent, and 27% Republican, with 10% who do not know to which party they would belong. Ideologically the unregistered women are almost identical to their registered counterparts with the exception of slightly more conservatives and those who do not know: 26% liberal, 31% moderate, and 34% conservative, and 10% do not know.

ATTITUDES TOWARD POLITICS

1. Women are clearly and thoroughly cynical about politics in general. When asked to choose from a list which adjective best described their feelings about politics, 17% chose "Frustrated." 16% chose the stronger word "Disgusted," and "Disillusioned" was chosen by 14% of the respondents.

2. In a comparison of positive and negative adjectives, the overwhelming majority feel negatively about politics and elections in this country: 68% chose a negative word, while only 26% chose a positive word. The significance of this finding is of major importance because the apathy level among women evidenced here is extremely high.
3. There are two main reasons women may not get involved in the political process, with the more pessimistic reasons having a slight edge over the other less pessimistic view. 33% said they feel it is hard to find the time to get involved, while 40% said they either do not feel their vote makes a difference, or that they are so angry at the politicians they do not want to get involved. While it is clear that women are pressed for time with the demands of career, family, etc., more are choosing not to get involved in the political process for cynical reasons.

NATIONAL CONCERNS

1. The respondents are not hopeful for the country as a whole, and mirror findings nationwide: 68% said things have gotten seriously off on the wrong track, with only 17% saying the country is headed in the right direction. Only a small number have more hope for the country in the next five years. 69% said they are worried and concerned about the country's future, while 24% said they are hopeful and confident.
2. Although a majority of the sample is still cynical, the women are a little more optimistic when it comes to their own future: 39% said they are hopeful and confident about the next five years in their own lives while 54% said they are worried and concerned.
3. When the categories of Economy/Budget/Job/Taxes are collapsed, it creates an aggregate 33% of respondents in agreement that those fiscal issues are the main problem facing the country. By comparison, Education/Crime/Drugs/Violence weigh in at 23%.
4. Women are very concerned about health care, both for their families and for senior citizens. 17% of our sample thought that health care and issues facing senior citizens, including Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security, are the main problems facing the country.

POPULISM

1. A majority of the women we surveyed appear to be Populists. 49% responded that government should do more to solve national problems, rather than leaving the problems to individuals, and 51% said government should be doing more to promote traditional values.

2. Big government is not as much of a threat to women; 52% of the women answered that "government can help people and needs to be made to work for average families" contrasted with 32% agreeing that "government is the problem, not the solution to our problems." It seems that a majority of women would prefer a government that is efficient with its social programs, rather than less government. This is a contributing factor to the gender gap - women tend to look for an activist government.

PERSONAL CONCERNS FOR WOMEN

1. The biggest personal concern for the women we surveyed was financial concerns and 'making ends meet'. A solid majority, 56% of our sample, said they worry "all the time" about making ends meet. This worry was followed closely by the concerns of "Having affordable health insurance for your family" at a 56% in it's half sample.

Financial concerns with the government were also an area respondents worried about "all the time" as the response "Taxes eating up too much of our family's income" had a 54% agreement, and the similar response "Government wasting too much of your money" had 53% who say they worry about it all the time.

2. Women also worry about crime "all of the time" with 54% giving that response to "Rising juvenile crime and crime rates." 54% of respondents also said they worry all the time about "Guns in schools threatening our children." The other response mentioning violence "Too much sex and violence in the media" had a very high 51% response.
3. Financial concerns and aging concerns, when combined, give the women in our survey a great deal to worry about. The largest majority of those who say they worry "all the time" went to the statement "Social Security and Medicare being there when you retire" with 57%. Another 28% said they worry about that "sometimes." And the response "Having a secure retirement" had 52% agreement.

GOALS FOR THE COUNTRY

1. When asked to choose between two goals for several specific issues, the highest majority of women said the most important economic goal for the country should be creating more jobs, at 69%. As for economic growth, more women said "increasing jobs, wages, and benefits" (51%) should be the top goal as opposed to those who said "creating an environment where businesses can thrive" at 42%.
2. There was a large majority of women on one side of the balanced budget question as well. When asked what the more important goal of a balanced budget should be, 61% chose the response "getting the budget balanced gradually so that we don't hurt people or the

economy by cutting programs too quickly" rather than the response only 28% chose, "getting the budget balanced as quickly as possible so that our children are not burdened with debt and to help the economy." This is an important finding that explains President Clinton's deft handling of the budget situation.

IMPORTANT VOTING ISSUES

1. Women in the survey were asked, "Thinking about elections for the U.S. Congress, if you had to choose which candidate to support based only on one issue, what issue would you use?" The top three responses were tied at an unimpressive 7% each. Those responses were budget/reduce deficit, crime, and education/schools. When other issues were collapsed to form larger subject categories, "Economy and Jobs" was the most important issue upon which to vote, at 18%. "Budget and Taxes" followed at 15%, and "Health Care and Seniors" was third with 13%.
2. When asked to rate what qualities are important in a candidate, a striking majority of the respondents said, "The candidate's commitment to economic security for American families." 36% of the women said those qualities were one of the most important things to consider, far above the percentage agreeing to any other statement, and 43% said it was very important, for a combined 79% saying commitment to economic security for families is important. (The scale for this battery of questions went: one of the most important things to consider, very important, somewhat important, or not very important). No other statement comes close to the popularity of this one except, "How tough the candidate will be on crime" with 32% rating it one of the most important qualities, 45% saying it is very important, for a total of 77% importance.
3. The women in our study display an interesting paradox: they think it is important to elect more women to political office, but when it comes to voting, the female candidate's political party affiliation is the deciding factor as to whether to support her, not her gender. 52% said it is important to elect more women to public office, compared to 38% who said it is not important. When asked which factor is more important - that the candidate is a woman or her political party affiliation - a 46% majority said her party affiliation, compared with only 16% who said the fact that the candidate is a woman.

Democrat women are slightly more likely to say the candidate's political party than are Republican women, at 58% to 53%. Only 25% of Independents say political party is the more important factor. Further, Democrats under the age of 45 are the most adamant on party affiliation: 64% said party is more important than the candidate's being female.

4. On the issue of abortion, women in this study are divided. 26% believe "Abortions should be legal and generally available," another 26% believe "Regulation of abortion is necessary, although it should remain legal in many circumstances," and a slim majority at

32% believe "Abortion should only be legal in the most extreme cases, such as to save the life of the mother or rape or incest." Only 10% think abortion should be made illegal in all cases. When the categories are collapsed, 52% are pro-choice and 42% are pro-life.

5. Women are pessimistic about the possibility of a woman holding the office of President of the United States in the next twelve years. 40% do not think it is likely that a woman will become President and 28% think it is somewhat likely. They are more optimistic about the possibility of a woman becoming Vice President: 35% think it is somewhat likely in the next twelve years, and 32% think it is very likely or almost a certainty.
6. A small majority of the women in the study, 33%, think an African American or member of another ethnic minority will become President within the next twelve years, 29% think it is only somewhat likely, and 29% think it is unlikely. A minority member becoming Vice President is perceived as more likely at 40%, and another 33% say it is somewhat likely.

VOLUNTEERISM AND PARTICIPATION

1. When community activities, participation, and volunteerism are discussed, there is a shocking discrepancy between women's participation in political activities and all in all other activities. The respondents had high participation levels in religious organizations (47%), PIA (34%), volunteerism (41%), or making financial contributions to community organizations (48%) within the last five years, and those levels were even greater when participation five or longer years ago is counted. However, only 10% had volunteered for a political campaign or party in the last five years. In addition, only 12% had written a letter to the editor of a local newspaper, an activity that can be loosely defined as political involvement. And finally, only 15% had made financial contributions to a political campaign. Extending the time period back longer than five years to probe for involvement made no significant increase in these lagging figures; to each was added only 7% when over five years is included.
2. Almost nine out of ten women interviewed would not consider running for elected office or local office. 10% said it was something they would consider, while 87% said they would not consider it.

A SUMMARY ANALYSIS OF REGISTERED & UNREGISTERED WOMEN

WHO WILL VOTE IN THE 1996 ELECTIONS

1. Seventy percent of the unregistered women in our survey indicate that they have been registered to vote in the past, while 29% have not been registered before.
2. Of the women who are registered to vote, 77% said they are "almost certain" they will vote in the 1996 elections, and another 15% said they will "probably" vote.
3. Of those currently unregistered, 36% say that they are "almost certain" they will register to vote for the 1996 Presidential elections. Another 22% said they will "probably" register, giving a possible 58% of them registered to vote by the November 1996 elections. 13% say there is a 50-50 chance they will register, and 17% said they will probably not register.
4. Those who said they are only 'somewhat likely' or 'less likely' to vote in the 1996 elections tend to be in the low end of the education scale: 39% have no college education and 31% have a high school diploma or less education. This is contrasted with 82% of college graduate women who said it is 'very likely' that they will vote in the 1996 elections.

Moreover, those who say they will probably not register to vote are under age 30 (20%), have a high school or less than high school education (22%), rate in the most pessimistic third on the "mood" questions (19%), and a significant amount of them (29%) said that they pay little or no attention to politics.

APATHY ABOUT POLITICS

1. Those unregistered women who are less likely to vote and get involved in the political process can be seen in what we call the "Apathy Index" of question 6, "Which of the statements best describes your feelings about voting and politics." The Apathy Index is the combined frequency of these two most negative responses: a.) Voting doesn't make a difference and usually I just don't bother, and b.) I am so angry at the politicians and at what is going on that I don't want to get involved. The less negative response is those women who are simply not using their right to vote and answered, "I have so much to do and so little time, it's hard to get involved."

The Apathy index at 40% is higher than the less severe response "I have so little time and so much to do that it's hard to find the time to get involved," which gained agreement from 33% of the unregistered women. This shows an overall apathy and negative feeling among those women who are not registered to vote. Please see the chart below:

FEELINGS ABOUT POLITICS & VOTING: UNREGISTERED WOMEN	
It's hard to find the time to get involved. (Less severe)	33%
*Voting doesn't usually make a difference; I usually don't bother. (More severe)	23%
*I am so angry at politicians I don't want to get involved. (Most severe)	17%
* Combined Apathy Index (-)	40%

4. Young homemakers, all homemakers, and those women in the \$25,000 to \$35,000 income range are very high on the apathy index. The homemakers feel particularly apathetic, frequently giving the response that their vote does not make a difference; 29% of the young homemakers gave that response, and 30% of all homemakers gave that response.
5. Our data found that women who are unregistered to vote were only slightly more "pessimistic" on a combination of questions that those who are registered to vote. The 'mood' questions consisted of whether the country is on the right or wrong track, whether they are 'hopeful and confident' or 'worried and concerned' for the country over the next five years, and their personal prospects over the next five years. Using that typology, the most "pessimistic" combination of answers was 53% among registered women; it was 56% among unregistered women.

NEGATIVE IMPRESSIONS OF POLITICS

1. In question 48, respondents were asked which word from a list best described their feelings about politics and elections in general. A 17% plurality of the women chose the word "frustrated" and 16% chose "disgusted." When adjectives were collapsed into categories of positive and negative, a 68% majority agreed with the negative expressions while only 26% agreed with the positive expressions about politics.
2. For a further understanding of women's negative impressions of politics, we must look at subgroups. The groups who had the highest percentages of negative responses were those who identify their political party affiliation as Independent (71%), Independents under age 45 (75%), and those who say they are 'almost certain' they would support a third political party (78%).
3. 77% of those who gave a negative response on their feelings about politics were Liberal to Moderate Republicans, say their ideological movement over the past few years has been more conservative (72%), voted for Perot in the 1992 Presidential elections (76%), tend

to be young and unmarried (71%), or tend to have a traditional family status (78%). 74% who responded negatively were non-working moms, and 74% were white with a high school or less education.

4. The unregistered group of women followed the above figures for all women very closely, with 68% negative and 26% positive. The young with some post-high school education group was 76% negative, the homemaker group was 77% negative, the Independents and the Independents under age 45 were equally strong as in point 2 above, and 75% would also 'almost certainly' support a third political party. 72% of the unregistered women who responded negatively are single, and 76% of them say they attend church services several times a year or hardly ever.

ATTENTION TO POLITICS

Women who are unregistered to vote tend to pay slightly less attention to what is happening in politics and government than women who are registered to vote. Please see the following chart:

ATTENTION TO POLITICS		
RESPONSE	REGISTERED	UNREGISTERED
A great deal	44%	36%
Some	42%	41%
A little	10%	12%
Not very much	5%	10%

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

- In general, the women who believe that government should do more to solve national problems, can work to help average families, and believe that "government should do more to promote traditional values" can be defined as Populists. The Populists responses make up a solid majority among those who are registered to vote and an almost as strong majority among those who are not registered to vote.
- There is an exception to this trend: 41% of women who have a child over 18 years of age feel that the government is doing too much, compared to 35% of all the other women who gave that response. Also, ^{47%} 33% of women with a child of any age believe that the

government is doing too much.

NATIONAL ISSUES OF CONCERN

1. There are virtually no significant statistical differences between registered and unregistered women concerning the issue they see as the main problem facing the country. In other words, women appear to place about the same importance on issues whether they are registered to vote or not.
2. The economy and jobs are the most important national issues they would like to see addressed by the President (18%). Of those who gave that response, 23% were women who said they are politically Independent, 22% were women who work full time, 21% were young unmarried women, and 25% live in the northeastern region of the country.
3. At 15%, the budget and taxes was the next biggest area of concern for women. These women tended to be Republican, especially younger Republicans at 25%, and women who fell into the mid-level income range of \$35,000 to \$50,000 per year at 26%. Women with a college or higher education were also very concerned about the budget and taxes, with 22% of them giving that response.
4. Health care and seniors' issues was the next most prevalent concern, with 13% of the sample giving that response. Naturally, these women tended to fall into the older age groups and were often retired (29% of retired women gave that response). Women over age 50 said health care and seniors issue were their biggest concerns at 26%, while widows were at 30%. The Democrat women who were older also showed concern on these issues at 27%

PERSONAL ISSUES OF CONCERN

1. When asked how often they worry about a number of personal issues, frequency varied by whether or not the respondents were registered to vote. Among those issues that they said they worry "all the time" about, 57% of the unregistered women said "Making ends meet" while 61% of the registered women said "Finding affordable health insurance."
2. Those who responded that they worry "all the time" about "Making ends meet" tended to be the younger respondents, in the 30 and under age group. Of the unregistered women, 69% of the young respondents gave that answer, while with those registered to vote, 67% of the youngest women gave that answer.
3. "Social Security and Medicare being there at my retirement" was an equally frequent response among those women not registered to vote, at 57% who say they worry about it

all the time. "Juvenile crime" was a slightly more frequent response among those registered to vote, at 58% who say they worry about it all the time.

FACTORS IN VOTING DECISIONS

1. A candidate's specific position on the issues was about equally important to women whether or not they were registered to vote; of the unregistered, 28% gave that response, and of the registered, 31% gave that response. Character/integrity was equally important to both groups: 28% among the registered and 27% among the unregistered.
2. Overwhelmingly, the most important issue women consider in deciding who to support in an election is "The candidate's commitment to economic security for American families." That response garnered 61% total support among the unregistered women and a 67% total support among the registered women. See the chart below for a comparison of other responses:

IMPORTANT FACTORS IN VOTING DECISIONS		
FACTOR	REGISTERED	UNREGISTERED
Commitment to family economic security	67%	61%
Toughness on crime	62%	57%
Tax and spending issues	51%	47%
Financial/personal scandal	28%	26%
Negative campaigning	27%	19%
Abortion position	11%	2%
Political party	-27%	-28%
Candidate's gender	-75%	-70%

Some of the above numbers are negative; that is to say that a majority of the respondents ranked it "not important." As you can see, the gender of the candidate has no tangible bearing on the voting decision, even among an all woman sample. Likewise, women said that the political party of a candidate is not important in their voting decision. The registered women were significantly more concerned about negative campaigning than the unregistered women, as well as the candidate's stand on abortion.

3. Democrat women in the 45+ age group lead the others in saying it is 'very important' to elect more women to political office at 27%. Democrats in the under 45 age group follow closely at 26%, and those of liberal ideology agree at 25%. In the ideology/party breakdown, 67% of liberal Democrats say it is important to elect more women to political office. Those who support electing more women to office are also statistically likely to be young and unmarried (61%), have no children (59%), live in a large city (60%), voted for Bill Clinton in 1992 (61%), live in the Pacific region of the country (57%), hold a career job (58%), and be Catholic (60%).

MARITAL STATUS EFFECTS

Both registered and unregistered women said that their spouse has at least some influence upon their voting decisions. Of the registered women, 52% said it has some effect, with 21% who said it matters a great deal; of the unregistered 51% said it has some effect, with 20% saying it matters a great deal. 46% of the registered women and 45% of the unregistered women said their spouse has 'not much' to 'no influence' over their voting decision.

PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS AND ELECTIONS

In arguably the most interesting and important finding of this survey, women are approximately three times as likely to have volunteered for a community, church, or school organization as for a political candidate. For registered women, 18% had volunteered for a party or candidate at some time in their lives, compared to 65% who had volunteered for a church, 64% who had volunteered for a community organization, and 58% who had volunteered for a school or PTA. For unregistered women, 17% had volunteered for a candidate or party at some time in their lives, compared to 62% who had volunteered for a church, 61% who had volunteered for a community organization, and 55% who had volunteered for a school or PTA. Unregistered women show slightly less participation in the community as a whole than do registered women; however, the significant finding in this data is that even women who participate tend not to get involved in politics. Please refer to the chart below for comparative lifetime participation levels between registered and unregistered women.

LIFETIME PARTICIPATION LEVELS		
ACTION	REGISTERED	UNREGISTERED
Given \$ to community organization	68%	64%
Volunteered for church/religious	65%	62%
Volunteered community organization	64%	61%
Gave \$ to campaign	25%	22%
Volunteered for candidate/party	18%	17%

NOTES ON THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF UNREGISTERED WOMEN

1. The unregistered women had slightly lower incomes on average than those who were registered to vote. More of them fell into the \$20,000 to \$25,000 household income per year than of the registered women, whose percentages were slightly higher along the upper ranges of the income scale.
2. The majorities of unregistered women were on both ends of the age scale. 17% fell into the over 64 category, while 12% were in the 18-24 year old group. When age categories are collapsed, the majority of unregistered women fall into the under 30 year old category, with 21%.
3. The majority of unregistered women indicate that they live in small cities or small towns (46%), with large cities following closely at 22%. Most (35%) said that they live in the South, 23% said they live in the Midwest, and the remainder are evenly split at 21% each between the Northeast and West. 31% responded that they have resided in their present community for over 20 years.
4. 55% of the unregistered women are Protestant; 24% are Catholic; and they are most likely to attend religious services every week (39%). These numbers do not vary significantly from those of registered women.
5. Registered women and unregistered women tend to view their careers or jobs the same. 57% consider their occupations "a career position" and 42% consider it "just a job" among the registered; 56%: 43% among the unregistered. However, women who are unregistered to vote are less likely to be working than women who are registered. Please see the table below:

WORK STATUS BY REGISTRATION		
WORK STATUS	REGISTERED	UNREGISTERED
Homemaker	15%	19%
Employed full/part time	53%	49%
Employed full time	41%	38%
Employed part time	12%	11%
Unemployed	4%	4%

SUMMARY INTERPRETATION

This survey has found that while the majority of women do exercise their right to vote, most feel disconnected from the political process. While they have been active in their roles in the community, career, motherhood, and religiosity, they are hesitant to take an active role in politics and elections. This trend is exacerbated among those women who are unregistered to vote. All women show a high degree of pessimism in regard to politicians and the political process. However, the most dangerous combination of sentiments are those who are pessimistic and apathetic: they are the women who are less likely to register to vote. They differ from the registered women in that they indicate they are less interested in current events in politics and government, and they have slightly lower income and education levels than their voting counterparts. They appear to be quite apathetic about playing a role in the political decision making process, however, they believe that "government can and should do more to help average families." While voting is perceived as the necessary extent of involvement for most women, a significantly high number of women feel disenfranchised from the political process, apathetic about the current political environment, and pessimistic about the future.

Lake Research

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL

National Survey of 1,002 Women
February 1996

Summary of Findings

Research Design

- A national random-sample survey of 1,002 American women was conducted between January 24 and 29, 1996. This sample was divided into a subset of women who are registered to vote (614) and women who are not currently registered to vote (388), and in the sample of all women, the data was systematically weighted to reflect the actual proportion American women who are registered to vote. A more detailed description of the methodology is appended.

Summary

- Community integration and knowledge matter most in determining women's political participation. There is a strong relationship between age, education, length of residency, and income with registration.
- Women are cynical and pessimistic, but still want the government to play a more active role in helping families. A number of women who are not registered have chosen not to participate because of their anger at the system.
- Economic issues and crime and violence matter most to women. On a personal level women worry most about money — particularly making ends meet, affordable health insurance, and a secure retirement. Women with children are especially concerned with violence, including juvenile crime and sexual violence on television.

- Education is also a strong concern, particularly for women with children, and it is seen as key part of the solution to the economic and moral crises their children face.
- Women are independent in their voting behavior, and they take their economic and values concerns to the polls when choosing candidates.

Political Participation

- On average, since 1980, women have registered to vote at higher rates than men. According to the U.S. Census, 69% of adult women are currently registered to vote. In general, voter registration rates are highest among college graduates and older women. Registration rates are lowest among full-time homemakers, women under 30, among those who have not been in their communities for many years, and -- to a lesser degree -- among less affluent women:

Highest registration rates		Lowest registration rates	
College graduates	76%	No college education	65%
Over age 50	75%	Under age 30	63%
Older with college	81%	Younger without college	59%
Professionals & managers	78%	Full time homemakers	59%
Older working women	79%	Younger homemakers	54%
In community > 10 yrs.	81%	In community < 2 yrs.	46%
Over \$50,000/year	83%	Less than \$20,000/year	72%

- Among currently registered women, three in four say they are almost certain to vote in next year's presidential election (77%). In the 1992 Presidential election, turnout was 89.9% of registered women turning out to vote. However, in 1994, turnout was much lower. In that year, turnout was just 71% among women.
- The women least likely to be certain they will vote in 1996 are disproportionately women without a college education -- just one in four (26%) of these women say they are "almost certain" to vote. Indeed, women without a college education are among the least reliable voters generally, and, in 1994, women without a college education made up nearly half of those voters who voted in 1992, but failed to vote in 1994.¹ This is particularly true

¹ CNN/Gallup Survey.

among younger non-college women. Indeed, in this study only 73% said they were certain to vote.

- Most women who are not now registered to vote tell us that they have been registered to vote in the past (77%). These who have been registered before are primarily college-educated (86% of college-educated women say they have been registered before) and older (93% of women over age 65 say they have been registered before).

The Correlates of Non-Participation -- Age, Education and Politics

- Perhaps the most striking and consistent finding is how disengaged non-registered voters are. Only 38% of non-registered women say they are "almost certain" to vote, and just 22% say they will probably vote. Considering that 77% of registered women plan to vote in 1996, this is extremely low. Younger non-registered voters are among the least likely to claim they will register before the next election (only 49% will probably register or are almost certain to register, compared to 58% overall) and they pay very little attention to politics (37% pay a little or not very much attention to politics (27% pay a great deal of attention to politics, compared to 36% overall). They also tend to have lower levels of information. It will take more than vans and phonebanks to get these women to vote.
- Age and education make a significant difference in how likely women are to register and vote. Among women who do not now register, younger women are significantly less likely to register than older women. Similarly, there is a strong correlation between education and registration -- only 26% of less educated women are almost certain to register, while 48% of college graduates plan on registering.

Registration likelihood among non-registered women			
Age		Education	
Under 30	28%	H.S. Less	26%
30-39	37%	Post H.S.	42%
40-49	35%	College Grad	48%
50-64	49%		
65 & over	44%		

- Younger and less educated non-registered voters are also less likely to pay a great deal of attention to politics than older non-registered voters. Not surprisingly, those who consider themselves independents (29% pay a great deal of attention to politics) pay less attention to politics than either Democrats (42% pay a great deal of attention to politics) or Republicans (41% pay a great deal of attention to politics).
- Have women who are not registered to vote chosen not to register? Or, have these women simply never had the time or inclination to register? For four in ten, the failure to register is at least partly intentional: 23% say that they do not bother to register because voting doesn't make a difference, and another 17% say that they are so angry at politicians that they do not want to get involved. In real population terms, this means that more than five million American women are so angry at politicians that they prefer not to vote, and another seven million do not vote because they don't think it makes any difference.

The angry white male is therefore not alone. This intentional withdrawal from the political process is strongest among women without a college education (50% say that voting does not make a difference or that they are angry at the process), and half of these (23%) say they have disengaged out of anger.

Political Engagement and Community Integration

- Women who are registered to vote tend to be more engaged with the political process as well as more likely to participate in their own communities than women who are not registered. Overall, among registered women, four in ten say they pay a "great deal" of attention to politics (44%), compared to just 25% of women who are not registered. Similarly, women who are registered to vote are more likely than those who are not registered to be active in a variety of ways -- from volunteering for a community organization to helping the PTA. The gap is greatest when we look at the most immediate participation in the last 5 years -- being integrated into the community increases participation and helps explain why length of residency makes a difference.

In their own lives, women are most likely to participate in civic life by contributing to or volunteering for a community organization or church. Just under half have done each of these things in the past five years, and more than 60% have done these things at some point in their lives. Nearly as many have volunteered at some time in a school or for a PTA (55%). Women are somewhat less likely to have contacted an elected official (38%), joined a neighborhood watch (29%), contributed to a political campaign (22%), written a letter to the editor (19%), or volunteered for a political campaign (17%).

	Have you in the past five years...		Have you ever...	
	Reg'd	Not reg'd	Reg'd	Not reg'd
Made a financial contribution to a community organization.	54%	35%	68%	57%
Volunteered for a church or religious organization.	50%	39%	65%	58%
Volunteered for a community organization.	44%	35%	64%	55%
Volunteered in a school or PTA.	37%	28%	58%	50%
Written a letter or called an elected official to talk about an issue.	33%	23%	40%	32%
Joined a neighborhood crime watch.	23%	17%	30%	28%
Made a financial contribution to a political campaign.	18%	10%	25%	17%
Written a letter to the editor of a local newspaper.	12%	13%	18%	21%
Volunteered for a political candidate or a political party.	10%	10%	18%	17%

- The women most likely to participate in civic life tend to be somewhat more educated and more affluent. Indeed, education has a substantial impact on participation of all kinds. The women who participate the most also tend to be between the ages of 40 and 65. In fact, in a number of areas, participation by senior citizens is lower than participation by those under 30. Women with children are generally more active than women without children, and women with children between the ages of 6 and 18 are most active of all.
- Among women who are not registered to vote, it is the youngest cohort who are the least involved in civic life in anyway. On average, there is a 10-point gap in participation between the youngest age cohort and women generally, and there is a 20-point participation gap between the youngest age cohort and the oldest age cohort. For example, 70% of middle-aged non-registered women have given money to a community organization, compared to only 53% of younger voters have given money to a community organization.
- When younger non-registered women do participate in civic life, they are most likely to have given money to a community organization (53% have given), volunteered for a church or religious organization (50%) or volunteered for a community organization

(51%). Only 10% have volunteered for a political party of candidate and only 15% have written a letter to the editor.

	Selected types of civic participation in the last 5 years			
	Church volunteer	Community volunteer	Letter/call to official	Political contrib.
Under 30	45%	40%	22%	8%
30-39 years old	49%	52%	32%	14%
40-49 years old	58%	54%	41%	20%
50-64 years old	61%	54%	37%	23%
65 and older	41%	44%	27%	19%
Under \$20k	40%	35%	29%	13%
\$20-35,000	54%	42%	31%	13%
\$35-50,000	44%	49%	40%	20%
Over \$50,000	55%	50%	49%	25%
H.S. or less	58%	51%	29%	19%
Some college	61%	62%	39%	18%
College graduate	71%	77%	49%	31%
Children under 6	50%	45%	27%	8%
Children 6-10	51%	52%	31%	11%
Children 11-18	56%	50%	40%	14%
Children over 18	54%	41%	34%	21%
No children	37%	36%	33%	15%

Mood of the Country

- Women in the United States are discouraged and anxious about the economy and about their future. Two in three say the country is moving in the wrong direction (68%), and the same proportion say they are "worried and concerned" about what the next five years will be like (69%). Although women express slightly more hope about their personal futures than about the country's future, a majority are nonetheless pessimistic (54%). Strikingly, in the end, a majority (55%) respond negatively to every question about their general outlook, and only one in ten (11%) are optimistic in all cases.
- Not surprisingly, there is some connection between women's economic anxiety and their disaffection from politics. Women who are not registered to vote are somewhat more pessimistic than women who are registered: 60% of those who are not registered believe the country is on the wrong track and also worry about both the country's next five years and their own five years, compared to 53% of women who are registered. Consistent with this, those who are most pessimistic tend to be less educated and less affluent. They are also more likely to be full-time homemakers or African-American, and they are much more likely to be Protestant than Catholic. The effect, however, of pessimism on participation is not as dramatic as we might have assumed.
- The alienation of the disaffected is often expressed less in their participation than in their choice of alternatives. Those who are most anxious and pessimistic are among the most likely to seek a third-party alternative: 54% of the most pessimistic group are at least somewhat likely to support a third party, compared to just 36% of the most optimistic group:

	Most optimistic*	Somewhat optimistic	Somewhat pessimistic	Most pessimistic
Likely to support third party candidate	36%	50%	61%	54%
Not likely to support third party candidate	51%	37%	31%	27%

* "Most optimistic" are those who believe the country is heading in the right direction, and feel hopeful and confident both about the country's situation and their personal situation during the next five years. "Most pessimistic" believe the country is heading in the wrong direction, and feel worried and concerned both about the country's situation and their personal situation during the next five years.

- We should note that politics is alienating to women across the board. Women, both registered and non-registered, are quite negative about elections and politics, with two in three choosing negative words to describe their feelings (68%), and only one in four positive (26%). Most of all, women are frustrated (17%), disgusted (16%), and disillusioned (14%).

Issues and Concerns -- Money and Violence

- "Women's issues" are America's issues. Women's agenda for the next president centers on three sets of issues: women want the next President to address economic issues (17%), budget and tax issues (16%), and crime and violence (14%). Concern with health care and seniors (10%) ranks next, and is a very strong concern for older women. Younger working women worry about jobs, urban women worry about crime, Republican and professional women worry about budget and the deficit; and older women worry about health care.

Jobs and the economy are the highest priority for...	
Younger women with no college education	21%
Women with full time jobs	22%
Women in service and retail jobs	21%
Independent women	23%
Younger unmarried women	21%
Women in small towns	21%
Women in the northeast	25%
The budget and taxes are the highest priority for...	
College graduates	22%
Women in professional & management jobs	21%
Younger Republican women	25%
Women in smaller cities	24%
Women in the western states	23%
Women who are new to their communities	27%
Women in middle income ranges (\$35-\$50,000)	26%

Crime and violence are the highest priority for...	
Women who work part time	26%
Women who work in clerical jobs	23%
Women who live in large cities	22%
Young African-American women	21%
Health care and seniors' issues are the highest priority for...	
Older women without a college education	33%
Women over age 50	26%
Retired women	29%
Older Democratic women	27%
Widows	30%
Middle-class women (\$20-35,000)	23%

• Women's personal concerns center above all on money. Within this general economic anxiety, however, women's worries fall into three distinct clusters, each generating the strongest concerns among slightly different types of women²:

• Time & Money: "Being able to make ends meet" is a central concern for all but the most affluent women, but it is particularly acute for the most economically marginal women. Not surprisingly, lower-income women express particularly intense worry about simply making ends meet -- three in four of those earning less than \$20,000 a year (75%) say they worry all the time about this. Statistically, worrying about making ends meet is closely connected to worrying about such things as affording college, having enough time with one's family, losing a job, and finding affordable child care:

Being able to make ends meet	56%
Being able to afford a college education...	45%
Having a job that pays well and that has good benefits	45%
Being able to spend enough time with your family	42%
Someone in your family losing their job	34%
Affirmative action costing...a job/not getting a job or promotion because of discrimination	24%
Finding affordable child care you can trust	23%

² This analysis is based on a multivariate statistical technique called "factor analysis," which identifies groups of questions that are correlated with one another.

Note that although, only 23% of women overall worry a lot about finding affordable day care, 43% of those with children under 6 worry about this a great deal.

In general, women are more concerned about how much jobs pay than with the simple fact of having a job. For example, fewer worry about someone in their family losing their job (34% say they worry all the time) than about having a job that pays enough (45%), and no more than one in four or five is worried about job loss as a consequence of affirmative action (between 21% and 26%). At the same time, women's preferences for the country as a whole are clearly focused more on creating more jobs (69%) than on improving the quality of the jobs now existing (24%), confirming that personal circumstances do not always translate directly into policy preferences.

Retirement & Health Care: Concerns about retirement issues and about health care are closely connected, and they are strongest for women between the ages of 40 and 64. Among women in this age group, roughly 60% worry all the time about each of the three issues listed below, compared less than 50% among seniors and among women in their thirties. Young women separate the issues somewhat: they are less likely to worry about their own retirement, but 61% worry about health care and 59% worry about Social Security and Medicare surviving for their generation.

Social Security & Medicare being there when you retire	57%
Having affordable health insurance for your family/ having secure health insurance for your family...	54%
Having a secure retirement	52%

Taxes and Government Waste: Women worry about money both personally and in the aggregate. They worry almost as much about what government wastes (53%) as making ends meet (56%). In an era of stagnating wages and higher cost of living, taxes and government spending become a real hinderance to prosperity.

Taxes eating up too much of your family's income	54%
Government wasting too much of your money	53%
Government spending too much abroad and not enough at home	43%

Women's economic anxiety often takes expression in resentment of money spent on any who are perceived to get help and benefits without deserving it — welfare recipients, immigrants, and foreign countries especially. Other research we have done also shows that women, particularly older and non-college women, are more parochial in their concerns than men. They believe that a significant portion of the budget is spent abroad, and they would like to have that money spent at home to

deal with problems here. Indeed, 55% of older non-college women worry about spending too much abroad.

Republican and conservative women are most likely to translate their anxiety over money into concerns over taxes and government waste, as well as spending too much money abroad. For example, two thirds of Republican women (64%) worry all the time about taxes, compared to about half of Democratic and independent women, and concerns about taxes and government waste rank near the top for these women. Interestingly, women who voted for Perot worry about what the government wastes more than other issues (61%).

In addition to these three distinct sets of economic issues, women in America have profound concerns about violence and values. These issues are closely intertwined for women, and the twine that links them is their children. Women worry deeply about the impact of violence on their children, and about the difficulty of instilling strong values in children who are growing up in a society without morals or moral standards:

Rising juvenile crime and crime rates	54%
Guns in schools threatening our children	54%
Too much sex and violence in the media	51%
Declining family values and moral standards	48%

This close connection between the issues of violence and values is a fairly recent phenomenon. In the early 1980s, when concern with crime first began to build among women, fears were personal: women worried about crime because they feared being a victim. Today, women's fears have much more to do with their children than with themselves. Thus, while more than half (54%) of women say they worry all the time about juvenile crime and guns in the schools, many fewer (39%) worry about themselves being a victim of violence.

The women who are most acutely concerned with this set of issues tend to be somewhat older and somewhat more Republican, although majorities of Democratic women also worry about juvenile crime, guns in schools, and sex and violence in the media. Not surprisingly, mothers worry the most about juvenile crime and violence, and interestingly working mothers worry more than women who are at home with their children. Working mothers also worry a great deal about sex and violence in the media (55%) and declining values (56%) which they see as related issues.

		Percent who worry "all the time"			
		Juvenile crime	Guns in schools	Media sex & violence	Declining values
Democrats	Younger	49%	56%	44%	43%
	Older	63%	61%	61%	52%
Independents	Younger	44%	44%	43%	37%
	Older	44%	47%	51%	40%
Republicans	Younger	62%	62%	56%	62%
	Older	66%	56%	63%	65%
Women with no children		49%	50%	40%	39%
Working mothers		58%	57%	55%	56%
Non-working mothers		41%	48%	44%	35%
Children over age 18		58%	63%	59%	56%

- Education is also an extremely powerful concern, and it is nearly as strong as women's concerns about money and their concerns about violence. Other research we have done shows that women in part worry about education because they perceive it as a major part of the solution to both the economic and moral crises their children face. About half say they worry all the time about "children being able to get a quality education" (48%) and about "being able to afford a college education for yourself or your children" (45%). The quality of children's education is a particularly strong concern for mothers (52% worry all the time), and especially for mothers of young children (58%). On this issue, again, working moms express higher levels of concern (59%) than non-working moms (48%). However, when it comes to affording college for their children, working and non-working moms have equally strong concerns.

The Role of Government -- Still a Role to Play

- Although women in America express high levels of cynicism and anger about the political system, a majority continue to prefer an activist government. Half believe that "government should do more to solve national problems" (49%), that "government should do more to promote traditional values" (51%), and "that government can help people" (52%). Fewer than four in ten take the contrary positions: that "government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals" (39%), that "government should not

favor one set of values over another (37%), or that "government is the problem, not the solution" (32%).

- Men and women differ substantially in their views on the amount of the role government should play. For example, by over 2 to 1, women believe that budget cuts have gone too far (56% to 27%), while men marginally believe they have not gone far enough (44% to 42%). Likewise, women believe that government could help (55 to 44%), while men believe that government is more the problem than the solution (54 to 36%).³
- At the same time, different types of government activism appeal to different types of women. For example, younger women are most likely to want government to do more to solve problems (60%), but it is older women who are most likely to want government to promote traditional values (56%). Younger college-educated are simultaneously the most likely to believe government can do something to help people (64%), and among the least likely to believe the government should promote traditional values (they split evenly on this question, 46% to 48%).
- Women's political partisanship is closely connected with their approach to government. Democrats want government to do more (52%) and believe that government can help people (56%), while Republicans believe government does too much (52%) and are much less certain that government can help people (43% say government is the problem). Republican women, however, split along age lines in their approach to activism: older Republican women are emphatic that government is doing too much (60%), while -- surprisingly -- younger Republicans split evenly. Our other research also shows that Republican women are still much more likely than their male counterparts to think there is a role for government (34% of Republican women believe that government can help, while only 26% of Republican men believe that government can help).

Republicans, on the other hand, believe that government should do more to promote traditional values (58%), and it is Democrats who split evenly on this question (45% to 44%). This split among Democrats falls heavily along age lines, with younger Democratic women believing that government should not promote one set of values (55%) and older Democratic women taking the opposite stand (54%).

Independent women are the most activist of all, believing both that government should do more to solve problems (57%) and that government can help people (58%), and that government should do more to promote traditional values (54%).

- A generally activist approach to government is reflected in women's approaches to a range of policy issues. On the economy, for example, women would rather have government work on "increasing jobs, wages and benefits" (51%) than on "creating an environment

³lake Research and the Tarrance Group for U.S. News and World Report, October 1995.

where businesses can thrive" (42%) -- perhaps implying a preference for policies that pro-actively spur the economy over policies that reduce intervention.

- Non-registered women, especially, have a preference for policies that pro-actively spur the economy over policies that reduce intervention. Almost six out of every ten (58%) non-registered women would rather have government work on "increasing jobs, wages and benefits" while only four in ten would prefer "creating an environment where business can thrive (42%).
- Women also prefer the carrot approach to public policy over the stick -- even if it means spending more money. For example, women's approach to crime is to deal with jobs and education (52%), rather than get tougher on criminals (34%), and their answer to welfare reform has more to do with child care and job training (54%) than with eliminating abuse of the system (33%). This is equally true of registered and non-registered women.
- In the budget debate, women are far more concerned than men with protecting the vulnerable. By a margin of more than two to one, women prefer balancing the budget gradually "so that we don't hurt people" (61%) over balancing the budget quickly so that "our children are not burdened with debt" (28%).
- While taxes are a concern to women, their approach is populist. By a narrow margin, they prefer "making the wealthy and big business pay their fair share" (49%) over "reducing the tax burden on the middle class" (43%). Women who are registered to vote are in fact somewhat more populist (they prefer making the wealthy pay their fair share by a 10-point margin) than women who are not (split evenly). Women who are independent in their partisanship are the strongest proponents of a middle class tax cut (59% tax cut to the middle class, 31% wealthy pay their fair share). In addition, working women tend to lean more populist in their priorities (51% wealthy pay fair share, 41% middle class tax cut), though homemakers would prefer a tax cut (52% middle class tax cut, 41% wealthy pay their fair share).

Choosing Political Candidates

- Women act independently when they go to the polls. Only slightly over a third (37%) usually vote for the same candidates as their spouse or partners. In fact, on average only 47% of married women vote like their spouses.
- In general, women across the board want leadership (46%) more than compromise (35%) from their political leaders. This is particularly true for older women, Republican women, and women without a college education.
- In choosing which candidate to support in an election, women maintain that political party is nearly irrelevant: just 3% say that this is the most important criteria. Far more

important, according to the women we interviewed, are the candidate's positions on specific issues (29%), the candidate's integrity (27%), and the candidate's experience (24%). However, we should note that on election day, a majority of women who identify with a party support the nominees of their party.

- A third of women say that issues are most important in choosing a candidate. However, just one in five registered voters say that they have ever chosen a candidate on the basis of a single issue (20%), and even fewer women who are not registered would make their choice in this way (12%).
- In general, the issues women choose as the ones most likely to drive their vote if ever they made a choice based on a single issue mirror the ones they identify as the most important generally, topped by the economy (18%), budget and tax issues (15%), and crime and violence (10%). Broader issue perspectives matter most and, not surprisingly, women take their broad issue concerns to the polls. Most of all, women say that candidates' position on "economic security for American families" is what matters (36% say this is one of the most important things they consider), followed by "how tough the candidate will be on crime" (32%) and the "candidate's approach to tax and spending issues" (27%).
- In general, non-registered women claim that a candidate's positions on the issues are less important to them than do registered women. However, "a commitment to family economic security" (52%) and "toughness on crime" (50%) is clearly what matters to non-registered women. For these economically marginal women, these themes help motivate their turnout as well.
- Although abortion is often assumed to be a single issue that is likely to drive women's votes, just 5% name this as the issue they would use if they had to choose who to support based on only one issue, and just one in five (20%) say that candidates' positions on abortion is one of the most important things they consider. Registered voters are more likely to say abortion is important (24%) than women who are not registered to vote (12%).

Across the board, about a quarter of women say abortion is important to them. Abortion is most likely to drive a pro-choice vote among with college graduates, younger college-educated women, mothers of teenagers and liberal Democrats. Abortion is most likely to drive the vote in the other direction among conservatives, younger Republicans, religious women, women in rural areas and lower income women.

Women who tend to be pro-choice and who are more likely to consider a candidate's position on abortion.			Women who tend to favor abortion restrictions <u>and</u> who are more likely to consider a candidate's position on abortion.		
	% imp't	% p-choice		% imp't	% restrict
College graduates	23%	58%	Younger Republicans	26%	53%
Younger college	24%	63%	Conservatives	27%	54%
Mothers of teenagers	28%	58%	Women in rural areas	24%	55%
(Liberals and Democrats are more pro-choice than average, but not especially likely to consider a candidate's position on abortion.)			Low-income women	25%	55%
			Go to church weekly	26%	54%

*"% imp't" is the percent who say a candidate's stand on abortion is one of the most important things to consider.
"% p-choice" is the percent who either think abortion should be generally available or available with few restrictions.
"% restrict" is the percent who either think abortion should be legal only in extreme circumstances or that it should
be illegal.*

The Role of Gender

- Just one in three women say that whether or not a candidate is a woman is an important factor in their vote (35%, including just 5% who say this is one of the most important things to consider), and women say by a wide margin that party affiliation is more important than gender (46% to 16%). However, a majority of women say that it is at least somewhat important to them that more women be elected to public office (52%) -- including one in five who say it is very important (19%). Younger women and Democratic women believe in this most strongly.
- At the same time, women are not optimistic about the prospects for a woman President or Vice President. In fact, women are more likely to think an African-American or a member of another ethnic minority will be elected to high office than a woman will be. For example, 50% believe a woman is likely to be President compared to 62% who think an African American is likely.
- Half the women interviewed say that a Presidential candidate's spouse influences who they support at least somewhat (51%). Women in their 50s and early 60s are most likely to be influenced by a candidate's spouse (60%), as are homemakers (58%), those who consider themselves conservative Republicans (59%), and those who attend church every week (57%). In addition, southern women are somewhat more likely to consider a candidate's spouse (55%) than women elsewhere in the country.

Although younger women are most likely to believe that it is important to elect more women to public office, they are also least likely to believe that a woman will be president in the next twelve years. Fully half of women under age 30 (46%) say that it is not at all likely a woman will soon be president, compared to just a third (33%) of women over 65, and 30% of seniors say it is at least very likely that a woman will be president in the next 12 years, compared to just 18% of women under 30.

	At Least Somewhat Likely	Not likely
How likely is it a woman will be...		
President	50%	40%
Vice President	67%	25%
How likely is it an African-American will be...		
President	62%	29%
Vice President	73%	28%