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More Clinton Leadership Wanted
**NOW THE GOP FACES CYNICAL,
DISSATISFIED PUBLIC**

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More Clinton Leadership Wanted **NOW THE GOP FACES CYNICAL, DISSATISFIED PUBLIC**

Americans see less gridlock in Washington after the first 100 days of the 104th Congress, but few think they will be helped personally by the new legislation that has been considered, and most remain very dissatisfied with progress being made on the nation's top problems.

A 59% majority of the public thinks that the Republicans have kept their campaign promises and most (52%) remain happy that the GOP won control of the Congress. But dissatisfaction with Republican policies continues to grow, and the public is as unhappy with the overall state of the nation as it was last year at this time. Only 23% voice satisfaction with the way things are going in the country, and at least six in ten think the country is losing ground on its most urgent problems.

The latest nationwide Times Mirror survey finds increased confidence in the Republican party's abilities, but a substantial wariness of its intentions. The telephone poll of 1800 adults found the belief that the GOP is the party best able to handle the nation's problems at an all time high. But the survey also found respondents thinking that the Democrats care more about them than the Republicans (by a 49% to 39% margin). Further, just 19% think they will be helped by the legislation passed by the new Republican-led Congress. More than one in three (37%) believe they will be hurt, and about the same percentage (38%) think they will not be affected by the Congressional actions. Enterpriser Republicans, who are largely economic conservatives, are the only group identified in the survey that thinks on balance they will benefit from GOP efforts.

The perceived losers are much clearer to the public. Majorities or clear pluralities see environmentalists, the poor, minorities, women, retired people, young families and abortion rights supporters being hurt by the GOP legislation considered so far.

More Polarization

The polarization reflected in these perceptions is also found in the swelling percentage of Americans saying they disapprove of Republican policies. The current survey finds as many turning thumbs down (43%) to the GOP's plans, as turning thumbs up (44%). Women, blacks and people who earn less than \$30,000 are highly critical of the Republican efforts, while whites, men and more affluent groups remain strongly supportive. Many of the most important swing groups are either divided over GOP policies, or express disapproval. Overall, Independents divide 39% approve, 43% disapprove. However, New Economy Independents -- a largely middle age, female post-industrial working class group -- express strong disapproval. Older people are another politically potent group that has become disaffected. By a margin of 50% to 37%, people 65 years of age and older disapprove of the plans and policies of the new Republican leaders.

A growing number of Americans have become displeased with Republican policies, yet are still glad that the GOP controls Congress. These fence sitters disapprove of both Bill Clinton and of Newt Gingrich, but most approve of Bob Dole. They are largely Independents who side with the GOP on its economic reforms such as the tax cut and the balanced budget amendment, but are critical of the party for its stand on cultural issues such as restoring the ban on gays in the military and cutting funding for PBS. Many 104th Congress fence sitters are New Economy Independents

who are also uncomfortable with safety net cuts, cuts to programs such as school lunch and tuition aid, and the proposed elimination of affirmative action.

Democrats Come Together Over School Lunches

More broadly, the survey finds that many of the popular *Contract With America* positions are being overshadowed by more controversial GOP ideas that subsequently have captured the public's attention. For example, more respondents (49%) said they heard or read a lot about Gingrich's proposal to restore a ban on gays in the military than any of the Contract proposals. And replacing the school lunch program with block grants drew about as much public attention (35%) as term limits (40%), welfare reform (36%) and the balanced budget amendment (35%). Swing voters such as New Economy Independents are highly critical of many of the non-Contract measures that have attracted so much attention. Further, these issues have energized various Democratic constituencies. All Democratic groups oppose and care a lot about ending the school lunch program.

Considering Contract items, minority groups in particular care a lot about and oppose Gingrich welfare reform and the food stamp proposals. Liberal, well-educated Seculars¹ disapprove and care a lot about cuts to PBS and restoring the ban on gays in the military. Proposals to end affirmative action have angered both Seculars and members of minority groups.

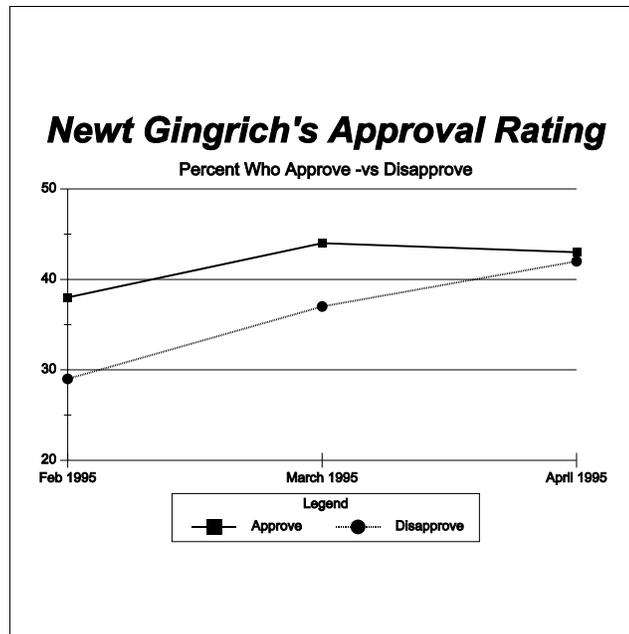
The polling suggests that the public is more disposed to reforming welfare and safety net programs than to ending them. While critical of quotas and special advantages for one group over another, there was no consensus for ending all affirmative action programs, except among Republican-oriented groups and the socially conservative New Dealers. Similarly, reforming welfare to provide block grants to the states is broadly popular on the surface, as 57% say they approve of such a proposal. However, when respondents are asked to address the hard choices that states would face, a 68% majority of Americans oppose cuts in benefits to the poor. The poll also found broad opposition to ending federal fuel subsidies to poor people.

The Gingrich Generation

The trend in opinion toward Newt Gingrich himself tracks well with growing discontent with Republican policies. Since mid-February the percentage expressing approval of Gingrich has increased from 38% to 43%, but disapproval is up more sharply -- from 29% to 42%. Gingrich is given better job evaluations by all Republican-leaning groups, especially by well-educated and affluent people. However, a generational factor is at work: younger people like the new Speaker, middle age people are divided about him, and older people tend to disapprove.

Times Mirror's typology analysis finds that while on balance Gingrich gets good grades from all the right-of-center groups and bad ones from all the left of center groups, he gets a surprisingly high 40% approval score from younger, moderate New Democrats and a relatively modest 58% approval rating from conservative Libertarians.

¹See Methodology section for a more detailed description of the Times Mirror typology groups.



'Let's Hear From Bill Clinton'

The latest Times Mirror Center survey has an equally mixed message for Bill Clinton. The President has been marginalized in the minds of many Americans. Most think that Bob Dole (55%) and Newt Gingrich (57%) have more power and influence in Washington politics than Clinton. Even a majority of Democrats think the President is less powerful than Newt Gingrich. However, an increasing number of people, composed mostly of Democrats, seniors, and the poor would like to see Clinton take the lead in solving the nation's problems. A few weeks ago the public divided evenly (40% to 40%) as to whether the President or the GOP Congressional leaders should set the agenda. Now a 48% to 36% plurality called for greater Presidential leadership.

This coincides with a slight increase in the president's approval rating which rose to 47% in the current poll, his highest positive rating since early 1994. However, there was not a significant decline in Clinton's disapproval rating (43%).

No 100 Day Lift

There is no indication that the first 100 days of the Gingrich Congress, despite its furious pace, has lifted the public's spirits about the state of the nation. A change of power in Washington usually causes more Americans to say, for at least a short period of time, that the country is headed in the right direction. Not so in the current Times Mirror survey, which found almost three out of four (74%) respondents dissatisfied with the way things are going in the country today, slightly higher than a year ago (71% in March, 1994). Moreover, of 22 problem areas on which respondents were polled, majorities or pluralities said the nation was losing ground on fully 18 of them.

In an open-ended question early in the interview, crime was cited most often (23%) as the biggest problem facing the country today. Other problem areas volunteered by respondents were the national deficit/balanced budget (13%), morality and family values (10%), drugs (9%), welfare

abuse (9%), and unemployment (9%). The proportion citing welfare abuse quadrupled from 2% a year earlier, probably reflecting increased media coverage of efforts to reform the system.

Still Dubious on the Economy

The public's reluctance to acknowledge an improved economy, noted in earlier polls, seems destined to endure until the next recession. Respondents cited unemployment as one of the top six problems facing the country. More of them now admit that progress is being made on the issue (27%, compared to 18% in March, 1994), but a larger proportion, 37% , believe the nation is still losing ground on this front. Similarly, more respondents now feel progress is being made on the availability of good paying jobs (17% , compared to 10% in March, 1994), but more than half the public, 55%, feel the country is losing ground here, too. Fully 61% said the nation is losing ground on the cost of living, essentially the same as a year earlier (59%).

In other important areas, huge majorities of respondents felt the nation was losing ground in dealing with its problems, ranging from 77% who believed it was losing ground on crime, 70% on moral and ethical standards, 68% on the way the welfare system is working, 66% on drugs, and 60% on the budget deficit. On moral standards, welfare and drugs, the percentage believing the nation was losing ground rose over the past year, while on crime and the budget deficit, the percentage remained the same.

Women Most Disenchanted

Crime was cited as a national problem by women of all ages much more than by men (28% vs. 18%); and women saw the nation losing ground against crime more often than men (82% vs. 71%). Similarly, women volunteered drugs as a national problem more often than men (11% vs. 7%), and were more likely to say the country was losing ground in this battle (71% vs. 60%). Non-whites saw the nation losing the fight against drugs more often than whites (79% vs. 64%) although there was no difference between non-whites and whites on losing ground on crime (77% for both).

Again, more women were convinced the nation was losing ground on moral and ethical standards than were men (75% vs 64%), and more whites than non-whites (71% vs. 61%) felt the same. Women more than men felt the nation was losing ground on families not staying together (77% vs. 73%). Whites more than non-whites felt ground was being lost on the way the welfare system is working (68% vs. 61%), and on the way the legal system is working (69% vs. 59%).

Among the brighter spots in the public's thinking is the problem of environmental pollution: 43% believe progress is being made on it, up from 37% in March, 1994. Americans also saw progress on racial, religious and ethnic conflict (27%, up from 21% a year earlier), although fewer non-whites than whites held this view (20% vs. 28%). The public saw little forward progress in combatting international terrorism, but far fewer now believe the nation is losing ground on the problem (36%, compared to 53% a year earlier). Finally, while fewer Americans saw health care as one of the country's most important problems (5%, compared to 14% in March, 1994) more than half of respondents (53%) thought the nation was losing ground on the issue (compared to 49% a year earlier); prominent among them were middle age Americans, particularly women age 30-49.

The Public and The GOP Agenda

Three legislative areas considered by the new Congress emerge as most salient to the public. When asked on an unaided basis to name the most important thing the new Congress has accomplished, respondents most often cited efforts to balance the budget/cut spending (8%), tax cuts (7%), and welfare reform (6%).

Ironically, the public is less aware of the line-item veto, although it is the only major provision of the Contract With America that passed both houses of Congress. Only 3% volunteered the line-item veto as the most important thing to happen in the new Congress. The veto made an impact with one important GOP constituency, the Libertarians, 10% of whom cited it as most important. In comparison, the social conservative Moralists more often named welfare reform (11%) and the Enterprisers singled out tax cuts more often (15%).

Two key defeats of Contract With America proposals -- term limits for members of Congress and the balanced budget amendment -- did not make a major impact on the public. Merely 1% of respondents mentioned the failure of each of those measures as the most important thing that has happened in the new Congress.

High Visibility Items

Six specific proposals tested in the survey are very familiar (i.e., respondents heard or read "a lot" about them) to at least a third of the public. Four of the best known proposals are Contract items -- term limits, welfare reform, a balanced budget amendment, and a middle class tax cut. But the two other best known proposals are non-Contract items dealing with more divisive issues: restoring the ban on gays in the military and replacing the federal school lunch program with block grants to the states. Gingrich floated the idea of restoring the gay ban to the news media a few days before interviewing for the survey began. As seen below, it was the most prominent issue in the public mind of any item tested.

TOP SIX PROPOSALS IN PUBLIC FAMILIARITY

<i>Percent Who Say They Heard Or Read A LOT About:</i>	
Restoring Ban On Gays in Military	49%
Term Limits For House and Senate	40
Reforming Welfare With Block Grants To The States	36
Replacing Federal School Lunch Programs With Block Grants To The States	35
Balanced Budget Amendment	35
Tax Cut For Middle Income Families	33

The four top Contract items in the survey all receive majority support. But response to each varies across major demographic and political subgroups, and in some cases receives a strongly negative reaction from one or more major political constituencies:

Term Limits for members of Congress wins public approval by a 60% to 40% margin overall. About four in ten (38%) approve of term limits and care a lot about this issue. There is little downside politically to term limits legislation; opponents of term limits don't feel as strongly about this issue.

Welfare Reform that would shift responsibilities to the states, end cash payments after five years, and halt benefits for unmarried parents under 18 wins public approval by a 57% to 34% margin. Four in ten (41%) approve of this GOP version of welfare reform and say they care a lot. The concept of shifting responsibility to the states is broadly popular: solid majorities believe their state would administer such programs more efficiently than the federal government (70%) and is more likely to be fair to all groups (67%). The public, however, is reluctant to cut benefits. If the shift means less federal money, only a quarter of the public (24%) is willing to reduce aid to poor families and only one in six (17%) would favor an increase in state taxes to make up the difference; but 51% would cut other items in the state budget for this purpose.

A Balanced Budget Amendment wins approval by a wide margin, 64% to 26%; nearly half (47%) approve and care a lot. Those opposed to the balanced budget amendment care less about this issue. Disapproval is highest among African-Americans (48%).

A Middle Class Tax Cut, when presented without a specific definition, wins the highest approval level of any proposal included in the survey -- 71% approve vs. 24% disapprove. But what the public wants and what the GOP Congress is offering them are not the same; and other surveys indicate that Americans put deficit reduction ahead of tax cuts as a public priority. A *Newsweek* Poll completed last Friday found 53% of the public saying federal money saved through budget cuts should be used to reduce the deficit rather than to give most Americans a tax cut. Those who favored a tax cut overwhelmingly preferred limiting it to families with incomes under \$95,000, as the Democrats have proposed. The more specific tax cut proposal that passed the House -- providing a \$500 per-child tax for families with incomes up to \$200,000 -- wins less approval (62% vs. 32%). Overall, 40% approve and say they care a lot about having a tax cut.

Gays, Lunch Issues Hurt the GOP

The two top non-Contract items are damaging to Gingrich and the Republicans in different ways. One could spur activism among liberals, the second hurts the party with swing voters and potential Democratic crossover voters.

Restoring the Ban on Gays in the Military is, ironically, causing problems for Gingrich much as it did for Clinton in his first 100 days. Unlike Contract items, which are being followed most closely by Republicans and others sympathetic to the GOP agenda, this proposal caught the attention of about as many Democrats (49% heard/read "a lot") and Independents (47%) as Republicans (51%). Most people are not inclined to change the

"don't ask, don't tell" compromise on gays in the military: 54% disapprove of restoring the gay ban while 38% approve.

Replacing the School Lunch Program with block grants to the states evokes one of the most negative responses in the survey. The public disapproves of this proposal by a 58% to 35% margin. More than four in ten (43%) disapprove and care a lot. The negative impact is greatest among blacks (68% disapprove, care a lot), Democrats (57%) and people under 30 (52%). This proposal wins the approval of a majority of '92 Bush voters (57%), but is rejected by a majority of Perot and Clinton voters.

Other GOP Agenda Items

Many other initiatives in the Contract with America that were passed by the House during the first 100 days are less familiar to the public. Fewer than three in ten adults have heard or read a lot about legal reform to limit the amount juries can award in personal injury lawsuits (28%) and the line-item veto proposal (28%).

No more than two in ten adults have heard or read a lot about doing away with unfunded mandates (19%), limiting the use of U.S. troops under U.N. command (19%) and reducing taxes for more affluent Social Security recipients (17%). Only about one in ten adults (12%) knows about the freeze on federal regulations to protect the environment, health or public safety.

In general, these lesser-known Contract proposals have attracted the most attention among the more Republican, male and affluent individuals who are the core supporters of the GOP agenda. All of these proposals are supported by a majority or a plurality, however. Of them, the public is most likely to care a lot about reducing taxes for more affluent people on Social Security. Unfunded mandates registers lowest as a matter of concern.

Of the remaining non-Contract items tested, cutting back the food stamp program, ending affirmative action, and reducing spending for public broadcasting are most familiar to the public. About three in ten adults report hearing a lot about each of these proposals. Cutting back the food stamp program wins approval by a 61% to 32% margin, ending affirmative action gets a mixed response (44% for and against) while cutting PBS evokes a negative response (60% disapprove vs. 30% approve).

Image Improvement, No Partisanship Gains

After the first 100 days of the 104th Congress, the Republican Party's image for effectiveness is at a high point. By a margin of 42% to 32%, the public now sees the GOP as better able to handle the country's top problem than the Democratic Party. The GOP also enjoys a whopping 19-point advantage over the Democrats as the party better able to manage the federal government well (49% vs. 30%); and a 17-point advantage as the party better able to bring about the kind of changes the country needs (51% vs. 34%).

But while the Republicans have been successful in winning people's respect, they have not succeeded in winning their allegiance. In terms of party identification, the parties are now at parity: 30% of Americans call themselves Republicans while 29% call themselves Democrats. Times Mirror Center surveys conducted from December through March had shown the Republicans with

an advantage ranging from 3 to 7 points. The biggest decrease in self-identification with the GOP since December is seen among '92 Perot voters (a drop of 15 points) and residents of Midwestern states (-13), who have shifted back to pre-election levels of partisan identification.

TABLES

A Profile of GOP Supporters, Opponents and "Fence Sitters"

	<u>Happy GOP Controls Congress</u> <u>Approve of</u> <u>GOP Policies</u>	<u>Disapprove of</u> <u>GOP Policies</u>	<u>Unhappy with</u> <u>GOP Control</u>
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republican	60	26	5
Democrat	6	25	59
Independent	31	46	34
<i>Clinton Approval</i>			
Approve	27	36	71
Disapprove	68	55	22
Don't know	5	9	7
<i>Gingrich Approval</i>			
Approve	76	35	21
Disapprove	16	51	68
Don't Know	8	14	11
<i>Dole Approval</i>			
Approve	82	65	42
Disapprove	10	24	44
Don't Know	8	11	14
 <i>POLICY VIEWS:</i>			
<i>Middle Class Tax Cut</i>			
Approve	82	79	59
Disapprove	14	18	38
Don't know	4	3	3
<i>Balanced Budget Amendment</i>			
Approve	79	62	51
Disapprove	15	28	40
Don't know	6	10	9

CONTINUED...

	<u>Happy GOP Controls Congress</u>		
	<u>Approve of GOP Policies</u>	<u>Disapprove of GOP Policies</u>	<u>Unhappy with GOP Control</u>
<i>Restoring ban on gays in the military</i>			
Approve	51	39	27
Disapprove	42	59	69
Don't know	7	2	4
<i>Cutting funding for public broadcasting</i>			
Approve	41	27	22
Disapprove	51	70	68
Don't know	8	3	10
<i>Replacing school lunch program with block grants to states</i>			
Approve	55	25	21
Disapprove	39	69	74
Don't know	6	6	5
<i>Ending direct student loans</i>			
Approve	33	29	18
Disapprove	60	67	78
Don't know	7	4	4
<i>Ending affirmative action</i>			
Approve	62	39	35
Disapprove	30	52	56
Don't know	8	9	9
<i>Typology Groups</i>			
Enterprisers	32	15	1
Moralists	23	12	2
Libertarians	9	5	4
New Economy Independents	11	22	18
Embittered	7	9	7
Bystanders	8	11	9
Seculars	2	6	15
New Democrats	3	8	15
New Dealers	3	5	14
Partisan Poor	2	7	15

ATTENTION TO PROPOSALS IN THE "CONTRACT WITH AMERICA"

	<i>HOW MUCH HEARD OR READ ABOUT:</i>		
	<u><i>A Lot</i></u>	<u><i>Some</i></u>	<u><i>Little/None/DK</i></u>
<i>Term Limits</i>			
Term limits for House and Senate	40	39	21=100
<i>Welfare/Social Programs</i>			
Welfare reform with block grants to states	36	41	23=100
Block grant proposal for federal school lunch program	35	43	22=100
Cuts in federal food stamp program	31	52	17=100
Ending federal fuel subsidies to low-income home owners	9	49	42=100
<i>Budget</i>			
Balanced budget amendment	35	42	23=100
Line-item veto for the President	28	42	30=100
<i>Tax Cuts</i>			
Tax cut for middle income families	33	55	12=100
\$500 per child tax credit for families of incomes up to \$200,000	30	45	25=100

Question: Now, I'd like to ask you about some specific proposals that have been debated by the new Congress. How much have you heard or read about this proposal -- a lot, only a little or nothing?

	HOW MUCH HEARD OR READ ABOUT:		
	<u>A Lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little/None/Dk</u>
<i>Tax Cuts (Cont.)</i>			
Increase in social security earnings limit & repeal of 1993 tax increase of upper income recipients	17	59	24=100
<i>Legal Reform</i>			
Limit on personal injury jury awards	28	47	25=100
<i>National Security</i>			
Limit on use of U.S. troops under U.N. command	19	53	28=100
<i>Regulations</i>			
Unfunded mandates	19	46	35=100
Freeze on new federal regulations to protect the environment	12	46	42=100
<i>Other Items</i>			
Restoring ban on gays in the military	49	43	8=100
Ending of federal affirmative action programs	31	44	25=100
Cutting federal funding for public broadcasting	29	41	30=100
Ending of direct student loans by the federal government	21	50	29=100
Doing away with certain federal departments	19	52	29=100

ATTENTION TO PROPOSALS IN THE "CONTRACT WITH AMERICA"

(By Typology Group)
(Percent Who Say They Heard Or Read A LOT)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enterprisers</u>	<u>Moralists</u>	<u>Libertarians</u>	<u>New Economy Independents</u>	<u>Embittered</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>	<u>Seculars</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>	<u>New Dealers</u>	<u>Partisan Poor</u>
Total	100%	15%	12%	6%	17%	7%	11%	8%	9%	7%	8%
Term Limits											
Term limits for House and Senate	40	69	31	55	30	35	11	55	33	46	32
Welfare/Social Programs											
Welfare reform with block grants to states	36	51	28	39	36	39	13	44	25	47	41
Block grant proposal for federal school lunch program	35	52	32	35	34	27	15	39	29	44	33
Cuts in federal food stamp program	31	45	28	26	28	29	21	39	25	31	31
Ending federal fuel subsidies to low-income home owners	9	9	5	9	10	15	3	6	11	14	15

Question: Now, I'd like to ask you about some specific proposals that have been debated by the new Congress. How much have you heard or read about this proposal -- a lot, only a little or nothing?

New Economy

Total Enterprisers Moralists Libertarians Independents Embittered Bystanders Seculars New Democrats New Dealers Partisan Poor

Budget

Balanced budget amendment	35	62	38	44	30	29	8	46	30	33	28
Line-item veto for the President	28	51	20	37	25	24	6	42	20	25	24

Tax Cuts

Tax cut for middle income families	33	52	32	31	31	28	15	39	23	40	34
\$500 per child tax credit for families of incomes up to \$200,000	30	55	24	30	25	23	11	45	22	32	34
Increase in social security earnings limit & repeal of 1993 tax increase of upper income recipients	17	30	14	15	11	12	7	17	22	28	15

Legal Reform

Limit on personal injury jury awards	28	48	27	39	27	22	9	27	19	41	21
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National Security

Limit on use of U.S. troops under U.N. command	19	32	22	20	18	21	4	17	13	29	13
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	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enterprisers</u>	<u>Moralists</u>	<u>Libertarians</u>	<u>New Economy Independents</u>	<u>Embittered</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>	<u>Seculars</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>	<u>New Dealers</u>	<u>Partisan Poor</u>
Regulations											
Unfunded mandates	19	35	16	27	15	18	5	29	13	17	16
Freeze on new federal regulations to protect the environment	12	16	11	11	7	15	4	24	13	13	14
Other Items											
Restoring ban on gays in the military	49	52	50	52	50	50	33	53	47	54	55
Ending of federal affirmative action programs	47	30	45	33	26	9	39	19	33	32	
Cutting federal funding for public broadcasting	29	47	19	37	30	25	8	53	22	22	24
Ending of direct student loans by the federal government	21	16	19	19	22	15	8	31	21	31	31
Doing away with certain federal departments	19	29	16	19	19	9	8	21	21	17	22

APPROVAL OF NEWT GINGRICH

(Demographic Trend)

	<i>FEB. 1995</i>			<i>MARCH 1995</i>			<i>APRIL 1995</i>		
	<u><i>App.</i></u>	<u><i>Dis.</i></u>	<u><i>DK</i></u>	<u><i>App.</i></u>	<u><i>Dis.</i></u>	<u><i>DK</i></u>	<u><i>App.</i></u>	<u><i>Dis.</i></u>	<u><i>DK</i></u>
Total	38%	29%	33%	44%	37%	19%	43%	42%	15%
Sex									
Male	43	27	30	55	33	12	53	36	11
Female	32	31	37	35	39	26	35	46	19
Race									
White	39	29	32	46	36	18	45	40	15
Non-white	27	29	44	31	45	24	33	49	18
Age									
Under 30	33	30	37	47	32	21	47	34	19
30-49	36	28	36	45	38	17	43	43	14
50-64	36	32	32	45	39	16	48	39	13
65+	48	28	24	38	37	25	36	49	15
Education									
College Grad.	33	42	25	43	47	10	49	42	9
Some College	47	24	29	50	34	16	44	43	13
High School Grad.	37	27	36	45	35	20	42	41	17
< H.S. grad.	32	26	42	36	31	33	40	40	20
Family Income									
\$50,000+	48	31	21	49	39	12	50	40	10
\$30,000-\$49,999	40	24	36	53	36	11	47	42	11
\$20,000-\$29,999	31	33	36	35	45	20	47	39	14
< \$20,000	32	28	40	39	32	29	31	46	23
Region									
East	43	25	32	42	42	16	40	45	15
Midwest	30	30	40	45	36	19	42	44	14
South	42	28	30	45	35	20	49	36	15
West	33	34	33	43	34	23	41	44	15
Party ID									
Republican	56	16	28	65	21	14	66	21	13
Democrat	25	41	34	27	53	20	25	63	12
Independent	32	33	35	37	42	21	42	42	16
1992 Vote									
Bush	60	15	25	76	13	11	68	20	12
Clinton	22	49	29	25	60	15	25	65	10
Perot	37	24	39	46	35	19	49	35	16

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Newt Gingrich is handling his job as Speaker of the House?

	<i>FEB. 1995</i>			<i>MARCH 1995</i>			<i>APRIL 1995</i>		
	<u>App.</u>	<u>Dis.</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>App.</u>	<u>Dis.</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>App.</u>	<u>Dis.</u>	<u>DK</u>
<i>1994 Vote</i>									
Republican	65	15	20	71	19	10	66	24	10
Democrat	24	51	25	21	63	16	27	64	9
Other/Didn't Vote	28	28	44	39	36	25	39	41	20
<i>Presidential Approval</i>									
Approve	26	42	32	35	49	16	34	55	11
Disapprove	54	18	28	57	28	15	59	27	14
Don't know	20	23	57	28	21	51	25	41	34
<i>GOP Leaders Approval</i>									
Approve				69	21	10	71	19	10
Disapprove				26	58	16	21	67	12
Don't know				20	31	49	27	35	38
<i>Typology Group</i>									
Enterprisers							77	15	8
Moralists							62	16	22
Libertarians							58	32	10
New Economy									
Independents							30	55	15
Embittered							35	47	18
Bystanders							39	34	27
Seculars							19	72	9
New Democrats							40	50	10
New Dealers							28	61	11
Partisan Poor							25	57	18

APPROVAL OF BOB DOLE

(Demographic Trend)

	<i>FEB. 1995</i>			<i>APRIL 1995</i>		
	<u>App.</u>	<u>Dis.</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>App.</u>	<u>Dis.</u>	<u>DK</u>
Total	45%	19%	36%	59%	25%	16%
Sex						
Male	53	21	26	62	26	12
Female	39	17	44	56	24	20
Race						
White	47	19	34	62	23	15
Non-white	35	21	44	41	37	22
Age						
Under 30	36	16	48	59	23	18
30-49	47	17	36	59	23	18
50-64	54	21	25	63	24	13
65+	44	26	30	57	32	11
Education						
College Grad.	53	16	31	61	26	13
Some College	47	20	33	63	22	15
High School Grad.	41	18	41	59	25	16
< H.S. grad.	44	23	33	53	27	20
Family Income						
\$50,000+	57	17	26	66	24	10
\$30,000-\$49,999	49	17	34	64	22	14
\$20,000-\$29,999	47	14	39	59	25	16
< \$20,000	29	23	48	49	30	21
Region						
East	44	22	34	59	25	16
Midwest	48	23	29	57	27	16
South	49	17	34	61	24	15
West	37	15	48	59	24	17
Party ID						
Republican	66	10	24	78	10	12
Democrat	31	31	38	45	41	14
Independent	40	17	43	56	25	19
1992 Vote						
Bush	73	8	19	79	11	10
Clinton	39	33	28	46	40	14
Perot	47	16	37	59	23	18

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bob Dole is handling his job as Senate Majority Leader?

	<i>FEB. 1995</i>			<i>APRIL 1995</i>		
	<i>App.</i>	<i>Dis.</i>	<i>DK</i>	<i>App.</i>	<i>Dis.</i>	<i>DK</i>
<i>1994 Vote</i>						
Republican	72	7	21	77	14	9
Democrat	35	38	27	46	41	13
Other/Didn't Vote	38	16	46	55	24	21
<i>Presidential Approval</i>						
Approve	41	26	33	54	32	14
Disapprove	57	14	29	69	18	13
Don't know	22	12	66	42	22	36
<i>GOP Leaders Approval</i>						
Approve				78	12	10
Disapprove				44	40	16
Don't know				47	18	35
<i>Typology Group</i>						
Enterprisers				79	12	9
Moralists				75	9	16
Libertarians				69	20	11
New Economy						
Independents				52	29	19
Embittered				55	27	18
Bystanders				51	19	30
Seculars				43	42	15
New Democrats				60	27	13
New Dealers				43	49	8
Partisan Poor				45	38	17

OPINION OF WHO SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN SOLVING NATION'S PROBLEMS

	<i>President Clinton</i>	<i>GOP In Congress</i>	<i>Both</i>	<i>DK</i>	<i>N</i>
Total	48%	36%	12%	4%=100	(1800)
Sex					
Male	46	40	12	2=100	(900)
Female	49	33	12	6=100	(900)
Race					
White	45	39	12	4=100	(1511)
Non-white	71	17	8	4=100	(270)
Age					
Under 30	45	42	10	3=100	(358)
30-49	48	37	11	4=100	(763)
50-64	46	36	14	4=100	(336)
65+	51	28	12	9=100	(314)
Education					
College Grad.	47	36	15	2=100	(505)
Some College	45	40	11	4=100	(439)
High School Grad.	49	35	12	4=100	(651)
< H.S. grad.	50	35	7	8=100	(194)
Family Income					
\$50,000+	44	42	12	2=100	(479)
\$30,000-\$49,999	45	42	10	3=100	(460)
\$20,000-\$29,999	49	32	13	6=100	(323)
< \$20,000	54	31	10	5=100	(394)
Region					
East	54	31	12	3=100	(369)
Midwest	45	35	14	6=100	(442)
South	46	40	9	5=100	(614)
West	47	36	14	3=100	(375)
Party ID					
Republican	22	66	10	2=100	(559)
Democrat	78	10	8	4=100	(509)
Independent	46	35	14	5=100	(668)
1992 Vote					
Bush	22	63	13	2=100	(510)
Clinton	76	12	9	3=100	(619)
Perot	36	42	16	6=100	(228)

Question: Who in Washington do you think should take the lead in solving the nation's problems -- President Clinton or the Republican congressional leaders?

	<i>President Clinton</i>	<i>GOP In Congress</i>	<i>Both</i>	<i>DK</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>1994 Vote</i>					
Republican	28	59	11	2=100	(564)
Democrat	73	14	9	4=100	(430)
Other/Didn't Vote	49	34	11	6=100	(665)
<i>Presidential Approval</i>					
Approve	72	15	10	3=100	(837)
Disapprove	24	61	12	3=100	(787)
Don't know	38	33	12	17=100	(176)
<i>GOP Leaders Approval</i>					
Approve	32	55	11	2=100	(817)
Disapprove	66	20	11	3=100	(751)
Don't know	42	28	14	16=100	(232)
<i>Political Vocalization</i>					
Listens To Talk Radio	44	42	11	3=100	(348)
Contacted Washington	43	39	14	4=100	(247)
Both	34	48	11	7=100	(80)
Neither	49	36	13	2=100	(511)
<i>Opinion of Contract</i>					
Favorable	40	46	11	3=100	(1100)
Unfavorable	67	19	11	3=100	(511)
<i>Typology Group</i>					
Enterprisers	16	71	11	2=100	(303)
Moralists	30	55	13	2=100	(226)
Libertarians	31	54	13	2=100	(114)
New Economy					
Independents	52	27	16	5=100	(298)
Embittered	43	38	15	4=100	(133)
Bystanders	46	38	7	9=100	(165)
Seculars	75	13	10	2=100	(157)
New Democrats	74	11	13	2=100	(146)
New Dealers	69	16	9	6=100	(122)
Partisan Poor	73	11	6	10=100	(136)

Who in Washington Should Take the Lead?
Percent who say Clinton

	<u>March 1995</u>	<u>April 1995</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
Total	40	48	+8
Sex			
Male	37	46	+9
Female	43	49	+6
Race			
White	37	45	+8
Non-White	63	71	+8
Age			
18-29	46	46	0
30-49	38	48	+10
50-64	42	46	+4
65+	36	52	+16
Education			
College Grad.	39	47	+8
Some College	39	45	+6
H.S. Grad.	38	49	+11
< High School	48	50	+2
Family Income			
\$50,000+	39	44	+5
\$30,000-49,999	40	45	+5
\$20,000-29,999	38	49	+11
<\$20,000	46	54	+8
Region			
East	45	54	+9
Midwest	39	45	+6
South	38	46	+8
West	40	47	+7

Question: Who in Washington do you think should take the lead in solving the nation's problems -- President Clinton or the Republican congressional leaders?

	<u>March 1995</u>	<u>April 1995</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
<i>Party Identification</i>			
Republican	19	22	+3
Democrat	68	78	+10
Independent	39	46	+7
<i>1992 Presidential Vote</i>			
Bush	14	21	+7
Clinton	67	76	+9
Perot	35	36	+1
<i>1994 Congressional Vote</i>			
Republican	20	28	+8
Democrat	66	73	+7
Did not vote	42	49	+7
<i>Presidential Job Approval</i>			
Approve	65	72	+7
Disapprove	19	24	+5
Don't Know	28	38	+10
<i>GOP Leaders Approval</i>			
Approve	25	32	+7
Disapprove	62	66	+4
Don't Know	32	42	+10

OPINION OF GOP POLICIES AND PROPOSALS AND FEELINGS ABOUT GOP CONTROL OF CONGRESS

	<i>APPROVAL OF GOP POLICIES/PROPOSALS</i>			<i>FEELINGS ABOUT GOP CONTROL OF CONGRESS</i>		
	<i>App.</i>	<i>Dis.</i>	<i>DK</i>	<i>Happy</i>	<i>Unhappy</i>	<i>DK</i>
Total	44%	43%	13%=100	52%	36%	12%=100
Sex						
Male	51	38	11=100	58	32	10=100
Female	37	47	16=100	47	40	13=100
Race						
White	47	39	14=100	57	32	11=100
Non-white	21	68	11=100	25	62	13=100
Age						
Under 30	43	43	14=100	51	37	12=100
30-49	47	41	12=100	55	34	11=100
50-64	45	41	14=100	55	35	10=100
65+	37	50	13=100	44	42	14=100
Education						
College Grad.	51	38	11=100	59	32	9=100
Some College	47	42	11=100	56	34	10=100
High School Grad.	43	41	16=100	51	37	12=100
< H.S. grad.	32	52	16=100	43	41	16=100
Family Income						
\$50,000+	55	37	8=100	62	29	9=100
\$30,000-\$49,999	51	38	11=100	58	31	11=100
\$20,000-\$29,999	40	46	14=100	48	40	12=100
< \$20,000	28	54	18=100	40	45	15=100
Region						
East	41	47	12=100	48	42	10=100
Midwest	42	41	17=100	49	36	15=100
South	47	40	13=100	57	32	11=100
West	43	45	12=100	52	36	12=100
Party ID						
Republican	78	13	9=100	89	6	5=100
Democrat	16	73	11=100	18	72	10=100
Independent	39	43	18=100	50	33	17=100
1992 Vote						
Bush	77	13	10=100	86	7	7=100
Clinton	20	70	10=100	24	65	11=100
Perot	47	37	16=100	62	23	15=100

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Republican leaders in Congress?

Now, on another subject, in general, are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party won control of the U.S. Congress?

**APPROVAL OF GOP
POLICIES/PROPOSALS**

**FEELINGS ABOUT GOP
CONTROL OF CONGRESS**

	<u>App.</u>	<u>Dis.</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Happy</u>	<u>Unhappy</u>	<u>DK</u>
1994 Vote						
Republican	75	18	7=100	84	9	7=100
Democrat	20	71	9=100	25	66	9=100
Other/Didn't Vote	37	45	18=100	48	37	15=100
Presidential Approval						
Approve	30	57	13=100	34	55	11=100
Disapprove	62	30	8=100	75	18	7=100
Don't know	26	35	39=100	39	27	34=100
GOP Leaders Approval						
Approve	N/A	N/A	N/A	85	9	6=100
Disapprove	N/A	N/A	N/A	22	69	9=100
Don't know	N/A	N/A	N/A	42	19	39=100
Political Vocalization						
Listens To Talk Radio	52	39	9=100	57	36	7=100
Contacted Washington	47	45	8=100	51	37	12=100
Both	59	35	6=100	63	26	11=100
Neither	49	40	11=100	58	31	11=100
Opinion of Contract						
Favorable	62	27	11=100	69	22	9=100
Unfavorable	12	77	11=100	24	66	10=100
Never heard Of	29	42	29=100	44	32	24=100
Can't Rate	26	49	25=100	26	42	32=100
Typology Group						
Enterprisers	82	11	7=100	93	3	4=100
Moralists	76	14	10=100	87	6	7=100
Libertarians	64	27	9=100	69	25	6=100
New Economy						
Independents	32	53	15=100	42	39	19=100
Embittered	42	44	14=100	55	33	12=100
Bystanders	36	40	24=100	49	29	22=100
Seculars	15	76	9=100	19	72	9=100
New Democrats	18	67	15=100	25	61	14=100
New Dealers	19	68	13=100	21	69	10=100
Partisan Poor	19	63	18=100	22	67	11=100

TOP SIX AREAS COUNTRY IS LOSING GROUND ON

PERCENT WHO SAY COUNTRY IS LOSING GROUND ON:

	<i>Crime</i>	<i>Families Split Up</i>	<i>Moral/Ethical Standards</i>	<i>Legal System</i>	<i>Welfare System</i>	<i>Drugs</i>
Total	77%	75%	70%	68%	68%	66%
Sex						
Male	71	73	64	69	66	60
Female	82	77	75	66	68	71
Race						
White	77	75	71	69	68	64
Non-white	77	75	61	59	61	79
Age						
Under 30	73	75	62	61	64	64
30-49	79	73	69	70	70	63
50-64	78	77	73	73	68	69
65+	77	76	75	62	63	70
Education						
College Grad.	71	71	72	75	69	64
Some College	84	79	73	66	65	67
High School Grad.	80	76	68	69	70	66
< H.S. grad.	69	72	65	58	61	66
Family Income						
\$50,000+	75	73	70	73	66	61
\$30,000-\$49,999	79	79	74	68	66	67
\$20,000-\$29,999	80	77	69	70	72	67
< \$20,000	76	72	64	64	66	68
Region						
East	67	70	63	67	65	61
Midwest	80	74	71	68	70	65
South	80	80	70	67	67	74
West	78	73	75	69	66	60
Party ID						
Republican	79	77	75	69	76	71
Democrat	75	76	70	63	60	69
Independent	78	74	66	70	66	59
1992 Vote						
Bush	81	81	77	72	80	69
Clinton	75	74	68	65	56	64
Perot	81	74	73	77	67	64

Question: Next, as I read you some problem areas, please tell me how you think each is affecting this country TODAY. First, do you think the problem of ... is ABOUT THE SAME today, is the country MAKING PROGRESS in this area, or is the country LOSING GROUND?

PERCENT WHO SAY COUNTRY IS LOSING GROUND ON:

	<i>Crime</i>	<i>Families Split Up</i>	<i>Moral/Ethical Standards</i>	<i>Legal System</i>	<i>Welfare System</i>	<i>Drugs</i>
<i>1994 Vote</i>						
Republican	79	79	78	74	77	67
Democrat	77	77	69	60	59	65
Other/Didn't Vote	76	71	63	66	65	66
<i>Presidential Approval</i>						
Approve	73	71	64	64	62	62
Disapprove	81	81	76	73	74	71
Don't know	78	65	68	60	60	64
<i>GOP Leaders Approval</i>						
Approve	74	76	71	72	72	67
Disapprove	80	77	69	63	60	64
Don't know	79	65	68	69	74	66
<i>Political Vocalization</i>						
Listens To Talk Radio	73	74	66	77	73	62
Contacted Washington	74	78	73	77	70	69
Both	73	73	75	84	76	63
Neither	78	75	77	73	70	62
<i>Opinion of Contract</i>						
Favorable	75	76	66	68	68	64
Unfavorable	81	77	76	62	66	69
<i>Typology Group</i>						
Enterprisers	79	81	78	81	82	69
Moralists	75	78	74	66	66	65
Libertarians	64	67	70	63	71	51
New Econ. Independents	85	74	73	76	65	71
Embittered	89	88	79	71	75	84
Bystanders	78	72	50	55	61	62
Seculars	65	64	56	58	52	50
New Democrats	72	70	61	57	60	53
New Dealers	73	69	71	70	70	71
Partisan Poor	76	79	72	68	63	69

PARTY BETTER ABLE TO HANDLE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM

(Demographic Trend)

	<i>Percent Who Say <u>REPUBLICAN PARTY</u>:</i>		
	<u>July 1994</u>	<u>April 1995</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
Total	36%	42%	+6
Sex			
Male	40	46	+6
Female	33	38	+5
Race			
White	39	46	+7
Non-white	19	19	0
Age			
Under 30	38	43	+5
30-49	38	44	+6
50-64	33	42	+9
65+	33	36	+3
Education			
College Grad.	41	46	+5
Some College	41	45	+4
High School Grad.	34	39	+5
< H.S. grad.	29	39	+10
Family Income			
\$50,000+	50	49	-1
\$30,000-\$49,999	36	47	+11
\$20,000-\$29,999	32	41	+9
< \$20,000	29	33	+4
Region			
East	35	37	+2
Midwest	34	39	+5
South	38	47	+9
West	37	42	+5
Party ID			
Republican	76	84	+8
Democrat	8	10	+2
Independent	32	34	+2
1992 Vote			
Bush	69	78	+9
Clinton	12	16	+4
Perot	38	40	+2

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

Percent Who Say REPUBLICAN PARTY:

	<u>July 1994</u>	<u>April 1995</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
<i>1994 Vote</i>			
Republican	N/A	72	
Democrat	N/A	15	
Other/Didn't Vote	N/A	38	
<i>Presidential Approval</i>			
Approve	15	22	+7
Disapprove	59	66	+7
Don't know	24	32	+8
<i>GOP Leaders Approval</i>			
Approve	N/A	71	
Disapprove	N/A	16	
Don't know	N/A	27	
<i>Political Vocalization</i>			
Listens To Talk Radio	48	47	-1
Contacted Washington	47	45	-2
Both	56	55	-1
Neither	31	45	+14
<i>Opinion of Contract</i>			
Favorable	N/A	55	
Unfavorable	N/A	19	
Never heard Of	N/A	28	
Can't Rate	N/A	22	
<i>Typology Group</i>			
Enterprisers	79	85	+6
Moralists	65	76	+11
Libertarians	54	57	+3
New Economy			
Independents	30	30	0
Embittered	28	41	+13
Bystanders	27	42	+15
Seculars	10	10	0
New Democrats	16	10	-6
New Dealers	13	13	0
Partisan Poor	10	13	+3

PARTISAN SELF-IDENTIFICATION

(Demographic Trend)

	<i>Percent Who Say REPUBLICAN:</i>		
	<u>July 1994</u>	<u>Dec. 1994</u>	<u>April 1995</u>
Total	29%	35%	30%
Sex			
Male	30	37	31
Female	27	33	30
Race			
White	32	39	34
Non-white	9	14	8
Age			
Under 30	30	36	27
30-49	29	35	31
50-64	26	35	31
65+	28	34	30
Education			
College Grad.	36	38	34
Some College	31	40	30
High School Grad.	28	34	31
< H.S. grad.	19	27	24
Family Income			
\$50,000+	39	42	38
\$30,000-\$49,999	31	36	36
\$20,000-\$29,999	26	34	25
< \$20,000	21	26	21
Region			
East	27	30	28
Midwest	28	41	28
South	30	34	33
West	28	34	30
1992 Vote			
Bush	66	71	67
Clinton	7	8	7
Perot	24	40	25
1994 Vote			
Republican	N/A	N/A	61
Democrat	N/A	N/A	6
Other/Didn't Vote	N/A	N/A	23

Question: In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

Percent Who Say REPUBLICAN:

	<u>July 1994</u>	<u>Dec. 1994</u>	<u>April 1995</u>
<i>Presidential Approval</i>			
Approve	12	14	12
Disapprove	47	54	51
Don't know	18	33	23
<i>GOP Leaders Approval</i>			
Approve	N/A	N/A	54
Disapprove	N/A	N/A	9
Don't know	N/A	N/A	20
<i>Political Vocalization</i>			
Listens To Talk Radio	40	N/A	34
Contacted Washington	35	N/A	35
Both	47	N/A	45
Neither	25	N/A	35
<i>Opinion of Contract</i>			
Favorable	N/A	N/A	40
Unfavorable	N/A	N/A	12
Never heard Of	N/A	N/A	29
Can't Rate	N/A	N/A	11

OPINION ABOUT A THIRD PARTY

(By Typology Group)

	<i>JULY 1994</i>		<i>MARCH 1995</i>		<i>Percent</i>
	<i>Should Have</i>	<i>Shouldn't Have/DK</i>	<i>Should Have</i>	<i>Shouldn't Have/DK</i>	<i>Change In Should Have</i>
Total	53%	47%=100	57%	43%=100	+3
Typology Group					
Enterprisers	43	57=100	49	51=100	+6
Moralists	47	53=100	51	49=100	+4
Libertarians	62	38=100	60	40=100	-2
New Economy					
Independents	68	32=100	68	32=100	0
Embittered	56	44=100	57	43=100	+1
Bystanders	56	44=100	57	43=100	+1
Seculars	62	38=100	64	36=100	+2
New Democrats	45	55=100	58	42=100	+13
New Dealers	44	56=100	55	45=100	+11
Partisan Poor	37	63=100	51	49=100	+14

Question: Some people say we should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans. Do you agree or disagree?

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,800 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period April 6-9, 1995. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. For results based on form one or form two respondents only (N=900), one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

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

SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone households in the U.S. Estimates of the number of telephone households within each county are derived from 1990 Census data on residential telephone incidence that have been updated with state-level information on new telephone installations and county-level projections of the number of households. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample.

At least three attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home". If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who lives in the household". This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1993). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters. After an optimum sample balancing solution is reached, the weights were constrained to fall within the range of 1 to 5. This constraint is useful to ensure that individual respondents do not exert an inordinate effect on the survey's overall results.

ABOUT THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

The Times Mirror Center in 1987 developed a unique voter classification system based on three major elements -- party affiliation, political participation, and personal values and attitudes -- and using the statistical technique called "cluster analysis." The new typology in 1995 is built on the same foundation, with minor modifications.

Nine values and attitudes were measured, including attitudes toward government, environmentalism, business, social welfare, social policy issues, religion, race relations, the military; feelings of political alienation.

The analysis segmented the American public into ten groups -- three Republican, four Democrat, and three in between:

The Divided Right

- Enterprisers (15% of adult population): Affluent, well-educated, and predominantly white. This classic Republican group is mainly characterized as pro-business, anti-government, anti-social welfare.

- Moralists (13%): Middle-aged, middle-income, predominantly white, religious (more than four in 10 are Evangelicals). This core Republican group is also socially intolerant and anti-social welfare, militaristic, anti-big business and anti-big government. Former Democrats drawn to the GOP's religious and cultural conservatism have almost doubled its size since 1987.

- Libertarians (6%): Highly-educated, affluent, predominately white male. This group has Republican lineage but is uncomfortable with today's GOP, particularly its religious right. Pro-business, anti-government, anti-social welfare but highly tolerant, very low on religious faith, cynical about politicians.

The Detached Center

- New Economy Independents (17%): Average income, young to middle aged, mostly female. This group is unanchored in either party and most supported Perot in 1992. It has many conflicting values: strongly environmentalist but not believers in government regulation; pro-social welfare but not very sympathetic to blacks; inclined to fundamental religious beliefs but highly tolerant of homosexuals.

- Bystanders (11%): Very young, poorly educated, with low income. This group opts out of the political process or are not eligible to vote (high Hispanic concentration). Slightly more female than male, its only claimed commitment is to environmentalism.

- The Embittered (7%): Low income, low education, middle-aged. Nearly one in five of this group are black, four in ten have children under 18. Old ties to Democrats have eroded but the Embittered feel unwelcome in the GOP. They distrust government, politicians, corporations. They are religious and socially intolerant. They strongly blame discrimination for lack of black progress, but are not strongly in favor of social welfare programs.

The "Not So" Left

- Seculars (8%): Highly educated, sophisticated, affluent, mostly white baby boomers and Generation X. The most socially tolerant group, driven by social issues, it is the only one to embrace the "liberal" label. Very low in religious faith. Highly pro-environment, moderately pro-government, distrusting of business. Drifting from the Democrats but not attracted to Republicans.

- New Democrats (9%): Mostly female, average income and education, as many white Evangelical Protestants as white Catholics. Religious but not intolerant, more pro-business than other Democratic groups, they reject discrimination as a major barrier to black progress, are pro-government and environmentalist.

- New Dealers (7%): Oldest group of typology (one in three over 65), average education and low income. Once part of FDR's coalition, beneficiary of government programs, this group is now turned off by politics. Strongly conservative on race and social welfare, strong on religion, moderate on social tolerance, pro-America, distrusts politicians and business.

- Partisan Poor (8%): Very poor (39% with household income under \$20,000 a year), disadvantaged, nearly four in ten in the south. This second-oldest typology group, rooted in New Deal coalition, believes more government spending on the poor is needed. One third are non-whites. Very religious and socially intolerant.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

**TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
THE GOP CONGRESS: 1ST 100 DAYS SURVEY**

-- FINAL TOPLINE --

N= 1,800 adults 18+ nationwide
 N=900 Form 1
 N=900 Form 2
 Quotas: half male, half female for each Form 1-2
 Field period: 4/6-9/95

INTRODUCTION: Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling for Princeton Survey Research of Princeton, New Jersey. We're conducting a national opinion survey for leading newspapers, radio, and TV stations.

I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male age 18 or older, who is now at home. **(IF NO MALE AT HOME NOW: Then, may I speak with the oldest female age 18 or older who is now at home) (REPEAT INTRODUCTION IF RESPONDENT DID NOT ANSWER THE TELEPHONE.)**

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president? **(IF "DON'T KNOW", ENTER AS CODE 9. IF "DEPENDS," PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president? IF STILL "DEPENDS," ENTER AS CODE 9.)**

		March 1995	Feb 1995	Dec 1994	Oct 1994	Oct 1994	Sept 1994	July 1994	May 1994	Mar 1994	Jan 1994	Jan 1994	Dec 1993	Oct 1993	Sept 1993	Aug 1993	June 1993	May 1993	April 1993	Feb 1993
47	Approve	44	44	41	41	38	41	45	46	45	51	48	48	44	49	39	39	45	49	56
43	Disapprove	44	44	47	47	47	52	46	42	42	35	35	36	42	35	46	43	37	29	25
<u>10</u> 100	Don't know	<u>12</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	16	<u>15</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>22</u> 100	<u>19</u> 100

2. Do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Republican leaders in Congress? **(IF "DON'T KNOW", ENTER AS CODE 9. IF "DEPENDS," PROBE ONCE WITH: OVERALL, do you approve or disapprove of the proposals and policies of the Republican leaders in Congress? IF STILL "DEPENDS," ENTER AS CODE 9.)**

		March 1995	Dec 1994 ²
44	Approve	43	52
43	Disapprove	39	28
<u>13</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>18</u> 100	<u>20</u> 100

² In December the question asked "As best you can tell, do you approve or disapprove of Republican congressional leaders' policies and plans for the future?"

ASK ALL:

5. All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

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

6. What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today? **(RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER)**

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1987</u>
23	Crime/Gangs/Justice system	28	26	22	31	25	15	7	5	3	7	8	3
5	Health care (cost/accessibility)	10	14	20	14	14	12	11	13	3	3	1	*
9	Unemployment/Lack of jobs	9	12	12	12	15	23	19	18	22	7	9	13
10	Morality/Ethics/Family values	8	9	10	10	6	8	7	3	3	5	2	3
9	Drugs/Alcohol	2	3	6	10	8	5	5	4	4	37	23	6
6	Dissatisfaction with government/Politics	5	4	5	5	2	5	5	3	2	2	1	0
13	Deficit/National debt/Balanced budget	8	5	4	5	6	9	13	17	4	11	19	12
7	Education	2	3	4	5	5	4	5	2	2	4	4	0
5	Economy (general)	7	5	4	4	6	9	17	18	43	5	4	7
4	Taxes	2	2	1	3	2	3	4	4	1	3	2	0
2	Racism	1	1	1	3	1	3	2	3	1	2	0	0
3	Homeless	4	4	2	3	5	2	5	2	6	8	10	*
3	Poverty	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	3	1	3	4	6
2	Inflation/Difference between wages/Costs	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3
3	Too much foreign aid/Spend money at home	2	2	1	2	1	*	2	2	1	3	1	0
1	Environment/Pollution	*	1	1	2	1	1	*	2	1	8	2	0
9	Welfare abuse	1	2	4	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1	AIDS	*	1	2	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1	Issues related to elderly	*	*	*	1	1	*	2	2	1	2	2	0

6. con't ...

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1987</u>
0	Other Social Issues	0	*	0	*	3	4	*	*	*	*	*	*
3	Other domestic	1	3	1	1	3	1	2	1	10	11	10	21
1	Other international	3	2	4	1	2	3	3	1	4	6	10	22
3	Other	4	6	2	2	*	2	4	8	1	5	9	1
3	Don't know/No answer	5	3	5	4	6	4	2	4	3	1	3	3
30	ECONOMIC (NET)	27	26	22	26	33	47	53	58	76	26	28	35
6	POVERTY/HOMELESS (NET)	7	7	4	6	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
2 (1800)	DEFENSE/INTER-NATIONAL (NET)	5 (2052)	7 (3800)	4 (511)	2 (989)	* (1479)	4 (2000)	* (1507)	* (1011)	* (1220)	* (3004)	* (2048)	* (4244)

"DON'T KNOW/REFUSED" IN Q.6 GO TO Q.8:

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

		<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1992³</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
42	Republicans	36	29	28	32	29	26	30	28
32	Democrats	33	29	35	41	30	38	35	38
17	No difference (VOL)	16	26	23	12	31	22	24	24
<u>9</u> 100 (N=1757)	Don't know	<u>15</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100

³Based on registered voters.

ASK ALL:

8. Next, as I read you some problem areas, please tell me how you think each is affecting this country TODAY. (First,) do you think the problem of...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT) is ABOUT THE SAME today, is the country MAKING PROGRESS in this area, or is the country LOSING GROUND?

		About The Same	Making Progress	Losing Ground	Don't Know
ASK ITEMS a-k FOR FORM 1 ONLY: (N=900)					
a.	Crime	13	9	77	1=100
	March 1994	15	7	77	1=100
	March 1989	19	15	64	2=100
b.	Drugs	22	10	66	2=100
	March 1994	22	13	62	3=100
	March 1989	12	17	69	2=100
c.	AIDS	22	25	48	5=100
	March 1994	22	23	49	6=100
	March 1989	17	38	40	5=100
d.	The way the health care system is working	30	14	53	3=100
	March 1994	31	16	49	4=100
e.	Environmental pollution	26	43	30	1=100
	March 1994	26	37	34	3=100
	March 1989	20	32	42	6=100
f.	Conflict among racial, religious or ethnic groups	36	27	35	2=100
	March 1994	32	21	41	3=100
g.	Political corruption	41	12	44	3=100
	March 1994	39	12	46	3=100
h.	Low moral and ethical standards	20	7	70	3=100
	March 1994	29	6	63	2=100
i.	Families not staying together	18	5	75	2=100
	March 1994	22	6	69	3=100
j.	International terrorism	40	19	36	5=100
	March 1994	24	18	53	5=100
k.	Poverty, hunger and homelessness	30	11	57	2=100
	March 1994	32	9	56	3=100
	March 1989	23	22	53	2=100

8. con't ...

		About The <u>Same</u>	<u>Making</u> Progress	<u>Losing</u> Ground	Don't <u>Know</u>
ASK ITEMS 1-v FOR FORM 2 ONLY: (N=900)					
l.	The cost of living	28	9	61	2=100
	March 1994	32	8	59	1=100
m.	Unemployment	32	27	37	4=100
	March 1994	33	18	44	5=100
n.	The availability of good-paying jobs	24	17	55	4=100
	March 1994	23	10	63	4=100
o.	Lack of respect for religion	25	11	61	3=100
	March 1994	26	10	59	5=100
p.	Discrimination against minorities	32	40	26	2=100
	March 1994	32	38	25	5=100
q.	The way the welfare system is working	17	13	67	3=100
	March 1994	23	11	60	6=100
r.	The quality of public education	20	18	60	2=100
	March 1994	19	17	61	3=100
s.	The federal budget deficit	21	15	60	4=100
	March 1994	21	11	60	8=100
	March 1989	27	16	56	7=100
t.	Illegal immigration	23	9	62	6=100
	March 1994	22	9	58	11=100
u.	The way the legal system is working	22	8	68	2=100
v.	The way the federal tax system is working	33	12	50	5=100

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

		Oct <u>1994</u>	July <u>1994</u>
a.	63	64	66
	51	54	54
	12	10	12
	Government often does a better job than people give it credit for		
	34	32	31
	19	19	17
	15	13	14
	<u>3</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100
b.	Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest	38	41
	25	24	24
	18	14	17
	Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good		
	51	55	54
	38	41	39
	13	14	15
	<u>6</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100
c.	Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return	48	53
	37	35	37
	15	13	16
	Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently		
	39	41	39
	28	31	27
	11	10	12
	<u>9</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100
d.	The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt	50	48
	33	39	35
	13	11	13
	The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy		
	47	43	47
	34	31	32
	13	12	15
	<u>7</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100

9. con't ...

		<u>Oct 1994</u>	<u>July 1994</u>
e.	70		
		67	72
	52	50	52
	18	17	20
	26	27	25
	19	20	18
	7	7	7
	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100
f.	34	34	32
	21	24	20
	13	10	12
	56	54	59
	40	40	43
	16	14	16
	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100
i.	35	40	36
	27	32	28
	8	8	8
	58	52	58
	46	43	46
	12	9	12
	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
j.	49	47	52
	39	39	43
	10	8	9
	47	47	45
	38	37	35
	9	10	10
	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100

9. con't ...

		<u>Oct 1994</u>	<u>July 1994</u>
m.	75		
		73	76
	59	58	59
	16	15	17
	20	20	19
	10	10	9
	10	10	10
	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100
n.	51	50	52
	42	40	43
	9	10	9
	44	44	43
	26	28	27
	18	16	16
	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100
o.	76	74	71
	64	61	58
	12	13	13
	21	22	25
	12	13	14
	9	9	11
	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100
p.	32	29	34
	18	17	18
	14	12	16
	64	68	64
	53	56	51
	11	12	13
	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100

10. Now, on another subject...In general, are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party won control of the U.S. Congress?

		March	Dec
		<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>
52	Happy	55	57
36	Unhappy	31	31
<u>12</u>	Don't know/refused	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100

ASK Q.11f1 OF FORM 1 ONLY. FORM 2 GO TO Q.11f2:

11f1. What do you think is the most important thing that has happened in the new Congress during its first 100 hundred days in office? (**RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER**)

- 7 Change/No more business as usual
 - 2 Reducing federal government/Shifting power to state
 - 6 Trying to balance budget/Cut spending
 - 7 Tax cuts
 - 3 Line-item veto
 - 1 Term limits
 - 6 Welfare reform
 - 1 Congressional reform
 - 4 Contract with America
 - 3 Health care reform
 - 2 Working together as a group
 - 1 Republican infighting
 - 1 Failure to pass term limits
 - 1 Failure to pass balanced budget amendment
 - 1 Negative comment about Newt Gingrich
 - 6 All other mentions
 - 16 Nothing
 - 37 Don't know/Refused
- (N=900)

ASK Q.11f2 OF FORM 2 ONLY. FORM 1 GO TO Q.12/13:

11f2. In your opinion, what is the most important thing the new Congress has accomplished during its first 100 days?
(RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER)

- 5 Change/No more business as usual
- 2 Reducing federal government/Shifting power to state
- 8 Trying to balance budget/Cut spending
- 7 Tax cuts
- 3 Line-item veto
- 1 Term limits
- 6 Welfare reform
- 1 Congressional reform
- 3 Contract with America
- 5 All other mentions
- 23 Nothing
- 38 Don't know/Refused
(N=900)

ASK ALL (ROTATE Q'S 12-13):

12. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Newt Gingrich is handling his job as Speaker of the House?

		March <u>1995</u>	Feb <u>1995</u>
43	Approve	44	38
42	Disapprove	37	29
<u>15</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>19</u> 100	<u>33</u> 100
		(N=610)	

13. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bob Dole is handling his job as Senate Majority Leader?

		<u>Feb</u> <u>1995</u>
59	Approve	45
25	Disapprove	19
<u>16</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>36</u> 100
		(N=599)

14. In general, do you think Republican leaders in Congress will be successful or unsuccessful in getting their programs passed into law?

		<u>Feb</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1994</u>
63	Successful	61	62
28	Unsuccessful	20	24
3	Will get some (DO NOT READ)	5	4
<u>6</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>14</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100

15. Who in Washington do you think should take the lead in solving the nation's problems -- President Clinton or the Republican congressional leaders?

		<u>March</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1994</u>
48	President Clinton	40	40	39
36	Republican Congressional Leaders	40	38	43
12	Both (VOL.)	10	16	10
<u>4</u> 100	Don't Know/Refused	<u>10</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100

ASK Q.16 OF FORM 1 ONLY. FORM 2 GO TO Q.17:

16. Who do you think has more power and influence in Washington politics TODAY -- President Clinton or House Speaker Newt Gingrich?

35 Clinton
 57 Gingrich
 2 Both equally (VOL)
6 Don't know/Refused
 100
 (N=900)

ASK Q.17 OF FORM 2 ONLY. FORM 1 GO TO Q.18:

17. Who do you think has more power and influence in Washington politics TODAY -- President Clinton or Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole?

36 Clinton
 55 Dole
 2 Both equally (VOL)
7 Don't know/Refused
 100
 (N=900)

18. How closely have you been following news stories about the activities of the new Republican leaders in Congress? Would you say...(READ)

		March <u>1995</u>	Feb <u>1995</u>
14	Very closely	23	19
42	Fairly closely	38	32
33	Not too closely, OR	22	23
11	Not at all closely?	17	26
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

19. In dealing with Congress, do you think President Clinton...(READ)

25 Should go along with the Republicans more often?

27 Should challenge the Republicans more often?

41 Is handling the situation about right?

2 Neither (VOL)

$\frac{5}{100}$ Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)

20. From what you have seen or heard about events in the new Congress, in general, do you think the Republicans are keeping the promises they made during the campaign, or not?

Newsweek

Jan. 1995

59 Yes, keeping promises 41

30 No, not keeping promises 30

$\frac{11}{100}$ Don't know/Refused $\frac{29}{100}$

21. On balance, do you think the new Congress has accomplished more than you expected in its first 100 days, less than you expected, or about what you expected?

Newsweek

Asked about Clinton

April 1993

18 More than expected 7

12 Less than expected 24

65 About what was expected 65

$\frac{5}{100}$ Don't know/Refused $\frac{4}{100}$

22. What is your overall opinion of the "Contract with America" -- would you say it is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable or very UNfavorable? **(INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")**

		<u>Feb</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1994</u>
10	Very favorable	12	11
51	Mostly favorable	30	24
20	Mostly unfavorable	12	8
8	Very unfavorable	7	5
4	Never heard of	22	42
<u>7</u> 100	Can't Rate/Don't know	<u>17</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100

INTRO TO Q'S 23-25: NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT SOME SPECIFIC PROPOSALS THAT HAVE BEEN DEBATED BY THE NEW CONGRESS.

23. The (first one/next one) is...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE START). How much have you heard or read about this proposal -- a lot, only a little or nothing? **CONTINUE WITH Q'S 24-25 BEFORE REPEATING QUESTION FOR NEXT ITEM**

		<u>A Lot</u>	<u>A Little/Some</u>	<u>Not Aware/DK</u>
ASK ITEMS a-j FOR FORM 1 ONLY: (N=900)				
a.	A tax cut for middle income families	33	55	12=100
b.	Raising the Social Security earnings limit and repealing the 1993 tax increase for upper-income people receiving Social Security.	17	59	24=100
c.	Replacing the federal school lunch program with block grants to let states use the money as they wish.	35	43	22=100
d.	Cutting back the federal food stamp program and shifting some responsibilities for it to states.	31	52	17=100
e.	Term limits of 12 years for members of the U.S. House and Senate	40	39	21=100
NO ITEM F				
g.	Making it harder for Congress to require states and cities to do things without providing federal money to pay the costs.	19	46	35=100
h.	Giving a \$500 per-child tax credit to families with incomes less than \$200,000.	30	45	25=100
i.	Cutting federal funding for public broadcasting	29	41	30=100
j.	Giving the president a line-item veto to reject some items in a congressional spending bill	28	42	30=100

23. con't ...

	<u>A Lot</u>	<u>A Little/Some</u>	<u>Not Aware/DK</u>	
ASK ITEMS k-t FOR FORM 2 ONLY: (N=900)				
k.	Doing away with entire federal departments, such as Housing and Urban Development, Education, and Energy.	19	52	29=100
l.	A constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget by the year 2002.	35	42	23=100
m.	Reforming welfare to provide block grants to states that would end cash benefits after 5 years and stop cash benefits for all unmarried parents under 18.	36	41	23=100
n.	Ending federal affirmative action programs giving special treatment to women, blacks and other minorities.	31	44	25=100
o.	Legal reform to limit the amount juries can award in personal injury lawsuits.	28	47	25=100
p.	Putting a freeze on new federal regulations to protect the environment, health or safety from November 1994 through the rest of 1995.	12	46	42=100
q.	Limiting the use of U.S. troops under United Nations command	19	53	28=100
r.	Ending direct student loans by the federal government	21	50	29=100
s.	Ending federal fuel subsidies to low-income home owners	9	49	42=100
t.	Restoring the ban on gays in the military	49	43	8=100

24. Do you approve or disapprove of this proposal? **(RE-READ ITEM IF NECESSARY)**
 25. Is this an issue you personally care a lot about, one way or the other? **(RE-READ ITEM IF NECESSARY)**

		---Approve---			---Disapprove---			
		Care	Don't		Care	Don't		
		<u>Total</u>	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Care</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Care</u>	
							<u>DK</u>	
ASK ITEMS a-j FOR FORM 1 ONLY: (N=900)								
a.	A tax cut for middle income families	71	60	11	24	17	7	5
b.	Raising the Social Security earnings limit and repealing the 1993 tax increase for upper-income people receiving Social Security.	53	34	19	36	23	13	11
c.	Replacing the federal school lunch program with block grants to let states use the money as they wish.	35	21	14	58	43	15	7
d.	Cutting back the federal food stamp program and shifting some responsibilities for it to states.	61	36	25	32	18	14	7
e.	Term limits of 12 years for members of the U.S. House and Senate	60	38	22	30	13	17	10
NO ITEM F								
g.	Making it harder for Congress to require states and cities to do things without providing federal money to pay the costs.	45	24	21	38	15	23	17
h.	Giving a \$500 per-child tax credit to families with incomes less than \$200,000.	62	40	22	32	19	13	6
i.	Cutting federal funding for public broadcasting	30	12	18	60	35	25	10
j.	Giving the president a line-item veto to reject some items in a congressional spending bill	61	40	21	27	10	17	12

24./25. con't ...

		---Approve---			---Disapprove---			
		Care	Don't		Care	Don't		
		<u>Total</u>	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Care</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Care</u>	<u>DK</u>
ASK ITEMS k-t FOR FORM 2 ONLY: (N=900)								
k.	Doing away with entire federal departments, such as Housing and Urban Development, Education, and Energy.	29	18	11	57	35	22	14
l.	A constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget by the year 2002.	64	47	17	26	14	12	10
m.	Reforming welfare to provide block grants to states that would end cash benefits after 5 years and stop cash benefits for all unmarried parents under 18.	57	41	16	34	21	13	9
n.	Ending federal affirmative action programs giving special treatment to women, blacks and other minorities.	44	27	17	44	27	17	12
o.	Legal reform to limit the amount juries can award in personal injury lawsuits.	59	35	24	31	14	17	10
p.	Putting a freeze on new federal regulations to protect the environment, health or safety from November 1994 through the rest of 1995.	45	28	17	38	23	15	17
q.	Limiting the use of U.S. troops under United Nations command	54	31	23	35	17	18	11
r.	Ending direct student loans by the federal government	26	12	14	67	48	19	7
s.	Ending federal fuel subsidies to low-income home owners	30	14	16	56	29	27	14
t.	Restoring the ban on gays in the military	38	19	19	54	22	32	8

26. Please tell me if you think, on balance, each of the following groups would be helped, hurt, or not much affected by legislation considered by the new Congress so far. (First,) do you think...(READ AND ROTATE) would be helped, hurt or not much affected?

		<u>Helped</u>	<u>Hurt</u>	<u>Not Much Affect</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
ASK ITEMS a-f FOR FORM 1 ONLY: (N=900)					
a.	The wealthy	45	7	43	5=100
b.	The middle class	30	34	31	5=100
c.	The poor	21	55	19	5=100
d.	Large corporations	45	9	39	7=100
e.	Small businesses	27	43	23	7=100
f.	Minorities	20	41	31	8=100
ASK ITEMS g-k FOR FORM 2 ONLY: (N=900)					
g.	Women	17	37	37	9=100
h.	Retired people	13	52	27	8=100
i.	Families with young children	25	46	21	8=100
j.	Supporters of abortion rights	12	40	33	15=100
k.	Environmentalists	16	45	31	8=100
ASK ALL, ALWAYS READ LAST:					
l.	People like you	19	37	38	6=100

ASK Q.27f1 OF FORM 1 ONLY. FORM 2 GO TO Q.27f2:

27f1. Which of the following levels of government is more likely to administer social programs efficiently?

		<i>Gallup</i> Sept <u>1981</u>
23	The federal government in Washington	18
70	The government in your state?	67
2	Neither (VOL)	8
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>
100		100
(N=900)		

ASK Q.27f2 OF FORM 2 ONLY. FORM 2 GO TO Q.28:

27f2. Which of the following levels of government is more likely to be fair to all groups in administering social programs?

26	The federal government in Washington
67	The government in your state?
3	Neither (VOL)
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	
(N=900)	

27n. If federal programs that now give financial assistance to poor families are replaced by block grants to states, that money may not be enough to cover all poor families in your state who were eligible for federal assistance. If this happens, do you think it would be BEST for your state to...(READ)

24	A) Cut back on the amount of government financial aid most poor families receive?
51	B) Avoid cuts in aid to poor families by reducing state spending in other needed areas?
17	C) Avoid cuts in aid to poor families by raising state taxes?
1	Other (VOL)
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)
100	

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

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
q.	This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment	77	78
74	Strongly	65	62
63	Not Strongly	12	16
11	This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment		
22	Strongly	19	19
15	Not Strongly	13	12
7	Neither/Don't know	6	7
<u>4</u>		<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100
r.	Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	32	33
39	Strongly	23	21
28	Not Strongly	9	12
11	Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost		
57	Strongly	62	62
44	Not Strongly	49	45
13	Neither/Don't know	13	17
<u>4</u>		<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100
u.	Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society	46	46
47	Strongly	33	26
30	Not Strongly	13	20
17	Homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged by society		
48	Strongly	48	49
40	Not Strongly	41	41
8	Neither/Don't know	7	8
<u>5</u>		<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100
v.	Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	42	46
45	Strongly	36	37
40	Not Strongly	6	9
5	Public school libraries should be allowed to carry any books they want		
53	Strongly	55	51
44	Not Strongly	47	39
9	Neither/Don't know	8	12
<u>2</u>		<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100

28. con't ...

			<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
w.	83	Miracles are performed by the power of God	82	84
	76	Strongly	73	72
	7	Not Strongly	9	12
	12	There is no such thing as a miracle performed by God	12	12
	7	Strongly	8	7
	5	Not Strongly	4	5
	<u>5</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
	100		100	100
x.		We will all be called before God on Judgment Day to answer for our sins		
	81	Strongly	80	80
	75	Not Strongly	74	71
	6	I don't believe we will have to answer for our sins on Judgment Day	6	9
	14	Strongly	14	16
	9	Not Strongly	10	9
	5	Neither/Don't know	4	7
	<u>5</u>		<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
	100		100	100

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

		<u>Mar</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Early</u> <u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
30	Republican	35	33	35	28	31	33	29	28	28	31	28	27	25
29	Democrat	28	30	31	31	32	30	33	32	33	38	38	39	37
37	Independent	32	33	30	35	33	32	35	36	28	23	26	26	28
3	No preference	-	-	-	4	3	-	2	1	9	7	6	6	8
*	Other party	2	2	2	*	*	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<u>1</u>	Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
15	Strong	16	13	11	13	15	13	12	11
<u>15</u> <u>30</u>	Not strong	<u>15</u> <u>31</u>	<u>16</u> <u>29</u>	<u>17</u> <u>28</u>	<u>15</u> <u>28</u>	<u>16</u> <u>31</u>	<u>15</u> <u>28</u>	<u>15</u> <u>27</u>	<u>14</u> <u>25</u>

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

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
14	Strong	18	15	14	16	17	19	19	18
<u>15</u> <u>29</u>	Not strong	<u>14</u> <u>32</u>	<u>18</u> <u>33</u>	<u>18</u> <u>32</u>	<u>17</u> <u>33</u>	<u>21</u> <u>38</u>	<u>19</u> <u>38</u>	<u>20</u> <u>39</u>	<u>19</u> <u>37</u>

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

		<u>Nov</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
18	Republican	13	14	17	14	13	9	12	11	13
14	Democratic	13	12	14	13	13	11	12	13	13
<u>9</u> <u>41</u>	Neither	<u>15</u> <u>41</u>	<u>8</u> <u>34</u>	<u>7</u> <u>38</u>	<u>13</u> <u>40</u>	<u>13</u> <u>39</u>	<u>11</u> <u>31</u>	<u>10</u> <u>34</u>	<u>10</u> <u>34</u>	<u>12</u> <u>38</u>

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

		Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	Both <u>Equally</u>	<u>Neither</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
a.	Able to manage the Federal government well	49	30	3	13	5=100
	July, 1994	43	31	4	17	5=100
	May, 1990	28	20	12	31	9=100
	May, 1988	33	30	10	17	10=100
	January, 1988	30	28	12	20	10=100
	May, 1987	24	25	13	28	10=100
b.	Can bring about the kind of changes the country needs	51	34	4	7	4=100
	July, 1994	39	42	4	10	5=100
	May, 1990	27	31	13	18	11=100
	May, 1988	27	43	9	11	10=100
	January, 1988	28	37	14	11	10=100
	May, 1987	26	36	14	14	10=100
c.	Is concerned with the needs of people like me	39	49	2	7	3=100
	July, 1994	35	49	4	8	4=100
	May, 1990	21	42	12	18	7=100
	May, 1988	23	51	8	11	7=100
	January, 1988	22	47	11	13	7=100
d.	Governs in an honest and ethical way	35	36	4	19	6=100
	July, 1994	32	35	6	21	6=100

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

19 Regularly

30 Sometimes

24 Rarely

27 OR never?

* Don't know/Refused **(DO NOT READ)**
100

35. Have you EVER called, sent a letter, or faxed a letter to your Congressional representative or Senator to express your opinion on an issue?
 36. Have you done so **SINCE JANUARY 1ST, 1995?**

45	Yes
12	Yes
33	No
*	Don't know/Refused
55	No
*	Don't know/Refused
<u>5</u>	
100	

37. Some people say we should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans. Do you agree or disagree?

		<i>ABC/Washington Post⁴</i>		
		July	Jan	Sept
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1982</u>
57	Agree	53	41	44
38	Disagree	43	48	44
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100	100

⁴ Trends based on a somewhat different question wording: "Tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with [the following statement], or if perhaps, you have no opinion about the statement -- "We should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans."

38. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs...(READ)

		<u>Nov</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
43	Most of the time	49	45	46	39	47	37	37	41
35	Some of the time	30	35	33	34	34	37	35	35
16	Only now and then	13	14	15	18	14	17	18	15
6	Hardly at all	7	6	6	9	4	6	8	7
<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	Don't know	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>3</u> <u>100</u>	<u>2</u> <u>100</u>	<u>2</u> <u>100</u>

39. In the 1992 presidential election, when Clinton ran against Bush and Perot, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? **IF YES, ASK:** Did you vote for Clinton, Bush or Perot?

34	Yes, Clinton
26	Yes, Bush
13	Yes, Perot
1	Yes, other candidate
1	Yes, don't remember which candidate
23	No, didn't vote/Too young
*	Don't remember if voted
<u>2</u> <u>100</u>	Refused

40. In the 1994 elections for Congress last November, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

62	Yes, voted
37	No, didn't vote/Too young -- GO TO Q.43
<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	Don't Remember if voted/Refused -- GO TO Q.43

41. Are you absolutely certain you voted, or is there a chance you didn't vote?

58 Absolutely certain
4 Didn't vote/may not have voted -- **GO TO Q.43**
62

42. Did you happen to vote for a Republican or a Democratic candidate for Congress in your district?

50 Republican
40 Democrat
2 Other/Independent candidate
1 Didn't vote for Congress
5 Don't Remember which candidate

2 Refused
100
(N=1101)

43. These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register... Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district, or haven't you been able to register so far?

44. Are you absolutely certain you are registered to vote, or is there a chance your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

		Nov <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	Early Oct <u>1994</u>	July <u>1994</u>	June <u>1992</u>
76	Yes, registered	73	77	76	79	76
74	Absolutely sure	70	74	72	75	73
2	Chance	2	3	4	4	3
0	Don't know	1	0	*	0	0
23	No	26	22	23	20	23
<u>1</u>	Not sure/Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

45. How often would you say you vote...(READ)

		<u>Nov</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
42	Always	43	43	40	47	41	38	33	45	39	34
29	Nearly always	24	28	30	26	32	37	35	30	33	37
12	Part of the time	11	13	14	10	13	13	12	10	12	11
11	Seldom	13	10	11	11	11	9	10	8	8	6
*	(VOL.) Other	1	5	*	1	*	0	1	1	1	2
6	(VOL.) Never vote	8	1	5	5	3	3	8	6	6	9
$\frac{*}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$