Chron

1-9-97

Todd -

Do you know who et al is?

B. Reed

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-9-97

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ADVERTISEMENT

Where We Stand

By Albert Shanker, President
American Federation of Teachers

Ebonics

Most African-American parents in Oakland, California, were probably taken aback by a recent announcement. In December, the school board proclaimed that the native language of African-American children—and by extension that of their parents—was not English but Ebonics. In fact, there is a dispute among linguists, those who make a scientific study of languages, as to whether African-American speech patterns constitute a language, a dialect or a kind of American slang. This is not an issue nonlinguists are qualified to decide, but the Oakland board rushed boldly in to dub Ebonics a language.

This decision gave rise to many questions and much criticism. Did the board intend that Ebonics be taught along with English—the way Hispanic students, for example, often continue studying Spanish as they learn English? Did they intend it to be an alternative to mainstream English? Would teachers who were not proficient in Ebonics have to go to school to learn it—or risk losing their jobs?

The controversy also gives us something to be hopeful about.

Board members made it clear that they did not intend to set up a program in which kids would study Ebonics. On the contrary, they recognized that people who want to be successful in American society must be proficient in mainstream English. Many of Oakland's African-American students are not, and they are at a disadvantage when they try to get jobs or further education. The board deserves high marks for recognizing a serious problem. However, declaring Ebonics a language will not help them solve it.

As the Oakland board is using it, Ebonics is basically a self-esteem strategy, a pat on the head for African-American students. If black English is a *real* language, and not just a dialect or slang, then students are not wrong when they use it in class, just different. This is supposed to help kids feel better about themselves, but it will make raising their proficiency in mainstream English harder, not easier.

According to a *New York Times* article (December 30, 1996), the school board's resolution calls Ebonics "genetically based" and it makes "maintaining the legitimacy and richness of Ebonics" a "purpose" of the program. These phrases reveal the contradictions inherent in the Oakland policy. How can teachers juggle "maintaining the legitimacy of Ebonics" with teaching children not to use it? How will they tread the fine line between respecting a real language that is in their students' genes and correcting them because this language is a ticket to failure in the wider world? Teachers who are put in this bind will be under great pressure to be soft. And the more you soften things, the more standards dissolve. When nothing is really wrong, pretty soon there is nothing to teach because what the kid comes to school with in the first place is fine.

And the more you soften things, the more you open the door to kids' asking why they should bother with English: "I hear that what I speak is Ebonics and it's a real language. So why are you pestering me to talk white?" Instead of deciding that it is important to become proficient in mainstream English, some African-American students will decide that it is unnecessary or even disloyal—just the way some African-American youngsters have decided that working hard in school is "acting white."

The Oakland school board has a worthwhile goal. Its members should be tough enough to pursue it without introducing an issue that will only make it harder for them to succeed.

However, the Ebonics controversy also gives us something to be optimistic about. We have not moved nearly as far as we hoped we would

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be tough enough to pursue it without introducing an issue that will only make it harder for them to succeed.

However, the Ebonics controversy also gives us something to be optimistic about. We have not moved nearly as far as we hoped we would in the 1960s when Martin Luther King talked about achieving a color-blind society. There is discord and anger between black and white Americans. African-Americans are suspicious—often with good reason—of white Americans and particularly those in power. Nevertheless, the people who were loudest in their criticism of the Oakland scheme, and most categorical in their demands that African-American children learn standard English, were African-Americans. Jesse Jackson and Maya Angelou spoke passionately about making sure that black children master the common tongue. The NAACP concurred. On a TV show that I watched, black parents and teachers joined in saying that the Oakland policy is a mistake and even an insult to black children. This is a hopeful sign. Ten, fifteen years ago, few would have dared to challenge people who said that African-American English is a separate tongue. Now, these people have to defend themselves against black parents.

There is another interesting and hopeful feature of this controversy. Right now, we are seeing a well-publicized movement—in charter schools and elsewhere—to reject the idea of common educational standards. Here, we have black teachers and parents rejecting what they perceive as a special standard and insisting that their children learn what all youngsters need to be part of the larger society. This is a triumph of common sense over ideology. We should all be glad—and consider it a good omen for 1997.

Mr. Shanker's comments appear every Sunday, under the auspices of the American Federation of Teachers. Reader correspondence is invited. Address your letters to Mr. Shanker at AFT, 555 New Jersey Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20001. © 1997 by Albert Shanker. Visit AFT's web site (http://www.aft.org).

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1216 Fifth Avenue

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January 8, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM RAHM EMANUEL

SUBJECT RESEARCH

I thought you might find the attached interesting.

GREENBERG RESEARCH INC

515 SECOND STREET NE
WASHINGTON DC 20002
TEL 202 547-5200
FAX 202 544-7020

DATE: January 6, 1997

TO: Rahm Emanuel

FROM: Stan Greenberg

RE: INTERPRETING 1996
The National DNC Post-Election Survey

The President won re-election decisively in November -- sweeping the electoral college and making important gains compared to 1992. He achieved nearly a majority of the vote in a 3-way contest. While the Democrats failed to regain the Congress, they too made gains and achieved parity with the Republicans after the disastrous losses of 1994. At the time of the election, the Democrats had a 6 point advantage on party identification.

There is a temptation to highlight the President's win and contrast it with the failure of Democrats to retake the Congress. But that will not prove particularly productive as one plans for the next two and four years. Neither party is dominant in the country and neither has won the public's confidence. Both the President and congressional Democrats fell short in this election and both face very difficult political challenges. It is important, therefore, to learn as much as possible from the election of 1996.

This survey of 1000 respondents was conducted immediately after the election -- indeed, beginning election night and continuing through the following weekend. Interviews were held only with those who voted in the 1996 election.

The Halo Effect

The academic literature has reported widely on the "halo effect" -- the tendency of people to overstate their voting for the winning candidate and understate it for the loser. Nearly all of America, for example, remembers voting for John Kennedy.

But there was no halo effect in 1996. We conducted five national post-election surveys and in every one, the President's vote was under-reported by 3 to 5 points. People did not finish the 1996 election proud and excited about their vote. That likely affected turnout, the President's

margin and the outcome of the congressional elections, and it will affect our strength in the months ahead.

The President finished the election with a 55 percent job approval rating -- down from the very high scores of recent months. His thermometer rating was a modest 52 degrees -- again, down at the end of the campaign and about his lowest score of the year. On election day, Bill Clinton was no more popular than Bob Dole which may help account for why Dole got all of the undecided vote.

The final two weeks of the campaign were dominated by the Dole/Perot attacks on the President and the heavy reporting of White House-Democratic fundraising problems. They took a toll. About half the electorate (52 percent) concluded that the President had a "character problem" and half (47 percent) expressed "serious" doubts about "illegal fundraising" by the Democrats. Among those voters who made up their minds very late, the President lost to Dole by 11 points and the congressional Democrats lost to the Republicans by 17.

The biggest drop-off in late support for the president and the congressional Democrats came among seniors and older non-college voters. These were the voters most concerned with the Democrats's ethics problems. For example, 43 percent of seniors expressed "very serious" doubts about Democratic fundraising -- nearly 20 points higher than for all other age groups. It is likely that the ethics issues nearly wiped out the Democrats's advantage among seniors produced earlier by the Medicare battle.

In the end, the President got 49.2 percent of the vote -- identical to the Clinton preference in our last survey and identical to the Clinton preference in the final national network/newspaper surveys (average of nine surveys). That compares to the 51.5 percent of the vote the President was getting in our October surveys for the DNC. The President likely lost about 2 percentage points in the closing weeks. Since 87 percent of Clinton voters also voted Democratic for Congress, one can easily imagine that the drop-off had consequences down the ticket.

Turnout: Falling Short

Turnout has consequences. In the 1994 off-year elections, conservatives were energized and Democrats demoralized which was reflected in the turnout and vote. The Democrats regained their footing in 1996 in part because of who voted. The *1994 non-voters* -- the 1992 voters who stayed home in 1994 -- comprised nearly 20 percent of this year's electorate, and they voted heavily Democratic. The President carried the 1994-non-voters by 25 points and the congressional Democrats carried them by 19 points. The presidential surge in turnout was

absolutely critical to the President's strong win and to the congressional Democrats achieving parity.

But it was not enough. Overall turnout in 1996 was at a historically low level. Many 1992 voters stayed home. We know from the national survey conducted for the Campaign for America's Future, that these non-voters would have supported the President by 32 points and congressional Democrats by 17. Had the turnout matched the 1992 level -- 5 points higher -- Democrats would have won the House and the President would have achieve a majority of the vote.

These fluctuations have dangerous implications for 1998. If turnout falls back to the 1994 level, Democratically-inclined voters will likely fall out of the electorate. Democratic plans for the next two years must include serious thinking about how to energize the Democratic electorate. This is not so much about turnout of minority, urban or union voters. This is about making politics matter for people so they care enough to vote.

Party Images: Republican Troubles and Democratic Opportunity

We should not forget as we plan for the challenges ahead that the Republicans finished this election in some trouble. Presidentially, they have received about 40 percent of the vote in the last two national elections. Young voters show no interest in them; they are in trouble with women, even with more traditional women, such as housewives and southern white women.

After the 1996 election, according to this survey, they trailed the Democrats on ideas; they trailed on hope and the future; they trailed on advocacy for ordinary people. On the issues facing the country, there was almost no issue on which the Republicans had a substantial advantage over the Democrats.

- On the core issues of the last two years, the Democrats emerged with a 40 point advantage on the environment, a 22 point advantage on education and a 20 point advantage on Medicare.

- On election day, the Democrats were trusted more than the Republicans on handling the economy (45 to 41 percent). No doubt the President's advantage was even stronger.

- The traditional Republican issue advantages were neutralized in this election. The Republicans enjoyed only a 3 point advantage on crime, 5 on the federal deficit, 5 on reforming welfare, 9 on drugs and 10 on taxes. In

28-S

the past, the Republicans would have enjoyed 20 to 30 point advantages on these issues. Again, the President was no doubt in an even stronger position, but the phenomenon of neutralization was evident for all Democrats.

- The only issue on which the Republicans enjoyed a real party advantage was illegal immigration (18 points).

The Democrats are poised to open up new areas of advantage on family and community -- contrasted with the Republicans's concentration on simple individualism. Democrats and Republicans are now equally trusted on *parents and families being strong* (39 to 39 percent). After decades of weakness of "family values," Democrats are in position to enter a new debate about how to strengthen families in this new period. Democrats have an overwhelming 23-point advantage (47 to 24 percent) on *achieving a good society where people get along and there's a sense of community.* That suggests an even more powerful contrast with a conservative-Republicanism that cannot think beyond the individual.

The Democrats have very strong advantages on both challenges -- family and community -- in the East, among all single voters but particularly single women; also in urban areas and among union households and white mainline Protestants. Among younger and suburban voters and married women, Democrats are seen as strong on building community but not so strong on building strong families.

Party Images: Democratic Troubles

While the Democrats finished the election with a 6-point advantage on party identification, that was not reflected in the feelings toward the two parties. The 1996 election essentially left the parties at parity, with the Democrats sporting only a .6 point advantage. (That compares with a 6 point Democratic advantage after the 1992 election and an 8 point Republican advantage after the 1994 election.)

The Democrats, in addition, are in trouble on advocacy for ordinary people and on honesty and trust.

The Democrats scored only 50.2 on the attribute, *on your side* (41 percent true and 37 percent untrue) and only 48.7 on *cares about you* (39 percent true and 37 percent untrue.) Those are depressing scores for a so-called party of the average person. The Democrats highest score this year was on being future-oriented (57.5) which is not surprising given the repeated attention

to that bridge to the 21st century. But the 1996 campaign did not nothing to advance the Democrats's identity as an advocate for people. The Democrats made no gains on either attribute and on election day, had only a 3 point advantage over the Republicans on advocacy for people. That may well be a contributing factor in the low voter turnout of Democratically-inclined voters.

The Democrats's lowest scores were on *honesty* and *trust* -- no doubt worsened by the Democratic fundraising problems. The Democrats scored 5 degrees weaker than the Republicans on both attributes. Indeed, this was the area of biggest change in the campaign's final weeks. In that period, the Republicans picked-up 4 points on trust and 7 on honesty. The national publicity on Democratic fundraising clearly weakened the position of the Democrats in the home stretch.

The Rehabilitation of the Republican Congress

After a disastrous start and a disastrous budget fight, the Republican Congress was able to rehabilitate itself. The overall thermometer rating for the Republican Congress was 53 degrees (45 percent warm and only 36 percent cool). That represents a major accomplishment, given the public's negative views of the Congress in recent decades and the Republicans's troubles as recently as March.

In the end, only 39 percent described the Congress as going "too far" -- cutting Medicare, education and environmental protection, even closing the government. A majority of the electorate described the Congress as *successful* in cutting government spending, the deficit and welfare (26 percent) or as *balanced* -- cutting spending and welfare and also raising the minimum wage and health insurance. Clearly, the passage of major legislation in August allowed the Congress to rehabilitate itself and reduce the sense of danger. Two-thirds of the wavering Republican voters (who seriously considered voting Democratic) concluded that the Republican Congress was successful or balanced.

Why the Democrats Failed to Win the Congress

With Republicans winning 25 seats with less than 51 percent of the vote, there are obviously a lot of plausible explanations for the Democrats falling short 1996 -- including the Republicans's decisive advantage in funding. Perhaps had the Democrats in Congress neutralized the social and fiscal issues as well as the President, they might have won control, though as we pointed out earlier, the Democrats had nearly neutralized a range of traditional Republican issues, including crime, welfare and the budget deficit.

This survey suggests a series of factors that weakened the Democrats in 1996 -- almost any one of which could have produced the 10 additional seats necessary for Democratic control.

- **The rehabilitation of the Republican Congress.** The passage of the minimum wage, health care and welfare reform substantially improved the image of the Republican Congress. By election day, most voters had a positive view of the Congress.

- **The Democratic fundraising controversy.** The two weeks of negative publicity on Democratic fundraising seriously hurt the image of the Democratic Party, particularly on the key attributes of *trust* and *honesty*. Republicans made major gains on these issues, and late deciders broke heavily for the Republicans.

- **The Clinton slippage.** The President's position weakened at the end of the race, with his vote dropping from 51.5 to 49.2 percent in the final stretch. That 2 point slippage no doubt affected the down-ticket races, since 87 percent of Clinton voters also voted Democratic for Congress.

- **The drop-off in voter turnout.** The election campaign produced an historically low turnout, thus failing to energize a lot of voters who participated in 1992. The 1992 non-voters would have voted overwhelmingly Democratic for Congress.

- **The faltering support among seniors.** As the Medicare debate and worries about the Republican Congress faded, seniors became less firmly Democratic. More than any other group of voters, seniors responded to the ethics charges against the President and to the charges about illegal Democratic fundraising. Slippage among seniors hurt both the President and the Democrats in Congress.

The President's Mandate

As one looks ahead, it is important to keep in mind what voters were saying when they cast their votes in November. In 1992, people voted for Clinton because he would get the economy moving, balance the budget, and reform health care and welfare. Those priorities, in fact, set the agenda of the next four years. In 1996, people voted for Bill Clinton, first and

foremost, because of his commitment to education, Medicare, health care and the environment. A quite striking 60 percent of Clinton voters focused on Clinton's defense and articulation of these domestic social programs.[1]

The dominant reason for supporting Clinton was *education* which, for the first time in a national election, emerged as a primary reason for electing a president. That ought to figure centrally as one define's the public rationale for the new Clinton administration. As we shall see later, however, it is not clear that our education agenda is as bold as the public's focus on education.

The next most important cluster of reasons was *Medicare and health care reform.* People are not looking for the re-introduction of the Clinton health care plan, but they are looking for a major focus on health care.

[1] Please note that the focus here is on Clinton voters only -- the voters who gave the Clinton administration a mandate for a second term.

REASONS WHY VOTED FOR BILL CLINTON (Percent -- multiple responses allowed)	
Domestic Programs	**60**
His support for education	30
His support for Medicare and seniors	20
His support for health care reform	19
His support for the environment	10
Moderation	**28**
His support for welfare reform	11
His support for a balanced budget and lower spending	11
He's a moderate -- not too liberal or conservative	9
The Economy	**26**
His vision for the future	15
His approach to the economy	13
Family Values	**14**
His support for family values and parents	14
Other Issues	
He stands up to the Gingrich Congress	11
His support for tax cuts for the middle class	11
His positive spirit and hopefulness	11

I have no doubt that the moderate positions the President has taken on the balanced budget, welfare, crime and other issues gave many voters permission to support him on education and health care. The social-conservative issues were, in fact, neutralized. Nonetheless, for the Clinton voters, the evidence of moderation was not the primary motivation for their Clinton vote. Overall, about a quarter of Clinton voters (28 percent) said their vote was rooted in moderation -- about 10 percent each mentioning welfare and the balanced budget. But it is important to remember these reasons pale before the larger of picture of Bill Clinton expressing his commitments on education, Medicare, health care and the environment.

The centrality of Clinton's defense of domestic social programs is evident even for the groups on the margins of the Clinton coalition:

- **Wavering Clinton voters** (who considered voting for Bob Dole): 58 percent cited his support for domestic efforts and only 28 percent his moderate posture on the issues.

- **Moderate and Conservative Democrats**: they focused on domestic programs over moderation by two-to-one (56 to 28 percent). They focused strongly on Clinton's commitment Medicare and family values and parents.

- **Reagan Democrats** (Democrats who voted for Reagan): they, like moderate Democrats generally, focused on Clinton's commitment to domestic programs (58 to 28 percent).

- **New Clinton voters** (for Clinton in 1996 but not 1992): they too gave primacy to domestic programs (61 percent), particularly education (33 percent); however, they were somewhat more likely than other voters to mention moderation (35 percent), with particular attention to welfare and tax cuts.

Again, to double check this finding, we asked voters what *one* thing "made you most *comfortable* with the idea of voting for Bill Clinton." As with the earlier question, the largest bloc (28 percent) focused on his protecting Medicare, education and the environment. About half that number said that his being a moderate "who won't follow a strict liberal or conservative line" made them comfortable with voting for Clinton. Only 10 percent mentioned his balancing the budget and cutting spending.

Priorities for the New Administration

To be sure, balancing the budget should be a primary goal of the second-term Clinton administration. As people look ahead, 62 percent say balancing the budget by the year 2002 should be one of the top few priorities of the administration. For the electorate as a whole, that is the top priority for the next few years.

Protecting Medicare **against major cuts is the second most important goal for all voters (51 percent) and** ***the most important goal for Clinton voters*** (62 percent, versus 56 percent for achieving a balanced budget). Balancing the budget is a high priority overall mainly because Dole voters believe it is so important (70 percent, compared to 38 percent for Medicare). Perot voters and new 1996-Clinton voters, in fact, place an equal importance on protecting Medicare and balancing the budget.

Please note that the main priority is protecting Medicare against major cuts (51 percent), not "establishing a bi-partisan commission to recommend changes in Medicare" (41 percent). There has been no predicate laid for "entitlement reform" that would be seen as cutting Medicare. In fact, among Clinton voters and moderate Democrats, protecting Medicare is overwhelmingly more important. Only among Dole supporters does entitlement reform equal Medicare in importance. People elected Bill Clinton to protect Medicare.

Health care reform remains a very high priority for the public, even though the campaign did not seriously address the issue. Voters put almost as high a priority on enacting "major health care reform to control costs and ensure coverage for all" (48 percent), as it does on protecting Medicare (51 percent). The high priority on health care is particularly evident for the new Clinton voters. There is almost as much support for the administration focusing its attention on guaranteeing "that every child under age 18 has health insurance" (45 percent), particularly among Clinton voters and moderate Democrats.

The campaign did elevate the welfare issue, including the need to make the right kinds of changes. A very sizeable 46 percent of the public believes changing the welfare law to provide more job training and more support for children should be one of the top few priorities. This is a particularly important priority for Clinton voters.

It is not clear that the administration has an education agenda commensurate with the public's attention to the issue. Education was the single biggest reason to vote for Bill Clinton, yet only 37 percent say education tax cuts should be one of the top few priorities; only 30 percent place a high priority on "greatly expanding skill training and education for every worker through-

out their work life." The administration is going to have to make the case for its education agenda so people understand how it matters to their lives.

At the time of the election, campaign finance reform emerged as a middle-level priority (37 percent) -- though as high as the tax cuts for education that figured so centrally in the campaign. With the attention to the issue since the election, reform may have moved further up the priority ladder.

THE AGENDA: 1997
(Percent one of top few priorities)

Agenda Items	All Voters	Clinton Voters	Conserva-tive Democrats	New Clinton Voters	Dole Voters	Perot Voters
Achieving budget balance	62	56	59	60	70	59
Protecting Medicare	51	62	67	60	38	55
Health insurance for all	48	57	61	61	36	63
Change welfare	46	55	59	57	38	33
Health insurance - all kids	45	58	61	61	31	38
Bipartisan Medicare changes	41	41	42	40	43	29
Reform campaign finance	37	33	29	31	42	38
Tax cuts for education	37	45	49	40	29	34
Worker skill training	30	40	47	38	20	24
Family leave - school	20	25	34	17	15	21
Curfews	16	18	26	18	14	15

The Paradoxes of Moderation

Moderate and conservative Democrats are a very important priority for Democrats and the Clinton administration. While these voters went overwhelmingly for Clinton this year (87 to 9 percent), in the past, they have splintered in favor of Republican presidential candidates (almost a third voted for Ronald Reagan); they have proved to be the critical swing bloc in the South and in many working class suburbs.

The moderate and Conservative Democrats, we should understand, are overwhelmingly downscale and older: 77 percent are non-college graduates; almost half are over 50; 44 percent

are non-college women. (Liberal Democrats tend to be younger and baby-boomers and are better educated.)

These moderate Democrats are more concerned than other voters with the break down of values and the growth of welfare. On welfare, in particular, many of these voters prefer what they see from the Republican side. Family values and welfare were important to their Clinton vote in 1996.

But these voters are deeply committed to preserving domestic security programs; indeed, more so than liberals who are focused more on education and empowerment. The focus on fiscal constraint and entitlement reform is likely to clash with the goals of the most conservative Democrats. For them, Medicare and education were equally important factors in voting for Clinton; for liberal Democrats, education was twice as important as Medicare. In any case, these so-called moderates did not flag Clinton's moderation as a primary reason for voting for him.

In looking ahead, moderate Democrats place the highest priority on protecting Medicare, well above achieving a balanced budget by the year 2002 and well-above entitlement reform. Moderate Democrats place a higher priority on health care reform than any other group of voters, including liberals.

The Primacy of Downscale Voters

The main dynamic in the election of 1996 was produced by downscale, non-college voters. They gave Bill Clinton his near majority and allowed congressional Democrats to make important gains. They will be the critical bloc in 1998.

- **The new Clinton voters** (1996 but not 1992), the voters who allowed Clinton to increase his vote from 43 to 49 percent of the electorate, are overwhelmingly downscale: 67 percent are non-college graduates.

- **The 1994 non-voters** who voted this year and enabled Democrats and Clinton to make important gains: 64 percent are non-college graduates.

- **The wavering Clinton voters** who considered voting for Dole and thus constitute the weakest members of the new coalition: 62 percent are non-college graduates.

- **The Clinton doubters** who voted for Clinton but doubt his character and who may me inclined to pull away: 74 percent are non-college graduates.

The non-college electorate remains the primary audience as one thinks about fashioning strategies for the future.

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David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President

January 6, 1997

JIM DORSKIND:
Please coordinate the reply.

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20020

Dear President Clinton:

The current level of interest in the country in campaign finance reform is unprecedented. I am aware of your thoughtful concern over many years about this problem. By the same token, Carnegie Corporation of New York has made a variety of grants during my presidency to explore substantial improvements on the present system. It seems to me that the time is ripe for presidential leadership on this issue, approaching it on a bi-partisan or non-partisan basis for the long term. This would exemplify the bully pulpit function of the presidency with vision and courage in the tradition of Theodore Roosevelt. Some of his valuable agenda items only came to pass years later; his impact on the country was powerful and enduring.

One potentially useful approach would be to convene a set of independent experts who have worked the problem in depth. This would give you a full array of serious proposals. You could then go beyond current political constraints or partisan advantage, simply asking what would be good for the country in the long term. Even if the legislative process restricts short-term action, it is singularly appropriate for the President of the United States to stimulate the American people to consider fundamental improvements for the long term.

To assist you in considering this possibility, I enclose two items:

1) A memo to me from our staff member who has taken the lead in working this problem, Geraldine Mannion.

2) The names and addresses of independent experts considered by our staff to be valuable resources on the topic.

If you were to convene a group of independent experts, it might be useful to add some wise generalists of impeccable integrity such as John Gardner, Doris Kearns Goodwin, Newton Minow, and Elliot Richardson as well.

In any event, dynamic, far-sighted presidential leadership on the deeply troublesome issue of money and politics could be of great service to our country.

With every good wish for the coming year,

As always,

Jack

enclosure

Special Projects

Campaign Finance Reform

Within its concern for strengthening American democracy, the Corporation has addressed the decline in rates of voter participation and the increase in public cynicism and distrust of government. These issues sharply intersect in campaign finance. An exit poll commissioned by the A.F.L.-C.I.O a month before the 1996 election revealed that voters who had made up their minds favored Democratic candidates for the House of Representatives by 51 to 47 percent. In the final weeks of the campaign, the front-page stories on fund-raising on behalf of President Clinton affected voters who had not yet decided: voters who made up their minds in the last three days favored the Republicans 55 to 41 percent.

While such exit polls are not definitive, the media's reports of the campaign financing excesses in 1996 have been cited by numerous analysts and commentators as a major factor in contributing to the lowest voter turnout in the United States since 1924—48.5 percent of eligible voters. The Center for Responsive Politics—which provides objective data and analyses to journalists, educators, activists, and the public about the role of money in federal politics—estimates conservatively that $1.8 billion was spent in the 1996 elections. It finds that the public is growing increasingly cynical about the amount of time candidates spend in raising money and what they perceive it buys—to wit, increased access to elected officials by contributors with special interests.

On the positive side, an August 1996 survey of 800 people by the Mellman Group for the Center for Responsive Politics found the highest levels of support for the public financing of election campaigns since Watergate. More than 70 percent of those surveyed expressed a desire to change the way political campaigns are financed. Among reform options, nearly 70 percent favored eliminating private campaign contributions, setting spending limits, and providing to candidates who meet a minimum threshold of public support a fixed, equal amount of public funds. The proposal used in the poll was modeled after the Maine ballot initiative for public financing of candidates for state office, which was approved by 56 percent of Maine voters in November. The poll's 40-point margin for support for public financing was bipartisan and demographically diverse. Of particular note, respondents believed that special interest contributions affect the voting behavior of not only Congress in general (87 percent), but also their own representative (81 percent), a marked departure from past surveys. Other research corroborates these findings.

The Problem

Despite increased public interest in campaign finance reform at the state and local levels—and expectations that some kind of campaign finance reform will be introduced at the federal level in 1997—real reform will take time. There is no quick fix for fundamentally altering the long-standing relationship between private wealth and politics. It is therefore important to focus on

the principles upon which real reform should be based, the problems that must be addressed, and the kinds of proposals that might solve these problems.

The Center for Responsive Politics believes that reform must be based on two principles: **political equality**—wealth, or lack of it, should not determine a person's opportunity or influence within the political process; and **political accountability**—government must be responsible to the people, represent their concerns, and act in their interests; the public interest takes precedence over narrow private interests. Among the problems that have to be addressed are the **absence of political equality** and the **absence of political accountability**. Some data may be of interest:

- Studies of the U.S. adult population, voters and nonvoters, show that 94 to 96 percent did not make any political contributions of $200 or more in federal, state, or local elections in 1980, 1984, and 1992

- Fewer than 900,000 people gave direct individual contributions of $200 or more to congressional candidates in 1991-92, yet such contributions comprised well over half of the total campaign contributions by individuals in those two years

- The residents of one Zip-code area—10021—on New York City's Upper East Side contributed more money to congressional campaigns during the 1994 elections than did all the residents of each of twenty-four states

- In the United States, people with family incomes over $75,000 are 100 times more likely to contribute to local, state, or federal candidates than those with family incomes below $15,000.

Former U.S. Representative Mel Levine (D-CA) explains public accountability this way: "On the tax side, the appropriations side, the subsidy side, and the expenditures side, decisions are clearly weighted and influenced...by who has contributed to candidates."

- The richest 5 percent of American families paid $91 billion less in federal taxes in 1992 than they did in 1977; the other 95 percent of American families paid $15 billion more

- U.S. corporations' overall share of all federal taxes combined dropped from 39 percent during the 1950s to 17 percent during the 1980s

- The size of the U.S. military budget, six years after the end of the Cold War, overshadowed federal spending on education by more than 7 to 1, housing by more than 9 to 1, and environmental protection by more than 40 to 1

- Of the 1,179 political action committees that gave $20,000 or more to members of Congress during the 1993-94 election cycle, none represented the millions of Americans who are poor, or who are parents of public school children, or who are victimized by toxic dumping or agri-chemical contamination, or who are unemployed or under-employed, etc.

The sources of campaign funds for candidates are virtually the same at the federal and state levels: individuals contributing $200 or more (34 percent); political action committees (24 percent); individuals who give less than $200 (20 percent); candidates (14 percent); and other (8 percent). This does not include the $87.3 million in "soft money" that the two major parties raised in 1994, which came mostly from political action committees and wealthy individuals. In some states, individuals, political action committees, and parties can give unlimited amounts to state candidates, and some states allow direct contributions from corporations and labor unions. In both state and federal contests, candidates can contribute as much as they wish to their own campaigns. Nor are there any limits on "independent expenditures" by individuals and groups acting independently of candidates.

Buckley v. *Valeo*

When considering campaign finance reform, one has to take into account the U.S. Supreme Court's 1976 decision in *Buckley* v. *Valeo*. The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of limits on individual and political action committee contributions to candidates, but it declared that mandatory limits on candidates' spending of their own money, limits on independent expenditures, and limits on total campaign spending constitute violations of the First Amendment right of free speech and are thus prohibited. The Court did, however, find that campaign spending limits could be imposed on candidates as a condition of their accepting public financing or other benefits. The Court did not address the question of "soft money," political money raised by and for national and state parties, which is not regulated by federal campaign finance law and was not then a major source of election funds.

Proposals for Reforming Campaign Financing

Numerous reform proposals are being advanced or are already in place. These include measures to require electronic filing and full disclosure—most states do not yet require full disclosure even on paper, and only a few require electronic filing; the federal government requires full disclosure but not electronic filing. Other proposals would limit campaign contributions; prohibit campaign fund-raising during the period when the state legislature is in session; seek voluntary spending limits by candidates; limit the amount of money that can be loaned to a campaign by a candidate; ban political action committee contributions; ban the "bundling" of individual contributions from employees of the same corporation, trade group, etc.; ban "war chests," excess campaign money that politicians carry from one election cycle to another; ban or restrict out-of-state or out-of-district contributions; ban "soft money;" provide free or reduced-rate broadcast time and postage and tie these benefits to candidates' acceptance of voluntary spending limits; and promote partial or full public financing.

The Center for Responsive Politics reminds those who would advocate for reform that America's campaign finance system has a long history of reform. From the federal Tillman Act of 1907 through the post-Watergate Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) and its various amendments, there have been a host of well-intentioned attempts to reduce the influence of big money. Yet virtually all these efforts, and their counterparts at the state level, have failed. The rules may have changed significantly, but the dominance of major campaign contributors over elections and public policymaking remains unchanged. Campaign finance disclosure laws do allow the public, however, to know where most of the money is coming from and who is receiving it. The center believes that for real reform to be achieved, the public must think boldly and comprehensively. This, in turn, requires taking the long view for systemic reform always takes time.

The Corporation's Program in Campaign Finance Reform

The Corporation supported research on the influence of money in politics in the 1960s by scholar Herbert Alexander. It returned to the subject in 1992. The Corporation is currently supporting research and analyses of campaign finance data at the federal, state, and local levels; education of the media and the public on the financing of election campaigns; efforts to provide policymakers, the media, and the public with a range of possible campaign finance reforms; and legal strategies to lay the groundwork for a reconsideration of the Supreme Court's decision in *Buckley* v. *Valeo*.

Public Education Since 1992, the Corporation has supported the Washington, D.C.-based Center for Responsive Politics. Under the direction of Ellen S. Miller, the nation's foremost expert on the role of money in politics, the center has become the primary source of nonpartisan, reliable information on federal campaign finance issues. It responds to numerous requests from journalists, activists, and educators and publishes a compendium of studies on the connection between special interests' contributions and legislative action. The center also provides technical assistance to the money-in-politics projects, modeled on the center's federal work, undertaken by three regional organizations that are following state and local campaign financing. These three organizations—the Western States Center in Portland, Oregon; the Northeast Citizen Action Resource Center in Hartford, Connecticut; and Democracy South in Durham, North Carolina—are, in turn, providing technical assistance to state money-in-politics projects in their regions. The Maine initiative for public financing of candidates for state offices was a direct result of an effort by the Maine Voters for Clean Elections, a coalition of citizens' organizations that is one of many nurtured by the Northeast Citizen Action Resource Center. All three regional centers are supported by the Corporation, and renewed support is being recommended at the January board meeting.

Renewed support is also being recommended to the Los Angeles, California-based Center for Governmental Studies and the Washington, D.C.-based Center for Public Integrity. The Center for Governmental Studies' National Resource Center for State and Local Campaign Finance Reform provides expert testimony and assistance to state and local elected officials, government agencies, independent groups, the media, and the public; drafts model laws and ordinances to implement a wide range of campaign finance reforms; produces in-depth research

and constitutional analyses regarding critical campaign finance reform issues; and comments on draft proposals, model campaign laws, and draft legislation language. The center has also studied judicial campaign financing in Los Angeles and has recommended changes to judicial campaign financing practices in state and local elections. Renewed support to the Center for Public Integrity will allow the center to undertake a number of projects that examine how money influences policy and legislation at federal, state, and local levels. One project, for example, will examine the sources of campaign funds for members of the Congress in relation to their voting records.

Legal Strategies Finally, additional support is being recommended to the William J. Brennan, Jr., Center for Justice, toward a public education campaign on *Buckley* v. *Valeo*'s role in obstructing campaign finance reform. Many scholars believe that the decision, the major deterrent to real campaign finance reform, is flawed. The Brennan Center for Justice, in partnership with New York University Law School, is mounting a major project to undertake legal and educational strategies to prepare the Supreme Court to revisit the *Buckley* decision. A discretionary grant in August 1996 to the National Voting Rights Institute toward its campaign finance reform litigation and public education activities is supporting a unique effort to place the money-in-politics issue in the context of the United States' voting rights history. The institute's director, John Bonifaz, and American University law professor Jamin Raskin, have developed the constitutional basis for the institute's current suit, which argues that, similar to the white primary of the past, the wealth primary discriminates against nonwealthy candidates.

Future Possible Projects for Support in this Area

The Western States Center and the Northeast Citizen Action Resource Center are organizing a National Data Center for State Campaign Finance, modeled on the national Center for Responsive Politics. It will collect, standardize, and make public the contribution records for candidates for state office. No such archive of contributions to state campaigns now exists, making it impossible for journalists, academics, or reformers to analyze and report on the impact of special interest money in state politics. Democracy South has recently joined the project.

In early January, Ellen Miller will leave the Center for Responsive Politics to launch a new national money-in-politics center, Public Campaign. Its objective will be to promote sweeping reform measures, including full public financing. Following Miller as director of the Center for Responsive Politics is Kent Cooper, who has served as the Federal Election Commission's assistant staff director for disclosure for twenty-one years. In 1996, Cooper received the Council on Government Ethics Laws' award for his work in encouraging state campaign finance, ethics, and lobby commissions to computerize and disclose more to their electorates.

Other Funders

According to the *Funders' Handbook on Money and Politics,* foundations in 1996 granted an estimated $4 million toward campaign finance reform. The Corporation, with its modest investments, is one of the largest funders. The John and Florence Schumann Foundation has been the largest supporter, funding both national and state-based projects. It is now concentrating on funding several major efforts, and in the future, it does not expect to support as many state or local activities. The Joyce Foundation, which confines its grant making primarily to the Midwest, has in the past two years been increasing its support for campaign finance reform. It has recently announced its commitment to spend $6 million in this area over the next three years. Among the projects it will support are for reconsideration of *Buckley* v. *Valeo*, and it joins the Corporation in support of the Brennan Center for Justice. The Pew Charitable Trusts and the Ford Foundation in the past year have also begun supporting efforts in this area. On the horizon, the Open Society Institute (George Soros' foundation) and several other funders have indicated an interest in this area. Small foundations, such as the Stern Family Fund and the Arca, Bauman, and Ottinger Foundations, have consistently seeded many of the national and state projects that are now attracting attention from the larger funders. The funders in this area work together closely to ensure that limited resources are strategically applied.

In sum, the Corporation's support of campaign finance reform has borne fruit. Its grantees represent the foremost projects in the nation. With heightened interest in campaign finance reform at all levels among policymakers, the public, and other funders, the Corporation hopes to maximize the returns on its investments.

Geri Mannion
December 31, 1996

Past and Current Carnegie Corporation Grantees
Related to Campaign Finance Reform

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Washington, DC 20003

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1320 Nineteenth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-7-97

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20224

COMMISSIONER

January 6, 1997

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I hereby tender my resignation. The 1997 tax filing season marks my fourth as Commissioner of Internal Revenue. With your second term about to begin, this is an appropriate time for me to pursue other career opportunities and allow the selection of a successor who could serve during you full second term. I do, however, want to do what I can to assure that the filing season goes well, and I will plan to remain until it ends, unless a successor is appointed and confirmed before that time.

I appreciate the opportunity to serve as Commissioner of Internal Revenue. I feel fortunate to have been able to return to the agency where I began my career to help it address some of the tax administration challenges of today and prepare for the future. The dedicated employees of the Internal Revenue Service have accomplished a significant amount duing the past four years, and I am proud to have been able to play a role in their accomplishments.

I am particulary pleased about the improvements we have made during my tenure in serving our customers -- the American taxpayers. We have made it easier for taxpayers by improving the quality of our products and by giving them alternatives to get information and assistance and to file their returns and pay their taxes. We have listened to the concerns of the small business community, and the initiatives we have taken in response have have made it easier for small business owners to understand and meet their obligations. We also took steps to adopt a number of Taxpayer Bill of Rights provisions when it appeared that Congress might not act.

It is a credit to the dedication and professionalism of the women and men of the Internal Revenue Service that they have continued to work to find ways to better serve the American taxpayers at a time of unprecedented attack upon the tax system and those who administer it. I am honored to have been able to lead the most efficient and effective tax administration in the world, one which the rest of the world seeks to emulate.

With my very best wishes,

Sincerely,

Margaret Milner Richardson

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-9-97

Robert McPeak

BC

FLORIDA VOTER

A Bi-Monthly Poll of Political Opinions

December 1996/January 1997
Vol. 2, Issue 2

Political Polls and Election Models
Why Bob Dole's National Campaign Outperformed Bill Clinton's

In this article, we review our National Election Model estimates with the leading polls. We find that most national polls and macroeconomic models overestimated Clinton's victory. Using our own and two well known election model predictions as a framework for the campaign, we reexamine the daily polling numbers against the backdrop of major events. What initially seems as random and wild fluctuations, appears in hindsight, as normal reactions to campaign events. The late reemergence of Ross Perot, as Bob Dole's attack dog, clearly made a difference in the final outcome. In the end, character did matter, but not enough to offset Clinton's significant advantage.

When the *Florida Voter* announced in early August (Vol. 1, Issue 6) that Bill Clinton would easily retake the White House with 56.3% of the two-party vote, many subscribers no doubt, reacted with a healthy amount of skepticism. A prediction some three months before the election, party conventions and of course, the all important debates, would seem rather far reaching at best. In fact, this prediction entailed much less risk than most would think. But before we tell you why, let's first analyze the actual outcome against our model and the national polls.

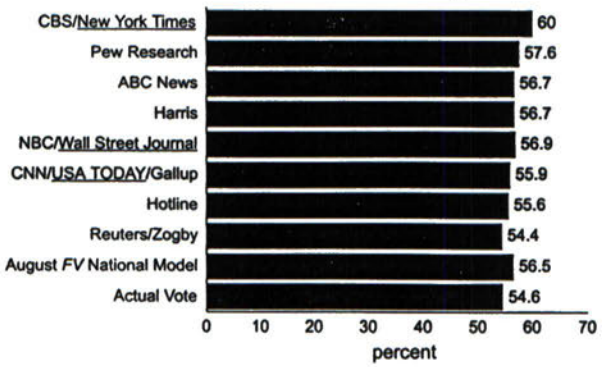
When the votes were finally counted, Mr. Clinton had the distinction of being only the third Democratic president to win back-to-back elections this century.[1] His share of the two-party vote, however, reached only 54.6%[2], some 1.9% less than our revised prediction (56.5%).[3] Clinton's victory, as victories go, was unremarkable. His two-party vote exceeded his 1992 victory over George Bush by only 1.1% and his 379 electoral votes surpassed his 1992 total by only 9 votes, even though he carried both Florida and Arizona.[4]

Since 1948, Bill Clinton's popular two-party vote victory surpassed the victors in five national elections, but fell behind six others.[5] In electoral votes, Clinton's 379 ranks only eighth out of the twelve previous elections. In other words, his victory over the aging Senator from Kansas was at best, average.

And how did the national polls do? Although almost all polls overestimated Bill

Polls Immediately Before Election

Clinton's Share of Two-Party Vote



Votes for other candidates excluded.

Figure 1

Editor/Pollster: Jim Kane

Florida Voters Choose Democrat — Page 7
The Influence of Presidential Debates on Voters — Page 11
Sweet Victory: What Happened to the Sugar Tax — Page 14
The Compleat Jeb and Buddy Guide — Page 16
Potential Effects of Abortion on Florida Politics — Page 21
Understanding the Vote on the Sugar Fee by Lance and Westi Jo deHaven-Smith — Page 26
Clinton Won But. . . Partisan Advantage Index — Page 28
Why a Feeling Thermometer? — Page 30

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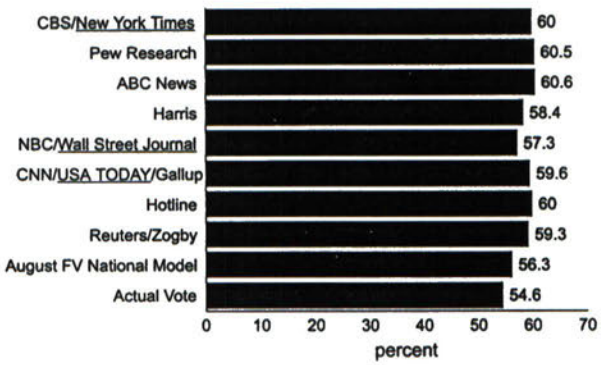
Clinton's lead, they performed better, on average, than in previous years. In Figure 1, we display the national poll estimates of Clinton's two-party vote derived from surveys taken just before Election Day.[6]

The average error rate for the entire group (not including the *FV* National Election Model) was 2.1%, which is below the 3% average error found in previous elections.[7] But not all polls performed as well as others. The CBS/*New York Times* poll missed the two-party vote by over 5%,[8] while the last Reuters/Zogby poll nearly duplicated the actual outcome. *FV's* National Election Model, derived from 40 years of election and economic data,[9] overestimated Clinton's margin of victory by just 1.9%. But considering the national polls derived their estimate from surveys conducted only days before the election, our August prediction does well, and even outperforms five of the eight Election Day eve polls.

A better comparison to *FV's* National Election Model prediction, however, would be the polling estimates taken after the August party conventions—some 30 days after our prediction. In Figure 2, we compare the early September polls against our estimate and the results of the presidential election.

The September Polls

Clinton's Share of the Two-Party Vote



When more than one poll taken, earliest September poll used.

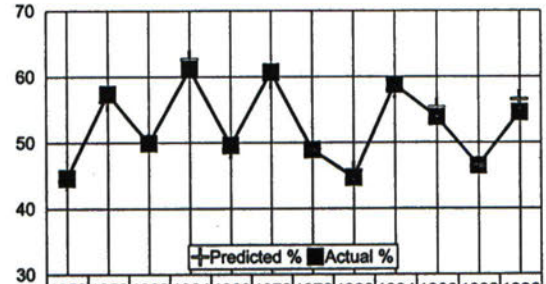
Figure 2

The average error rate for the eight national polls was 4.9%, an error rate greater than Clinton's two-party victory over Dole. The NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll came closest to the actual outcome, missing the mark by only 2.7%. *None of the September national polls performed as well as our own National Election Model.*

It is important to note that FV's model is only partially derived from survey data. Three basic variables form the model's core: the July presidential approval rating, incumbent party primary opposition and the percentage change (+/-) in the nation's GDP during the first two quarters of the election year, combined with the unemployment rate from the same period.[10] This admixture of variables produces election estimates within two percentage points of the actual outcome over a 40 year period. In Figure 3, we compare this year's results with the model's estimate of past presidential elections.

Florida Voter National Election Model

Actual and Predicted Popular Vote* 1952-1996



	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	1976	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996
Predicted %	44.2	56.2	50.1	62.6	48.9	59.5	48.9	45.7	58	55.3	46.5	56.5
Actual %	44.6	57.4	49.9	61.1	49.6	60.7	48.9	44.7	58.8	53.9	46.5	54.6
Difference %	0.4	1.2	0.2	1.5	0.7	1.2	0	1	0.8	1.4	0	1.9

*Incumbent Party's share of two-party vote. Adjusted Rsq .966

Figure 3

This year's estimate actually exceeded the model's worst prediction, 1964, by four-tenths of a percent. In that year, Lyndon Johnson overwhelmed Barry Goldwater in a historic landslide that had many commentators wondering if the Republican Party would ever recover. Republicans "recovered" by winning the White House five of the next six elections (not including 1996).

None of the September national polls performed as well as our own National Election Model.

Before we comment on the model's overestimate, let's first explore why our August prediction of an easy Clinton victory carried with it much less risk than some might think. In the recent past, political scientists specializing in voter behavior have shown little interest in how presidential campaigns affect the outcome.[11] One reason they have ignored this seemingly important area is their belief that presidential campaigns have minimal influence over who wins or loses.

At the individual level, a significant body of research suggests that voters long standing attitudes about the two major parties and their assessment of the incumbent presidential administration, affect their choice substantially

more than the millions of dollars spent on media.[12] In this view, the election becomes more a referendum on presidential performance than a competitive contest of two talented combatants with differing views about the future direction of the country. This may sound like heresy to political consultants and ad makers, but this is the prevailing view of most modern students of presidential voting behavior.

Additionally, aggregate level voting studies have demonstrated presidential outcomes are influenced by only a few political and economic variables, similar to our model.[13] All of these studies suggest an underlying relationship between voters' retrospective approval of the incumbent party—as shown by the economy or some other political indicator—and the eventual outcome. None, however, include any campaign effects in their models and yet they consistently and accurately forecast the presidential outcome.[14]

Examples of these forecasting models come from two political science professors, James Campbell of Louisiana State University and Alan Abramowitz of Emory University. Both of their models have shown considerable forecasting success in predicting presidential outcomes, but use different variables for their predictions.[15]

Dr. Campbell makes his forecast based on two aggregate level variables—the trial-heat results from the early September Gallup poll and the second quarter rate of growth in the gross domestic product (non-annualized GDP). This simple model (Adjusted R^2 = .94) has predicted the two-party percentage of the presidential vote within 1.9% in the past twelve elections. This year, however, Dr. Campbell's model predicted that Clinton would win with 57.9% of the two-party vote, overestimating the actual outcome by 3.3%. This overestimate more than doubles the expected error (SEE = 1.49) shown for the model.

Dr. Abramowitz uses three variables, two of which are very similar to our own forecasting model. His model (Adjusted R^2 = .92) includes the July presidential approval rating, the annualized rate of growth for the GDP during the first half of the election year and a time value, representing the length of time the incumbent party has occupied the White House. These three variables have produced two-party estimates that are within 1.4% of the actual outcome for the past twelve presidential elections. In 1996, however, this model estimated the two-party outcome for Clinton at 56.7%, or 2.1% above the actual outcome.

Almost all forecasting models, including those described here, base their predictions upon national economic conditions during the year of the election and some variable representing the personal popularity of the incumbent party's sitting president.[16] Our own model also includes a variable representing whether the incumbent was substantively challenged in his party's primary process. An unchallenged Bill Clinton could expect, by our model's estimate, an additional 6 points on Election Day. In other words, Bob Dole was dealt a hard hand in this year's cruel presidential poker game by the time he got to San Diego.

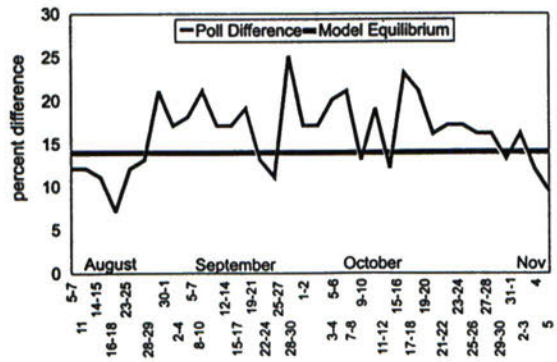
All of this illustrates confidence in our National Election Model, but doesn't explain why almost all forecasting estimates and the national polls consistently overestimated Clinton's share of the vote. Were the polls and forecasts just plain wrong or did events during the campaign ultimately affect the outcome? To answer, we need a different interpretation of what these macroeconomic forecasts, like our own, might be telling us.

A recent presidential study suggests that economic forecast model estimates represent a framework, or more appropriately, an equilibrium for the competing campaigns.[17] In this view, movement in the trial-heat polls due to campaign events like the party conventions or presidential debates, are relative to the distance the candidate currently is from his expected equilibrium level. A convention bounce in the polls, for instance, will be greatest for a candidate whose current standing in the polls falls well below his equilibrium level. And how long the bounce lasts, depends upon how far it exceeds the *campaign's* natural equilibrium.

To illustrate this intriguing concept, we have plotted Clinton's percentage lead over Dole using the CNN/*USA TODAY*/Gallup polls released during the last three months of this year's presidential campaign. In addition, we have added a forecast model equilibrium line, which reflects the average of three election forecasts: Campbell, Abramowitz and *FV's* National Election Model estimate, as shown in Figure 4.

Clinton Lead Over Dole

CNN/USA TODAY/Gallup



Most sample sizes range from 700-800. Likely voters only.

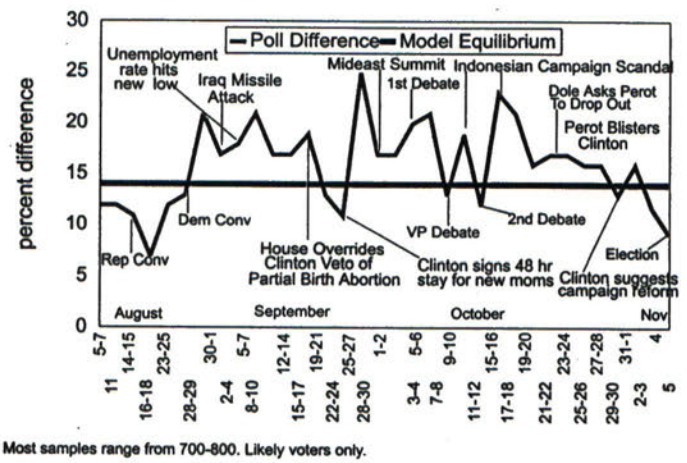
Figure 4

The figure shows how the trial-heat difference between Clinton and Dole fluctuates wildly, in an almost random walk fashion, but generally stays above the superimposed equilibrium line. Finally, as the election winds down, the difference between Clinton and Dole narrows substantially, dropping well below the model's projected difference on Election Day.

Without any reference to campaign events that might have influenced the trial-heat polls, the equilibrium line looks much like a support level for the Clinton campaign, similar to those used by stock market technicians. This analogy may be farfetched, but the erratic appearance of the trial-heat numbers are anything but random fluctuations. When we superimpose key events[18] during this period over the polling numbers, a more rational pattern emerges, as seen in Figure 5.

Clinton Lead Over Dole

CNN/USA TODAY/Gallup



Most samples range from 700-800. Likely voters only.

Figure 5

A Very Short Story

Like all good mysteries, this one has a beginning, a middle and an end. Keep your eye on the chart and watch how the story evolves. Starting with the Republican convention, we see how this event narrowed the race and pushed the two candidates' net difference farthest from the equilibrium level, which remember, represents Clinton's popularity and the nation's economic condition. Unfortunately, Dole's convention bounce was short-lived and his deficit grew as the Democratic convention neared.

The Democratic convention created a bounce for Clinton too, which pushed his lead above the 20% mark. This lead, of course, was not sustainable and began to recede shortly after Labor Day. But the U.S. launched a missile attack against Iraq and Saddam Hussein, followed by news of a seven-year low for unemployment, which combined, propelled Clinton above the 20% mark again with less than two months to go (September 10). After a short drop, Clinton's lead stabilized until the House of Representatives managed to override his veto on the partial birth abortion ban. In a matter of days, Clinton's lead fell 8 points, some 3% below the equilibrium level.

Clinton's lead again rebounded after his well publicized signing of a bill that guaranteed new mothers insurance coverage for two days in the hospital after childbirth.

Clinton's lead again rebounded after his well publicized signing of a bill that guaranteed new mothers insurance coverage for two days in the hospital after childbirth. This popular measure, particularly with women, shot his net lead to its highest point in the campaign, a stranger than fiction 25 percentage points ahead of Dole. Unsustainable, this difference shrank but remained above the equilibrium level while the Mideast Summit convened in the White House.

Clinton's performance won him a slight and temporary bounce in the polls after the first debate. Like a champion chess player, he needed but a draw in the debate to win, but his lackluster performance (relative to expectations for Dole), provided no legs for his substantial lead. Consequently, his gain quickly receded to the equilibrium level. Al Gore, however, managed a minor debate victory over the less prepared, Jack Kemp, pushing the president's numbers a few points upwards.

Follow the Bouncing Ball...Indogate?

At this point, the story takes an unexpected turn. Around October 11, revelations about Indonesian contributions made to the DNC reached the public. In the beginning, it was hard to determine what impact these revelations might have on voters, since Clinton was way ahead of everybody in all the polls. Additionally, campaign finance reform as an issue, had not, up to this point, particularly resonated with the American public. Ross Perot, who had based much of his 1992 campaign on campaign finance reform,[19] was isolated from the public by his exclusion from the debates and consequently, his media coverage.

Bob Dole's campaign, leaked (gushed is a better word) to the press that Clinton's ethics would take center stage during the second and final debate. This strategy was intended, some speculated, to encourage the San Diego participants in the Town Hall format to ask tough ethical questions of Mr. Clinton. Unfortunately for Mr. Dole, the participating audience ignored his advice and Clinton

walked away unscathed and victorious, at least according to every overnight poll.

And our Figure 5 confirms Clinton's debate victory, as his lead over the former Senator expanded to 23 points immediately following the second debate. But the stories of possible campaign funding abuse continued to mount and to the media the Clinton campaign was playing possum. Only 17 days were left in the campaign and Clinton held a substantial lead in all the polls. The President's strategists decided to wait it out and avoid having their candidate address the issue. Clinton became Mohammed Ali in a winning fight, showing considerable talent with the "rope-a-dope" strategy.

"I never thought I'd live to see the day that a convicted drug dealer would be invited to the White House," Perot chanted over and over again.

The October Surprise

This may have been the best strategy had it not been for an unexpected event. On October 23, Bob Dole, in a moment of desperation or pure genius, sent his campaign manager, Scott Reed, to Dallas to ask Ross Perot to drop out of the race and endorse Bob Dole. Before Reed, with hat in hand, had left Dallas, the Dole campaign leaked this curious event to the press.[20]

Many political pundits said this act of desperation epitomized the failing Dole campaign. How could Bob Dole expect Ross Perot to endorse his candidacy, after he had led the charge to exclude the Texan from the debates?[21] And why would Perot even consider dropping out after spending so much time and effort establishing the Reform Party for future candidates? Let's also not forget Perot had dropped out during the 1992 race and felt compelled to return because of what he believed was his *quitter* image. And finally, why did the Dole campaign itself leak this embarrassing incident to the press? As Ross would say: "am I making any sense now?".

The Best VP Bob Dole Ever Had

The next day, at a previously scheduled speech before the National Press Club, Ross Perot called the Dole request "weird and totally inconsequential," but he went on for almost an hour blistering Clinton for "huge moral, ethical and criminal problems." Instead of the lone C-SPAN camera which would have normally covered such an event, the room was alive and clicking with cameras. That evening, major network news programs replayed portions of Perot's mixed metaphors: "We are headed toward a second Watergate with all this stuff going on, and a constitutional crisis in 1997. Just remember where you heard it and put it in the bank."

Overnight, Ross Perot was back in the spotlight. And this time Clinton was in his cross hairs. Republican VP candidate Jack Kemp refused to play attack dog, but Ross made up for his timidity. "I never thought I'd live to see the day that a convicted drug dealer would be invited to the White House," Perot chanted over and over again. When Dole talked about increased drug use among teens, Clinton's numbers went up! But Ross made it personal, helping Americans visualize a DRUG DEALER AT STATE DINNERS! And Clinton's lead stalled.

Dole for his part, was a fine tag team partner. "Where's the outrage in America. Where's the outrage," he wailed. In Dallas, the outrage came daily from Perot: "Is there no sense of decency left in this country? Shouldn't we have a president who is honest, loyal and trustworthy?" For 14 straight days, the dynamic duo continued their nonstop attack on a president who became increasingly inaccessible to the press.

At the same time, the DNC and the Clinton campaign staff continued to field difficult inquiries about questionable campaign contributions, particularly those raised by campaign operative and former Department of Commerce employee, John Huang. Mr. Huang disappeared from view on the very same day Perot spoke before the National Press Club, an unhappy coincidence, no doubt. Closer to Election Day, Huang would give a video taped deposition, where he recounted his numerous meetings with (guess who?) Bill and Hillary Clinton.

Mr. Clinton emphatically said: "We have played by the rules, but you know and I know, we need to change the rules."

"You Need to Trust Us"

Then, to add fuel to the fire, on October 28, the DNC announced that it would not file a pre-election campaign finance disclosure report. Realizing how sinister this action might appear, the DNC immediately reversed itself and said it would release a list of donors later in the same week, in the "spirit of full disclosure." As DNC spokesperson Amy Weiss Tobe put it, "You need to trust us." Later in the week, the full financial disclosure revealed another illegal donation of $10,000 from a South Korean businessman, who had also been solicited by Mr. Huang.

Realizing that their campaign ship was under heavy fire, on Friday, November 1, the President took the offensive, calling for a ban on all foreign contributions (corporations and non-U.S. citizens). Just days from ending his last ever campaign, Mr. Clinton emphatically said: "We have played by the rules, but you know and I know, we need to change the rules." As we see in Figure 5, this announcement about campaign reform gave some lift to his falling lead. But the reversal stalled and Perot finished with a series of rights and lefts.

Bonnie and Clyde

On November 4, as Bob Dole finished his 96 hour victory tour, Ross Perot told an audience of college students that Clinton faces "serious criminal charges." In a well publicized speech, we heard *Perotspeak* at its best: "So I would urge you not to vote for a candidate that runs up and down the sidelines, saying is it legal and illegal, and if it is illegal, what smooth things do I say to cover up and guff when I get caught?"

That same evening, four half-hour Perot infomercials aired, including prime time spots on CBS and NBC, where Perot called the President and First Lady "Bonnie and Clyde." "Political corruption is discouraging, but you can clean it up by voting your conscience. These corrupt practices are destroying our country, and we must stop them tomorrow..." he concluded. On November 5, Ross Perot voted and got a long overdue haircut.

Although Perot's attacks on Clinton helped his own cause, in the end it was Bob Dole who benefited the most.

In an odd way, Ross Perot became the vice presidential candidate that Bob Dole never had. Jack Kemp talked about economic inclusion, but Dole needed someone, other than himself, to call Clinton a crook. Perot played that role well, once Dole asked him to join his campaign team. No, we don't have any direct proof that such a formal agreement between the two men ever existed. We believe both men came to their understanding implicitly. Perot needed the spotlight to reach double-digits and Dole needed to shake things up, if he was to have any chance of winning.

Although Perot's attacks on Clinton helped his own cause, in the end it was Bob Dole who benefited the most. From early August through November 4, Bill Clinton averaged a 16-point lead over Bob Dole. The campaign equilibrium level should have provided the incumbent with an easy 14-point victory over the aging Republican challenger. Come Election Day, however, Bill Clinton managed to win by little more than nine points.[22] Bob Dole, with a little help from his friend Ross, peaked at the right time.

In the end, character did matter, but not enough. Americans judge their president—and not the opponents—on the president's performance. If the economy prospers and the nation avoids conflict, they give the incumbent and his party the benefit of doubt. But as we see in the falling poll numbers just prior to the election, the doubt, like heavy fog, was creeping in. ***FV***

[1] Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt were the other two.
[2] Based on the actual vote count, Clinton 45,599,094 vs. Dole 37,842,270, a 9.2% difference.
[3] See *FV* Vol. 2, Issue 1. The GDP was revised upward.
[4] Clinton lost two states, Georgia and Montana, which he carried in 1992.
[5] Not including his own victory in 1992.
[6] In computing the two-party vote, percentages for Perot and other third party candidates are ignored.
[7] Campbell, James E. And Kenneth A. Wink. 1990. "Trial-Heat Forecasts of the Presidential Vote." *American Politics Quarterly* 18:251-69.
[8] The CBS/*New York Times* final poll had Clinton at 53%, Dole 35% and Perot 9%, an 18% lead for Clinton. This lead, of course, shrinks to little over 5%, when we compare only the two-party share.
[9] See *Florida Voter*, Vol. 1, Issue 6, p. 6.
[10] For a full description see *FV*, Vol. 1, Issue 6, p. 6.
[11] See Holbrook, Thomas M. 1996. *Do Campaigns Matter?* Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications, Inc. We refer primarily to general elections.
[12] For a good description of referendum or "retrospective" voting behavior, see Fiorina, Morris. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American Elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
[13] Tufte, Edward R. 1978. Political Control of the Economy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
[14] Not all have accurately forecast the elections. Both the Fair Model and the Lewis-Beck and Rice Model missed the 1992 race. Some very accurate election models cannot be called "forecasting" since they rely upon variables not available until after the election. For an example, see Erickson, Robert S. 1989. "Economic Conditions and the Presidential Vote." *American Political Science Review*. 83:567-73.
[15] See a description of both in the *American Politics Quarterly* (October 1996) Vol. 24, No. 4.
[16] We realize the two variables, economic prosperity and presidential popularity, are highly correlated.
[17] Holbrook, Thomas M. 1996. *Do Campaigns Matter?* Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications, Inc.
[18] Sources for these events come from the *Washington Post* and CNN News. We do contend that this modest study covers all important campaign events, but is intended to demonstrate that campaign events did affect the trial-heat fluctuations.
[19] Abramson, Paul R., et al. 1994. *Change and Continuity in the 1992 Elections*. Washington. DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.
[20] Perot claimed in an interview with David Frost that this was a "secret meeting" as leaked by the Dole staff members.
[21] Dole stated, in an interview with David Brinkley, that Perot was close to endorsing his candidacy. Perot has remained silent on the issue.
[22] Based upon the actual two-party vote count.

Florida Voters Choose Democrat

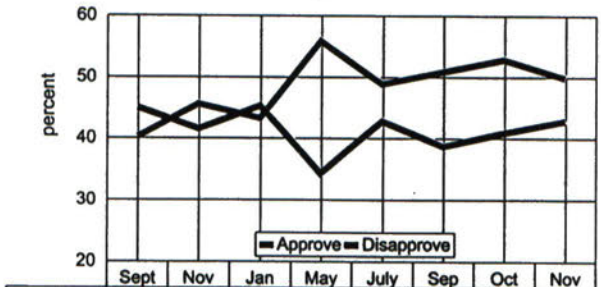
In only the third time in 40 years, Florida voters selected a Democratic nominee for president. In this article, we discover that most of Florida's electorate had made their presidential choice long before the traditional Labor Day campaign start. And Clinton clearly captured these early votes and held on to them right up to Election Day. Dole, on the other hand, won undecided voters after Labor Day, but by that time, too few were left to capture the state. We also find that Ross Perot's presence on the ballot did not change the final outcome. Although, most Perot voters preferred Dole on Election Day, their added numbers could not deny Bill Clinton an historic victory.

November 1996 marked only the third time in 40 years that Florida awarded its 25 electoral votes to a Democratic presidential nominee. Although certainly historic, the Sunshine State never really warmed up to the Republican Party's challenger. Bob Dole could lead Bill Clinton on trustworthiness and character, but he never convinced Floridians he could lead the nation better than the incumbent president.

When a majority of the electorate, whether a single state or the entire nation, believe their incumbent president handles his job satisfactorily, they will not replace him. Like the CEO of a large public corporation, his personal ethics and morals are irrelevant as long as profits increase and the stock of the corporation keeps going up. In the end, the board of directors will renew his employment contract.

Although voters had increasing personal doubts, a majority of Florida voters continued to have confidence in Bill Clinton's job performance right up to Election Day. No better graphic representation of this continued confidence can be found than in our first figure.

Clinton's Job Approval
By Month



	Sept	Nov	Jan	May	July	Sep	Oct	Nov
Approve	40.3	45.7	43.4	56	49	51	53	50
Disapprove	45.1	41.6	45.4	34.4	42.9	38.8	41	43
Don't know	14.6	12.7	11.2	9.6	8.1	10.2	6	7

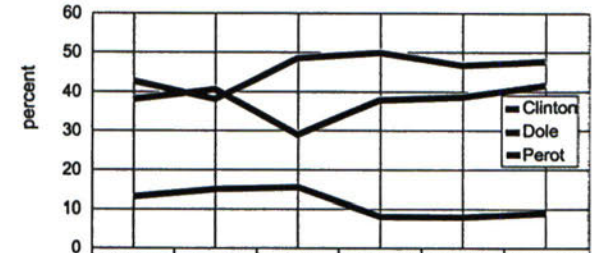
Figure 1

On Election Day, according to our survey of voters who voted, a majority approved of Clinton's stewardship. This was not always the case. A little more than a year ago only 40% approved of his presidential job performance. After January, the government shutdowns, the State of the Union performances and an improving economy, Clinton maintained a job approval rating with a majority of Florida voters.

The Incredible Shrinking Clinton

Clinton's job approval fortunes were directly reflected in his trial-heat performance as well. Although his approval ratings remained relatively stable after July, his share of the expected vote continued to shrink right up to Election Day, as shown in Figure 2.

Clinton, Dole and Perot
By Month



	November	January	May	September	October	November 5
Clinton	43	38.4	48.8	50.2	47	48
Dole	38.4	40.9	29.3	38.2	39	42
Perot	13.1	15	15.5	8.1	8	9
Don't know	5.5	5.7	6.4	3.5	6	NA

Figure 2

As the election neared, Clinton's lead over Dole shrank considerably since May, when we measured his greatest net lead—a whopping 19.5% over Dole, in a three-way contest. What is interesting, is the relative consistency of Clinton's share of the three-way vote. After May, the president managed a high of 50% and a low of 47%, and eventually received 48% on Election Day. Bob Dole, on the other hand, began in the same period with only 29% and increased slowly to his eventual share—42%, a 13 point improvement.

In other words, Clinton's vote was static. Undecided voters and some Perot voters (from May) chose Dole disproportionately over Clinton. To verify this conclusion, we asked each respondent who voted in the election when they actually made up their mind on their presidential choice. In Figure 3, we see that a vast majority made their choice very early on.

When Voters Made Up Their Mind

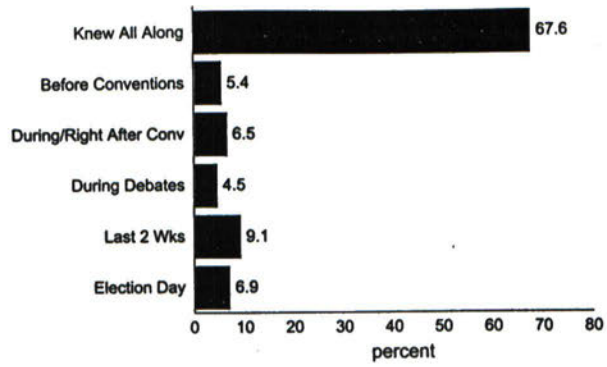


Figure 3

Voters who made their presidential choice before the conventions began, comprised 73% of our voting sample. Put another way, almost three-quarters had chosen their candidate before Elizabeth Dole delivered her acclaimed Oprah-like speech on the convention floor or Dick Morris' first appeared at supermarket checkout lines in the *Star* tabloid. These events and of course, many others, had not the slightest influence on these voters.

Of the 27% remaining, some 11% made their decision during or right after the conventions, or during the two televised debates. Finally, 16% made their thoughtful and important choice some two weeks or less before the election, including nearly 7% that did so on their way to the polling place.

Time is on my side, yes it is

Using voters own time-line, we can now estimate when Clinton voters made their decision. If most Clinton voters made their decision early, this would confirm our thesis. And as we see in Figure 4, the vast majority of Clinton's vote came to their presidential decision before the official general election bell sounded: the Republican convention.

Clinton's Vote

When They Made Up Their Mind

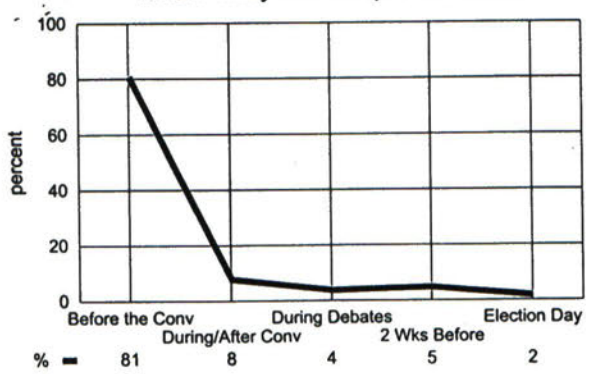


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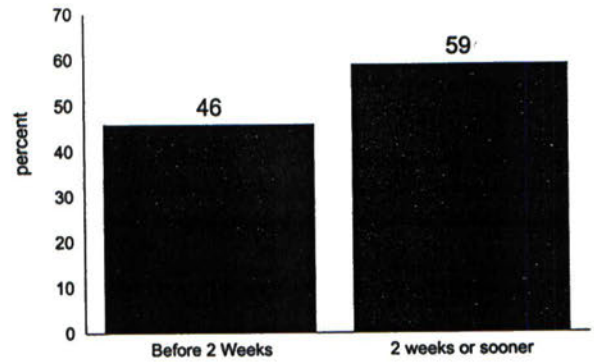
Figure 4

As the figure confirms, 81% of Clinton's voters chose him before the conventions. Another 8% said they came to this same conclusion during the conventions. Simply put, nearly 90% of Clinton's Florida vote was determined before Labor Day, the historic beginning of the presidential campaign season. Accordingly, before the Dole campaign even found its message—whatever it was—they had lost Florida. Bob Dole kept saying that it was too early, voters weren't paying attention. He was at least half right, they weren't paying attention, but it was because they had already made their choice.

Remarkably, considering all the fuss made about them, the debates added only another 4% to Clinton's vote total. But then again, Clinton needed only avoid a major catastrophe during the debates to insure a plurality of the Florida electorate. But as our surveys and the final vote confirm, late deciding voters broke Dole's way, but too few were left to change the outcome. In Figure 5, we see how Dole's share of the major two-party vote improved with voters undecided within the last two weeks of the campaign.

Dole's Share of Two-Party Vote

By When Voter Made Up Mind



ANOVA F Value 2.8 /df 1/sig. .09.

Figure 5

Among voters who made their choice by the last debate or earlier, Dole lost to Clinton 54% to 46%. Voters making their decision within the last two weeks, however, went 59% to 41% for Dole. But at this point, only 16% of the electorate remained—too little, too late.

And as you would expect, many of the procrastinators voted the party line. Nearly 21% of Republican identifiers waited until the last two weeks to make up their mind. Among Democratic Party identifiers, however, only 10% waited until the final weeks. Few doubts existed for Democrats, but GOP stalwarts, on the other hand, uncharacteristically hesitated. In the end, a few wandered away to vote for Clinton or Perot.

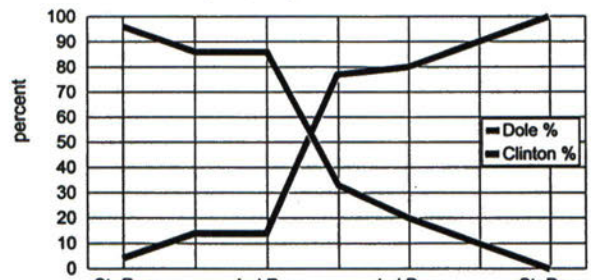
Although Bob Dole worked furiously during the last two weeks to shore up his Republican base, he came up slightly short on Election Day. Just 77% of GOP identifiers chose their nominee, while 85% of Democratic identifiers stuck with their incumbent president. Small differences make all the difference in a state like Florida, where partisan attitudes are so evenly matched (with a slight advantage to the Republicans).

Although Bob Dole worked furiously during the last two weeks to shore up his Republican base, he came up slightly short on Election Day.

Not all Republicans or for that matter, Democratic voters, acted in unison. Weaker partisans, as you would expect, abandoned their nominee more often than stronger party members. In Figure 6, we see varying partisan strengths as an underlying force in the selection process.[1]

Dole and Clinton's Share of Two-Party Vote

By Party Identification



	Str Rep	Weak Rep	Ind Rep	Independent	Ind Dem	Weak Dem	Str Dem
Dole %	96	86	86	33	20	10	0
Clinton %	4	14	14	77	80	90	100

ANOVA F Value 154.4 /df 6/sig. <.0001.

Figure 6

Bill Clinton managed to secure 100% of our sample's strong Democratic voters. Bob Dole also did well with his strong party member, losing only 4% to Clinton. Where Dole faired poorly, was with weaker Republican identifiers, where some 14% crossed over. Conversely, Clinton lost only 10% of these equally partisan Democratic voters. Many of these weaker Republicans were women and Clinton's advantage over Dole with women reached 11% on Election Day, according to statewide exit polls.[2]

Clinton's largest loss came from independent Democrats, who are traditionally more mercurial than their weaker counterparts. Why these Democrats strayed is uncertain, but a disproportionate number, some 22%, made their presidential choice in the last two weeks of the campaign. A few may have succumbed to the barrage of ethics charges against the Clinton campaign launched by the media, Perot and the Dole campaigns during this period. [Independent Democrats have the highest educational attainment of all partisans, Republican or Democrat.-ed.]

What About Ross?

To this point we have managed to avoid the little Texan, but many political pundits still believe Dole could have won Florida without the Reform Party founder on the ballot. Before we answer this, let's step back for a moment and recap how most voters make their Election Day choices.

In previous election studies, researchers have shown that voters make their choice based on net favorable opinions when comparing competing candidates.[3] In other words, voters choose the candidate they like the best. In cases where the voter has equal feelings for all the candidates, they fall back on their party identification to break the tie. Using this simple rule, we can predict a voter's selection in 94% or more of the cases.[4]

Now all of this should make common sense, if we think about it. Forgetting how voters developed these opinions about a candidate in the first place (such as partisan beliefs), they act at the individual level at least, like we all do when faced with most choices in our daily lives. Most people prefer to do business with people they like as opposed to people they don't like. Strategic voting (or voting for someone because they have better chance of winning) and protest voting (or voting for a candidate because you want to send a message) does occur, particularly in primaries,[5] but in numbers so low as to have little impact on the outcome.[6] Most voters have a hard time recognizing the candidates and issues, let alone demonstrate the sophistication required to act on these more complex voting motivations.

One measure that represents how voters relate to a candidate is our feeling thermometer (see *Why a Feeling Thermometer*?). Here voters express in mathematical terms their likes and dislikes for competing candidates. In our survey of election voters, we found Bill Clinton slightly ahead of Bob Dole on this very important scale, as shown in Figure 7.

As we can see, Clinton barely leads the former Senator, but both are heads and shoulders above their third-place rival, Ross Perot. In fact, 54% of voters gave the Texan negative ratings (0 to 49 degrees), a number

Presidential Candidates

Thermometer Ratings By Voters Only

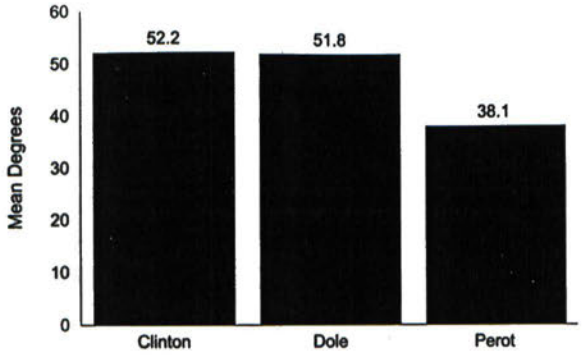


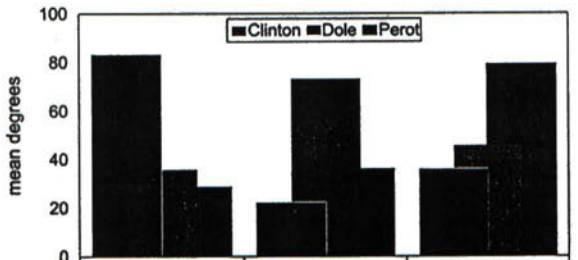
Figure 7

equaled only by that other well-loved American, Newt Gingrich.

But not all voters had negative opinions of Ross. Some, in fact, had more favorable feelings for him than they had for either Clinton or Dole. These voters, as you would expect, voted for the Reform Party candidate, as seen in Figure 8.

Voters Feelings For Presidential Candidates

By Voters' Choice For President



	Clinton Voters	Dole Voters	Perot Voters
Clinton	83.5	22.5	36.2
Dole	35.8	73.2	45.5
Perot	28.7	36	79.2

All ANOVA F Values significant at <.0001.

Figure 8

Look closely at this figure, because it shows some interesting differences. Notice how Perot voters, for instance, actually rated their candidate higher (more intensely) than Dole voters did of their own presidential choice. Clinton voters, on the other hand, had the most intense feelings for their selection, confirming why Clinton's percentage share in our surveys changed little over the campaign. His voters felt the strongest about him, emotionally at least, than his competitors' voters felt about them.

In addition to this important difference, we see how Clinton voters felt better about Dole than they did about Perot. Conversely, Dole voters rated Perot nearly 14 degrees higher than Clinton and Perot voters rated Dole higher than Clinton as well. Put another way, Dole and Perot voters had at least one thing in common—they all disliked Clinton most.

All of this would seem to confirm that most Perot voters would have voted for Dole had the little Texan stayed in Dallas. Thus, Perot's votes combined with Dole's (42% + 9% = 51%) would have given the state to the Republicans. This conclusion, however, is a little premature. The measurement tool used here, the average (mean) feeling thermometer rating, measures intensity as opposed to actual numbers of voters that rate the competing candidates as favorable or unfavorable. Clinton haters among Dole or Perot supporters, for instance, could (and did) rate the president at 0 degrees and therefore, disproportionately affect the mean rating for him.

A more meaningful test would be to subtract Perot voter feelings for Clinton and Dole from each other and calculate the percentage of net positive responses for both. This method would tell us the likely change in Bob Dole's Florida vote if Perot had remained in the Lone Star state. In Figure 9, we display Perot voters' net favorable responses for the main contenders.

Clinton and Dole Net Favorable Ratings

For Perot Voters Only

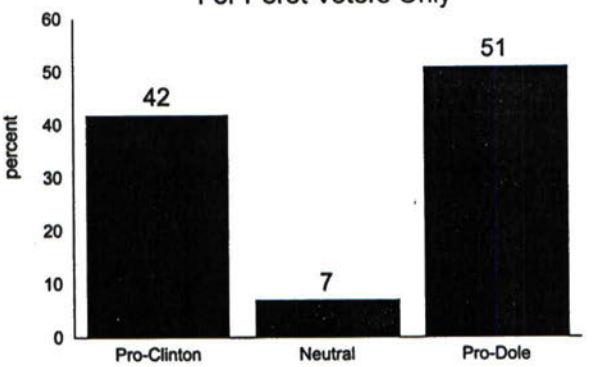


Figure 9

A much different picture emerges. Indeed, Dole does manage to retain a majority of Perot voters' net positive feelings, but the difference is only 9%. If we split the small number of neutral Perot supporters between Dole and Clinton, Bob Dole ends up with 54.5% of the Perot vote.

Using this proven method,[7] we can estimate that Bob Dole would have received 5% of Perot's Florida vote. Consequently, the final two-party vote for Clinton would have been 52%, as compared to Dole's 48%. Put another way, Clinton did only slightly better, proportionately

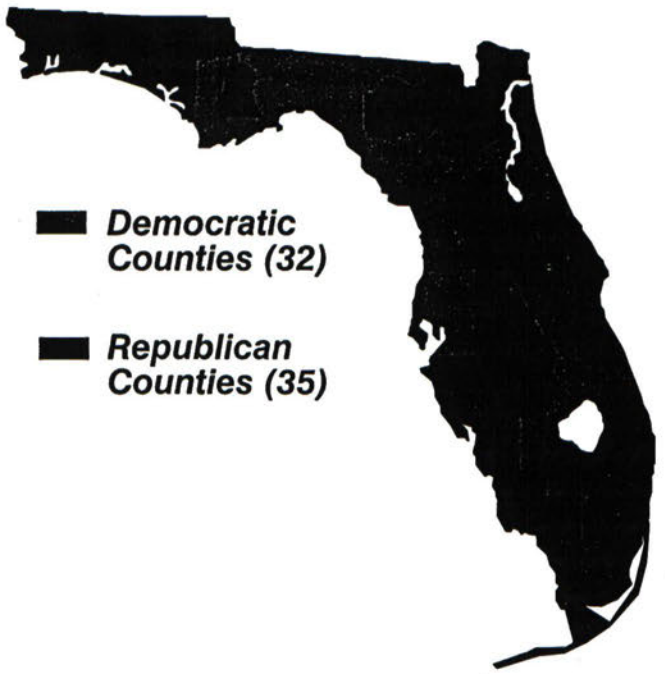
speaking, than Lawton Chiles did against Jeb Bush in 1994 (51.1% vs. 48.9%).

And perhaps this fact says more than all the above analysis put together. A Democratic candidate, well-known and well-liked among his or her own rank-and-file, can win this increasingly Republican state. Like Clinton, and Lawton Chiles before him, they must first solidify their Democratic base and then win most of the independent vote. Anything less, insures a Republican victory.

But time may be running out for statewide Democratic candidates, as their own partisan rolls continue to shrink. Demography is destiny and as revealed in the recent Democratic loss of the state House reveals, it may already be too late. ***FV***

[1] The Perot vote is excluded from this analysis.
[2] Voter News Service, as reported in *The Miami Herald*, November 6, 1996, p. 18A. Our sample had this difference at 9%.
[3] For a good example see Brody, Richard. 1976. "Communications." *American Political Science Review* 70: 924-26.
[4] See our last issue for an example. *FV* (Oct/Nov 1996), Vol. 2, Issue 1.
[5] Bartels, Larry. 1988. *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
[6] Abramson, Paul R. et al. 1995. Third-Party and Independent Candidates: Wallace, Anderson, and Perot. *Political Science Quarterly* 110: 349-67.
[7] Ibid. Abramson and his colleagues used NES feeling thermometers for the same purpose.

The Presidential Vote by County



The Influence of Presidential Debates on Voters

In recent presidential elections, the debates have become a standard political event, like the two political conventions. Although the first TV debates started with the famous 1960 Kennedy v. Nixon campaign, ensuing campaigns avoided the debates in the 1964, 1968 and 1972 elections. In 1976, Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford resumed the practice and they have punctuated every election cycle since.

To political observers and historians, the debates have provided anecdotal evidence that this key event had some impact on the election outcome. In this view, for example, it may have been Nixon's sweaty demeanor against the handsome Kennedy that made the difference in the nation's closest election. Or Gerald Ford's odd statement that Eastern Europe wasn't under the domination of the Soviets that might have cost him the presidency.

But political scholars still have mixed opinions about the impact these staged events actually have on the election outcome.[1] With so many voters committed to their own presidential choice, some scholars believe the debates have become a sporting event, where voters root for the "home team."[2] Others have found persuasive effects from the debates, especially with weak partisans and those "cross-pressured" by family and friends.[3] In reality, the effects of the presidential debates are probably both: they provide strong supporters the opportunity to root for their candidate, but they may also influence less committed voters. The question, of course, is how much.[4]

Considering the size of the television audience, it shouldn't surprise many that Bob Dole believed his chances for victory hinged on his TV performance. From 1976 through 1992, debate viewership averaged nearly 69 million people. In Table 1, we list the average Neilson television ratings for the debates, in each year since 1960.[5]

Year	Percentage of Television Households
1960	59.9
1976	51.2
1980	58.9
1984	45.7
1988	36.4
1992	43.3
1996	33.8

Table 1

One apparent difference this year, however, is the significant drop in household viewership over previous

years. This represents a drop of 22% in viewership from the 1992 debates. In many ways, this statistic foreshadowed the election's voter turnout, the lowest since 1924. Only 49% of the voting age population participated in the election, some 10 million less than in 1992.

Lower viewership, of course, reduces the effects the debates might have had on a larger audience. This year's debates lagged in performance, we could argue, because so many voters had made up their mind or had decided Clinton would win the debate easily. In other words, interest in an event diminishes as the odds for an unexpected outcome go down. Just ask Don King.

In our own post election survey,[6] we found 80% of Florida voters saying they made their presidential choice before either of the two debates (see *Florida Voters Choose Democrat*). Only 4.5% claimed to have made up their mind either during or right after the debates. Obviously, considering the size of Clinton's victory, *this election did not hinge on either Clinton's or Dole's debate performance.*

Our October survey,[7] taken after the debates, showed diminished interest in the events as well. Little more than half of Florida's registered voters watched both debates, as shown in Figure 1.

Voters Who Watched Debates

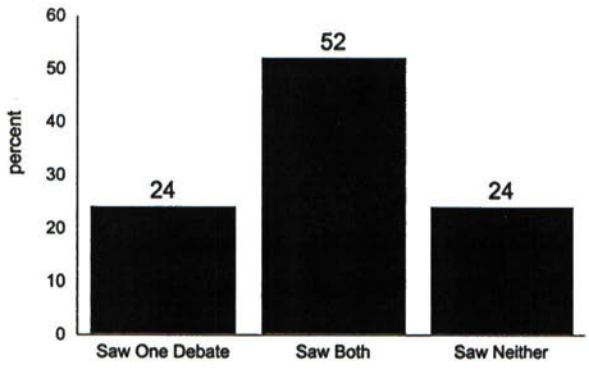


Figure 1

Some 24% missed both debates, leaving these voters to make their decision on other criteria. All in all, however, 76% viewed one or both of the debates and a few could have found one of the two contender's performances persuasive enough upon which to base their decision. Here was Dole's chance to make a difference.

Most overnight polls, nonetheless, showed a majority of voters declaring Clinton the winner. Although most political observers found the president's performance wanting, he avoided any gaffs and his telegenic demeanor far exceeded Bob Dole's. Moreover, Florida voters also confirmed Clinton's victory. As shown in Figure 2, 57% picked the president over the former Kansas Senator.

Who Won the Debates?

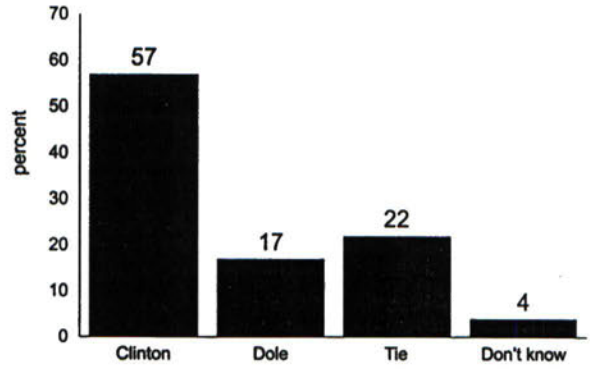


Figure 2

Only 17% said Bob Dole won the debates outright and 22% called them a tie. From the point of influencing the outcome, we could say Dole reached his goal, but in the wrong direction. On the surface at least, Clinton made the most of the debates without using many of his vaunted speaking skills.

As you would expect, voter's debate winner selection is highly correlated with their choice for president. Among voters who said Clinton was the clear debate winner, 72% also supported him for president. Conversely, some 79% of voters claiming Dole victorious also picked him as their choice for president as well. But as Clinton's 57% debate victory statistic suggests, far more Dole supporters said the president won both debates. Nearly 26% of Dole voters said Clinton won, while only 3% of Clinton voters said the former Senator was victorious. No matter how you slice it, Clinton was perceived as the winner.

"All the pundits say Bill Clinton's gonna clean my clock, so if I show up, we win."
Bob Dole, on the day of the first debate

Next to the political conventions themselves, the debates provide a major opportunity for voters to view the two candidates. Unlike the conventions, however, the debates pit the two contestants in the same forum, side by side. Since the incumbent president has had four years of unimpeded media coverage, the debates are far more important to the challenger.

Although winning the debates is important, for the challenger just being on the same stage with the

incumbent president adds to his credibility. Win or lose, marginally attentive voters become more familiar with him and any preconceived fears they might have had about him, often fade away. In other words, unless the challenger politically shoots himself in the foot during the debates, he really can't lose. He becomes more familiar to millions of Americans on the same stage with the President of the United States.

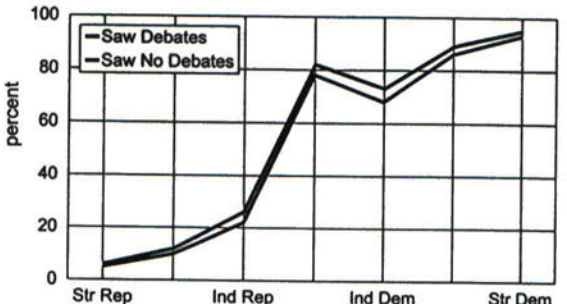
Undoubtedly, this is why so many well-known incumbents avoid debating their lesser known opponents—debates add familiarity and credibility to the challenger while subjecting the incumbent to a possible mistake. In presidential campaigns, however, by the time the debates occur, information and knowledge about the challenger has become less scarce and consequently, his ability to become more familiar with voters dramatically diminishes.[8]

All of this must seem counterintuitive, since we earlier showed how most voters believed Clinton won both debates. And if he won, doesn't that mean they're more likely to vote for him? Maybe, maybe not.

One way to assess the real impact the debates had on the electorate, is to compare debate viewer support for the candidates with non-viewing voters. In other words, using non-viewers as our control group, we can see if support for Clinton actually increased because of the debates or not. Since partisan beliefs affect voter perceptions, regardless of viewing habits, we must also control for party identification. In Figure 3, we have done just that, graphing voters percent support for Clinton, subject to whether or not they watched the debates.

Clinton % of Two-Party Vote

By Whether Voters Saw Debates



Saw Debates	5	10	22	78	68	86	93
Saw No Debates	6	12	26	82	73	89	95

Logistic regression estimate, model chi-sq 442.9/df 7/sig.<.0001. Coefficients significant at .01 level.

Figure 3

As the figure shows, voters who skipped both debates give the president slightly more support than those who watched one or both TV debates, regardless of partisan beliefs. Independent Democrats show the greatest difference, where these non-viewers were 5% more likely to vote for the supposed debate winner than those who watched the debates. In general, non-viewing, weaker partisans seem more affected by this odd phenomenon than stronger partisans.

Weaker partisans, generally have less interest in the campaign than more partisan voters and accordingly, less knowledge of the challenger. Thus, these non-viewing but weaker partisans, were more likely to enter the voting booth less familiar with Bob Dole than those who had watched the debates.[9]

In political campaigns, familiarity does not necessarily breed contempt [Ross Perot is the exception that proves the rule.-ed.]. The added exposure for Dole increased his share of the vote and all he had to do was show up. After all, no one expected him to win the debates anyway.

Unfortunately for Dole, fewer voters watched the debates than in past elections which reduced his ability to attract new supporters. Ironically, his own insistence on excluding Ross Perot from the debates may have contributed to lower viewership. Without Ross's aphorisms and mixed metaphors, the debates lost their appeal to many viewers.

In the end, this smaller audience didn't decide the outcome. The debates come too late in the campaign process to significantly affect voter views about the candidates. Unlike the period leading up to the political conventions, information on the candidates is no longer scarce. By the first debate, however, daily newspaper and television coverage of the two candidates had overwhelmed all but those living in a Buddhist monastery. [Maybe this isn't a good example.-ed.]. Too few voters remained for Dole to pick up, at least without a major blunder by Clinton. And this year's October surprise was late in coming. ***FV***

[1] See Holbrook, Thomas M. 1996. *Do Campaigns Matter?* Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage Publications.

[2] Owen, Diana. 1991. *Media Messages in American Presidential Elections*. New York: Greenwood Press.

[3] Geer, John G. 1988. "The Effects of Presidential Debates on the Electorate's Preferences for Candidates." American Political Quarterly 16:486-501. This study, however, focused on individual voters as opposed to aggregate trends.

[4] See Holbrook. The author finds the potential effects of the debates, as you would expect, to vary substantially from election to election. p. 119.

[5] Ibid. p.99. Entries represent the average for all presidential debates in each election year. Nielsen rating for 1996 reported by Associated Press.

[6] November 5-12, 1996. 541 respondents, who voted in the November 5 election.

[7] October 19-26, 1996, 609 registered voters.

[8] See Holbrook.

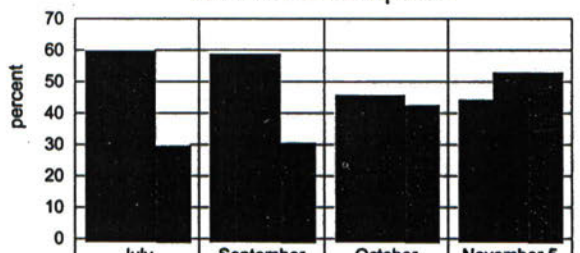
[9] By less familiarity, we don't mean they didn't know who he was, but that they had not had an opportunity to see him in anything other than a campaign setting.

Sweet Victory:
What Happened to the Sugar Tax?

It's good to know that 24-million dollars can still influence public opinion.[1] We don't say this irreverently, because Big Sugar could have just as easily misspent this money and been faced with the dreaded penny per pound fee on raw sugar. Instead, they managed to change public opinion about the nature and need for the tax.

When the TV ads finally stopped on November 5, many voters believed the amendment meant taxing themselves for the Everglades cleanup and not the sugar companies. Add some big government mistrust and mismanagement, and you have a perfect formula for defeating a once popular issue. We say once popular, because our early surveys showed over 60% favored Amendment 4, as shown in Figure 1.

Amendment 4
Shift in Public Opinion



	July	September	October	November 5
For	61	60	47	45.6
Against	31	32	44	54.4
Don't know	8	8	9	NA

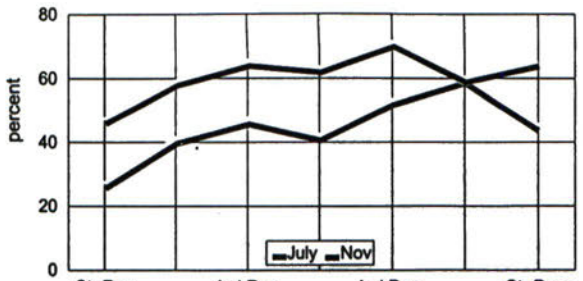
Figure 1

As late as September 12, our surveys showed 60% supported the penny per pound sugar fee. But by late October, the bottom had fallen out and less than 50% supported it. Doubt had crept in and it was growing.

This increasing negative trend affected every demographic group, except weak Democrats, voters who did not finish high school and college graduates. Every other group dramatically dropped their support for the tax on Election Day. Let's first look at partisan changes over the campaign. In Figure 2, we compare voters from our first survey on the sugar tax in July with voters who participated in the election.

As the chart demonstrates, every partisan category dropped in support for the tax, save weak Democrats. Interestingly, the corresponding loss in support from each partisan group seems relatively uniform—from 18% to

Partisan Changes in Sugar Tax Support



		Weak Rep		Independent		Weak Dem	
July	47	59	65	63	71	60	65
Nov	27	41	47	42	53	60	45

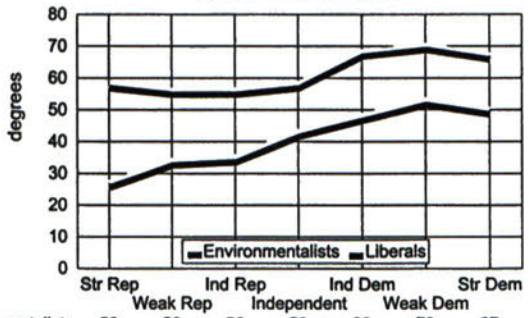
ANOVA F Values (July) 2.2/df 6/Sig. <.04. (Nov) 3.5/df 6/sig.<.002.

Figure 2

21%. What eventually caused this support loss appears to have affected each group uniformly, except those weak Democrats who seem to have been inoculated from the creeping sugar tax disaffection. Their support for the taxed stayed consistently near the original 60% level.

We wondered why, so we analyzed these voters on their views from abortion to the military and found some interesting differences that might explain their steadfast support. First, their attachment to environmental causes is stronger than other partisan groups. For instance, their average or mean temperature rating (see *Why a Feeling Thermometer*?) for "environmentalists" exceeded all other partisans, as shown in Figure 3.

Feelings for Environmentalists and Liberals



		Weak Rep		Independent		Weak Dem	
Environmentalists	58	56	56	58	68	70	67
Liberals	27	34	35	43	48	53	50

ANOVA F Value (Envir) 5.97/df 6/sig. <.0001. (Liberals) 16.15/df 6/sig.<.0001.

Figure 3

This affinity for environmentalists surpassed even strong and independent Democrats. Obviously, their heightened environmental feelings helped them reject much of the antitax message which affected other partisans. In addition to their environmental feelings, these same Democrats have a greater attachment to "liberals,"

as measured again by our thermometer ratings. In fact, these weaker Democrats rate liberals higher than even their stronger partisans.

This greater than average affection for all things environmental and liberal seems to have helped their faith in resisting the onslaught of mixed media messages. We thought at first, that these same weak Democrats might have a larger proportion of both younger and better educated voters. And although they are younger than some groups like strong Republicans or Democrats, they are older than others. Their educational levels show no statistical differences from any other group either. In other words, they seem no different than other partisans except for their feelings for liberals and environmentalists.

Before we demonstrate this relationship, let's clarify some other misunderstandings about why people supported or opposed the tax. Women voters, unlike their feelings for Clinton, were no more likely to support or oppose the sugar tax than men. Black voters also showed no statistical difference than non-blacks in their support or opposition, as well.[2] A voter's income is not a determinant. Voters with the highest income showed no more affinity for the tax than those with minimal family finances.

Although significant regional differences in support of the tax occurred—with North Florida being the most opposed—these differences were superficial and only reflected the demographic and ideological makeup of the region. In other words, when we controlled for other contributory factors such as voter education and other ideological beliefs (such as environmentalism and liberalism), we found no relationship between support or rejection of the sugar tax.

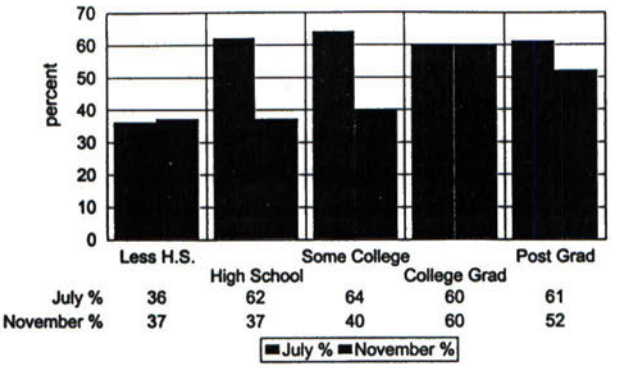
We did find age level differences, with older voters having considerably less desire to pass the sugar tax, but these distinctions largely disappear, however, when we control for their education and political beliefs.[3] Due to generational differences, older voters have less educational attainment than younger residents and this alone increased their likelihood of voting against the tax.

In addition to a voter's attitude about environmentalists and liberals, increased educational attainment also enhanced their likelihood of voting for the sugar fee. This direct relationship can be seen in Figure 4, where we compare previous support for the tax with the actual vote, by educational level.

At every level, except voters without a high school diploma and college graduates, support for the tax decreased over the campaign. Voters without a high school diploma, however, were consistently against the tax. Although we didn't ask voters their occupation, many

Support for Sugar Tax

By Voters' Education



ANOVA F Value 4.2/df 4/sig.<.002.

Figure 4

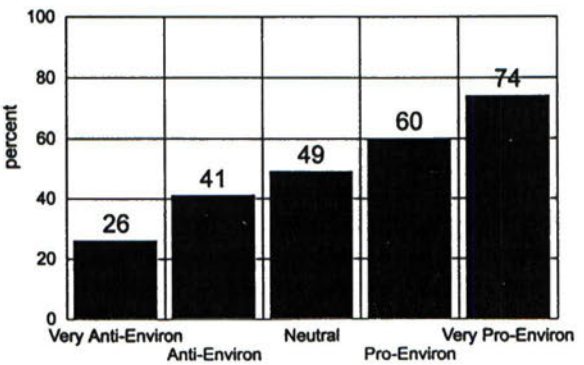
may have worked directly or indirectly for agricultural businesses, were opposition to this tax existed from day one.

Among high school graduates and voters with some college, support dropped dramatically over a three month period. Both groups changed their opinions by some 25%. Post graduate level voters declined as well, but managed to stay generally supportive on Election Day. In the end, college graduates were the only group to show consistent support for the tax.

Ultimately, voter ability to resist Big Sugar's message about the impact and need for the tax depended upon their environmental beliefs. Strong beliefs, regardless of any other social, partisan or ideological convictions, inoculated the voter from doubt. Weak convictions or plain disdain for environmentalists, lead to doubt and likely rejection of the amendment. In Figure 5, we display the percentage of voters support for the tax by their feelings for environmentalists, while controlling for education, age, party identification and other important traits.[4]

Support for Sugar Tax

By Voters Feelings for Environmentalists*



Logistic regression estimate, Model Chi-sq. 102.1/df 21/sig.<.0001.
*Controlled for age, education, state region, race, liberalism, gender and party id.

Figure 5

As fondness for environmentalists grew, so did a voter's chances for supporting the tax on sugar, regardless of where they lived or even their education. Ultimately, this is why weak Democratic partisans maintained their support for the tax in the face of so many radio and TV commercials calling it another boondoggle for bureaucrats or that jobs would be lost. Injected with greater environmentalist fervor, these weak Democrats held their beliefs on Election Day, while many others wandered away.

Partisan beliefs then, had little or no impact on voter's decision making process.[5] Support slipped dramatically among all voters, except with strong environmentalists, social liberals and the well educated. Not a coalition, of course, to pass any issue in Florida, as demonstrated by Amendment 4's failure to reach a majority on November 5.

On Election Day, voters were content to overwhelmingly pass an amendment requiring "polluters" to pay for their own water pollution in the Everglades (Amendment 5). For many, no doubt, this expunged any guilt left by their rejection of the sugar production tax. After all, wasn't that the purpose of the sugar tax: to make the polluter pay? ***FV***

[1] We don't mean to imply that the supporters of the tax were financial pikers either. Estimates indicate, however, that the "Save Our Everglades" committee was outspent by opponents 2 to 1.

[2] We admit our sample of black voters, although 10%, decreases the possibility of showing any statistical difference.

[3] Depending upon whether the data is left as continuous or categorized, our logistic regression model estimates the significance level from .12 to .33. With a larger sample, however, we would expect to see some age level effects.

[4] A logistic regression estimate, where the dependent variable is voted for or against Amendment 4. (Model Chi-sq = 102.1/df 21/sig.<.0001.) The independent variable "environmentalist" feeling thermometer has the highest Wald statistic (27.1) and is significant at the <.0001 level.

[5] We don't know why so many fervent environmentalists reside in the weak Democratic party category. This could be coincidental or reveal some other fundamental difference not shown in our data.

Greetings of the Season
May you have a Joyous
and Safe Holiday
and a
Happy New Year

The Compleat Jeb and Buddy Guide

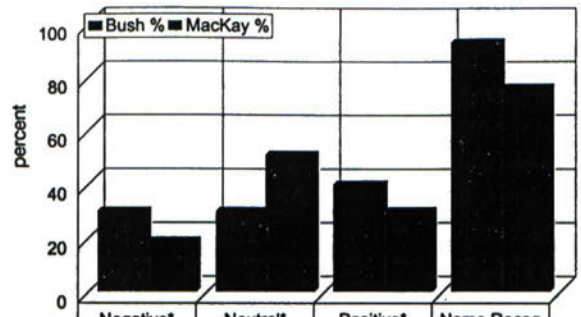
On New Year's Day, there will be 671 shopping days 'til the next statewide elections. With Democrat Buddy MacKay announcing his intention to run and Jeb Bush, who never stopped running, we thought a basic comparison of the two is long overdue. Using our combined sample of 1,216 voters, we examine how voters see each of these potential opponents before the first campaign ad hits the airways. We find both are well known, but from there, the similarities end. Even after 28 years of public service, few voters have definitive views of the Lieutenant Governor. Jeb Bush, on the other hand, has never been elected to any office and most voters have hard and fast opinions about him. Strong Republicans, conservatives, the Christian Right, pro-life and pro-business voters all rate him highly. Conversely, most Democrats, liberals, environmentalists, feminists, pro-choice and pro-labor voters all find his political image severely wanting. As differently as voters see these two candidates, however, they match up well in a increasingly closer gubernatorial contest.

Now that Bob Graham has blinked and decided to pass on a historic third try for the Florida governor's mansion, we thought that a more in-depth look at the only announced Democrat, Buddy MacKay and Republican sure-thing, Jeb Bush, is in order. [We will, of course, add other challengers to our list as soon as they become apparent.-ed.]

In our late October and early November surveys,[1] we interviewed 1,216 voters about their feelings for the well known pair. We say well known, because this, perhaps more than anything else, stands out about the two contenders. This is particularly true of the never-elected Jeb Bush, whose name recognition rivals the incumbent governor. In Figure 1, we display the candidates' name recognition levels and their respective negative and positive evaluations.

Jeb Bush's 93% name recognition is just 3% shy of Newt Gingrich. And Buddy MacKay, with 76% name recognition, trails only the governor, our two U.S. Senators and of course, his potential opponent, Jeb. Even media darling, Bob Butterworth, falls some 26% behind the Lieutenant Governor. Party switcher and former serial Cabinet officer, Jim Smith, never attained much more than 64% after spending two million dollars trying to beat Jeb Bush for the Republican nomination. In other words, it's not easy to build this kind of voter visibility in our vast state.[2]

Bush and MacKay Ratings



	Negative*	Neutral*	Positive*	Name Recog
Bush %	30	30	40	93
MacKay %	19	51	30	76

* Excludes "don't knows".

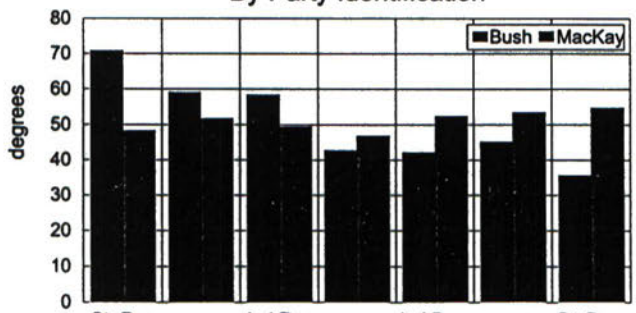
Figure 1

Name recognition plays an essential role in a candidate's ability to win public office, since so many voters enter the voting booth with little or no knowledge of most candidates on the ballot. But this only applies to positive name recognition, since voters will generally vote, subject to their partisan strength, for an unknown alternative than a better known candidate they dislike. In Jeb's case, 40% of voters who know him have positive feelings for him. His negative name recognition, however, comes in at 30%, well above average for most politicians. Compare this to Bob Graham, who has similar voter recognition, but only 16% of which is negative.

Buddy MacKay has 10% less positive name recognition than Jeb, but he also has 11% less negative voter recognition as well. Most of MacKay's evaluations fall into the neutral range, a sign that most voters have rather vague impressions of him. As you would expect, both potential contenders for the top spot do better with voters from their own party. In Figure 2, we use voters' mean temperature ratings for the two (see *Why a Feeling Thermometer?*), subject to their party identification.

Bush and MacKay Ratings

By Party Identification



	Str Rep	Weak Rep	Ind Rep	Independent	Ind Dem	Weak Dem	Str Dem
Bush	70.9	59.1	58.5	42.8	42.2	45.2	35.6
MacKay	48.3	51.8	49.5	46.9	52.4	53.4	54.7

Bush ANOVA f Value 55.2/df 6/sig.<.0001. MacKay 3.1 /df 6/sig. <.006.

Figure 2

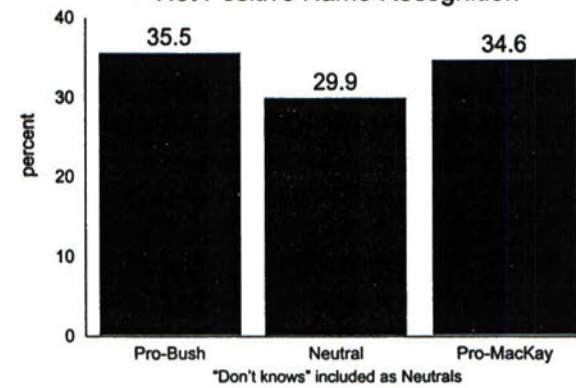
Notice how Bush excels with strong GOP voters and strong Democrats have lukewarm feelings for their potential nominee. These ambivalent impressions even affect strong Republicans, who rate the Lieutenant Governor somewhat negatively, but only slightly so, at 48 degrees. Voters impressions of Jeb Bush, however, are anything but neutral. Strong Democrats trash him with only 35 degrees and strong Republicans exalt him with a rating over 70 degrees.

Voters have clear and definite opinions about Bush, a characteristic that is at once his strength and his weakness. His supporters are strong supporters, unlikely to fail him on Election Day. On the other hand, voters who find fault with him, feel equally motivated to vote against him. In the end, he will find winning their support a very difficult proposition. Unfortunately for Jeb, the line of demarcation begins at the pure independent voter, a group he lost to Lawton Chiles. This important contingent of swing voter rate him lower than weak Democrats and could again desert him for the right Democratic challenger.

But these same independents find Buddy MacKay wanting as well, actually rating him lower than strong GOP voters. Regardless of partisan beliefs, voters will select the candidate they rate highest. In simpler terms, people vote for candidates they like the most. Using our thermometer scale, we can subtract voter feelings for Bush from their respective feelings for MacKay and determine who has the higher net positive rating. In Figure 3, we have done just that and classified them as pro-Bush voters, pro-MacKay voters and voters who have equal feelings for both.[3]

Bush and MacKay

Net Positive Name Recognition



"Don't knows" included as Neutrals

Figure 3

Jeb Bush has slightly more positive voters than Buddy MacKay. Neutral voters, those respondents who have equivalent feelings for both (or don't know either), however, nearly reach the 30% mark. Left to their own

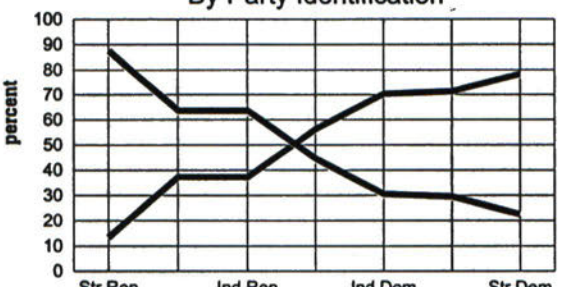
devices, these neutral voters would naturally part along partisan lines. In reality, they become the battleground for the campaign and most will end up either liking or disliking one candidate more than the other by early November, 1998.

Voters have clear and definite opinions about Bush, a characteristic that is at once his strength and his weakness.

Forgetting how the neutral voters will eventually fall, we can look at those who have definite opinions about the two. Along party lines, for instance, we can see definite patterns, as seen in Figure 4.

Bush and MacKay Net Positive Name Recognition

By Party Identification



	Str Rep	Weak Rep	Ind Rep	Independent	Ind Dem	Weak Dem	Str Dem
Bush %	87	63	63	44	30	29	22
MacKay %	13	37	37	56	70	71	78

ANOVA F Value 42.4/df 6/sig.<.0001. Neutrals excluded.

Figure 4

The lines on this figure are really mirror images of each other, showing the percentage of net positive name recognition each receives from the seven partisan categories. As we can see, Jeb does very well with strong Republicans, proportionately much better than Buddy does with his own party's stronger members. But MacKay does relatively better, conversely, with weak and independent Democrats than Bush does with Republicans with similar partisan intensities. In other words, MacKay makes up for his shortcomings with his stronger partisans by doing better than expected with weak and independent Democrats.

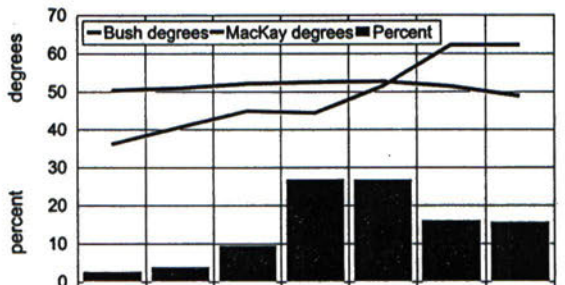
"Hey, Buddy, You're a Liberal"

In 1988, Buddy MacKay and Connie Mack competed for Lawton Chiles' former U.S. Senate seat. After both candidates spent nearly nine million dollars combined, the race was decided by a mere 33,000 votes, out of the 4 million cast. Some analysts believe that MacKay was hurt by the liberal label that Mack stuck on him during the campaign. Since the race was so close, this assertion could have some merit. Jeb Bush and his campaign team will undoubtedly review this previous battle, much like a football team [I know, no more Jack Kemp football metaphors. - ed.] would review their opponent's games on film.

Our own survey didn't ask how voters viewed both contenders ideologically, but we did ask them about their own liberal/conservative ideology when it comes to politics. In Figure 5, the bars represent the percentage of voters who fit the various ideological labels, from very liberal to very conservative.[4]

Bush and MacKay Thermometer Ratings

By Voters' Liberal/Conservative Ideology



	V. Liberal	Liberal	S. Liberal	Moderate	S. Conserv	Conserv	V. Conserv
Bush degrees	36	40.5	44.9	44.4	51.4	62.1	62.1
MacKay degrees	50.1	50.7	51.9	52.3	52.5	51.2	48.7
Percent	2.4	3.6	9.3	26.7	26.6	15.9	15.5

Bush ANOVA F Value 21.6/df 6/sig. <.001. MacKay ratings not significant.

Figure 5

As the bars graphically depict, not many of our 1,216 Florida voters classified themselves in the "liberal" range. The majority, however, fall in the "moderate" to "somewhat conservative" categories. The statistical mean for this seven point scale is 4.8, reflecting this predominant attitude. A significant portion of our sample chose more conservative philosophies as well. Some 31% classified themselves as either "conservative" or "very conservative."

Above the bars on the same graph are two lines which represent the thermometer ratings (mean) for each ideological classification below it. In other words, among moderates, for example, Jeb Bush has an average rating of 44.4 degrees and Buddy MacKay rates 52.3 degrees for this same group. But as voters become more conservative, their respective views of the Republican also increase. Bush's positive ratings, however, only begin to appear with the "somewhat conservative" voter; moderates and liberals have cooler feelings for the former gubernatorial candidate.

Voters rate Buddy MacKay, on the other hand, with less emotion, regardless of their ideological views. But generally, they rate the Lieutenant Governor positively, with the exception of very conservative voters. This figure demonstrates graphically that there is no significant relationship between voters' ideological views and how they rate him on our feeling thermometer.[5] If voters perceived MacKay as particularly "liberal" we would expect more positive reactions by voters who classify themselves as "liberal" and more negative ratings from "conservative" voters. In fact, he does best with "moderate" and "somewhat conservative" voters than with other ideological types.

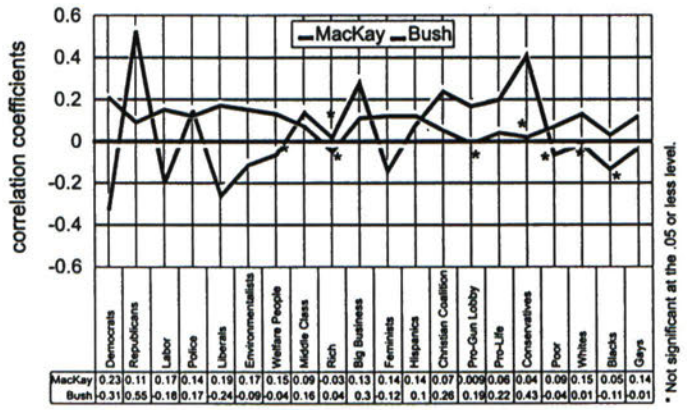
"Hey, Jeb, You're a Conservative"

Conversely, voters have definite reactions to Jeb Bush based upon their own liberal/conservative philosophy. Moderate to liberal voters rate him poorly and more conservative voters rate him highly. We can assume from this that voters perceive Jeb Bush as a solidly conservative candidate and rate him accordingly. This will undoubtedly help him in a Republican primary contest, but in a general election it makes him vulnerable to the traditional Democratic label for conservative Republicans, an extremist.

Impressions about Jeb Bush have definite conservative dimensions that form voter evaluations about his political persona. We know this because we also asked voters to rate various social and political groups on our feeling thermometer as well. Using what statisticians call correlation analysis, we can compare voters feelings for these groups with their feelings for both Bush and MacKay. In Figure 6, we see a definite and positive relationship between voter feelings for Jeb Bush and known conservative groups.

MacKay and Bush Correlations

With Key Groups



	Democrats	Republicans	Labor	Police	Liberals	Environmentalists	Welfare People	Middle Class	Rich	Big Business	Feminists	Hispanics	Christian Coalition	Pro-Gun Lobby	Pro-Life	Conservatives	Poor	Whites	Blacks	Gays
MacKay	0.23	0.11	0.17	0.14	0.19	0.17	0.15	0.09	-0.03	0.13	0.14	0.14	0.07	0.009	0.06	0.04	0.09	0.15	0.05	0.14
Bush	-0.31	0.55	-0.18	0.17	-0.24	-0.09	-0.04	0.16	0.04	0.3	-0.12	0.1	0.26	0.19	-0.22	0.43	-0.04	0.01	-0.11	-0.01

Figure 6

In this analysis, positive numbers reflect a positive association between the group listed and Bush or MacKay and negative numbers show a negative relationship. As the correlation value approaches a plus 1 or minus 1, the relationship between the two variables increases. Simply put, higher correlation values indicate some common connection, either negatively or positively, between the candidate and the group.[6]

For example, Jeb Bush's .55 correlation with the Republican Party, shows a very positive and strong relationship with his own party. On the other hand, he has a negative association with the Democratic Party, meaning as feelings become more positive for him they become more negative for the Democrats (or vice versa). Not an unexpected reaction, of course.

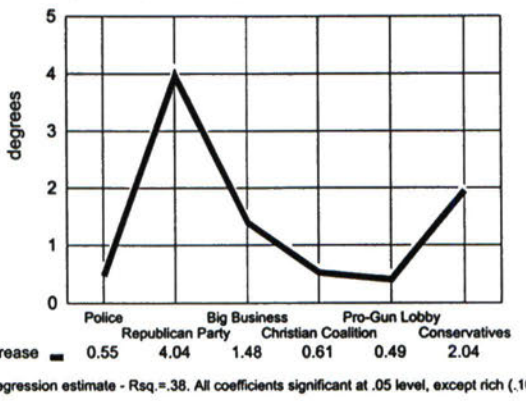
Looking along the horizontal axis line, we see how Bush's correlation line fluctuates wildly while MacKay's meanders lazily in the neutral to slightly positive range. Even his association with the Republican Party stays in positive territory. Apart from his own party, MacKay's strongest relationship is with voter feelings for "liberals," but even this association is modest in contrast to Bush's relationship with "conservatives."

In contrast, voters who rate the Democratic Party, labor, liberals, environmentalists and feminists highly, have generally negative views of Jeb Bush.[7] On the other hand, voters who have positive views of the Republican Party, the police, the rich, big business, the Christian Coalition, the pro-gun lobby, the pro-life movement and conservatives all have generally positive views of the Miami Republican. In other words, warm feelings for Jeb Bush stem from voters with socially and economically conservative values.

Which group interest has more impact on Jeb Bush's favorable ratings? We can't determine the individual

Change in Jeb Bush Feeling Thermometer

By Every 10 Degrees in Group Feelings



Multiple Regression estimate - Rsq.=.38. All coefficients significant at .05 level, except rich (.10).

Figure 7

impact of any of these groups from their correlation values alone. Using a related statistical technique, multiple regression, we can measure the individual impact of a group on Jeb's thermometer rating, while controlling for the effects of the others. In Figure 7, we see how for every 10 degree increase in a group's rating, affection for Jeb Bush increases.[8]

One important group, the pro-life movement, is missing from the chart. It's missing because when we include feelings for the Christian Coalition in the regression model, voter opinions of the pro-life movement have no statistical affect on Bush's favorable numbers.[9] This might sound counterintuitive since his position on abortion is well known, but the data suggests that voter feelings for the Coalition, with its antiabortion beliefs and conservative social agenda, have more of an impact on Jeb's thermometer ratings than voters who have positive feelings for the pro-life movement alone.

Among groups that have a significant impact on his favorable ratings, voter feelings for the Republican Party are the greatest contributor.[10] Every 10 degrees in feelings for the Grand Old Party, increases Jeb's positive ratings by 4.04 degrees. Separately, every 10 degrees for conservatives, also expands his positive numbers by 2.04 degrees. If we combine feelings for the two groups together, this combination boosts Bush's positive evaluations by 6.1 degrees.

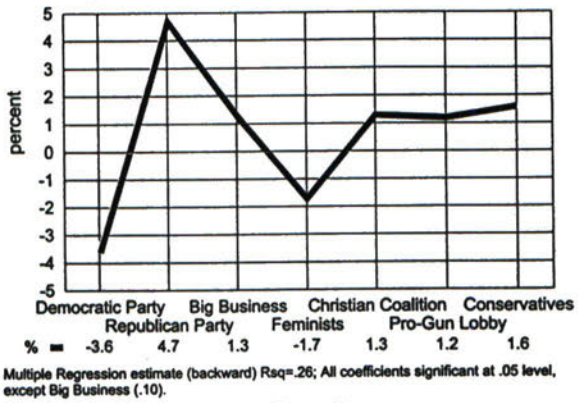
Additionally, we find significant increases in Jeb Bush's favorable ratings from big business, the Christian Coalition, the police and the pro-gun lobby. Positive beliefs about these groups, in other words, form the core of his political strength. In all, we find substantial socially and economically conservative values underpinning his political popularity. A fact that both attests to his political strength, but could limit his ability to reach out to less conservative voters.

In a contest with Buddy MacKay, a voter's potential vote is, of course, a trade off of feelings for the two contestants. Put another way, voters will choose the candidate they have net positive feelings for on Election Day. At this early date, we can't tell you who would win if voters had to choose MacKay or Bush, but we can show you which political elements currently drive their net positive opinions when confronted with this trial-heat query.

Earlier (Figure 3), we displayed our sample's net positive name recognition for Bush and MacKay, a variable derived from the subtraction of their respective feeling thermometers. Forgetting for a moment voters with equal opinions about both candidates, we can see what social and political elements are currently affecting voters net opinions about the two. In Figure 8, we display changes in Jeb Bush's net positive ratings over MacKay by a corresponding 10 degrees in voters feelings for only significant groups.[11]

Change in Bush's Net Positive Ratings Over MacKay

By Every 10 Degrees in Group Feelings



Multiple Regression estimate (backward) Rsq=.26; All coefficients significant at .05 level, except Big Business (.10).

Figure 8

As you would expect, not all group attachments lead to an increase in Bush's favor. For instance, every 10 degrees for the Democratic Party decreases Jeb Bush's (or increases Buddy MacKay's) net advantage by 3.6%, independent of attachments to any other group. Support for feminists also detracts from Bush's ratings; every 10 degrees for this group reduces his net advantage over the Lieutenant Governor by 1.7%.

MacKay's strength comes from his high name recognition and that he has developed few negatives in his 28 years of public service.

But beyond these two groups, we find group support for most conservative causes to increase Jeb's net advantage over the Democrat. For example, every 10 degrees for the Republican Party expands his net advantage by 4.7%, or 1.1% more than his comparable loss among Democrats. This would suggest he gains more on partisanship than he loses, at least against Buddy MacKay. Bush's net advantage also increases with group feelings for conservatives, big business, the Christian Coalition and the gun lobby. His advantage with the police (or crime), however, drops from our estimates because it no longer has any statistical impact on the candidates' net difference.

All of this would seem to suggest a lopsided advantage for Bush, since MacKay gets help from only

two group dimensions: the Democratic Party and feminists attitudes. But this is misleading, since the net difference in positive name recognition between them is only 1.1%.[12] What it does point out, nevertheless, is how undefined Buddy MacKay is in the collective mind of the voter. Even his own party's strong partisans offer lukewarm support and this could spell trouble for him in the Democratic primary. Conversely, so few voters have definitive opinions about him, MacKay's campaign has the opportunity to craft his image.

MacKay's strength comes from his high name recognition and that he has developed few negatives in his 28 years of public service. These two qualities alone make him a formidable opponent in the primary or general election.

In contrast, Jeb Bush stands as the mirror opposite of Buddy MacKay. Although never elected to public office, voters have few doubts about this son of a former president. His strength lies at the core of modern Republican conservatism: clear social and economic views, based upon strong family values and morals, a hard work ethic, individual character, smaller government and lower taxes. But many voters seem constrained by their perceptions of him. Moderate voters, in particular, find his image too conservative, too extreme. And therein lies the rub. It may be best for Bush to redefine his opponent than to revise prevailing impressions of him. It's easier to rearrange the furniture than to rotate the whole room.

If these two individuals eventually meet to challenge for Florida's ultimate political prize, it is likely to come down to a few votes. An unwelcome but not unfamiliar experience for both men. ***FV***

1 October 19-26 and November 5-12, 1996.
2 Voters have also lived less time in Florida than those in most other states as well.
3 Voters who didn't know the candidate where coded as "50's" since not knowing someone is neither positive nor negative.
4 The self-rating scale ranges from 1 (very liberal) to 7 (very conservative).
5 Our Analysis of the Variance model for MacKay lacks statistical significance as well.
6 This statement assumes the correlation value is significant. Non-significant values are noted by the asterisk. Most values are significant at the .001 level (two-tailed). Perfect associations would equal either a +/-1.
7 Omitted are negative and positive correlations that are not statistically significant, as denoted by the asterisk.
8 Coefficients do not include the model's constant, 3.11.
9 In statistical terms, the significance level rises above any acceptable standard.
10 The coefficients included in this figure are unstandardized coefficients. Since all the variables are measured on the same scale, their individual impact matches the standardized values.
11 These groups were selected by using a backward elimination procedure; all coefficients, except big business (.10) are significant at the .05 or less level.
12 The model's constant is .225, which adjusts the difference caused by the importance of other variables.

The Potential Effects of Abortion on Florida Politics

With Jeb Bush looking more and more like the Republican's preeminent choice to vie for governor, the abortion issue is apt to play a central role in the 1998 race. In this article, we first examine how the issue affects voter perceptions of Jeb Bush and find that abortion still clouds his image with many voters, regardless of their party. We don't find this reaction, however, with voter feelings for Connie Mack— even though both hold pro-life views. Jeb Bush finds himself defined by the issue, while the junior Senator escapes this comparison. Next we explore the political, demographic and religious elements of why voters are pro-choice or pro-life. In the process, we discover the political roots of this modern day moral dilemma.

Few issues in the American past have caused the divisiveness of abortion in modern political history. Since the Supreme Court's 1973 ruling in Roe v. Wade, the debate over a woman's right to choose abortion has dominated the political landscape. Over the past twenty years, the two political parties have become associated with the opposing sides, through party platforms and leading candidates.

Particularly during the Reagan years, the Republican Party became increasingly aligned with the antiabortion movement, while the Democratic Party found support among feminists and pro-choice activists.[1] In the presidential campaign, this one issue may have defined the opposing candidates more than their respective opinions on welfare reform or a balanced budget.

Florida, in particular, has had more than its share of conflict and controversy. In 1993, Dr. David Gunn was shot three times in the back during a antiabortion demonstration in front of his own clinic. Abortion clinic incidents, from arson to vandalism, have marred the state over the past few years alone. For some pro-life activists, the abortion debate is the modern day equivalent to slavery and anything short of a constitutional ban on abortions, is a sell out.

Politically, the issue has had a spotty record in statewide races. Bob Martinez, however, in an act that epitomized his short tenure as Florida's governor, called a special legislative session to deal with the abortion problem. Legislators quickly adjourned, more amused than indignant, since Florida's own constitution also protects a woman's right to privacy.

Chiles, finding the whole thing distasteful, avoided the abortion issue in his 1990 campaign against Martinez. But then again, the Chiles' campaign was blessed with a

cornucopia of negative Martinez issues, without having to resort to abortion. In 1994, against the formidable Jeb Bush, Chiles forgot his previous reluctance to use the issue and early on, his campaign made considerable use of Mr. Bush's pro-life position.[2] As we will see, this short but effective campaign about Jeb Bush's abortion position, presents lingering problems for the Miami Republican.

Abortion, because of its emotional context, has the potential to affect voter views about candidates.

To understand the importance of abortion in Florida politics, we have combined our late October and early November surveys, providing us with 1,216 registered voters for analysis.[3] And as we can see in Table 1, most Floridians call themselves pro-choice when it comes to their abortion views.

Position	Percent
Pro-choice	56
Pro-life	36
Neither	6
Don't know	2
Total	100

Table 1

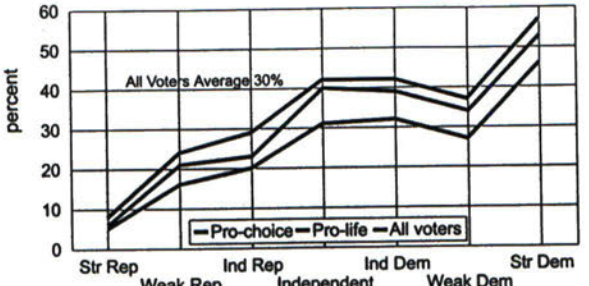
Some 56% call themselves pro-choice, while 36% identify with pro-life abortion views—a 20-point difference. On the surface, at least, pro-life candidates will find little comfort in the electorate's views on the subject. But as we have seen numerous times in the past, not all issues lead to action or for that matter, even recognition of candidate positions.

Abortion, because of its emotional context, however, has the potential to affect voter views about candidates. Jeb Bush is a case in point. As we noted earlier, Lawton Chiles attacked the Republican on his abortion views. More than two years later, many Florida voters still remember. In Figure 1, we have graphed negative opinions of Bush by party identification and abortion views.[4]

This figure represents how an important and emotional issue can alter voter perceptions of a candidate, regardless of their partisan beliefs. As you would expect,

Percent Negative Ratings for Bush

By Abortion Views and Party Identification



Pro-choice	8	24	29	42	42	37	57
Pro-life	5	16	20	31	32	27	46
All voters	6	21	23	40	39	34	53

Logistic regression estimate for pro-life & pro-choice views. Model chi-sq 139.5/df 7/sig.<.0001. All voters ANOVA F Value 24.4/df 6/sig.<.0001.

Figure 1

as voters become more Democratic in their partisan strength, negative opinions of Jeb Bush also increase. Aside from this obvious contrast, we also see differences in negative opinions for each partisan category, depending upon whether the voter is pro-choice or pro-life.

In some cases, the distinctions are major; pure independents, for example, differ some 11% on this one issue alone. But even weak and independent Republicans are affected by Bush's abortion views, with pro-choice voters increasing their negative evaluations by 8 and 9 points respectively. Opinion variances like these, do not happen by chance.[5]

Pro-choice voters have a decidedly lower opinion of the former gubernatorial candidate than pro-life voters. But not all public figures engender this remarkable reaction because of their pro-life position. Senator Connie Mack, for instance, is also a pro-life advocate who supports a constitutional ban on abortions. Yet when we analyze his favorable and unfavorable evaluations, we find no statistical difference between pro-choice or pro-life voters. In other words, his abortion position plays no role in voter evaluations of the junior Senator. Unlike Jeb Bush, Mack's pro-life position doesn't define him.

As a reference point in Figure 1, we included the opinions of all voters along the same political axis. With the exception of strong and independent Republicans, the *all voters* reference line runs nearest to the line representing pro-choice voters. This demonstrates the numerical advantage pro-choice voters have within most partisan groups. In Figure 2, we show how pro-choice voters outnumber pro-life voters at every partisan level, except strong Republicans.[6]

As you would expect, most pro-choice voters identify with the Democratic Party. In our first chart we noted the

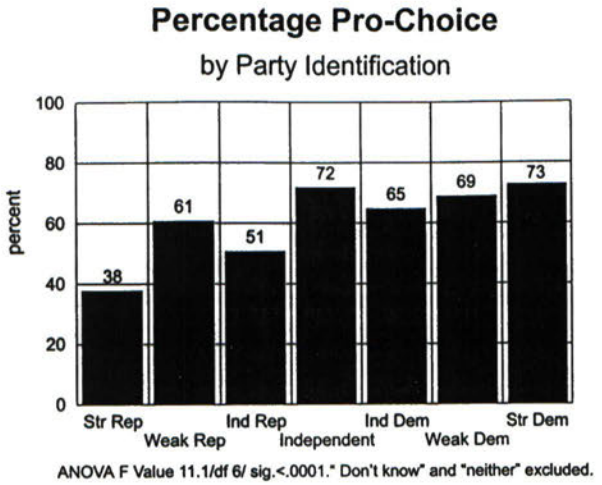


Figure 2

large opinion gap among pure independents for Jeb Bush and as we can see in Figure 2, this difference is largely attributable to the great number of pro-choice advocates within this swing group. But even a significant majority of weak Republicans also identify with the pro-choice label, dampening their enthusiasm for Jeb Bush as well.

Now that we have established the potential the abortion issue has to shape a candidate's relationship with the electorate, we can ask what causes a voter to choose one abortion label over another. Put another way, why are voters pro-choice or pro-life?[7]

But even a significant majority of weak Republicans also identify with the pro-choice label, dampening their enthusiasm for Jeb Bush as well.

Religion and Abortion

Compared to other western nations, Americans are religious.[8] This religiosity has even infected their politics. Early voting behaviorists, for instance, found similar voting trends within religious denominations.[9] Catholics and Jews tended to support Democratic candidates, while Protestants voted Republican.

Today, many of these voting differences have dissipated, but a new force, the religious right, has entered the American political scene. These fundamental Christian voters largely support Republican candidates based on family values and, of course, their antiabortion stand. As an organized political group, the religious right can affect election outcomes, as many believed they did in 1994.[10]

In our own surveys, we asked voters their religious preference and found most identify with traditional Protestant religions. In Figure 3, we show the religious distribution of the Florida electorate.

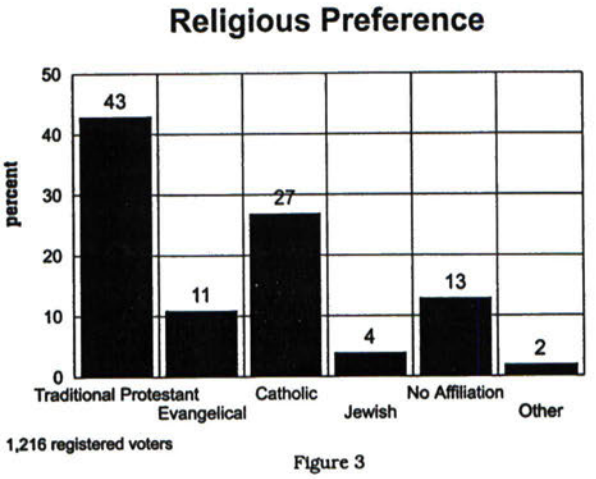


Figure 3

With 43%, mainstream Protestants dominate, followed by Catholics at 27%. Evangelicals, however, comprise some 11% of our sample, a small but potentially potent force. In addition, most Evangelicals identify positively with the Christian Coalition, with 45% saying they have strong positive feelings for this well known right wing Christian organization.[11]

When we compare voters' religious preferences, we see some surprising results. In Figure 4, we display voters who identify with the pro-choice label within each religious group and see that most are dominated by pro-choice voters. For a reference point and comparison purposes, the red line tracks each religious groups estimated size in the electorate.

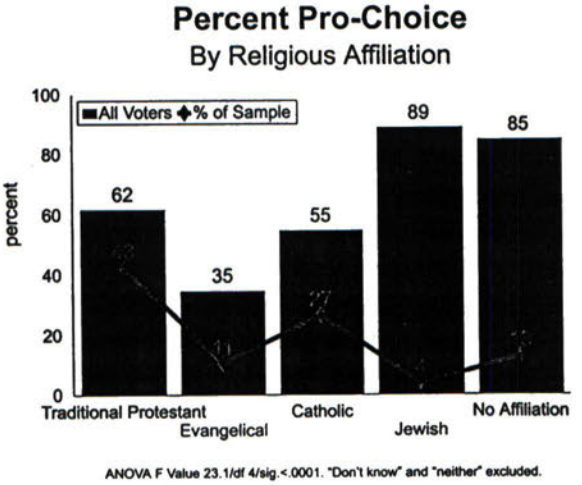


Figure 4

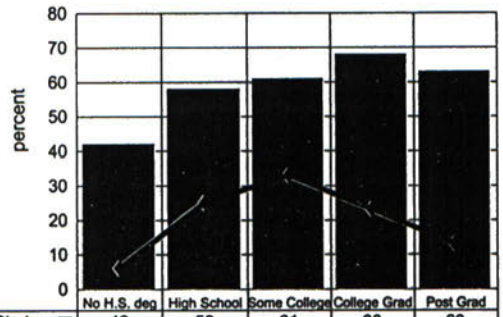
As the blue bars show, we even find a majority of Catholics identify with the pro-choice abortion position. Only Evangelicals, as you would expect, have a majority of pro-life voters in their membership ranks. Amid traditional Protestants, the dominant religious preference, 62% chose the pro-choice abortion label or conversely, only 38% said they were pro-life. Jewish voters, traditionally more secular than Christian denominations, and voters with no religious affiliation have the largest proportion of pro-choice adherents.

Education and Abortion

A voter's educational level, also affects the likelihood to choose the pro-choice position. Generally speaking, as voter education levels increases, the more pro-choice they become in their abortion views. In Figure 5, we graph this relationship with educational attainment. Again, for comparison purposes, we have included each educational level's proportional size.

Percentage Pro-Choice

By Education



	No H.S. deg	High School	Some College	College Grad	Post Grad
% Pro-Choice ■	42	58	61	68	63
% of Sample ◆	6	25	33	23	13

ANOVA F Value (education) 4.08/df 4/sig. .003.

Figure 5

From no high school degree to a college degree, the trend is direct and linear. Each step increases the probability that the voter will identify with pro-choice views. At the post graduate college level, curiously, this trend subsides somewhat. But the evidence is clear, education and abortion views have a near direct relationship.

Race and Abortion

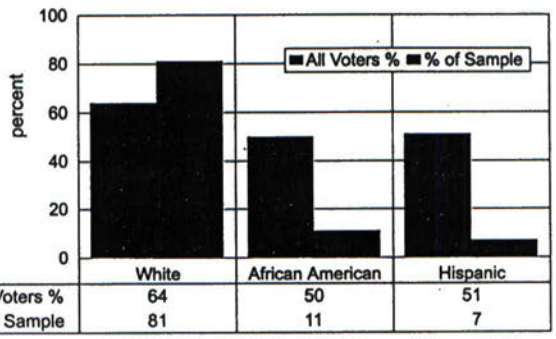
Like religion, racial and ethnic differences have dominated American politics. African-American voters since the New Deal and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society have supported Democratic candidates in proportions greater than 90%. White voters during the same period, on the other hand, have generally gravitated to the GOP.

Hispanic voters in the U.S. have usually chosen the Democratic Party, like most immigrant groups before them. In Florida, however, Cuban Americans have identified with the Republicans, while most other Hispanic groups (South and Central Americans, Mexicans, et cetera) have traditional Democratic leanings.

When it comes to their abortion views, Hispanic and African American voters have more in common with each other than they do with non-Hispanic whites. In Figure 6, we see how pro-choice views dominate white voters, but are evenly matched by pro-life voters among both Hispanics and African Americans.

Percentage Pro-Choice

By Race/Ethnic Background



	White	African American	Hispanic
All Voters %	64	50	51
% of Sample	81	11	7

ANOVA F Value 5.3/df 2/sig. .005. Haitian and Other excluded.
Hispanics comprise 10% of the registered voters.

Figure 6

Obviously influenced by their fundamental religious beliefs, many African-Americans find the whole idea of "choice" unappealing. In the same respect, many Hispanic voters' Catholicism engenders negative feelings about abortion as well.

Though substantial differences exist between whites and other racial/ethnic groups on abortion, these divisions are greatly offset by their relatively small electoral size. Consequently, white voters' abortion views rule and that view is predominately pro-choice.

What's Missing?

Some of our readers may believe that since an abortion affects women directly, their views should sharply differ from men. In fact, this is not the case. Women are no more likely to be pro-choice than men. There is even some evidence that women are more likely than their counterparts to have positive views of the pro-life movement.[12] This would suggest some pro-life leanings for women not otherwise observed in male voters.

We also found no significant age differences. In our pooled sample, younger voters were no more likely to

identify with pro-choice beliefs than older voters. Both of these observations may seem counterintuitive, since women, and younger women in particular, have a greater stake in the debate over a woman's right to choose. But the abortion debate has now transcended gender *and* age: it's political!

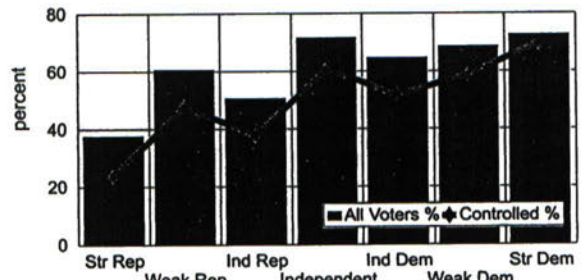
The abortion debate has now transcended gender and age: it's political!

Politics and Abortion

As we noted earlier, with the exception of strong GOP identifiers, pro-choice voters represent a majority of all other partisan categories. Weak Republicans especially, seemed dominated by pro-choice followers. Many of these differences (but not all), however, appear to be more reflective of the religious, racial and educational makeup of these voters, than any natural distinctions caused by specific partisan beliefs. A visual example might help in describing this concept. In Figure 7, we have reproduced our previous Figure 2, showing the distribution of abortion views along partisan lines.

Percentage Pro-Choice

By Party Identification



	Str Rep	Weak Rep	Ind Rep	Independent	Ind Dem	Weak Dem	Str Dem
All Voters %	38	61	51	72	65	69	73
Controlled %	24	48	38	61	52	59	70

Controlled for religion, race and education. Logistic regression estimate, model chi-sq. 201.6 /df 19/sig.<.0001. All variables significant at the .001 or less.

Figure 7

We have traced through the blue bars a red line, indicating the percentage of pro-choice voters in each partisan category sans the effects of religion, race and education. In other words, when we hold these three variables constant, the number of pro-choice voters within each partisan category dramatically drops because they are no longer reflecting demographic differences.[13]

When these effects are taken into account, we now see that all three types of Republican identifiers contain a majority (although sometimes slight) of pro-life voters. Independents and Democratic identifiers, nevertheless, still have a majority of pro-choice voters. And the natural and expected political order reigns.

The Political Effects

Since the Supreme Court's decision, the Republican and Democratic parties have used the abortion issue to attract supporters. The GOP, in line with its family values and law and order themes, discovered a new source of political prospects in pro-life adherents, many of whom had previously identified with the Democratic Party. The Democrats, on the other hand, used the issue to solidify their position with feminists and to attract professional Republican women to the fold.

And as we have seen above, both parties were largely successful in Florida. For the GOP, however, the issue is a double-edged sword. In the south in particular, the abortion issue helped their party proselytize many Democratic voters and help make the Republican Party the dominant political force. In more sophisticated areas, with higher educational levels, this one issue still hinders their ascension as the nation's dominant party.

From our examination, abortion lies just below the awareness level of the Florida voter. Left alone, the issue does not harm Republican pro-life candidates and in some ways, may even help them by providing volunteers and a solid base from which to grow.[14] But as we have seen with Jeb Bush, once awakened into political consciousness, the issue can affect voter perceptions and cause nagging doubts, even among some Republicans. ***FV***

1 Stone, Walter J., et al. 1994. "Party Polarization: The Reagan Revolution and Beyond." In *The Parties Respond*. Edited by L. Sandy Maisel. Boulder, Co: Westview Press.

2 Chiles did cease using TV ads about Bush's hard-line pro-life position, but the damage was already done.

3 October 19-26 and November 5-12, 1996. Pooling the samples increases reliability. Margin of error for this size sample is 2.8%.

4 The logistic regression estimates in all the figures are labeled as percentages, instead of probabilities, for clarity and understanding.

5 As confirmed by the regression model's chi-square.

6 When "don't knows" and "neither" respondents are eliminated, the pro-choice voters make up 62% of the sample versus 38% for pro-life voters.

7 This brief analysis is not intended as an in-depth review of the social and moral causes determining a person's abortion beliefs.

8 See Erickson, Robert S., et al. 1991. *American Public Opinion*. New York: Macmillan Publishing.

9 Berelson, Bernard, et al. 1954. *Voting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

10 This view may be somewhat exaggerated, but some influence is warranted. See Green, John C. 1995. "The Christian Right and the 1994 Elections." *PS* March 1995 (XXXIII, vol 1, p. 5).

11 As based on our feeling thermometer. We call strong positive feelings 75 degrees and above.

12 Using our thermometer ratings, women's mean ratings for the pro-life movement exceed men's ratings by 3 degrees.

13 At least those differences we found in this cursory analysis: race, religion and education.

14 See Green.

Understanding the Vote on the Sugar Fee

by Westi Jo deHaven-Smith and Lance deHaven-Smith, Ph.D.

Voting results in the November 1996 election surprised both environmentalists and members of the sugar industry, suggesting that Florida's electorate have a mind of their own. Results also imply that voting on the proposed constitutional amendments about Everglades pollution was more complicated than advocates or opponents of the amendments expected. However, what is clear is that Floridians like the Everglades and they do not like taxes.

Consider several of the propositions related to Everglades cleanup:

Amendment 1: A prohibition of new taxes and fees unless approved by two-thirds votes;

Amendment 4: A one cent per pound fee on raw sugar grown in the Everglades to be used for conservation, preservation, and pollution abatement in the Everglades;

Amendment 5: A requirement that those responsible for polluting the Everglades should pay for cleanup.

Analysts doubted that voters would see the connection between the "sugar fee" and the "tax and fee limitation," because it was not obvious that the latter applied to fees and taxes adopted alongside it in the same election. But most observers expected individual citizens to vote consistently either for or against the "sugar fee" and the "mandate to make polluters pay," because both issues clearly applied to the Everglades, and both had similar aims. That was not the case.

In actuality, most voters found a third logic. As anticipated, the "tax and fee limitation" passed by a wide margin (69.3% yes; 30.7% no). Support was greatest in the Panhandle, around Jacksonville, and in rural central Florida, but the "tax and fee limitation" was popular everywhere. A majority of voters in each of Florida's sixty-seven counties favored requiring a two-thirds vote on any new taxes and fees placed on the ballot by initiative.

However, voters were less consistent when it came to the propositions on Everglades cleanup. Some voted the same way on both amendments, but a great many voted *against* one and *for* the other. The sugar fee *failed* (45.6% to 54.4%), while the proposal to make polluters pay for cleanup *passed* (68.1% to 31.9%).

The logic of the voters can be gleaned from the geographic pattern of voting. The map below illustrates how voters reacted to two of the Everglades amendments, the "sugar fee" and the "mandate to make polluters pay." The gray color is assigned to those counties that voted in favor of both. Note that many of these counties are on the periphery of the Everglades. They would not be harmed very much by the sugar fee, but they are experiencing the problems of Everglades pollution. Hence residents of these counties were more supportive than others of tough cleanup policies, even if such policies hurt agriculture.

At the other extreme are counties where a majority of voters *opposed* both amendments. These counties have a blue shading. As might be expected, counties in opposition to the amendments were those directly in the Everglades and in the most rural parts of the Panhandle and the Big Bend. These are the agricultural centers of the state, and the areas with the least urbanization.

Voters elsewhere appear to have had mixed feelings. The red counties voted against the sugar fee but in favor of making polluters pay. The residents of these counties appear to want the Everglades protected and cleaned up, but they are nevertheless sympathetic to the plight of Everglades farmers.

Still, farmers and other interests working to limit the initiatives of environmentalists probably should not take much solace from these results. The opponents of the sugar fee greatly out spent those who put the initiative on the ballot, and yet they did not persuade voters to moderate their environmental principles. Instead, their advertising campaign seems to have caused voters merely to abandon this one particular fix, that is, the one-cent per pound charge on raw sugar. Other proposals for environmental protection and for charges on polluters are likely to be very popular, because the voter's basic environmental sentiment remains intact.

If marine fishing, agriculture, and similar industries want to take some of the force out of Florida's environmental movement so that they are not repeatedly threatened by environmental initiatives like the net fishing ban and the sugar fee, these industries need to deal with environmentalism at its root. They should engage environmentalists at a philosophical level rather than waiting to fend off specific proposals. Only in this way will voters be forced to think about principles for balancing economic and environmental considerations.

About Our Guest Analysts

Westi Jo deHaven Smith has a public policy consulting/training firm specializing in organizational and leadership development. She served as editor and publisher of *Florida Environmental and Urban Issues*, a quarterly magazine and has published four monographs, five articles and numerous

research reports. She is a consultant to state government agencies including Florida, California, and Ohio and many private clients. She holds a Masters Degree in Public Administration from Florida Atlantic University.

Lance deHaven-Smith, Ph.D. is director of the Reubin Askew School of Public Administration and Policy at The Florida State University and is associate director of the Florida Institute of Government. Dr. deHaven-Smith has authored eight books, five of which cover Florida government and politics. In the Askew School, he is a tenured, full professor of philosophy of science and research methods. At the Florida Institute of Government, Dr. deHaven-Smith works with Florida's leaders and its ten public universities on pressing issues. In addition, he has conducted consensus-building processes for all levels of government in Florida and around the nation. He received his Master of Arts and Ph.D. degrees from The Ohio State University. He and his co-author and wife Westi Jo have three children.

Ballot Summaries

Constitutional Amendment 1 Article XI, Section 7 (Initiative)
Ballot Title: Tax Limitation: Should Two-thirds Vote be Required for New Constitutionally-imposed State Taxes/ fees?

Ballot Summary: Prohibits imposition of new State taxes or fees on or after November 8, 1994 by constitutional amendment unless approved by two-thirds of the voters voting in the election. Defines "new State taxes or fees" as revenue subject to appropriation by State Legislature, which tax or fee is not in effect on November 7, 1994. Applies to proposed State tax and fee amendments on November 8, 1994 ballot and those on later ballots.

Constitutional Amendment 4 Article VII, Section 9 (Initiative)
Ballot Title: Fee on Everglades Sugar Production

Ballot Summary: Provides that the South Florida Water Management District shall levy an Everglades Sugar Fee of one-cent per pound on raw sugar grown in the Everglades Agricultural Area to raise funds to be used, consistent with statutory law, for purposes of conservation and protection of natural resources and abatement of water pollution in the Everglades. The fee is imposed for twenty-five years.

Constitutional Amendment 5 Article II, Section 7 (Initiative)
Ballot Title: Responsibility for Paying Costs of Water Pollution Abatement in the Everglades

Ballot Summary: The Constitution currently provides the authority for the abatement of water pollution. This proposal adds a provision to provide that those in the Everglades Agricultural Area who cause water pollution within the Everglades Protection Area or the Everglades Agricultural Area shall be primarily responsible for paying the costs of the abatement of that pollution.

Alternative Approaches to Pollution Cleanup

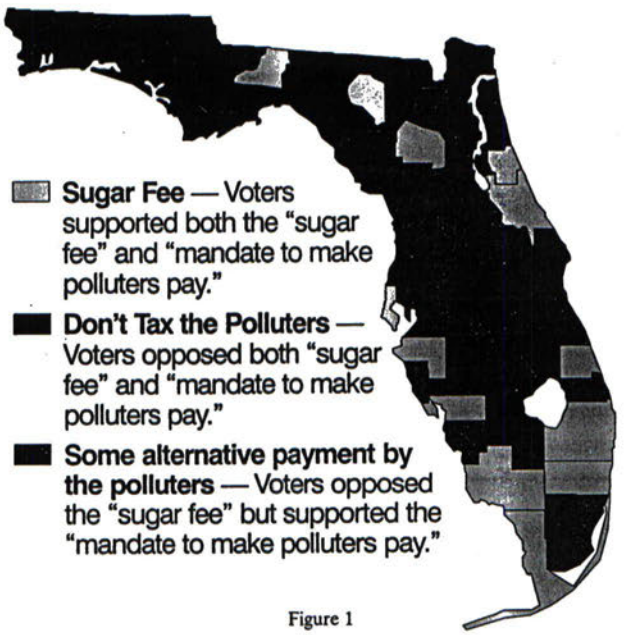


Figure 1

Table 1: Percent Supporting Each Amendment, by County

	Make poll. Pay	Sugar Fee	Tax Limit
Alachua	69.92	51.97	62.92
Baker	20.19	21.89	70.84
Bay	62.14	29.81	76.20
Bradford	54.56	27.60	74.42
Brevard	68.95	47.07	71.99
Broward	76.44	58.66	66.91
Calhoun	39.00	19.32	67.02
Charlotte	70.20	50.13	70.18
Citrus	69.72	47.84	65.45
Clay	59.92	34.58	81.42
Collier	72.14	54.11	67.95
Columbia	53.84	31.15	71.30
Dade	70.33	42.96	65.15
DeSoto	50.50	33.14	72.32
Dixie	50.45	29.90	66.26
Duval	61.51	32.79	79.09
Escambia	65.61	40.98	74.50
Flagler	74.83	56.91	70.03
Franklin	56.36	30.99	68.31
Gadsden	56.73	36.11	64.20
Gilchrist	54.30	24.69	71.84
Glades	31.66	22.08	74.22
Gulf	50.72	19.72	70.58
Hamilton	40.44	18.88	67.55

Percent Supporting Each Amendment by County (Cont.)

	Make poll. Pay	Sugar Fee	Tax Limit
Hardee	41.11	23.44	71.21
Hendry	20.26	12.19	79.15
Hernando	69.44	48.82	67.63
Highlands	56.52	37.24	68.51
Hillsborough	69.71	46.10	66.26
Holmes	39.40	15.38	64.08
Indian River	12.09	37.98	73.17
Jackson	47.13	18.08	70.29
Jefferson	52.57	32.29	63.16
Lafayette	31.39	14.37	64.04
Lake	63.03	41.19	72.29
Lee	61.16	40.02	74.26
Leon	72.14	50.27	65.24
Levy	56.24	33.03	71.99
Liberty	37.19	19.71	61.21
Madison	46.30	22.97	65.19
Manatee	71.02	51.52	64.25
Marion	61.35	37.06	71.58
Martin	60.98	44.89	64.56
Monroe	82.58	69.49	73.20
Nassau	61.55	33.66	77.58
Okaloosa	64.57	38.72	77.38
Okeechobee	38.55	24.00	74.30
Orange	68.59	43.91	70.99
Osceola	64.22	39.43	72.73
Palm Beach	68.22	51.22	65.54
Pasco	70.73	46.98	69.11
Pinellas	75.79	52.62	67.70
Polk	56.40	32.89	68.97
Putnam	61.96	33.78	75.19
St. Johns	66.92	39.32	76.78
St. Lucie	75.41	55.66	63.44
Santa Rosa	67.34	44.95	69.55
Sarasota	70.29	44.89	82.36
Seminole	63.13	39.19	72.95
Sumter	58.16	36.84	72.29
Suwanee	42.81	20.85	71.80
Taylor	42.26	24.77	60.66
Union	45.11	24.02	70.70
Volusia	72.87	50.44	70.26
Wakulla	56.14	35.32	67.39
Walton	51.30	26.48	71.06
Washington	38.65	17.92	64.00

Clinton Won But the Advantage Was With the GOP

The Partisan Advantage Index

Clinton may have won at the top of the ticket, but voters were leaning toward Republicans as they went down the ballot, according to our pre-election Partisan Advantage Index.[1]

Our latest Index gave the Republicans an additional 1.7% partisan superiority going into the last ten days of the campaign, as seen in Figure 1.

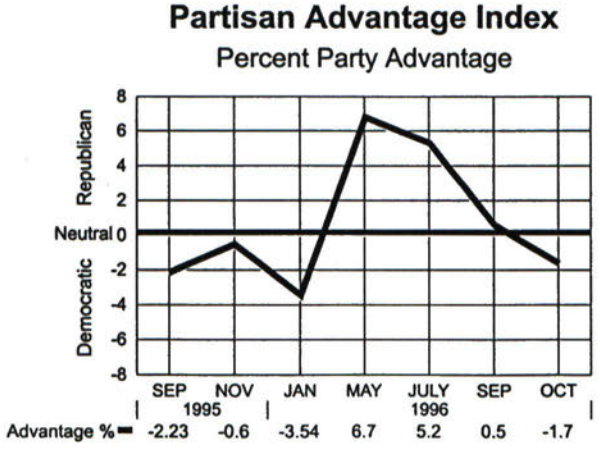


Figure 1

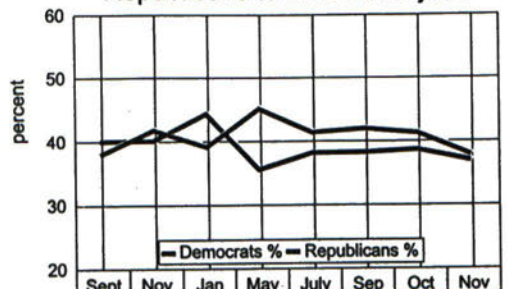
As the figure shows, this was the end of a continuing decline for the Democrats statewide. Back in May, our index took a significant bounce in the Democrats favor and tapered off by mid-summer. But as the fall campaign began, Florida voters stopped blaming all Republicans for their disappointment in Bob Dole. By Election Day, state Republicans had managed to find some daylight, even while their standard bearer lagged far behind: the state Senate remained in their control and the House went Republican for the first time since Reconstruction.

This important political change says much more about Florida's partisan future than Clinton's historic win. At the local level, voters rely heavily upon the competing candidates' party designations, to make up for their lacking knowledge about them or the issues they support. Party acts as short-hand notation for a candidate's position on a host of issues, from taxes to school prayer. And as both our Index and the GOP's one-member House majority attest, most Florida voters continue to find the Republicans generalized position on important issues appealing.

Although a slim majority of voters lean towards the GOP, they haven't completely decided that the party of Lincoln has all the answers yet either. In all our surveys, we ask voters to tell us which party they trust, the Democrats or the Republicans, to do a better job in handling the main problems in the state. As you can see in Figure 2, voters don't give the Democrats or the Republicans a significant nod on this fundamental question.

Who Do You Trust?

Do you trust the Democrats or the Republicans to do a better job?



	Sept	Nov	Jan	May	July	Sep	Oct	Nov
Democrats %	38.1	42	39.3	45.3	41.6	42.2	41.5	38
Republicans %	40.1	40.2	44.4	35.6	38.2	38.3	38.7	37
Don't know/Neither %	21.8	17.8	16.3	19.1	20.2	19.5	19.8	25

Figure 2

Notwithstanding the Democrats minor lead on this generic job rating, voters seem unwilling, or at least unsure, to pick one party over another by any meaningful amount. This is particularly true in our November survey, where the undecided (don't know/neither) has climbed upwards some 5% since our October estimate.

If the Republicans perform well with their newfound control of the legislature, this political job rating will no doubt take a GOP turn and provide the foundation for their capture of the governor's mansion in 1998. If they falter, however, the era of a divided state government is likely to continue.

The Index

The best way to understand and use this index is to picture a hypothetical race where the Democratic and Republican candidates are equally well known and liked by the voters. Further, both candidates have, in the eyes of the voter, identical positions on any salient issue(s). Without party identification, the candidates split the vote.

Under this unlikely scenario and if the election was held today, the Index shows a 1.7% percent advantage to the Republican contender. This gives the GOP candidate 50.85% of the vote versus 49.15% for the Democrat. For the two parties, this Index provides an early warning system to upcoming campaigns. A rising index for the Republicans, if the trend continues, could spell defeat for Democrats in the 1998 statewide races. If instead the Index falls to near neutrality or perhaps even positive territory (Democratic), the opposite could be true.

The chart is divided into two distinct areas that denote a Republican or Democratic advantage measured in two percent increments. Positive numbers denote a Democratic advantage, while negative ones[2] reflect a Republican preference. An absolute zero would indicate a bi-partisanship or in other words, a perfect two-party state.

An Equation For Partisan Advantage (PAI)

$$\beta_0 + \beta_1(\mu_1) + \beta_2(\mu_2) + \beta_3(\mu_3) + \beta_4(\mu_4) + \beta_5(\mu_5)$$

Where:

- β_1 is the empirically derived coefficient from Party Voters Trust variable
- μ_1 represents the mean value of Party Voters Trust variable
- β_2 is the empirically derived coefficient from Party Identification variable (7 point scale)
- μ_2 represents the mean value of Party Identification
- β_3 is the empirically derived coefficient from the Party Difference Index (collapsed 5 point scale)
- μ_3 represents the mean value of Party Difference Index
- β_4 is the empirically derived coefficient from Republican Party thermometer rating (100 point scale)
- μ_4 represents the mean value of Republican Party variable
- β_5 is the empirically derived coefficient from Democratic Party thermometer rating (100 point scale)
- μ_5 represents the mean value of Democratic Party variable
- β_0 is the empirically derived coefficient for the constant

All coefficients are significant at $<.05$ except Democratic Party Thermometer which is significant at $<.2$.

The percentages in this Index are generated from an equation (see inset) measuring the relative values of several statistically important variables.[3] In the early years of survey research, scholars believed partisanship was one-dimensional and best measured by what became a standard seven point scale.[4] (*See Party Identification and the Partisan Difference Index.*) Political scientists devised a "normal"[5] or baseline vote which totals the percentages of all voters who identified (including partisan leaners) with the Democrats or Republicans. Pure independents were assumed to split their vote evenly between both parties. This normal vote, derived exclusively from party identification,[6] was assumed to be stable and less subject to short-term changes.

Recently, this measurement has been challenged by a number of academics who assert that partisanship is multi-dimensional and contains a number of factors not included in this standard measurement.[7] Further, the normal vote assumes all partisan identifiers have the same attachment to party whether self-classified as strong, weak or independent leaners.

Common sense indicates that weak or independent partisan identifiers are more subject to the immediate

political climate than strong party identifiers. Our own analysis lends support to this hypothesis. We have adopted this concept in developing our *Partisan Advantage Index* (PAI).

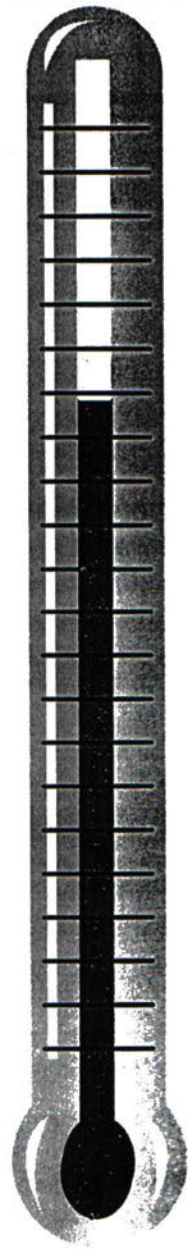
Included in the Index are the voters' *partisan identification* (seven point scale), which *party they trust more* (three point scale), a *party difference index*, the mathematical difference between the party's individual feeling thermometer ratings (200 point scale collapsed into 7), and *thermometer readings* (100 point scales) for both parties. The dependent measure is the percent of voters planning to vote for the Republicans, Democrats, or both in the next election.[8]

As the above indicates, the *PAI* measures more than just party identification. It also reflects partisan strength, partisan direction and political independence, which in combination, affect partisan choice.[9] Voters, particularly weak and independent identifiers, can and do vote for candidates of the opposite party when they perceive their party performing poorly on salient issues.[10] These more volatile and short-term attitudes are folded into the other variables included in the equation.

Perhaps more importantly, the *PAI* will more accurately keep track of trends in Florida partisanship. Although each survey measurement represents but a snap shot of the political mood of the state, together these indices provide us with insights into the past, present and future direction of Florida partisanship.***FV***

1 From survey conducted October 19-26, 1996.
2 The negative sign is arbitrary and reflects traditional coding conventions of many political scientists.
3 Independent variable coefficients produced from this regression equation are significant at <.01 except the Democratic thermometer which is significant at the .2 level. Model R2 = .73.
4 See Campbell, Angus, et al. 1960. *The American Voter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
5 See Converse, Philip E. 1966. "The Concept of the Normal Vote," in *Elections and the Political Order*, ed. Angus Campbell, et al. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
6 Not to be confused with party registration. Currently, Democrats enjoy a near 8% advantage over Republicans.
7 See Weisberg, Herbert F. "A Multidimensional Conceptualization of Party Identification." *Political Behavior* Vol. 2 No. 1 (1980), pp.33-60.
8 The dependent measure, for ease of understanding and illustration purposes, is coded -1 for Republican, 0 for both and +1 for Democrat; although the coefficients derived from this procedure are unbiased, the standard errors can be misleading. We have confirmed, however, their statistical significance using a logit regression method.
9 See Kamieniecki, Sheldon. 1985. *Party Identification, Political Behavior and the American Electorate*. Westport: Greenwood Press. Kamieniecki did not use the *trust more* variable directly in his analysis. He did, however, comment on the importance of trust in measuring political independence (p. 107).
10 See Keith, Bruce E. et al. 1992. *The Myth of the Independent Voter*. Berkeley: University of California.

Why a Feeling Thermometer?



Political scientists and psychologists have long debated the way voters evaluate political candidates. Memory-based theorists propose a positive relationship between memory and judgment. When voters evaluate, judgment is based upon a set of positives and negatives about a candidate stored in memory.[1]

New research shows little relationship between memory and the strength or direction of candidate evaluations. *Memory-based* judgments, it appears, are too cognitively taxing, requiring voters to retrieve specific information from long-term memory.

Instead, some political scientists have developed an *impression-driven* model of candidate evaluations.[2] Here the voter stores in memory only "judgment tallies" of previously encountered information. When encountering new information, the voter retrieves and updates impressions currently stored in memory. In so doing, the voter discards the specific information which caused the original judgment. What remains is an *impression*.

Florida Voter employs a feeling thermometer to gauge these voter impressions of candidates, issues and parties. For example, we ask voters to rate an individual from 0 to 100 degrees, where ratings from 0 to 49 represent a cold or unfavorable opinion and ratings from 51 to 100 degrees reflect a warm or favorable reaction to the entity named; 50 is neutral. This type of feeling thermometer has been used by the American National Election Studies to gauge voter reaction to candidates for over forty years.

Those familiar with traditional political polling have probably seen a modified version of this very important tool. Pollsters ask a favorable/unfavorable rating question in almost every political survey. This type of ranking, although good for determining an individual's gross negative and positive evaluations, is inadequate for most advanced statistical procedures. Even when such categorical opinions are converted to a likert scale, they cannot mathematically

represent the absolute distance or subtleties of a voter's opinion.[3]

Additionally, using a feeling thermometer allows us to subtract a voter's temperature rating of one candidate from another, creating a separate *candidate difference index*. This index can measure important differences a voter has between two potential opponents. In other words, it gauges not only how much a voter likes one candidate, but also how much they dislike another. To graphically explain this subtle difference, Figures 1 and 2 show how two voters might evaluate Candidate A and B.

Voter X Candidate Evaluations

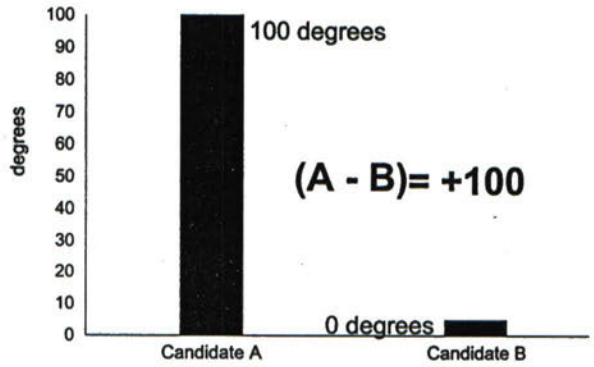


Figure 1

Voter Y Candidate Evaluations

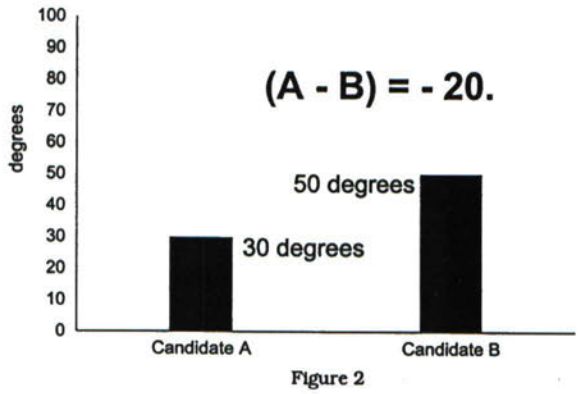


Figure 2

In Figure 1, Voter X has indicated that he has a 100-degree feeling for Candidate A. In a separate question, he says he feels very cold toward Candidate B with a 0-degree rating. With these two separate evaluations, we can now subtract one from the other to produce a positive 100-degree difference. In this example, if the voter had an inverse feeling for each candidate (A=0 and B=100) then subtracting the two would produce a negative 100 degrees. In other words, his potential comparison between the two candidates could range 200 degrees, from a positive 100 (+100) to a negative 100 (-100) degrees.

Figure 2 demonstrates what happens when a voter has a somewhat negative impression of one candidate and a neutral or no opinion of another. In this example, Voter Y says she feels cold towards Candidate A with a 30-degree rating. Candidate B, she hardly knows and rates at 50 degrees or a neutral opinion. When we subtract these two evaluations, it produces a negative 20-degree (-20) difference favoring Candidate B.

The importance of this type of candidate comparison was first discussed by Professor Richard Brody, in 1976.[4] In his analysis, Professor Brody found that voters almost always (95%) chose the candidate with the highest temperature rating, *even when that candidate was unknown.* When both candidates were equally evaluated or unknown, they chose the candidate whose party represented their own identification. If independent in partisanship, they did not vote.

The significance of this and other studies show the overall importance of voter impressions of a candidate.[5] Although difficult and expensive to administer in a survey, at the *Florida Voter,* we use a feeling thermometer rating to permit the equal and accurate comparison of candidates, independent of their party.**FV**

1 Kelley, Stanley and Thad Mirer. 1974. "The Simple Act of Voting." *American Political Science Review* 61:572-91.

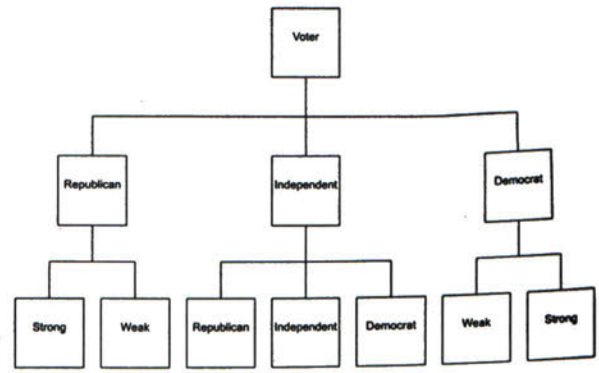
2 Lodge, Milton, et al. 1989. "An Impression-Driven Model of Candidate Evaluation." *American Political Science Review* 83:399-419.

3 Alreck, Pamela L. and Robert B. Settle. 1985. *The Survey Research Handbook*. Homewood, Ill: Irwin Publishers.

4 Brody, Richard. 1976. "Communications." *American Political Science Review* 70: 924-926.

5 Kelley, Stanley. 1883. *Interpreting Elections*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Seven Point Party Identification



Methodology

FLORIDA VOTER, an independent and non-partisan publication, analyzes the results of our bi-monthly survey of registered Florida voters. This month we interviewed 607 registered voters. Respondents were interviewed from November 5 through November 12, 1996 selected from Survey Sampling, Inc.'s proprietary Random Digit Cluster sample. At a 95% confidence level, the margin of error for this survey is +/-4.0%.

With random sampling, researchers can calculate the *statistical significance* of relationships between survey items (or variables). If the relationship is statistically significant, we can assume the magnitude of this relationship also exists within the population as a whole and is not attributable to simple random error. Generally, significance levels of .05 or less are considered acceptable for most comparisons.

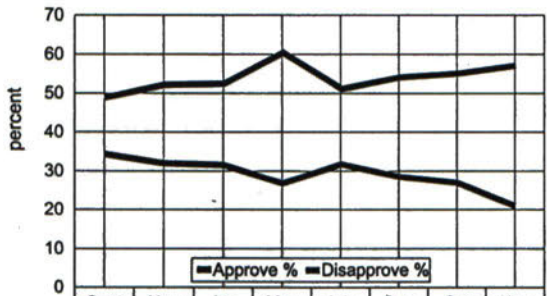
Simple comparisons—called cross-tabulations—do not lend themselves to the understanding of multiple variable relationships. Statisticians have developed multivariate techniques such as *multiple and logistic regression* which measure the direction and degree of influence one or more variables—called independent variables—have upon another variable (the dependent variable). For example, with multiple regression, we can determine the independent effects party identification and age (the independent variables) have upon the temperature ratings of a candidate (the dependent variable). With logistic regression, the dependent variable is constrained to only two outcomes, such as voting for Clinton or Dole.

In our analyses of statistical data, we make every attempt not to stray too far into technical jargon and arcane references. Where technical references are required, we provide ample explanations of their use. The staff of the *Florida Voter* desires this publication provide significant understanding of voting behavior and to be enjoyable as well.***FV***

Florida Voter Trends

Chiles' Job as Governor

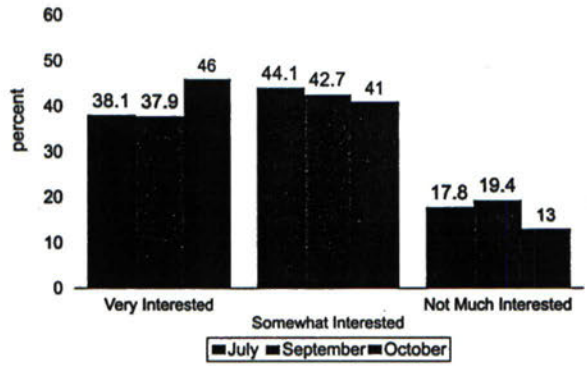
Approve or Disapprove



	Sept	Nov	Jan	May	July	Sep	Oct	Nov
Approve %	48.7	52	52.3	60.3	51	54	55	57
Disapprove %	34.3	32	31.6	26.8	31.8	28.6	27	21

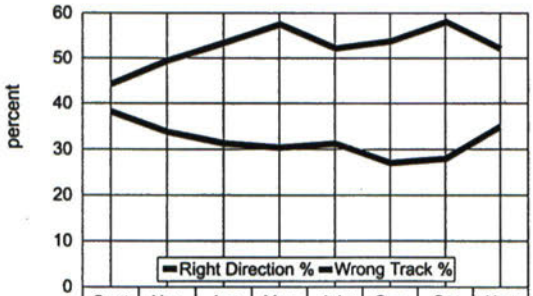
"Don't knows" excluded.

How interested are you in the 1996 campaign?



Florida: Right Direction or Wrong Track?

September 1995 - September 1996

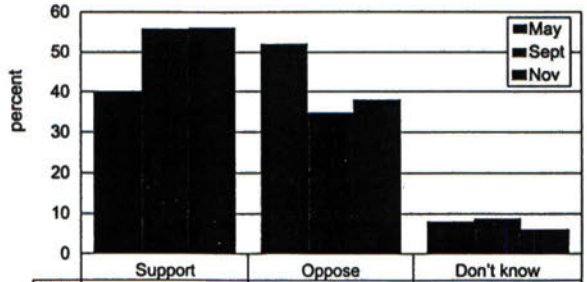


	Sept	Nov	Jan	May	July	Sep	Oct	Nov
Right Direction %	44.1	49.3	53.3	57.4	52.1	53.7	58	52
Wrong Track %	38.2	33.8	31.3	30.4	31.3	27.1	28	35

"Don't knows" excluded.

Support or Oppose Additional State Taxes

Specifically for Public Education?



	Support	Oppose	Don't know
May	40	52	8
Sept	56	35	9
Nov	56	38	6

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-9-97

TAIPEI: (02) 755-7366
HONG KONG: 5-8680800

Marian S. K. Ming
ATTORNEY AT LAW

Immigration wants to help Lewinsky —

MARIAN S. K. MING & ASSOC.
ONE NORTH LASALLE STREET
SUITE 2450, CHICAGO
ILLINOIS 60602

TEL: (312) 782-8200
FAX: 312-782-7072

1-9-97

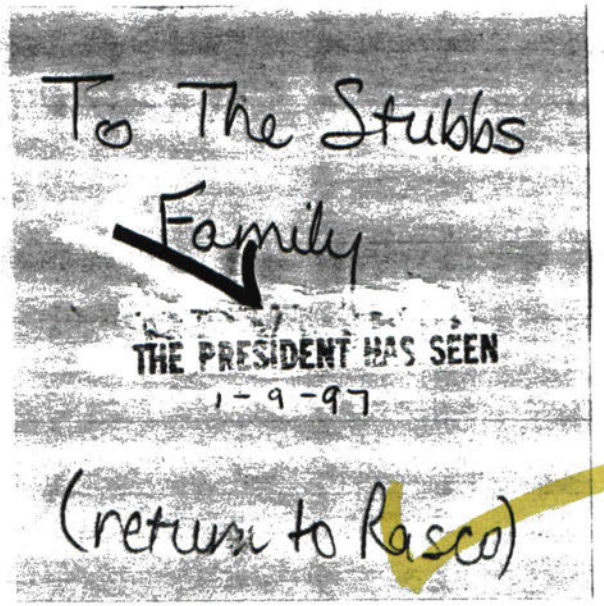
Todd-

Should we send to Counsel's Ofc?

Yes ____

No ✓

C.


To The Stubbs
Family
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-9-97
(return to Rasco)

HOW THEY VOTED:
Electoral vote as of 11 p.m. CST

Bush	80
Clinton	362
Perot	0
Not reporting	

Election '92

- Bumpers returns to Senate 1D
- Lambert wins 1st District 1D
- Third District close race 1D
- Term limits approved 1D
- Furniture tax abolished 1D
- Officials' raises passed 1D

HOW THEY VOTED:

Bush	293,606
Clinton	432,645
Perot	87,618
Not reporting	

Arkansas Democrat Gazette

ARKANSAS' NEWSPAPER | LITTLE ROCK, NOVEMBER 4, 1992 | 92 PAGES | 9 SECTIONS

President
2,536 of 2,822 precincts
90 percent
x-Clinton, Dem.....1,432,645
Bush, GOP.....293,606
Perot, Ind.....87,618

U.S. Senate
2,508 of 2,822 precincts
89 percent
x-Bumpers, Dem.....474,316
Huckabee, GOP.....321,042

Term Limits
2,509 of 2,822 precincts
89 percent
In Favor.....427,700
Against.....280,653

Supreme Court Position 5
2,356 of 2,822 precincts
34 percent
Newbern, Dem.....389,187
Manatt, GOP.....199,901

U.S. House District 1
677 of 801 precincts
85 percent
x-Lambert, Dem.....121,791
Hayes, GOP.....55,041

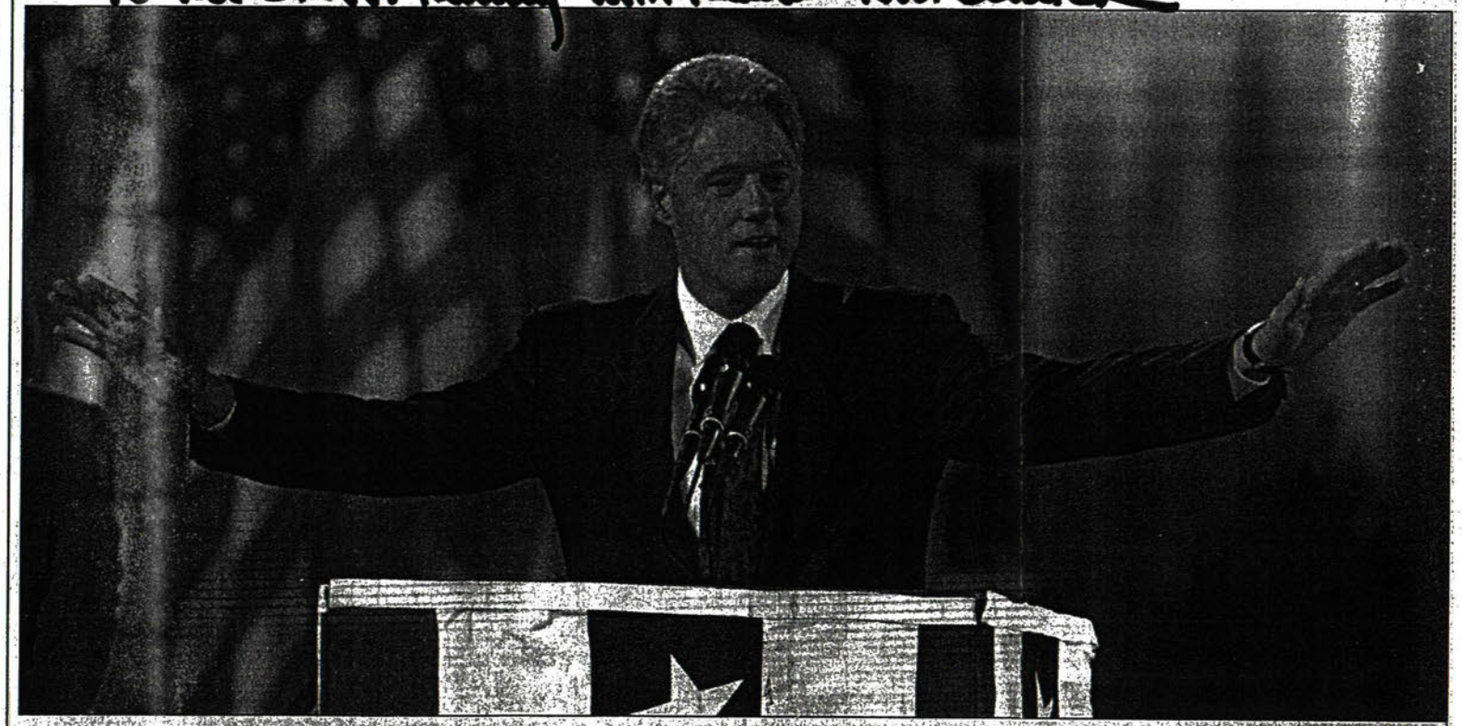
U.S. House District 2
406 of 472 precincts
86 percent
x-Thornton, Dem....120,283
Scott, GOP.....41,765

U.S. House District 3
518 of 632 precincts
82 percent
VanWinkle, Dem.....94,761
x-Hutchinson, GOP.102,890
Forbes, Ind.....5,255

U.S. House District 4
852 of 917 precincts
93 percent

Clinton wins

To the Stuffer family with thanks Bill Clinton



Bill Clinton waves to crowd during his victory speech Tuesday night at the Old State House in Little Rock

Arkansas Democrat-Gazette/John Sykes Jr.

From Hope to glory

Governor takes 44%

VanWinkle, Dem 94,761
x-Hutchinson, GOP.102,890
Forbes, Ind.....5,255

U.S. House District 4
852 of 917 precincts
93 percent
x-McCuen, Dem.....95,993
Dickey, GOP.....103,348

State Senate District 15
0 of 35 precincts
0 percent
x-Pagan, Dem 000,000
Keet, GOP.....000,000

Prosecuting Attorney District 6
121 of 168 precincts
0 percent
x-Stodola, Dem 99,711
Carpenter, GOP.....15,955

North Little Rock Mayor
41 of 43 precincts
95 percent
x-Hays, ...16,255
Gorman, ...4,117

Bus Tax
121 of 168 precincts
0 percent
Yes, ...25,728
No, ...33,875

Jimerson Creek
0 of 89 precincts
0 percent
Yes, ...10,929
No, ...8,699

Municipal Judge
Dishongh, ...4,887
Munson, ...14,525

Weather

Little Rock — Considerable cloudiness, breezy and cold today with a 20 percent chance of light rain early. High near 50 with northwest winds 10-20 mph. Considerable cloudiness tonight with temperatures dropping to near freezing. Low in the lower 30s. Becoming partly cloudy but continued cold Thursday. High from 45 to 50.

Cloudy

Index

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Crossword	5F	Stocks	3C
Deaths, Funerals	14D	Television	2F
Editorials	16D	Voices	17D
		Weather	6C

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From Hope to glory

Thousands hail the victor in LR

BY RANDY LILLESTON
Democrat-Gazette Washington Bureau

The moment Gov. Bill Clinton wanted for his entire adult life came Tuesday night, and in an emotional speech at the Old State House, Clinton thanked his friends and supporters for helping elect him to the presidency.

"My fellow Americans, on this day, with high hopes and brave hearts, in massive numbers, the American people have voted to make a new beginning," the governor told tens of thousands of people who crowded into the area in front of the Old State House to hear the speech, which came about 11:25 p.m. Tuesday. The crowd's roar was long and deafening, as Clinton pointed to friends and campaign staffers.

The governor repeated many of the themes that had characterized his campaign, including personal responsibility, improving the economy, and addressing the nation's infrastructure.

He thanked his family for helping him in the victory, saying he believed his wife "will be one of the greatest first ladies in the history of the republic," bringing chants of "Hillary" from the crowd.

See DAY, Page 15A

Governor takes 44%

Dominates in electoral landslide

BY REX NELSON
Democrat-Gazette Political Editor

Gov. Bill Clinton was elected president of the United States on Tuesday.

Clinton, 46, will become the nation's third youngest president. The youngest were John F. Kennedy, a man many believe was responsible for Clinton's entry into politics, and Theodore Roosevelt.

Clinton has governed Arkansas for a dozen of the past 14 years. He decided on a career in public service when, as a teen-age Boys Nation delegate, he met Kennedy in the White House Rose Garden.

With just more than 60 percent of the popular vote counted, Clinton had 44 percent, President Bush had 39 percent and Ross Perot had 17 percent.

In an early-morning rally at Denver, Clinton urged voters to think of Kennedy's "unrestrained faith" in America's future. Commentators already were referring Tuesday night to the incoming Clinton administration as "Camelot with a Southern accent."

An obviously emotional Clinton, his voice weak, thrust his fist in the air at 11:22 p.m. as thousands of supporters

See CLINTON, Page 14A

Man, machines both exhausted; vote takes hours

BY BOBBI RIDLEHOOVER
Democrat-Gazette Health Writer

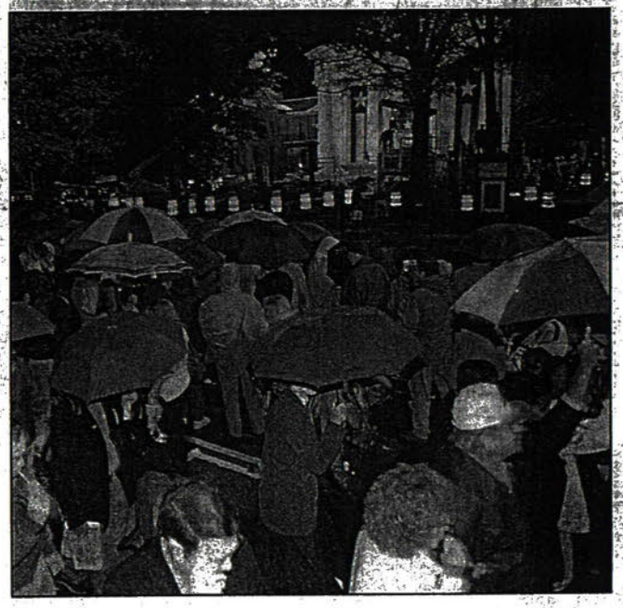
Voters at most Pulaski County polling places waited from two to four hours to vote Tuesday because of a large turnout and problems with broken voting machines.

Some voters were angry about the delays, and an afternoon rainstorm further dampened spirits at some polls.

"I am just furious," said Leah Gorby, 28, holding a baby in one arm and pushing a stroller with the other about 10:30 a.m. at Central Baptist Academy on 12th Street.

"My child has a fever. There are five machines and only two are running. They said they'd been broken since 7:30 (a.m.), and no one's been out to fix them," Gorby said. She said that after waiting in line two hours, she still was unable to vote be-

See TURNOUT, Page 14A



Arkansas Democrat-Gazette/Scott Carpenter

PERFECT SPOT - Crowds in downtown Little Rock on Tuesday night wait in the mist and rain to see Gov. Bill Clinton give his acceptance speech after winning the presidency.

Bush bows to will of American people, graciously concedes

BY JANE FULLERTON
Democrat-Gazette Staff Writer

HOUSTON — President Bush's campaign for the greatest political comeback in American history failed Tuesday, as voters overwhelmingly rejected his bid for a second term in the White House.

Bush conceded to Gov. Bill Clinton at 10:15 p.m.

"The people have spoken," Bush said. "We respect the majesty of the democratic system."

During his straightforward, yet gracious, speech — which lasted less than 10 minutes — Bush was surrounded by his family. First lady Barbara Bush stood by his side.

"We have fought the good fight, and we have kept the faith," he said. "I believe I have upheld the honor of the presidency."

For the 68-year-old president, Tuesday's election marked the end of a political career that saw him serve as a member of Congress from Texas, ambassador to the United Nations, chairman of the Republican National Committee, envoy to China, director of Central Intelligence Agency and vice president.

That career culminated four years ago when Bush was swept

Real work for change begins now

BY TERRY LEMONS
Democrat-Gazette Staff Writer

President-elect Clinton awoke today with the weight of the world on his shoulders.

In just 77 days, the 42nd president must assemble his White House team and assume responsibility for the world's lone surviving superpower.

It is a daunting task. Aides insist Clinton is prepared to move quickly.

"Governor Clinton is going to hit the ground running," his campaign issues director, Bruce Reed, said recently.

Clinton's focus will begin shifting from Little Rock to Washington, where most of the transition team will be based.

The transition team must prepare to take power Jan. 20 and develop the agenda for Clinton's first 100 days in office.

See TEAM, Page 15A

GOP's Dickey steadily leads McCuen

Democrat-Gazette State Desk

Jay Dickey, Republican candidate for the 4th District congressional seat, widened his lead over Democratic challenger Bill McCuen as Tuesday night's election results were tabulated.

With 773 of 917 precincts reporting, the unofficial results were:

McCuen 84,281

The trend Tuesday night was toward a slowly growing margin of votes for Dickey.

Dickey said at 11 p.m. that he didn't feel comfortable with his lead, but that he was ready to go to Congress if the lead held.

"The people of the district have shown they are willing to vote for a candidate, no matter what party," Dickey said. "This is an exciting time. We intend

He said, however, that anything could happen before the vote is final.

McCuen was still expressing confidence he would win about 10:30 p.m. Tuesday.

"Sure, everything will be all right," McCuen said. "It's not as good as I thought it would be, and I don't know how long it will take."

"The rural counties haven't

The Nation

Robert J. Quinn
Fyi — By

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-9-97

States' Rights Lose Some of Their High

By KEITH BRADSHER

LOS ANGELES

EVER since Ronald Reagan's "new federalism" revived the debate over states' rights in the 1980's — and particularly since Republicans took control of Congress in 1994 — power has seemed to be ebbing from Washington. Last year, the Federal Government gave up its six-decade responsibility for welfare. California, like other states, has moved to assert its authority in other areas, voting to sidestep the Federal commitment to affirmative action and Federal drug laws on marijuana.

The trend may be unmistakable, but devolution, it turns out, isn't revolution. And it isn't easy, as advocates of states' rights, particularly in the West, are learning — the hard way. They have been angered at recent assertions of authority by the Clinton Administration and the Federal judiciary.

A month ago, a Federal judge temporarily blocked California from cutting back

On affirmative action and pot, Federal power is reasserted.

affirmative action programs, even though a majority of voters in a November referendum had required state officials to do just that. On welfare, Clinton Administration officials have suggested in recent weeks, as more money and responsibility for administering it passes to the states, that there will be more Federal strings attached than some state officials had expected. And last week the Administration threatened penalties for doctors who prescribe marijuana for patients in California and Arizona, where citizens recently voted to permit marijuana use for medical reasons.

The latest development, like earlier ones, has left some advocates of state rights sputtering.

"We consider this action by the Government to be Soviet repression," said Sam Vagenas, the political consultant who coordinated the successful November referendum campaign in Arizona to legalize medicinal use of marijuana.

But on the marijuana issue, even some defenders of state rights concede that some of their brethren can take things too far. Daniel E. Lungren, the California Attorney General and generally an outspoken supporter of state rights, said drug policy should be under Federal control because of the Federal Government's constitutional responsibility to regulate interstate commerce. "The Federal Government has the authority and it's legitimate for them to stand up," he said.

Big-Government Fans

His view suggests one reason why the web of Federal authority is unraveling as slowly as it is: liberals aren't the only fans of big government.

Among conservatives, libertarians have promoted the devolution of Federal power and a general reduction in governmental authority at all levels. But cultural conservatives have tended to look for help at whatever level of government seems most accommodating.

"Very few people are attached to federalism as a matter of principle, and it's hard to blame them," said William Kristol, the editor of the Weekly Standard, a conservative journal in Washington. "It's not a principle that has as much force as liberty or morality."

Last year, for example, with states' rights advocates ascendant, the Republican-led Congress passed a law setting forth a Federal definition of marriage as the union of one man and one woman, as it authorized states not to recognize Hawaii's gay marriage rules. Throughout this century, Federal power has tended to increase when states take action that the majority views as irresponsible (be they southern states in the civil rights era or Hawaii today) or when states acting independently create a hodgepodge of regulations (governing workplace conditions, for example) seen as contrary to the general good.

Yet the overall shift toward state power seems to be continuing. On close examination, each of the three recent exercises of Federal power appear quite limited. They demonstrate only that change comes slowly in a Federal system full of constitutional checks and balances and reliant on more than two centuries of legal precedents.

Michael Maior/San Francisco Chronicle

Dennis Peron, a campaigner for the initiative passed in California to allow the medical use of marijuana, smokes a joint.

While the prospect of Federal penalties against doctors drew headlines last week, the Administration's stance was actually quite mild. It did not file a lawsuit or take other sterner measures despite previous hints that it might do so.

Instead of asserting the Federal Government's authority over drug policy, the Clinton Administration warned that doctors who prescribe too many illegal drugs could lose their Federal certification to write prescriptions. Offenders could also be barred from receiving Medicaid or Medicare payments. But criminal penalties for doctors, while not ruled out, were played down.

On welfare, the Administration seems to be moving toward making Federal grants to the states conditional on their spending their own money to meet certain Federal standards. But these moves are, in effect, brakes on an overall transfer of authority to the states. While such Federal restrictions have irked advocates of states' rights, numerous court decisions have long upheld the Federal Government's right to attach conditions when doling out Federal money.

The outcry from advocates of states' rights has been loudest over the Federal judge's injunction barring California from enforcing its referendum limiting affirmative action. But California referendums have a history of quickly winding up in court, and the judge's move surprised few lawyers who had been following the issue.

If anything, the Federal judiciary is trying to gradually transfer more authority to the states. In the Supreme Court, one of the hallmarks of Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist's tenure over the last 10 years has been his emphasis on expanding states' power. Some constitutional scholars expect the court to rule this year against a section of the Brady gun-control law, for example, that requires local sheriffs to run background checks on gun buyers.

The Judicial Conference of the United States, the policy-making body for lower Federal courts, has also opposed legislation to turn domestic violence and other offenses into Federal crimes. The members of the conference, not wanting to burden the Federal judiciary further, are hoping the state courts will shoulder the load.

"They've tried in any number of ways to unload cases that have been in the Federal courts and put them in the state courts," said Mayor Dennis Archer of Detroit, a former justice of Michigan's Supreme Court.

Constitutional scholars have argued that the balance of power between the Federal and state governments tends to shift over very long periods of time, with cycles lasting as long as 60 or 70 years.

"We are clearly in an era in which the pendulum is shifting toward state power," said Paul Gewirtz, a law professor at Yale University. "But it should surprise nobody that even in an era of that shift, we still see Federal power in area after area."

~~CABINET~~

~~REPEAT~~
can I do this? options? - BC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-9-97

Taylor's 50th Birthday Party

Saturday, Jan. 25, 1997

7:30 pm

the DeYoung/Champ home

4028 Argyl Terrace N.W.

Washington, D.C.

RSVP Christy 410-664-4864

~~Copy~~ original sent to Scheduling

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-9-97

GWES RJG PG

"USA TODAY hopes to serve as a forum for better understanding and unity to help make the USA truly one nation."
—Allen H. Neuharth
Founder, Sept. 15, 1982

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER
USA TODAY
PUBLISHED BY GANNETT

David Mazzarella
Editor
Karen Jurgensen
Editor of the Editorial Page
Thomas Curley
President and Publisher

Today's debate: REVAMPING SOCIAL SECURITY

Invest Social Security funds in stocks and bonds

OUR VIEW **Social Security needs help — fast. Nothing should be ruled out, including privatization.**

What Social Security reforms will best meet future retirees' needs?

A special presidential council came up with a big part of the answer Monday: Invest Social Security funds in stocks and bonds. That still-controversial move out of safe, low-interest government securities is overdue. In fact, it's close to unavoidable. Unfortunately, the council's members couldn't agree how to do it.

Five members favor letting individuals control their own investments. Two others would set up individual accounts invested in government-managed index funds. Six others would have the government do the investing and rake in the returns.

Whichever plan President Clinton and Congress eventually adopt, they'd be wise to go about it quickly. It's the least painful way out of Social Security's problems.

The system has already piled up an $8 trillion unfunded liability — a number so large that an immediate 17.5% payroll tax hike or equivalent benefit cut would be needed to eliminate it. And even then, average wage earners still wouldn't get out of Social Security what they put in.

Further, the system is built on a politically convenient illusion: the idea that an independent trust fund exists to save money for retirement. When Social Security taxes are collected, some of the money goes for current benefits, and any surplus goes to pay for other government programs. In return, the trust fund gets IOUs from the U.S. Treasury that can't be sold. They also yield a mere 2.3% above inflation, a third of the historic return on stocks. So when boomers begin retiring and the surpluses end, the government will have to borrow or raise taxes hundreds of billions to keep the promises, or renege and cut boomers' retirement benefits.

Using Social Security funds to buy securities in private markets soon would limit that scam. It also would raise more for benefits. But all options have a downside.

The two plans creating personal accounts would increase payroll taxes to finance them. That, economists believe, would increase savings, incomes and the retirement earnings of average workers.

But some would lose out: the disabled and couples with single wage earners.

With government running the whole investment show, benefits could be maintained. But there would be no new savings. And economists say government's higher earnings thus could come at the expense of investors, such as private pensions.

Such risks and benefits need full debate. No plan should be cast off as a "nonstarter," as Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D., on Sunday did to proposals involving personal accounts.

To keep Social Security viable means investing its money in the markets. Congress needs to find the best way.

Overview of plans

How the commission's three proposals would change Social Security:

Plan 1: 5% of each worker's pay would go into a personal account. Workers would decide how to invest the money.

Plan 2: 1.6% of each worker's pay would go into a personal account. Workers would invest the money in stock and bond index funds managed by the government.

Plan 3: The government would invest up to 40% of Social Security surpluses in a stock index fund designed to match the gains and losses of the broad stock market.

Source: USA TODAY research

Black vs. w

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 1-9-97

TO: Harris Wofford

FROM: **Staff Secretary**

The attached is forwarded for your information.

The Honorable Harris Wofford
CEO
Corporation for National Service
1201 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20525

POTUS' note --
To Bruce Reed/Rahm
Jay did the seat belt campaign didn't he?
This is worth our support & can be folded into Nat'l Service
Literary initiatives.
I need to reply to him.
Send copy to Harris Wofford

HARVARD SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Center for Health Communication

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-6-97

Winsten, Ph.D., Associate Dean and Center Director

To Bruce / Rahm
Jay did the seat belt campaign didn't he?
Please a worth our support & can be folded into the Service Literary initiatives
I need to reply to him
Send copy to Harris Wofford support

JIM DORSKIND

Please coordinate the reply.

Mobilizing Citizens to Help America's Children: "Each One, Reach One"

"The problem with [TV sitcom] 'Fresh Prince of Bel Air' was, they showed us what life's like in Bel Air, but didn't teach us how to get there." Tanya, a 16-year old African-American from a Boston inner-city neighborhood, expressed her frustration--and ambition--during a focus group discussion on youth violence prevention conducted by the Harvard School of Public Health. Tanya is smart, motivated--and going nowhere, because she lacks adequate guidance and direction at home and at school. If the right person takes her under their wing, becomes her mentor and points the way, Tanya has a good chance to escape from her current circumstances of poverty and achieve success and fulfillment as a productive citizen.

There are many others like Tanya. Millions of vulnerable children and adolescents are growing up in poverty-stricken, broken homes. Regrettably, few are receiving the benefits of mentoring from a caring, responsible adult. For example, the Big Brother/Big Sister program reaches only 70,000 young people--with 30,000 more on the waiting list.

There is solid scientific evidence that mentoring works. In a landmark study, 1000 young people on the waiting list of Big Brother/Big Sister were randomly assigned to two groups. Members of one group were assigned a mentor; members of the other group remained on the waiting list. Comparing the two groups eighteen months later, the children with mentors had sharply lower rates of drug and alcohol use, and much better school attendance rates. The strength of mentoring is that, rather than focusing on individual problems facing young people, it addresses the needs of the child as a whole.

Organizations in the mentoring field have set the ambitious goal of achieving 2 million mentors by the year 2000. To contribute to this goal, the Harvard School of Public Health proposes to launch "Each One, Reach One" in partnership with national mentoring organizations. Through this large scale media campaign, we will seek to stimulate the creation of thousands of local mentoring projects in communities across the country, sponsored by churches, synagogues, businesses, and volunteer-based organizations such as Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs. Through these local projects, hundreds of thousands of volunteers will serve as mentors and tutors to at-risk children. The projects will be conducted in partnership with public and parochial schools and after-school programs. This national initiative will enormously strengthen local civic involvement in the lives of at-risk children, helping a generation of young people like Tanya to escape from conditions of poverty and become productive citizens.

677 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02115-6096 Tel: (617) 432-1038 Fax: (617) 731-8184

"Each One, Reach One" will utilize media strategies comparable to those employed by Harvard's highly successful Designated Driver Campaign for Drunk Driving Prevention, which was launched in 1988 in collaboration with major Hollywood studios and leading television networks. During four television seasons, more than 160 prime time episodes depicted the use of designated drivers, and prime time public service announcements promoted the concept. The bottom line: 65 million Americans served as designated drivers (Roper Poll), contributing to a 30% decline in annual fatalities from drunk driving.

"Each One, Reach One" will be conducted in partnership with the communications industry, employing a combination of news, advertising and entertainment strategies to transform the mentoring movement into a "larger than life" component of our civic landscape. We also will publish a detailed guidebook to advise local organizations on how to run mentoring projects, and will promote the availability of this guidebook through television, radio, print media and the Internet. Ongoing survey research will document the growth of the mentoring movement. The ABC television network has already made a major commitment of donated air time, and Hollywood directors and producers have expressed great interest in participating.

1-9-97

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'97 JAN 8 PM7:42

January 8, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: **DONALD A. BAER** DAB

SUBJECT: **DRAFT MEMORANDUM FOR CABINET RETREAT ON VISION AND PRINCIPLES OF ADMINISTRATION**

Attached for your review is a memorandum that we would like to include in the briefing book that old and new Cabinet members will receive as part of this weekend's retreat. Its purpose is to explain how your specific policy objectives relate to the broader vision and principles of your Presidency. Our hope is that by placing those policy objectives within the larger narrative of your Presidency -- the context of what you inherited four years ago, and the principles and leadership strategy you established to meet America's challenges -- we can help focus this weekend's discussion on the kinds of policy and tactics that will best serve your overall vision.

Please let us know your thoughts.

Nice work
Bunny Greenberg
to see —

BC

Draft:

PREPARING AMERICA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: PRESIDENT CLINTON'S LEADERSHIP STRATEGY

This memorandum explains how the President's specific policy objectives relate to the broader vision and principles of his Presidency. The assumption is that all policy objectives must be driven by the overarching vision and purpose of the Clinton Presidency, and that the larger strategy for pursuing that vision will dictate the more detailed tactical plans to achieve each objective.

To help in that effort, this memorandum describes 1) the context in which the President came into office, and the challenges the nation faced; 2) how President Clinton brought to national leadership a new set of principles and objectives to prepare America for the 21st Century, and 3) the new strategy of national leadership the President has established to achieve those objectives -- a strategy which will guide the Clinton Administration throughout the second term.

I. THE CONTEXT: THE CHALLENGES FACING AMERICA WHEN PRESIDENT CLINTON TOOK OFFICE

Years of Division and Inaction

President Clinton took office after years of drift and division in Washington -- 12 years of failure to address the nation's biggest challenges and concerns, and two or three decades in which America had retreated from its sense of shared values, common goals and the belief that we can meet our challenges by working together. As America stood at the dawn of the 21st Century, with all its challenges and opportunities, it was clear that we were in no position to prepare ourselves for that new century:

- With rising deficits, our fiscal house was not in order.
- We addressed issues such as rising crime, welfare, deficits, unemployment and income inequality by focussing on who to blame, not what to do.
- It was unclear whether we would use our diversity as a strength and meet our challenges as one community, or fall prey to the division and disintegration plaguing other nations around the world.
- With the rise of the global economy and information age, we were not working to give Americans the tools they need to succeed, or to strengthen America's competitiveness in the world economy.
- After the Cold War, it was unclear whether and how America would lead and stay engaged as the world's strongest force for peace, freedom and prosperity.

President Clinton believed we could move beyond the division and deadlock and find new approaches to our challenges based on our oldest values-- approaches that were, in many cases, the ways that America's families and communities worked together to solve their problems. He was determined, as he said in his first Inaugural address, to "make change our friend and not our enemy."

Not Big Government or Government That Leaves People to Fend for Themselves, But Government That Helps People Have the Tools to Succeed

President Clinton understood that top-down, big government was not the solution; neither was leaving people to fend for themselves. The American people do not want big government, nor can we afford it. But they do want -- and know that our challenges demand -- active national leadership. That is why President Clinton has defined a new role for government -- not to solve people's problems for them, but to help individuals, families and communities have the tools to fix their own problems.

The Past Four Years: Beginning to Build the Bridge to the 21st Century

This new approach has not only cleared away the underbrush of 12 years of division and inaction, it has led to significant progress on the nation's major challenges: We've cut the deficit by 60 percent, and increased trade to record levels. We have over 11 million new jobs. Crime has dropped for the last four years. The welfare rolls have dropped by 2.1 million. America is strong and at peace.

- We have rejected the false choice between big government and leaving people to fend for themselves, showing that in an era of smaller government, government can still provide opportunity for those who are willing to take responsibility for it by giving them the tools to make the most of their own lives.

- We have replaced trickle-down economics and chronic deficits with invest and grow economics and as we move the nation toward a balanced budget -- with more jobs, lower unemployment, and low inflation and interest rates to keep the economy growing steady and strong.

- On issues like crime and welfare, we have replaced social policy in the form of hot rhetoric with social policy in the form of genuine action -- designed to build strong families and communities, expanding opportunity and demanding responsibility.

- We answered what had been an open question about America's role in the post-Cold War world by placing America at the center of crucial new trading blocs and establishing America as the indispensable nation -- the world's strongest force for peace, freedom and prosperity.

We have begun to prepare America for the challenges of the 21st century. In doing so, President Clinton has established clear principles to move forward and finish the job.

II. PRINCIPLES FOR PREPARING AMERICA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

The following principles are already helping us to prepare for an increasingly competitive world, where we as Americans must work together despite our growing diversity -- to remain

strong and to show other nations that strength and diversity can go hand-in-hand. For purposes of moving forward, it is essential to understand the vision that guides these principles, the principles themselves and the ways in which specific policy objectives relate back to the broader vision and principles.

Overall Vision

To prepare America for the 21st Century.

Three Core Principles

1. **Tools to Succeed**. To help provide all Americans (and their families and communities) with the tools to make the most of their own lives and to mobilize them to take responsibility for fixing their own problems. (This means changing the relationship between our people and their government; government's role is neither to solve problems for people, nor leave them alone to fend for themselves. It is to help provide opportunity for people who take responsibility for themselves.) [Opportunity/Responsibility]

2. **American Community**. To renew the confidence of the American people that we can again solve our most difficult problems when we work together. [Community]

3. **American Leadership in the World**. Advancing America's role as the world's strongest force for peace, freedom and prosperity.

Policy Objectives

All the major policy goals of the administration fit within the overall vision and within one or more of the specific strategic objectives. Specific proposals that may seem small and disconnected are in fact significant because they relate to and advance the larger vision and objectives. For example:

Tools to Succeed:
Balancing budget (creating opportunity through stronger economy, lower interest rates)
Education
- Reforming K-12
- Technology in Classroom
- Literacy

College Opportunity
Training/lifelong learning
Welfare-to-work (jobs, training, etc.)
Stronger Families (work/parenting, helping keep children safe from outside forces)
Health Care (expanding access step-by-step)
Technology/research

American Community:
Welfare reform (businesses, religious groups, communities helping to end underclass)
Making democracy work (balancing budget, reinventing government, campaign reform)
Safe and clean environment
Crime, drugs, youth violence

American Leadership in the World:
A democratic and united Europe
Building a bridge to the Asia-Pacific
New security challenges
U.S. as a force for peace
Maintaining military strength
Integration into global economy/new architecture

(This list is not meant to be comprehensive but includes many key examples.)

III. PUTTING THE PRINCIPLES INTO PRACTICE: THE CLINTON STRATEGY OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND THE TACTICS TO MAKE IT WORK

The Need for Solutions Beyond Big Government

The challenge in achieving the above vision and principles is in defining national or Presidential leadership when the era of big government is over, but our big national challenges remain. All strategy and tactics must reflect the following:

- Federal resources are limited.
- Top-down, big government is not effective at meeting the particular challenges of the global economy and information age and the social problems we face.
- Many of America's most fundamental challenges, such as school reform, are not even subject to federal jurisdiction.

The Tactics: Leadership That Begins in Washington, But Doesn't End There

Given these circumstances, we must place special emphasis on:

- Executive actions and proper use of the bully pulpit that work in concert with measured legislative action.
- Efforts that mobilize sectors outside the federal government (communities, state/local governments, families, businesses, individuals, volunteer groups) to build partnerships to solve problems.
- Promotion and facilitation of works around the country as models, where possible, for others dealing with similar problems.

Legislation, Executive Action and the Bully Pulpit. In crafting policies to help prepare America for the 21st century, we must remember that legislation is just one approach to meeting our challenges -- and in an era of smaller government, not necessarily the most productive approach. We must pay attention to all three tracks of Presidential action:

- **Legislation**. Especially legislation that leverages the efforts of communities, families and individuals (e.g. 100,000 police, welfare reform, HOPE scholarships).

- **Executive Action**. Not merely to change regulations, but to empower communities, families, and individuals to help solve our problems (e.g. enabling college work study students to work as reading tutors, establishing a national sex offenders registry so communities can better protect themselves, removing barriers to non-profits and religious groups becoming involved in welfare reform).

- **Bully Pulpit**. Not just to exhort but to show results in concrete terms (e.g. reports explaining proper ways to implement school uniforms, successful Presidential push for tv ratings system and advocacy of higher school standards leading to adoption by states and localities).

Efforts That Mobilize Sectors Outside the Federal Government. As President Clinton said in his December 1996 speech before the DLC, "We have to identify the challenges we face in common as Americans and find ways to go after them in common." The key is galvanizing all sectors of society to recognize our major national challenges, then helping to mobilize them to meet those challenges. For example:

- **Education**: School standards (national advocacy that requires adoption at local level, in conjunction with states, businesses, parents, teachers, students); charter schools/public school choice (federal support that requires local/parental responsibility, reports on what works in successful charter schools); education technology (federal support to catalyze businesses, states, volunteer groups); school construction (federal support to leverage local action).
- **Crime**: Federal legislation to finish hiring 100,000 police, leveraging efforts of communities to work with them; use of bully pulpit to highlight anti-crime measures such as curfews, to help communities take responsibility on their own.
- **Welfare**: Incentives such as wage subsidies and tax credits to help private sector offer jobs; use of bully pulpit to urge states to take the money that had gone into welfare checks and use it to subsidize paychecks, and urge businesses and non-profits to hire welfare recipients.

Promoting What Works. President Clinton has said that there is not a problem in America that is not being solved somewhere in America. We must shine a light on such solutions and show how families and communities can adopt them, to have more of the tools to fix their own problems.

1-8-97

From -
Lillian Brown
Potus requested.

Potus wants this
sent to Don Baer

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Lillian Brown

Office of Alumni & University Relations

QUOTE FROM ERIC SEVEREID. LOOK MAGAZINE July 9, 1968

"The American Dream"
By the year 2000, we will look back upon these present years not only as one of America's periodic convulsions but as a rather backward period. By then, the typical American family will have an income of around $20,000 a year or more; the typical American adult will have at least two years of college, with a far broader intellectual and aesthetic horizons. By then, the old urban centers will have been rebuilt, and many millions will live in satellite "new cities", part-urban, part-rural. The incurable diseases like cancer and arthritis will be under better control.

THE AMERICAN JOURNEY OF ERIC SEVEREID Raymond a Scroth
pp 390 January 24 1974

These pages constitute a moral indictment without known precedent in the story of American government. There is no talk in these endless conversations about the welfare of the American people, their faith in their leaders, the nation's reputation in the world, no awareness of what Jefferson was talking about when he invoked a "decent respect for the opinions of mankind." There are minimal references to truth; but innumerable conjectures about the most saleable publicity techniques for defending themselves.

These are men whose minds are irrevocably fixed in the "We or They" view of life and politics: men holding the supreme power in the land, talking like besieged conspirators, men unforgetting, unforgiving, constantly calculating how they can "get" their opponents and critics.

They are not interested in destroying their opponent's arguments, but in destroying their opponents, personally.

Washington DC 20057
202-687-4111

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

Copy to Donsland & Clerk

January 9, 1997

'97 JAN 9 PM12:11

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I will resign as Secretary of Commerce effective, close of business, January 21, 1997.

I have been honored to serve you and the American people as a member of your Cabinet in the capacity of the United States Trade Representative and as Secretary of Commerce. It has been an honor to play a role, as part of your efforts, providing leadership, energy and vision for our country into the next century.

The issues you champion, the causes you articulate and your achievements have made me proud to be a part of your Administration.

You have recognized that we are in the midst of the most fluid and exciting economic change since Americans left their farms for factories. The last 25 years have unleashed unprecedented and unparalleled domestic and global economic change. Combined with the end of the Cold War and breathtaking tecnological innovation we are confronting economic and social challenges which require that we create opportunity for all, while insisting on responsibility. You have articulated the new reality that we can no longer separate America's economic success from our strategic or political challenges. The success of your policies and your continuing leadership will ensure that our national security is strong and protected.

Our jobs, our standard of living and the future of our children and grandchildren depend on it.

Thank you for allowing me this great privilege.

Sincerely,

Michael Kantor

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-9-97

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

'97 JAN 6 PM1:11

January 3, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHELLE HOUSTON
DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE GIFTS

THROUGH: JAMES A. DORSKIND
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
DIRECTOR OF CORRESPONDENCE
AND PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES

SUBJECT: Gift Unit Report for the Week Ending January 1, 1997

A. Gifts Delivered This Week: 442
Gifts Processed This Week: 372

B. Highlights of the Gifts Received from December 19, 1996, through January 1, 1997:

1. **Patrick Lavoix.** Two Christian Dior ties, one is red and features a blue cat pattern, the other is blue with a red cat pattern. The appraised value is $200.

Disposition: _____ Keep for personal use and send to:

_✓_ Oval Office

_____ Residence

_____ Designate for Archives

2. **Kenneth Jacobs.** Hardcover book titled, *Catlin's Indians: Letters and Notes on the North American Indians*, by George Catlin; it is inscribed by the donors. The appraised value is $45.

Disposition: _____ Keep for personal use and send to:

_✓_ Oval Office

_____ Residence

_____ Designate for Archives

3. **Mark Dubin.** Doll with red curly hair, clothed in a green velvet dress with matching hat. It was crafted by the donor to resemble Chelsea and is of excellent quality. The appraised value is $150.

Disposition: _____ Keep for personal use and send to:

_✓_ Oval Office

_____ Residence

_____ Designate for Archives

4. **Judy Turkalj.** 5" x 7" mirror in an antique brass frame with art deco detailing. The appraised value is $35.

Disposition: _____ Keep for personal use and send to:

_✓_ Oval Office

_____ Residence

_____ Designate for Archives

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-9-97

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 8, 1997

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a memo from Sarah Brady, Peter Hart, Jann Wenner, and Anne Wexler on a proposed gun control strategy for your second term. *It was forwarded by Rahm.*

Their largest concern is preserving the Brady Law, i.e., working for its reauthorization, and pushing to reinstate the background check if the U.S. Supreme Court declares the law unconstitutional.

They offer two additional legislative proposals: ***1)*** limit handgun purchases to one per month, and require anyone selling more than one handgun per month to obtain a Federal firearms permit; and ***2)*** require licensed Federal dealers to sell handguns with trigger-locks to prevent children from being able to fire them. *Rahm likes the trigger-lock proposal.*

Finally, the memo includes information on the Cease Fire Education Project and its national public awareness campaign on handguns in the home. The goal of the campaign is to stigmatize guns as dangerous products, inappropriate for any home. Peter Hart's research shows that women are a moveable constituency on this issue because they have the chief responsibility for their children and families.

Helen Howell

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

97 JAN 4 PM 3:09

January 4, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM RAHM EMANUEL

SUBJECT GUN CONTROL

Attached is a memo from Sarah Brady's office that outlines some ideas for gun control strategy for the second term. I think you will find the memo very interesting. I believe some of the best suggestions concern child safety; "trigger locks" on handguns that secure guns, and legislation that attempts to reduce the risk of juvenile gun deaths. I would be willing to discuss the memo if you would like.

MEMORANDUM FOR RAHM EMANUEL

FROM: SARAH BRADY
PETER HART
JANN WENNER
ANNE WEXLER

DATE: DECEMBER 31, 1996

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL GUN CONTROL STRATEGY FOR THE SECOND TERM

This memo is in response to your request for gun control strategy for President Clinton's second term.

Separately we have been working on the gun control issue for many years, yet this is the first time we have come together as a group. We each bring different resources to this issue -- lobbying, legislation, media/public education, and strategy.

This past election proved that the National Rifle Association is *significantly weakened and has alienated a majority of the voters.*

- The NRA spent more than $5 million this cycle supporting 38 challengers to House incumbents, and lost every race.

- The NRA's worst enemies, the "Ten Who Gotta Go" -- all gun control proponents -- held on to their seats.

- HCI focused their efforts on 12 NRA-backed candidates, "The Dangerous Dozen," and won 10 of those races -- *an unprecedented victory.*

The American people know that gun control is a winning issue, they support the President on it, and they will support increased and tougher gun control measures during this next Administration.

The NRA has frightened Americans -- many of whom are women -- into believing that more guns will make them safer. Of course, we know the opposite of this is true:

- Guns are the second leading cause of death to children aged 10-19;
- A gun in the home is 43 times more likely to kill a family member than an intruder;
- And, if current trends continue, guns will be the leading cause of death to children by the year 2000.

We recommend taking the NRA on even more directly: families, children, and guns. Through the extensive strategic research of Peter Hart, we have determined that women are the moveable constituency on this issue -- as women have the chief responsibility for their children, families, and neighborhoods.

We propose a program of coordinated legislation, lobbying, and public education, in coordination with the White House.

- We are concerned about the possibility that the U.S. Supreme Court might render the Brady Law unconstitutional sometime next year. We must work to see that, at a minimum, the required background checks be reinstated.

- The Brady Law's Waiting Period and Interim Provisions will sunset in 1998, and we must renew this legislation. We should also seek limitations on multiple handgun sales in an effort to reduce gun trafficking.

- The work of the Cease Fire Education campaign will receive the active endorsement of the President, as it continues on a national scale, with television, radio and print PSAs, as well as educational materials for parents, on the issue of guns in the home.

First step: Given the importance of reauthorizing Brady, we would like to bring together a small group of key players early next year at the White House to plan strategy. We can bring to this meeting key supporters and activists on this issue, to include representatives from law enforcement, education, and medical associations to create a strategy, timetable and a coalition.

Our long-term experience with this issue is that in order to bring together and keep together key players, it is important that this meeting is convened by the White House.

The following package includes a summary of proposed gun control legislation, public opinion findings on this issue, and an overview of the work of the Cease Fire Education campaign.

We look forward to working with you.

LEGISLATIVE OPPORTUNITIES

As the 105th Congress prepares to convene in January, there are three broad areas which need to be addressed:

- Preservation of the Brady Law
- Gun Trafficking
- Children and Guns

Of these, preservation of the Brady Law is the most important. In a very real way, the Brady Law is -- and must remain -- the cornerstone of any sensible gun policy. If we cannot stop felons and other prohibited persons from purchasing handguns at a gun store, other efforts aimed at curbing interstate gun trafficking and keeping guns out of the hands of children are doomed to failure.

If the Supreme Court rules the Brady law unconstitutional, every effort must be made to reinstate the required background check. But it would be a mistake, in waiting for the Supreme Court's ruling, to delay action on other important gun initiatives. Inaction, at this stage, would squander valuable momentum and put us in a weaker position, not stronger, should the Supreme Court ultimately rule against Brady.

Thus, while preparing for a possible adverse Court decision, we should simultaneously pursue new steps aimed at disrupting illegal gun trafficking and keeping guns out of the hands of juveniles. To that end, we strongly urge the Administration's support of the following two new initiatives.

Limit Handgun Purchases (and Private Sales) to One Per Month

This measure would drastically slow the flow of guns into the black market by preventing gun runners (and their straw purchasers) from making multiple purchases. Four years ago, the State of Virginia was a major supplier of guns to cities up and down the East Coast. Seeking to change its reputation as the top gun-running state in the country, Virginia passed a law limiting retail handgun purchases to one per month. A study by the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence found that the law, after two years, had drastically reduced the number of guns being traced back to Virginia from crime scenes in the Northeast. Responding to law enforcement concerns about multiple purchases, Maryland earlier this year passed a similar law. Both laws have worked with a minimum of inconvenience to gun owners -- buyers wishing, for whatever reasons, to make multiple handgun purchases may seek permission from the State Police.

While limiting handgun purchases to one-per-month, we should also require that anyone selling more that one handgun-per-month (to someone other than a licensed dealer) obtain a federal firearms permit. The Brady Law effectively regulates sales by licensed dealers. But while Federal law requires anyone who is in the business of selling guns to obtain a Federal license, many dealers circumvent the Brady sale requirements by selling guns from their "private collection." In some states, Florida most notably, gun show sales by unlicensed gun dealers are a major source of handguns for criminals and professional gun traffickers. A law limiting private handgun sales to one handgun-per-month would effectively limit this illicit trade without unduly burdening legitimate collectors.

National Child Safety Legislation

While many juveniles buy their firearms on the illegal market, many obtain their firearms from home. Despite the very real dangers posed by a gun in the home, surveys indicate that most gun-owning households do not unload their guns and lock them up. There are several different kinds of devices intended to prevent unauthorized users -- especially juveniles -- from being able to fire a handgun.

The most common is a simple, inexpensive "trigger lock," a padlock which is specifically designed to secure a gun. There are, however, a number of new technologies -- some being developed under government contract at Sandia Labs in New Mexico -- which "personalize" a gun, rendering it unusable by an unauthorized user. Federal law should be changed to require that a licensed Federal dealer may not sell a firearm without a trigger-lock or other device, approved by the manufacturer, which can be used to protect against the unauthorized use of the gun.

To reduce the risk of juvenile gun deaths, legislation is needed to require that every sale of a handgun by a licensed dealer be accompanied by: 1) a manufacturer-approved device designed to prevent unauthorized users from firing the weapon; and 2) a notice informing the purchaser that a gun in the home poses a special risk to children and, that
improper storage of the handgun could, depending on local law, lead to civil and/or criminal liability.

In addition to legislation, the work of the Cease Fire public education campaign will continue, warning Americans that too many children have ready access to a family gun and that every American has a responsibility to keep handguns out of the hands of children.

Taken together, these two initiatives -- legislation and public education -- would:

Promote Safer Storage Practices -- A public debate on the issue of trigger lock legislation would: 1) alert many gun-owning Americans to the very real danger posed by a gun in the home; and 2) encourage them to either rethink their decision to own a handgun or be more vigilant in assuring that children do not gain access to the firearm.

Give Greater Attention to CAP Law Requirements -- While an increasing number of states now have Child Access Prevention (CAP) Laws imposing criminal liability on gun owners who fail to keep a loaded firearm out of the reach of children, many gun owners are still not aware of their legal responsibility and potential liability. A national debate on gun storage, together with a notice requirement of the sale of new handguns, would focus renewed attention on CAP laws and help to educate millions of gun owners.

THE CEASE FIRE EDUCATION PROJECT

Cease Fire, Inc., a 501(c)(3) organization, was started just over two years ago to bring together new leadership from the fields of media and entertainment, politics, and legal, medical and social organizations to create a long-term, national public awareness campaign on the issue of handguns in the home.

Our 40-person Advisory Panel includes:

Reg Brack, Chairman, Time, Inc.
Doug Carlston, Chairman and CEO, Broderbund Software, Inc.
Walter Cronkite
Barry Diller
Millard Drexler, CEO, Gap, Inc.
Michael Eisner
Tom Freston, President, MTV Networks
Gilbert Gallegos, President, the National Fraternal Order of Police
Keith Geiger, Immediate-Past President, National Education Association
Alan Hassenfeld, Chairman, President and CEO, Hasbro, Inc.
John Kennedy, Jr.
Paul Newman
Michael Ovitz
Ron Perelman
Roberta Cooper Ramo, President, ABA
James Todd, former Executive Vice President, AMA
Lois Jean White, President-Elect, National PTA

The strategy is relatively simple: the extensive research of Peter Hart has shown that women carry the chief responsibility of taking care of their children and families -- they can talk to their husbands about the dangers of keeping handguns in the home. Over time, handguns will be stigmatized as the unsafe and dangerous products they are, and not appropriate to have in *any* home.

Our materials include broadcast and print PSAs, as well as educational materials for parents on the issue of handguns in the home. A detailed description of our placement follows.

Similar to the efforts of Mothers Against Drunk Driving, Cease Fire has established a long-term, professional media campaign to raise public awareness and mobilize a broad cross-section of American leadership. Just as Americans now think twice about the health effects of smoking cigarettes, or of not using seatbelts when driving a car, they need to understand the severe health implications of bringing a handgun into the home -- particularly in homes where there are children.

Cease Fire has been endorsed by the Ad Council as a campaign that is "regarded and recognized as an expert" in the field. Cease Fire was nominated in 1996 by the Magazine Publishers of America as one of the best ad campaigns of the year.

The Cease Fire Education Campaign, Round One -- 1996

Working with the most award-winning ad agency in recent years, Fallon McElligott, a full-scale public awareness campaign was developed. We produced seven PSAs, directed by Jonathan Demme and featuring Paul Newman, Joanne Woodward, Walter Cronkite and Oprah Winfrey. Five black-and-white ads were also produced, all depicting true-life tragedies of children and handguns.

Our PSAs ran nationally on cable networks and systems, network affiliates, in movie theaters, and in national magazines. Our first quarter tally totaled more than 375 million impressions to people 12 years of age and older, with a total media value of over $2 million.

In addition to the excellent national placement of our PSAs, Cease Fire established a strong network of supporters at the grassroots level -- parents, teachers, judges, clergy, children -- that will help us in our work during this next year.

Highlights of placement include the following:

CABLE NETWORKS

TOTAL ..... 1,162 times

(A&E, CNBC, Comedy Central, Discovery, The Learning Channel, Lifetime, MTV, Mind Extension University, Nick At Night, USA, VH-1, E! Entertainment, History, Superstation TBS)

CABLE SYSTEMS

TOTAL ..... 82,338 times

(Bresnan Communications, Cablevision Systems, Comcast, Continental Cablevision, Marcus Cable, Multivision, Time Warner, Time Warner - New York City)

NETWORK AFFILIATES AND INDEPENDENT STATIONS

TOTAL ..... 4,052 times
(Including stations in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Boston, Dallas, Seattle, Cleveland, Phoenix and St. Louis)

MOVIE THEATERS

TOTAL ..... 6,272 screens
(Carmike Theaters, Cineplex Odeon, General Cinema Theaters, Hoyts Cinemas, National Amusements Theaters, Regal Theaters, Sony Theaters, Syufy/Century Theaters, United Artists)

MAGAZINES

TOTAL ..... 26 national insertions
(The Atlantic Monthly, Chatter, Elle, Family Fun, Glamour, Men's Journal, The National Enquirer, Newsweek, The Oxford American, People, Rolling Stone, The Star, Time, Today's Black Woman, US, Vanity Fair, Woman's Day)

The Cease Fire Education Campaign, Round Two -- 1997

The second phase of the Cease Fire campaign will be launched in March 1997. Working with the award-winning ad agency BBDO, we are creating an entirely new set of ads for both broadcast (television and radio) and print. We will seek an expanded commitment base for our PSAs in the second round, focusing on major television networks and affiliates, as well as increased placement commitments on cable networks and systems, as well as magazines.

During this second round, we will be developing educational materials for parents -- to be distributed through national partnerships with several major medical and education associations. Parents will then receive these messages exactly where they are most needed: their doctor's office, their child's school, their local emergency room. These materials will highlight to parents the dire consequences of keeping a handgun in the home, and include a general "safety tips" component. We will be drafting these materials with the assistance of the Johns Hopkins Center for Gun Policy and Research.

Our partnership commitments include:

- The American Medical Association
- The National Association of Children's Hospitals
- The American College of Emergency Physicians
- The National Association of Secondary School Principals
- The National PTA
- The National Association of City and County Health Officials.

During our second round, Cease Fire will also set up an automated 1-800 number and a homepage on the Internet for the distribution of collateral materials and continued identification of grassroots activists and supporters.

PUBLIC OPINION POLLING DATA

Public opinion polling data continue to show strong and broad support among Americans for the kinds of common sense gun control measures we are proposing, and survey research consistently demonstrates a positive environment for leaders who are willing to stand up to the excesses of the National Rifle Association.

Moreover, the polls—as well as recent real world experience on Election Day—underscore the power and saliency of the gun control issue in the political decision making of American voters. This is especially true among women, college-educated voters, and voters who live in the suburbs—all groups who played a key swing role in the 1996 elections.

A survey by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*, for example, showed that fully 74% of all Americans believe "the Brady law is good, **but more gun control laws will be needed to reduce crime**." In that survey, another 9% said "the Brady law is good, and will be enough to make a difference in reducing crime," and **only 12%** said "the Brady law goes too far in restricting Americans' freedom to own handguns."

Even after the passage of the Brady Law and the assault weapons ban, Americans said by a margin of 58% to 35% that they were **more concerned that government will not do enough to regulate access to firearms** than that government will go too far in restricting the rights of citizens to own firearms. (NBC News/ *The Wall Street Journal*)

Furthermore, a significant majority of 58% say that the National Rifle Association has too much political influence today, while just 12% say the NRA has too little political influence. (NBC News/ *The Wall Street Journal*)

The proposal to limit handgun purchases to one per month was extremely popular among voters in Virginia when Governor Wilder introduced it—both in public opinion polls and in terms of grass roots political response. When a more stringent version of this proposal—limiting handgun purchases to *two a year*—was tested more recently in a survey among voters in Maryland, the verdict was overwhelmingly favorable, with 75% expressing support, including 63% who *strongly* favored this initiative.

As to the proposal for national child safety legislation for firearms, an in-depth national survey commissioned by Cease Fire shows that the number one concern of Americans by far about having guns in homes is "that they can be fired accidentally by children." In the Cease Fire poll, fully 90% of all respondents said they would favor a new federal regulation requiring that guns have safety triggers that would prevent a small child from firing them.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-9-97

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 7, 1997

'97 JAN 7 PM4:13

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: **ERSKINE B. BOWLES**

RE: **White House Personnel**

In view of Alan Wheat's decision not to become head of the Office of Public Liaison, I would propose that you consider the following "paired" options:

1. Public Liaison -- Ann Lewis
   Cabinet Affairs -- Janet Murguia or Goody Marshall

2. Public Liaison -- Marie Echeveste
   Cabinet Affairs -- Goody Marshall

We can discuss further at your convenience.

cc: The Vice President

Ann Lewis
Janet Murguia or Marie Echeveste
Goody Marshall — Need
to recruit —

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-9-97

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate the reply.

RODDY McDOWALL

Do wish right to win on my budgets + determination to help get for it

BC

December 14, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

It was a great pleasure to meet you the other evening and this letter is to reiterate my request to you at that time.

There is no doubt that in the passage to a new century, one of the important implements will be the bridge of ideas that will radiate from the sector of the arts.

You are vibrantly aware of the horrendous withdrawal of funding from all areas of the arts in our country. It has reached a point that causes great alarm. While the private sector most certainly has to apply themselves with greater vigour, the country as a whole must be alerted to the awareness that legislation should emerge that will assist the issue. It is in large part the arts of a nation that trigger the imagination, dreams, and glory of tomorrow and the heritage of the nation as a whole. Without flourish in this area of our wealth we invite a dismal future for coming generations.

And so, noble sir, I hope you will take issue with those who are dismantling one of America's most valuable currencies: all areas of the arts and thereby help to raise the level of consciousness in relation to this issue in your State of the Union and Inaugural addresses.

My very best to you and your valiant partner in life, Hilary- and happy holidays.

Most sincerely,

Roddy McDowall

Roddy McDowall

3110 Brookdale Road
Studio City, CA 91604

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 1-9

TO: John — (Podesta)

FROM: **Staff Secretary**

FYI.

December 30, 1996

'97 JAN 8 AM 10:41

MEMORANDUM

To: The President

From: Nancy Hernreich
Rebecca Cameron

Re: Request from John Carlin

John Carlin wrote that he would like to have a meeting soon to discuss the future Clinton Presidential Library/Foundation. He said the meeting needs to include you and Mrs. Clinton and should be before the Inaugural week if possible. Do you want us to schedule this as soon as possible?

Yes

cc Stephanie
Todd
E.B.
Nook
Nat
Kearney

1-9-97

From Interoffice Mail –

Send to Dorskind ~~Maureen Reese~~

Yes ✓

No _____

Montgomery

H. Maurice Mitchell
320 West Capitol Avenue, Suite 1000
Little Rock, AR 72201-3525

501-688-8801

December 18, 1996

'97 JAN 9 PM12:37

The President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

My Dear Mr. President:

As you are aware, our state is reaping great economic benefit from the McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System. It has stimulated over $5 billion in public and private investments and helped create thousands of jobs. The lowering of the water level of the Mississippi River has placed the System and its benefits in jeopardy. This peril will be avoided by the construction of the Montgomery Point Lock and Dam.

Your efforts in obtaining an appropriation for this project in the amount of $7 million for fiscal year 1997 are appreciated. To continue this progress to the extent of the Corps of Engineers' construction capability, an appropriation in the amount of $25 million is needed for fiscal year 1998. Please include this item in your fiscal year 1997 budget.

It will also be helpful, as well as saving time and money, if you would advise the Corps to issue a "continuing contract for construction" for this project.

Your consideration of these requests will be greatly appreciated.

Yours very truly,

Maurice

H. Maurice Mitchell

HMM:lc

cc - Mr. Thomas F. (Mack) McLarty

Ron Harrod, Inc.
Public Affairs Consultants

Ron Harrod
700 East 9th, Suite 6-M
Little Rock, AR. 72202

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Fax 501-376-4632
e-mail: r.. harrod@worldnet.att.net
Pager: 501-280-7318

Monday, December 30, 1996

The Honorable
President Bill Clinton
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000

'97 JAN 9 PM12:37

Dear Mr. President:

We need your help. I represent Mid-America Dairymen, Inc. headquartered in Springfield, MO. They have 18,000 member dairy farmers in thirty states.

The dairy farmers cannot stand another economic crunch -- one that is being brought about by a $4.00 drop in milk prices. The milk price collapse has been triggered by a drop in the butter and cheese market. Milk prices are currently indexed from the price of cheese.

There are four actions that the Secretary of Agriculture could do to ease this collapse. They are:

1. Increase DEIP sales (Dairy Export Incentive Program - foreign sales at subsidized prices).
2. Advance purchases of cheese for the military, school lunch and other government feeding programs.
3. Buy dairy products for foreign donation.
4. Grant a Federal Milk Order hearing to floor the price for calculating Class 1 and Class II prices.

Mr. President, I have enclosed eleven letters from producers who are experiencing the results of this drastic drop. The Secretary of Agriculture should hold a hearing that will result in having a floor under the Class I and Class II Basic Formula Price of $13.50 effective January 1, 1997.

Sincerely,

Ron Harrod

Ron Harrod
Public Affairs Consultant

1-9-97

From Interoffice Mail
Send to Donsland?
Yes ✓
No

HONORARY PARTICIPATION REQUEST

Please return to Room 457

Today's Date: January 9, 1997

Date of Request: 12/12/96

Request for: POTUS/FLOTUS

'97 JAN 9 PM5:08

Type of Request: Patrons

Requestor Name: His Excellency Helmut Tuerk

Title: Ambassador of Austria

Organization:

3524 International Court, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Contact Tel. #: 202/237-5202

Event Date: 03/14/97 [Print deadline: 1/10/97]

Event Description: Viennese Opera Ball

Notes: The Ball will be held at the National Building Museum, and proceeds from it will benefit SOS Children's Villages USA, a not-for-profit organization dedicated to providing assistance to children in need. The Federal President of the Republic of Austria, Thomas Klesill, is the Honorary Chair of the event. Mary Ann Peters, NSC, sees no foreign policy problem with the President and First Lady accepting this request. Melanne Verveer and Ann Stock believe the President and First Lady should accept the request.

Recommendations: The President and First Lady should ACCEPT.

MW _____ TS [signature] EL sent to Evelyn Lieberman

(Unless otherwise noted, a yes answer will automatically generate a message).

Comments:

Embassy of Austria
Washington, D. C.

The Ambassador

December 12, 1996

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I have the privilege of writing to ask you and Mrs. Clinton to agree to be the patrons for the Viennese Opera Ball which will be held for the first time on March 14, 1997 at the National Building Museum. The event will benefit SOS Children's Villages USA, the sister organization of Austria's particularly admired charity. The Federal President of the Republic of Austria, Thomas Klestil, is the Honorary Chairman of the event.

The ball is being organized with the intention of recreating the Opera Ball which has been held in Austria's capital city for over 100 years.

The guest list of approximately 800 persons will include leaders of government, congress, industry and culture, the Diplomatic Corps, and distinguished persons from Austria.

As in Austria, in Washington, D.C., the Viennese Opera Ball will be an elegant, entertaining and varied production which is to include a number of traditional segments: an opening procession and cotillion, ballet, concert, casino, silent auction, dinner and, of course, a lot of waltzing.

For Austrians the ball has a very special meaning. It is a celebration of life and human achievement which does homage to the indomitable spirit of mankind. It is our wish to share with the American people all that is best in Austrian tradition and culture

Mrs. Tuerk and I would be honored if you and Mrs. Clinton would accept the patronage for this event.

Please find enclosed two fact sheets on the ball and on the charity it will benefit.

Respectfully Yours,

Helmut Tuerk

Helmut Tuerk
Ambassador

2 Enclosures

Viennese
Opera Ball
1997

Viennese Opera Ball

Since its inception in the late nineteenth century, the Vienna Opera Ball has been Austria's highlight of the year. In Vienna, this Ball is the most prestigious event of the social season, with prominent people from all over the world attending.

The Ball traditionally opens with the arrival of dignitaries and the entry of the Committee of Honor. To set the stage for the evening young ladies and gentlemen perform a formal cotillion. Guests waltz long into the night to music performed by the Vienna Opera Ball Orchestra, making this a most memorable affair.

The Viennese Opera Ball 1997 will introduce this rich tradition to the United States. The ball will be held on **March 14, 1997, at the National Building Museum in Washington, DC.** Eight hundred guests will attend. Members of the Congress of the United States and high ranking government officials of the U.S. and Austria are invited honored guests.

As in Vienna, the Viennese Opera Ball will provide an elegant venue for government, business and society to meet, dine, dance and experience an evening of enchantment.

For more information contact:

Austrian American Alliance for the Children
3618 Chesapeake Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20008
Tel. 202/237-5202 Fax 202/237-5207

Viennese
Opera Ball
1997

SOS Children's Villages-USA, Inc.

The *Austrian-American Alliance for the Children* is a not-for-profit organization based in Washington, D.C. whose whole sole purpose is to provide assistance to children in need. The proceeds from the Alliance's fundraising efforts this year will benefit *SOS Children's Villages-USA, Inc.*

SOS Children's Villages International was founded by Herman Gmeiner in 1949. Upon seeing the devastation of Europe after World War Two and realizing that so many children were either orphaned or abandoned, he decided to build homes where these children would be able to live as normal a life as possible. He opened his first home in Imst, Austria, near Innsbruck. He funded this home by asking his fellow countrymen for "a shilling a month".

SOS Children's Villages are based on the belief that every child deserves to grow up in a caring family. Six to eight children, identified through social services agencies, live together as siblings in a home with an SOS parent who is chosen, trained and supported by SOS. The parent has ongoing support from the on-site Village Director as well as other staff members. When siblings are separated, SOS does all that it can to reunite the children and place them in the same SOS home. SOS Villages provide playgrounds, multi-purpose community buildings, and other facilities. Children attend local schools and participate in community activities and thus become a part of their community.

Today, SOS has 326 villages in over 124 countries. Two villages are in the United states located in Coconut Creek, Florida, and Lockport, Illinois. A third village is planned for Madison, Wisconsin, in the near future. Children are accepted regardless of race, religion or ethnic background. SOS has remained true to its mission: to be a loving family, a resilient and stable form of care for children who are orphaned, abused or abandoned.