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RETRO-POLITICS
The Political Typology: Version 3.0

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FOREWORD

In 1987, we embarked on an ambitious project to better understand the nature of American politics. We identified a broad range of beliefs and values that underlie common political labels and that ultimately drive political action. A voter typology emerged from this effort which classifies the electorate into distinct groupings, defined by their political, social, economic, and religious beliefs. Five years ago, we updated our study, finding a dramatically changed political landscape.

Today, we release version 3.0. Once again, we have found evidence of critical shifts in the electorate since 1994. The strong economy of the late 1990s has produced greater financial security and higher levels of satisfaction with the state of the nation. Reflecting this new public optimism, distrust of government and elected officials is down, and Americans express more tolerance for outsiders and a greater willingness to help the poor.

Our new study is based on three comprehensive surveys of nearly 5,000 Americans nationwide. This voter typology provides new insights into the nature of the electorate, the parties, and American politics as we approach the 2000 elections.

As with each new voter typology, we are able to measure long-term changes in the electorate by drawing on more than ten years of the Center's comprehensive surveys of the American public. Since 1996, this work has been generously supported by the Pew Charitable Trusts. Times Mirror sponsored our work between 1987 and 1995. We are grateful for the support that has made these extensive studies possible.

Andrew Kohut
Director
Pew Research Center for The People & The Press

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RETRO-POLITICS

The new politics of the American people looks more like the old politics than anything the Center has observed in its 12 years of surveying the underlying political, social and economic attitudes of the electorate. The mood, party divisions and fault lines of the public are more traditional than what we found in 1987 at the end of the Reagan era or in 1994 on the eve of “the Gingrich revolution,” when the benchmark studies in this series were conducted. The current polling, based on nearly 5,000 interviews with national samples of the voting age population, identifies the following back-to-the-future trends.

- The middle of the electorate is not dominated by angry, economically stressed voters whose allegiances are up for grabs, as we found in 1994. Rather the most important swing constituency is among the least angry, most moderate and most financially content segment of the voting public.
- The Republican Party is no longer principally bifurcated between laissez faire economic conservatives on the one hand and populist social conservatives on the other, as we first described it in 1987. A clear well-defined, *moderate* wing of the party emerges.
- Indeed, centrism, so characteristic of post-war American politics, is back. More moderation is not only apparent among Independents, but also evident on the right and on the left. Fewer Americans are highly critical of government. Political cynicism, while extensive, has lost some of its edge, and clearly voters are less interested in outsiders and political newcomers than they were earlier in the decade.
- Democratic chances to retain control of the White House are once again threatened from within by social conservatives, who have rejected their party’s standard-bearer to some extent in every Democratic defeat since 1968. In this cycle, the issue for them is not principally ideological, but rather a hangover from the scandals of the Clinton administration.
- Thanks to the Gingrich legacy, once again the Democratic Party has more adherents than the GOP. The Democrats have an even bigger image advantage over the Republicans owing to public hostility over impeachment. However, as has been the case in the past, these advantages may mean much more to congressional politics than to which party wins the presidency.

The Center’s political typology, which sorts voters into homogeneous groups based on political beliefs, party affiliation and voter participation, found striking parallels on both ends of the political spectrum. The new voter groupings on the right *and* the left are characterized by significant political centrism, as well as populism, at the expense of ideological consistency.

Many Americans continue to use the liberal and conservative labels, but only two segments of the electorate express coherent ideological points of view — Staunch Conservatives are consistently conservative on economic, social and international issues, while on balance, Liberal Democrats take the opposite position on each dimension.

Moderate Republicans and New Democrats are about as numerous as Conservatives and Liberals and hold much more centrist views. Moderate Republicans are less critical of government, more interventionist, more environmentalist, more tolerant, and less pro-business than Staunch Conservatives. They are also less loyal to the GOP. Although 98% Republican, 44% of them approve of Bill Clinton’s job performance.

New Democrats have less compassion than others in their party for the disadvantaged and are less critical of business. Yet like most Democrats, they express support for government and are more socially tolerant than the conservative wing of the Democratic Party. Reflecting their moderate views, fully half would *consider* voting for George W. Bush.

**1999 Political Typology:
The Republican Groups**

	General <u>Public</u> %	Registered <u>Voters</u> %
Staunch Conservatives <i>White male hardliners</i>	10	12
Moderate Republicans <i>Affluent centrists</i>	11	12
Populist Republicans <i>GOP’s poor cousins</i>	9	10

**1999 Political Typology:
The Democratic Groups**

	General <u>Public</u> %	Registered <u>Voters</u> %
Liberal Democrats <i>Secular progressives</i>	9	10
Socially Conservative Democrats <i>Latter-day New Dealers</i>	13	14
New Democrats <i>Clintonites</i>	9	10
Partisan Poor <i>Social welfare loyalists</i>	9	11

Populist Republicans and their Democratic counterpart, Socially Conservative Democrats, have mixed ideological values and have also contributed significantly to the crossover support for Clinton and now Bush, respectively. Populist Republicans are highly religious and socially conservative. But they have more moderate opinions about government and less favorable opinions of business corporations than Staunch Conservatives. Nearly one-third approve of Clinton’s job performance, and barely half give a good grade to the GOP’s congressional leadership.

On the Democratic side, Social Conservatives hold similar opinions about freedom of expression, homosexuality and immigrants. However, they have much stronger ties to unions, are more financially satisfied and show a penchant for partisan defection. Like their Reagan Democrat predecessors, 55% say there is at least some chance they would vote for Bush, and 29% backed him over Al Gore when this poll was first taken.

While the defections of Populist Republicans or Democrats might prove decisive in a close election, the most votes up for grabs are in the middle of the electorate. The two politically independent groups, one upbeat in its views and the other downbeat, contain many former Ross Perot voters who look at the political scene differently than most Democrats and Republicans.

New Prosperity Independents are moderate, young to middle-aged voters whose affluence, Internet savvy and stock market investments lead them to strongly endorse the status quo. But while 55% of this group, which strongly favors both handgun control *and* a capital gains reduction, approve of Clinton, just 24% are inclined to vote for Gore.

Disaffecteds, who are at the opposite end of the socioeconomic spectrum and are alienated and cynical rather than confident and upbeat, hold many similar political views. But, they are less important as voters because of their limited participation. In contrast, the Partisan Poor, who are also financially stressed, vote much more regularly. This most racially mixed bloc looks to government for solutions to its problems and remains strongly loyal to the Democratic Party. This is the only voting bloc in the country that wishes Clinton could run for a third term.

1999 Political Typology: The Independent Groups		
	General <u>Public</u> %	Registered <u>Voters</u> %
New Prosperity Independents <i>Affluent, cyber, stock market moderates</i>	10	11
Disaffecteds <i>Working class and alienated</i>	9	10
Bystanders <i>Democracy's dropouts</i>	11	0

Americans' Attitudes Mellow

The moderating trend in these political groupings reflects changes in underlying attitudes that the Center has monitored since 1987.¹ The current national survey finds somewhat less political cynicism and fewer people highly critical of government than in the past, and especially in comparison to 1994 when the Center developed its last version of the typology. For example, fewer Americans now think they don't have any say in what the government does, and a smaller percentage believe that things run by the government are usually inefficient and wasteful.

Government Criticism Down	
	<u>Agree</u>
<i>We have no say in government...</i>	%
Late September, 1999	47
November, 1997	46
July, 1994	54
May, 1993	52
<i>Govt. is wasteful & inefficient...</i>	
Late September, 1999	59
November, 1997	64
July, 1994	69
May, 1993	69
June, 1992	70

At the same time, the polling shows more compassion toward the poor and less hostility toward immigrants. A greater percentage in this survey than in the recent past think the government should do more to help needy people, and fewer express strong support for tightening our borders to further restrict immigration. Both of these trends may reflect the increased economic satisfaction and diminished financial pressure registered in this year's survey. Gains in economic contentment have been greatest among upper income groups, while people in the lowest income category report less financial pressure but no more financial satisfaction than in the mid-1990s. Unexpectedly, despite these trends, Americans report no greater satisfaction with their wages than in the recent past. In fact, middle-income people are less satisfied than they were in 1994.

More Compassion for Poor, Less Hostility for Immigrants	
	<u>Agree</u>
<i>Govt. should help needy people...</i>	%
Late September, 1999	49
November, 1997	44
July, 1994	41
May, 1993	43
June, 1992	53
November, 1991	51
<i>Restrict people coming into U.S...</i>	
Late September, 1999	72
November, 1997	73
July, 1994	82
June, 1992	76

A diminished appetite for political change is apparent, along with the moderating political attitudes we observed. The percentage of respondents who say that Washington needs new faces is lower than in the mid-1990s: Today 49% want new faces, down from 60% in 1994. The percentage saying it's time for current leaders to step aside has fallen somewhat as well (73% today vs. 79% in 1994). However, the survey also found less interest in national affairs and Washington politics than did previous polls in this series.

¹ The topline for the Values Update Survey shows the complete historical trend. See page 134.

No Big Issue, But a Moral Undertone

As in other surveys, no overarching issue emerges as the electorate's number one priority. If there is one theme in public concerns, however, it is a worry about the nation's moral health. This is voiced in a variety of ways by one-third of respondents in open-ended questioning. Respondents mention family values, teen violence, crime, and other moral shortcomings. But, when these same people are asked about priorities, moral concerns get highest priority only from Staunch Conservatives and Populist Republicans. Improving education is the top priority of the pivotal New Prosperity Independents as well as Liberal Democrats, while the more conservative Democratic groups place more emphasis on dealing with entitlements.

Surprisingly, Republican groups are more divided on the specific policy questions than are Democrats. Staunch Conservatives express opposition to a minimum wage hike, HMO reform and gun control, whereas Populists and Moderates back these proposals. Foreign policy issues also divide the GOP. Fully 69% of Staunch Conservatives oppose American involvement in Bosnia and Kosovo, while 69% of Moderates back it and Populists lean against it. Democrats are divided on abortion. Socially Conservative Democrats and the Partisan Poor strongly favor parental consent; Liberal Democrats are evenly divided on this issue.

“Bush Coalition” Familiar

Bush's patterns of support are reminiscent of winning GOP coalitions in the recent past. The Texas governor's candidacy has very strong backing from all three core GOP groups: Staunch Conservatives, Populists and Moderates. He also gets the support of Independent voters at both ends of the economic spectrum. Affluent New Prosperity Independents strongly support him, and even Disaffected Independents lean to Bush.

Like Ronald Reagan before him and his father in 1988, George W. also has considerable appeal to the conservative wing of the Democratic Party — especially the Social Conservatives. Liberal Democrats and the Partisan Poor give Gore the most early support, but their enthusiasm is more muted than that shown by core Republicans for Bush. This survey finds that Clinton fatigue is more of a factor in the potential defections of Social Conservatives than for other Democratic groups. However Gore's own leadership image is relatively weak among most Democrats, and very weak among Independents.

Former New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley tested as well against Bush as Gore did when this poll was taken, even though many voters may still know little about him. Bradley has more appeal to Independent voters, especially affluent New Prosperity Independents, and he has more crossover appeal to Republicans.

Bush is the prohibitive favorite for the nomination among all GOP groups, and a majority in every typology group except Liberal Democrats and the Partisan Poor would at least consider voting for the Texas governor next November. In contrast, it is mostly Staunch Conservatives, Moderate Republicans and New Prosperity Independents who would consider voting for Steve Forbes. John McCain appeals to two groups who agree on little else, Staunch Conservatives and Liberal Democrats. Among voters who have heard of him, Gary Bauer gets the most consideration from Populist Republicans, but even among this receptive group relatively few know of him.

The Reform Party's Patrick Buchanan and Minnesota Governor Jesse Ventura are known to more than 80% of voters, but less than 30% say there is some chance they would cast a ballot for either of them. The former pundit and speech writer has somewhat greater appeal among Staunch Conservatives, while Independent Disaffecteds are a little more drawn to the former pro wrestler. However, both are more appealing to young voters than older people.

The poll finds voters looking for the same personal qualities in a president as they did four years ago: good judgment in a crisis, high ethical standards and compassion. But more now say that a president should serve as a role model to help keep families together and improve the nation's moral health. These opinions are shared for the most part by all voter groups, but Republicans, especially Staunch Conservatives and Populist Republicans, place more emphasis than Democrats on the president as a role model. Only Staunch Conservatives give short shrift to compassion in a president.

Democratic Edge in Congressional Elections

Although Democrats are potentially less unified than Republicans with regard to presidential voting intentions, they seem more inclined to get behind their party's congressional candidates than do Republican groups. For example, Moderate Republicans and Populist Republicans do not match Staunch Conservatives in their support for their party's congressional candidates.

This contributes to the Democratic Party's 49% to 43% lead in the congressional ballot test in this survey. However, the GOP's losses in adherents and image weakness in recent years contribute as well. Collations of national Pew Research Center surveys of more than 10,000 respondents per year over the decade find affiliation with the GOP at 27% in 1998 and 1999, down

from 30% in 1994 and 32% in 1995. Democratic affiliation has increased only marginally during that period. However, more Americans hold a favorable opinion of the party than did in 1994 (59% vs. 50%) while many fewer have a positive opinion of the GOP over that same period (53% vs. 67%). Although the Republican Party's favorability ratings have rebounded somewhat from backlash against it for pushing impeachment, voters continue to express more confidence in the Democrats on most issues, save morality and taxes.

These trends notwithstanding, since 1990 increased majorities of both Republicans and Democrats say that they sometimes vote for the other party.

Other Findings:

- The survey contains one cautionary note about George W. Bush's strong showing in the polls, when it finds that 70% of all voters questioned think that he will be elected president in November. This is nearly identical to the percentage who felt that way about his father in the fall of 1991!
- Support for a third party has been up and down in Center surveys, and the new polling finds a 54% majority saying that the country needs a third major political party.
- The falloff in Republican Party affiliation is most dramatic among young Americans. Young men have migrated toward the Democratic Party while young women have become more independent.
- HMO reform has become a bipartisan issue. Republican support has increased 14 percentage points in the last year, from 36% in 1998 to the current 50%. Support among Independents has increased from 44% to 65% this year. Among Democrats, the percentage has gone from 63% to 73%.

These are the results of three nationwide Pew Research Center surveys conducted over the last four months. The main typology survey of 3,973 adults was conducted July 14 - September 9, 1999, and has a margin of error of plus or minus 2 percentage points. Additionally, a sample of 1,411 adults who were interviewed for the main survey were re-interviewed during a second poll conducted October 7 - 11, 1999. Finally, the results for the Center's longstanding political values measures are based on a survey of 985 adults conducted September 28 - October 10, 1999.

SECTION I. THE POLITICAL TYPOLOGY

The mood of the American electorate has changed markedly since the mid-1990s, with today's political landscape reflecting good economic times and fresh optimism about the country. These changes are underscored by a new political typology, the third of its kind since the original study conducted in 1987. Many of the groups identified by the extensive public opinion survey are similar to those of past typologies, reflecting the continuing importance of a number of key beliefs and values among some segments of the electorate. But an easing of both the financial pressures and the anti-government sentiment of the mid-1990s has also produced several new groups — within each of the two parties — that are marked by their optimism and mainstream views.

Each of the typologies developed by the Center has been designed to provide a more complete and detailed description of the political landscape, classifying people on the basis of a broad range of value orientations rather than simply on the basis of party identification. Like past surveys, the new typology reveals substantial political and social differences *within* as well as across the two political parties. It also provides insights into the political attitudes of Independents, who make up more than one-third of the American electorate.

The New Typology

As in 1994, the new typology divides the public into ten groups defined by their attitudes toward government and politics and a range of other social, economic and religious beliefs. In addition to partisan leanings, the typology is based on eight value orientations, each of which is reflected by a scale based on two or more questions in the survey. They are as follows:

- *Environmentalism.* Attitudes concerning environmental protection and the costs or benefits of environmental regulations.
- *Religion and Morality.* Attitudes concerning the importance of religion in people's lives and belief in a Judgment Day.
- *Social Tolerance.* Attitudes concerning the acceptability of homosexuality and views toward immigrants and foreigners in American society.
- *Social Justice.* Beliefs about social welfare and the role of government in providing for the needy, as well as attitudes toward the position of blacks in America.

- *Business Sentiment.* Attitudes toward big business, the free enterprise system and the extent to which economic success is possible in society.
- *Financial Security.* Level of satisfaction with current economic status and feelings of financial security.
- *Anti-Government Sentiment.* Beliefs about the motivations and responsiveness of elected officials, and views about government performance.
- *Patriotism/Militarism.* Beliefs concerning the ability of the United States to solve its problems and to make unlimited progress, as well as support for military strength.

Creating the Typology

The value dimensions used to create the typology are each based on the combined responses to two or more survey questions. The questions used to create each scale were those shown statistically to be most strongly related to the underlying dimension. Each of the individual survey questions use a "balanced alternative" format that presents respondents with two statements and asks them to choose the one that most closely reflects their own views. To measure the intensity of these attitudes, each question is followed by a probe to determine whether or not respondents feel strongly about the choice they selected.

As in past typologies, a measure of political attentiveness and voting participation was used to extract the "Bystander" group, people who are largely unengaged and uninvolved in politics. Subsequently, a statistical cluster analysis was used to sort the remaining respondents into relatively homogeneous groups based on the eight value scales and measures of party identification. Several different cluster solutions were evaluated for their effectiveness in producing cohesive groups that are distinct from one another, large enough in size to be practical, and substantively meaningful. The final solution selected to produce the new political typology was judged to be strongest on a statistical basis and to be most persuasive from a substantive point of view. (A more complete description of the cluster analysis appears in the Methodology.)

An Evolving Landscape

The new typology identifies nine politically engaged groups, in addition to the politically uninvolved Bystanders. The typology reflects a number of changes in the nature of the groups within both parties. Most notably, the Republican Party is no longer principally comprised of two political coalitions — economic conservatives and social conservatives. Today, a third group of moderate, upbeat Republicans is also a key bloc in the GOP.

In all, the new typology features three Republican groups, two Independent groups, and four Democratic groups, plus the politically uninvolved Bystanders. Although there are significant differences between even those groups that fall into the same party, on the whole the partisan groups demonstrate strong party loyalty. More than 70% of those in each of the groups on the right consider themselves to be Republicans, and most have voted for the GOP nominee in the past two presidential elections. On the left, equally large majorities in three of the four groups consider themselves to be Democrats, and all four groups have been solid Clinton supporters in the past two elections.

Disparate Wings in the GOP

The most conservative coalition in the GOP is the ***Staunch Conservatives***. This relatively affluent group is older, well educated and comprised disproportionately of men. They consistently vote for Republican candidates and are Clinton's strongest critics. This is the only group in which a majority describe themselves as "conservative" (63%). Staunch Conservatives are distinguished for their strong pro-business views, while registering almost no support for the needy, the environment, gun control, or the government. They are also highly critical of blacks and homosexuals.

Staunch Conservatives are nearly unanimous in their belief in the free enterprise system, and they oppose government assistance to the poor. Nine out of ten Staunch Conservatives believe that everyone has it in their own power to succeed (90%), and that people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard (90%). Three-in-four (76%) believe most corporations make a "fair and reasonable" amount of profit, while two-thirds (65%) say the government can't afford to do much more to help the needy. In addition, Staunch Conservatives are highly critical of the government and elected officials.

The ***Populist Republicans*** comprise a second Republican group. Less affluent than the other two coalitions in the GOP, they stand out for their strong religious faith and conservative views on many moral issues. Four-in-ten (42%) are white evangelical Protestants. Fully 70% believe homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged by society, and even more (76%) say books with "dangerous ideas" should be banned from public school libraries.

Populist Republicans share with the Staunch Conservatives a distrust of elected officials, but they are not as optimistic or financially secure as the other Republican groups. They are more critical of large business corporations and more sympathetic to the poor. The Populist Republicans represent the only GOP group in which a majority (58%) believes the government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt.

The typology also reveals a third and notably less conservative Republican group, the *Moderate Republicans*. This new group is comprised of loyal partisans — three-in-four (76%) consider themselves to be Republicans, and 21% are Independents who lean Republican. But Moderate Republicans split with other GOP groups in their views toward government and politicians, the environment and even Clinton.

They are substantially more trusting of government and elected officials. A majority of Moderate Republicans (61%) believe government often does a better job than people think, in sharp contrast to the more than 60% of Staunch Conservatives and Populist Republicans who take the opposite view, saying government is almost always wasteful and inefficient. Moderate Republicans also tend to trust politicians. More than two-thirds (67%) believe most elected officials care what the people think, while nearly as many among the Staunch Conservatives and Populist Republicans take the opposite view.

	Staunch <u>Cons</u> %	Populist <u>Reps</u> %	Moderate <u>Reps</u> %
<i>Government...</i>			
Is wasteful	82	64	33
Does a good job	16	31	61
<i>Elected officials...</i>			
Care what I think	34	29	67
Don't care	62	66	29
<i>Clinton job as president...</i>			
Approve	16	31	44
Disapprove	80	60	48

Moderates are also more supportive than other Republicans of environmental protection and are far less critical of Clinton. Indeed, nearly as many approve of the president's job performance as disapprove (44% vs. 48%), and 45% say the Clinton administration's accomplishments will outweigh its failures, compared to 49% who say the failures will outweigh the accomplishments. Moderate Republicans also divide much more narrowly than other GOP groups in their views concerning homosexuality.

But in their views on social welfare issues, the relatively affluent Moderate Republicans take relatively conservative positions. Nearly two-thirds of Moderate Republicans (64%) agree that poor people have it "easy" because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return. Three-quarters (75%) say blacks who can't get ahead have themselves, not racial discrimination, to blame.

Democratic Groups

Although they do not identify as strongly with the Democratic Party, the ***Liberal Democrats*** comprise a pro-government and socially tolerant coalition that consistently supports the Democratic ticket. Liberal Democrats are affluent and highly educated — fully half (50%) have a college education. This group (generally comparable to the "Seculars" in past typologies), is notably less religious, with more than half (54%) saying religion is "not that important" in their lives. Disproportionate numbers live in the East.

Liberal Democrats hold progressive views across the board. They are pro-environment, anti-business, strong supporters of gun control, and favor diplomacy over military power. They express more concern than any other group about the effects of racial discrimination and are highly concerned about the needs of the poor. Liberal Democrats are also accepting of homosexuals and half (51%) describe themselves as supporters of the gay rights movement. Even greater numbers of this group say they are supporters of the women's movement (65%) and supporters of the pro-choice movement (64%).

Although Liberal Democrats tend to view government favorably, they are not as pro-government as the New Democrats and they are less trusting of politicians. In fact, 59% say most elected officials don't care what "people like me" think. At the same time, Liberal Democrats are strong supporters of government efforts when it comes to protecting the environment, helping the needy or regulating business corporations.

Strengthening Party Ties for New Democrats

Five years ago, the 1994 Times Mirror typology identified a group of "New Democrats" — generally progressive, pro-government and pro-environment, who nonetheless divided more narrowly than other Democrats on questions concerning race and government assistance to the poor. Most had voted for Bush in 1988, and, despite their support for Clinton four years later, they were a somewhat less partisan group compared to other Democratic coalitions.

Today, these Democrats are solidly in the Democratic fold, and they are Clinton's strongest supporters. Three-in-four of these ***New Democrats*** (75%) consider themselves Democrats, compared with less than two-thirds (62%) of the New Democrats in 1994. Clinton's highest job approval ratings (89%) come from this group, and overwhelmingly they say the administration's accomplishments will outweigh its failures (78%). More than eight-in-ten (83%) support Clinton's decision not to resign during the investigation of the president's relationship with Monica Lewinsky.

One of the two more affluent Democratic groups, New Democrats stand out as strong supporters of business, while also expressing high levels of trust in government and elected officials. While pro-environment and accepting of homosexuality, they express less support than other Democrats for government assistance to the poor — more than one-third (35%) say the government can't afford to do any more to help the needy.

	Socially			
	Liberal Dems	Conservative Dems	New Dems	Partisan Poor
<i>Business corporations...</i>	%	%	%	%
Make too much profit	65	70	33	73
Reasonable profit	29	24	61	20
<i>Elected officials...</i>				
Lose touch quickly	73	79	30	74
Stay in touch	21	15	64	21
<i>Homosexuality should be...</i>				
Accepted by society	88	39	68	41
Discouraged by society	8	55	27	47

Socially Conservative Democrats

represent an older and more conservative group. Similar in some ways to the New Dealers identified in the previous two typologies, this Democratic group is the least supportive of Al Gore at this point in the campaign. Though by no means affluent — 74% call themselves "working class," more than in any other group — Socially Conservative Democrats are also the most content with their financial situation. One-in-four (25%) live in a labor-union household, and 44% describe themselves as a union supporter.

Socially Conservative Democrats hold traditional views in a wide range of areas: They are very patriotic and pro-military, religious, morally conservative, and have a poor opinion of immigrants. Socially Conservative Democrats also tend to distrust the government, although they support government regulation of *business*, which they dislike even more. They also support more government efforts to help the needy.

Although 81% approve of Clinton, Gore's support is weaker among Socially Conservative Democrats than among other Democratic groups, and there are signs that "Clinton fatigue" is having a slightly greater impact on Socially Conservative Democrats. Indeed, more than one-in-four (29%) say they would vote for George W. Bush in a two-way matchup with Gore.

The ***Partisan Poor*** make up the fourth Democratic group — the most racially diverse group that is characterized by its high financial insecurity and strong loyalty to the Democratic Party. This is the poorest of the ten groups, with fully 60% having household incomes of \$30,000 or less. Two-thirds are women — including 14% who are single mothers. The Partisan Poor are very religious, and nearly four-in-ten (39%) are African-American.

Reflecting the financial pressures they face, the Partisan Poor are strong supporters of government efforts to help the needy and are critical of big business. Nearly three-in-four (73%) say the government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt. They are divided in their views toward government, tend to be cynical about politicians, and are not strong supporters of the military. They also have an unfavorable view of immigrants.

On questions of race, the Partisan Poor divide sharply along racial lines. A majority of the blacks in the group (58%) believe racial discrimination is the main reason many blacks can't get ahead. But among the whites, an equally large majority (57%) blame blacks themselves, not racial discrimination. The whites also express more economic pessimism than the blacks. Two-thirds of the blacks (67%) believe hard work helps people get ahead, a view held by a large majority of all Americans, regardless of race. But Partisan Poor *whites* are divided on this question — 48% say hard work pays off, while an equal number (48%) say hard work is no guarantee of success. At the same time, the Partisan Poor are united across racial lines in their concerns about poverty, anti-militarism and distrust of big business.

Independents Divided By Economics

The typology reveals two dramatically different groups of Independents, voters who feel no strong connection to either party. The ***New Prosperity Independents*** are somewhat younger, well-educated, affluent, and optimistic. Seven-in-ten are under age 50, more than 41% have household incomes of \$50,000 or more, and one-third (33%) describe themselves as "Internet enthusiasts." They are notably less religious than average and feel virtually no financial pressures. Indeed, nearly nine out of ten say they are satisfied with their financial situation (87%) and that paying bills is not a problem for them (91%).

New Prosperity Independents are strong believers in business. Nine-in-ten (93%) — more than in any other group — say “everyone has it in their own power to succeed” in life. They are also pro-environment and tolerant on social issues, but they tend to distrust the government and elected officials and are divided over whether the government should do more to help the poor. New Prosperity Independents express few concerns about the condition of blacks.

Politically, these Independents comprise a key group of swing voters. Their votes were divided between the two parties' nominees in the last two presidential elections — slightly more supported Bush than Clinton in 1992, and they split almost evenly between Clinton and Dole in 1996. Although a majority now approve of the way Clinton is handling his job and do not think he should have resigned during last year's impeachment investigation, two-thirds (67%) nonetheless say they would vote for George W. Bush over Al Gore in 2000.

Economics Divide Independents		
	New Prosperity	
	<u>Independents</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>
<i>Business corporations...</i>	%	%
Make too much profit	29	67
Reasonable profit	65	26
<i>Own financial situation...</i>		
Generally satisfied	87	18
Not very satisfied	12	77

The *Disaffecteds* express much less tolerance and much more frustration with their own economic situation. Like the New Prosperity Independents, the Disaffecteds are a somewhat younger group, but are markedly less affluent and less well educated. Two-thirds (67%) have no education beyond high school, and nearly half (49%) have family incomes of \$30,000 or less. This group expresses nearly as much financial discontent as the Partisan Poor, with 77% saying they are not satisfied with how they are doing.

The Disaffecteds are generally pro-environment, but tend to be anti-government and distrustful of politicians. They are anti-business, anti-immigration and intolerant of homosexuality. Three-in-four (76%) believe elected officials do not care what people like them think — more than any other group. The Disaffecteds divided their votes evenly between Clinton and Bush in 1992, but supported Clinton over Dole by a three-to-one margin in 1996. A majority (55%) now approves of the way Clinton is handling his job as president.

SECTION II. VALUES

Cynicism Waning

Americans are less cynical about politics than they were five years ago. More people now say that they can influence the political process, and fewer people see their elected officials as inattentive to their needs.

Almost three-quarters (73%) agree that voting gives them some say in how the government runs things – a jump of seven percentage points since 1994. The number who say they are locked out of debates over governmental policy has fallen to 47% today from 54% five years ago. And, while the public’s traditional skepticism of politicians remains largely intact, there is a distinct softening of cynicism at the extremes. In 1994, 39% of Americans completely agreed with the notion that elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly; now, just 28% hold this view.

Government Criticisms Ebb

Public attitudes toward government in general have softened as well. Today, Americans split evenly over whether the government is run for the benefit of all people – 49% agree; 48% disagree. In 1994, only 42% saw the government as benevolent, while 57% expressed doubts.

Indeed, although the public remains suspicious of governmental power and efficiency, there are clear indications that Americans’ hostility toward government is easing. While

60% of the public still says that the federal government controls too much of our daily lives, this is considerably less than the 69% who said so in 1994. The percent who agree that something run by the government is usually inefficient and wasteful has also fallen: 59% today, compared to 69% in 1994.

	Image of Government Improves			
	--- 1994 ---		--- 1999 ---	
	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %
Regulation of business does more harm than good	63	33	55	37
Govt. is usually inefficient and wasteful	69	30	59	38
Federal govt. controls too much of our daily lives	69	30	60	38
Govt. is run for the benefit of all the people	42	57	49	48
Dealing with federal govt. agency not worth the trouble	69	28	59	35

This decreasing concern about inefficiency may explain why Americans are more willing to turn toward the federal government than they were in the past. In 1994, 69% of the public said that dealing with a federal agency is often not worth the trouble. Now, that number has dropped to 59%.

The public is also less wary of government regulation of business. Just over half (55%) say that such regulation usually does more harm than good – a drop of eight percentage points in five years.

Finally, while Americans continue to favor local government over federal action, even this sentiment is waning somewhat. Today one-third (32%) of the public completely agrees with the statement that the federal government should run only those things that cannot be run at the local level. In 1994, fully 38% completely agreed with this assertion.

In general, Americans ages 18-29 have more positive attitudes toward government than does any other generation. They are less concerned about government regulation of business, less likely to consider government-run operations as inefficient and less worried that government has excessive control.

While this was true in 1994 as well, some of the greatest declines in hostility toward government have occurred among the 18-29 year-old generation. For example, the 39% of young adults who agree that something run by the government is usually inefficient and wasteful is significantly less than the 55% who said so in 1994. Among the older generations, hostility has eased considerably less.

View of the Government Across Generations					
	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<i>Govt. regulation is harmful...</i>					
Agree	55	47	57	60	54
Disagree	37	44	35	31	36
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Govt. is wasteful & inefficient...</i>					
Agree	59	39	63	65	70
Disagree	38	56	34	33	27
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Govt. controls our lives...</i>					
Agree	60	48	61	64	70
Disagree	38	50	38	34	27
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Govt. benefits all people...</i>					
Agree	49	60	51	45	38
Disagree	48	38	46	52	59
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

Political Change Less Urgent

As cynicism toward politics and skepticism toward government have eased, so has the desire for political change. While most Americans (73%) still agree that Washington politicians should step aside and make room for new leaders, this number has fallen from the 79% who said so in 1994. The percent who *completely* agree with the need to replace current leaders has fallen to 29% today from 34% five years ago.

Moreover, Americans are less enthusiastic about sweeping change and more concerned about the possible costs of such upheaval: 49% say new people are needed even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians; 47% disagree. In 1994, six-in-ten favored change over experience, just 38% opposed it.

Senior citizens are the most supportive of political change — a generation gap that has increased in the past five years. For example, almost two-thirds (63%) of those 65 and older favor new people over experienced politicians but less than half of any other age group agrees. Moreover, while younger generations are significantly less supportive of change now than they were in 1994, there has been little or no movement along these lines among seniors.

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>18-29</u> %	<u>30-49</u> %	<u>50-64</u> %	<u>65+</u> %
<i>Time for Washington politicians to step aside...</i>					
Agree	73	72	75	65	82
Disagree	22	23	20	31	14
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Need new people in Washington...</i>					
Agree	49	42	49	44	63
Disagree	47	55	47	52	30
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

Compassion Rising

Change in public sentiment about politics and government extends to the spending of government funds. At the end of the century, the public expresses a growing willingness to use government to help the less fortunate.

Americans express greater compassion in this regard in 1999 than they did just five years ago. Almost half (49%) of the public says that the government should help more needy people, even if it means going deeper in debt; 47% disagree.

	<u>--- 1994 ---</u>		<u>--- 1999 ---</u>	
	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %
<i>The government...</i>				
Should help needy people even if it increases the debt	41	56	49	47
Has a responsibility to take care of the helpless	57	41	62	35
Should guarantee all enough food and a place to sleep	59	39	64	33

In 1994, Americans divided 41% in favor and 56% against this aid. Similarly, more Americans now say the government should take care of those who can't take care of themselves: 62% agree, compared to 57% who did so in 1994. In addition, more people now say that the government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep: 64% agree, compared to 59% five years ago.

Despite this growing desire to use government to assist those in need, the public remains concerned about the poor's over-reliance on government. Three-quarters (77%) agree, including 34% who completely agree, that poor people have become too dependent on government programs. Yet, even this belief has eased somewhat – in 1994, fully 85% of Americans agreed with this statement, 46% completely agreed.

The public's growing compassion extends to those outside of our borders as well. Americans express less hostility toward immigrants than they did just five years ago. Today, 72% of the public agrees with stricter immigration restrictions, 38% completely agree. In 1994, these numbers were 82% and 47%, respectively.

Prosperity and the American Dream

Americans' growing compassion may stem from the economic prosperity of the late 1990s. Two-thirds (68%) say they are financially satisfied. Indeed, only about one-third (31%) of the public feels financially strapped. Just 36% say that they often don't have enough money to make ends meet — the lowest number recorded in the 12 years that the Center has asked this question. In 1994, fully 43% of the public felt financially pressed.

Americans also express a growing faith in the possibility of achieving success. Seven-in-ten (69%) see a connection between hard work and success; in 1994, six-in-ten did. Similarly, by a 67%-to-32% margin, Americans reject the notion that success in life is determined by forces outside of our control. In 1994, this was a closer contest, with 59% disagreeing and 39% agreeing.

Contentment and Indifference

The public's milder stance toward government and politics appears linked to less interest in political and national news. Americans express increasing disinterest in and detachment from national affairs.

In 1994, 46% of the public said they followed what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time; the same number described themselves as interested in keeping up with national affairs. Now, just 39% say they follow government and public affairs most of the time and even fewer (37%) are interested in national news.

Fully 58% of Americans say they are generally bored by what goes on in Washington, a jump from the 51% majority who said so five years ago. And growing numbers say national politics is irrelevant: 38% say that issues discussed in the nation's capital don't affect them personally, an increase from the 30% who said so in 1994.

Even interest in local news – traditionally a bigger draw – has fallen off. Two-thirds (66%) of the public is interested in following local politics, a drop from the three-quarters (76%) who expressed this interest in 1994.

Two Minds About Big Business

Most Americans continue to see American business as central to our national strength, but they also maintain their concerns about the size of corporate profits and the disproportionate power of big companies. For example, while 76% of the public says that the strength of the country today is based on the success of American business, almost as many (74%) say that there is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few companies. (Both numbers have changed little since 1994.)

While many Americans have benefitted from a booming stock market, the public continues to have reservations about corporate profits. Today, 56% say business corporations make too much profit, down somewhat from 61% in 1994. Moreover, Americans remain divided over corporate attempts to strike a fair balance between profits and the public interest: 45% say business achieves this task; 50% say it falls short.

Black and White Views on Racial Issues

Blacks and whites are often in sharp disagreement over both the treatment of African-Americans in today's society and possible solutions to end racial discrimination. Some of this difference of opinion occurs only on the extremes, while other gaps create central divisions between the races.

For example, while most blacks and whites reject the notion that racial discrimination against blacks is rare today, African-Americans are twice as likely as whites to feel strongly about this. About three-quarters of each group disagrees with the statement that discrimination against blacks is rare today – but 47% of blacks *completely* disagree, compared to just 23% of whites.

More striking, however, is the contrast between black and white opinions over how much progress African-Americans have achieved. Two-thirds (67%) of blacks say that there has not been much real improvement in the position of blacks in society; only one-third (34%) of whites agree with this assessment. Similarly, while whites are divided 51%-to-47% over whether we have gone

too far pushing equal rights, blacks are solidly against this assertion, with 79% in disagreement and just 21% in support. Finally, African-Americans support for preferential treatment (62% in favor) is almost as strong as white opposition (69% oppose it).

An area of agreement is interracial dating: solid majorities of both whites and blacks approve, 70% and 82% respectively. Among the general population, fully 73% approve of interracial dating, a number that has risen steadily since 1987, when just under half (48%) approved.

	--- Blacks ---		--- Whites ---	
	Agree %	Disagree %	Agree %	Disagree %
We have gone too far with equal rights	21	79	51	47
No improvement for blacks in past few years	67	31	34	57
All right for blacks and whites to date	82	15	70	25
Make every effort to help minorities	62	36	26	69
Discriminations against blacks are rare today	20	77	22	73

Americans acknowledge racial discrimination as a less-than-rare occurrence but reject attempts to use affirmative action as a solution to this problem. For example, while most of the public (73%) disagrees with the notion that discrimination against blacks is rare today, preferential treatment of blacks and other minorities is rejected by a 65%-to-31% margin.

This division may be due in part to disagreement over whether African-Americans continue to be as disadvantaged as they once were. A narrow 53% majority of the public says there has been real improvement in the position of blacks in society, but 38% disagree.

Gay Acceptance

Over the past 12 years, Americans have slowly and steadily changed their attitudes toward the treatment of homosexuals. Currently, six-in-ten (62%) oppose school boards firing known homosexuals; in 1987, only 42% opposed such firings. Similarly, while only one-third (32%) of the public now says that AIDS is God’s punishment for immoral behavior, in 1987 43% viewed AIDS as punishment.

Americans are largely divided over other civil liberty issues. On balance, the public supports banning books with dangerous ideas (55%-43%) and declares nude magazines and X-rated movies to be harmful (53%-43%). Slightly more (57%) say freedom of speech should apply to groups such as communists and the Ku Klux Klan, but a solid 39% minority is willing to deny them this right.

One of the most divisive issues is the use of police force in the war on drugs: 45% of the public says that police should be allowed to search houses of known drug dealers without court orders; 53% say they should not. This balance has shifted a bit since 1994, when the public divided 51% in support of searches and 48% against them.

American Exceptionalism

The economic boom of the late 1990s has neither diminished nor enhanced Americans’ faith in the exceptionalism of the United States. Seven-in-ten agree that as Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want. Six-in-ten (62%) don’t believe there are any limits to growth.

The public of the late 1990s expresses a strong connection to the values and traditions of earlier times. More than eight-in-ten (84%) say they have old-fashioned values about family and marriage. Three-quarters agree that too many children are being raised in day care centers. This appreciation for conventional values does not extend to all areas of family life, however. Only one-quarter of the public says that women should return to their traditional roles in society.

Religious Faith

Americans remain a religious people – both in faith and practice. Fully 88% say they never doubt the existence of God. More than eight-in-ten (84%) believe that God continues to perform miracles; nearly the same percent (83%) expect to answer for their sins before God on Judgment Day. Over three-quarters (78%) say that prayer is an important part of their daily lives.

America's Faith			
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>know</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
I never doubt the existence of God	88	10	2=100
Even today miracles are performed by God	84	11	5=100
We all will be called before God on Judgment Day	83	13	4=100
Prayer is an important part of my life	78	21	1=100

America’s Role in the World

In overwhelming numbers the public continues to support an active world role for the United States — fully 88% agree that such a position is in the best interests of our country. At the same time, however, Americans are adamant in their belief that we should emphasize national problems over international concerns – eight-in-ten support this assertion.

Issues of military power and prowess divide the public, with no position drawing an overwhelmingly strong level of support. A narrow 51%-to-42% majority rejects the notion that the United States should get even with any country that takes advantage of it. Americans are similarly split over the connection between military strength and peace: 55% say military strength is the best way to ensure peace; 42% disagree.

Similarly, just under half (49%) of the public says we should all be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong, but almost as many (46%) disagree with this obligation.

The Military			
	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>Don't know</u> %
We should get even with any country that takes advantage of the U.S.	42	51	7=100
The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	55	42	3=100
We should be ready to fight for our country, right or wrong	49	46	5=100
I often worry about the chances of nuclear war	52	46	2=100

Even the threat of war isn’t viewed equally by the public. Almost as many Americans often worry about the chances of nuclear war as don’t, 52% vs. 46%, respectively.

The Values Gap

The gender gap, so apparent in party identification and basic political views, has its underpinnings in important differences between men and women on certain fundamental values. Men and women differ most dramatically on the role of government, morality and America's position in the world.

Women have more positive views on government and favor a more activist government than do men. Fewer women than men completely agree that elected officials lose touch with people (25% to 32%, respectively). Women more than men believe that voting gives a say in how the government is run. More than two-thirds (68%) of men believe that anything run by the government is wasteful and inefficient in contrast to 53% of women. In addition, slightly more men than women agree that government regulation of business does more harm than good (59% and 52%, respectively).

How They Differ			
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Gap</u>
<i>Percent Agreeing...</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	
We have gone too far with equal rights	57	39	18
Prayer is an important part of my life	70	85	15
Government is wasteful & inefficient	68	53	15
Ban library books with dangerous ideas	48	60	12
Should guarantee all enough food/shelter	58	69	11
Countries helped by US end up resenting	70	59	11
Best ensure peace with military strength	61	50	11
Need stricter laws on environment	78	88	10
Voting gives say in how government is run	69	77	8
Most elected officials care what I think	35	42	7

On the issue of environmental protection, men agree with women that people should pay higher prices to help the environment (56% and 57%, respectively). However, men are not as insistent as women that there should be stricter laws governing the environment (78% and 88%, respectively).

With regard to the poor, men agree with women that the government should help those who cannot take care of themselves (61% and 63%, respectively). Men are more hesitant, however, about the government guaranteeing every citizen a place to sleep and enough to eat compared to women (58% and 69%).

Women continue to express more religious devotion than men, with nearly two-thirds (63%) saying they completely agree that prayer is an important part of their daily lives compared to 45% of men. Nearly six-in-ten (58%) women completely agree they have old-fashioned values on marriage compared to 48% of men. Fewer women than men see nude magazines and X-rated movies as harmless entertainment (37% and 51%, respectively), and more women agree that certain books should be banned from public libraries (60% and 48%, respectively).

Men express slightly more patriotism than women, and they are also more militaristic. In addition, more men than women are in favor of restricting and controlling the number of people coming into this country.

SECTION III. PARTIES

Democrats Make Gains

The Democratic Party now enjoys its biggest advantage over the Republican Party in at least a decade, though recent shifts in party affiliation have not been dramatic. In 1999, 34% of Americans identify themselves as Democrats, 27% say they are Republicans and 39% are Independent. In 1994, the parties were closer to parity: 32% Democrat, 30% Republican. And in 1989, equal percentages of Americans identified themselves with the two major parties (33% for each).²

Looking at the trend in party affiliation over the last 10 years, the imprint of Newt Gingrich's 104th Congress is clear. At only one point during the last decade did Republicans outnumber Democrats; that was in 1995 when 32% of Americans aligned themselves with the GOP and 30% considered themselves Democrats. This small Republican advantage came on the heels of the party's historic takeover of the House of Representatives and in the midst of the party leadership's ambitious legislative agenda. The advantage quickly shifted back to the Democrats by 1996 — after the GOP was blamed for an unpopular government shutdown, and President Clinton coasted to an easy re-election over GOP challenger Bob Dole. By 1997, Democrats outnumbered Republicans by 33% to 28%.

	<u>Republican</u> %	<u>Democrat</u> %	<u>Independent/</u> <u>Other</u> %
1999	27	34	39=100
1998	27	33	40=100
1997	28	33	39=100
1996	29	33	38=100
1995	32	30	38=100
1994	30	32	38=100
1993	27	34	39=100
1992	28	33	39=100
1991	31	32	37=100
1990	31	33	36=100
1989	33	33	34=100

* Percentages represent average from each year.

The Republican revolution had a much more significant and long-lasting impact on party affiliation than did the GOP's unpopular efforts to impeach Clinton. Party affiliation figures have remained remarkably stable since the historic events of 1998 and early 1999.

But Does it Matter?

It is unclear at this point how the Democratic advantage in terms of party affiliation will impact the 2000 presidential election. In spite of the fact that significantly more Americans consider themselves Democrats than Republicans, George W. Bush consistently leads Al Gore in the presidential matchup.

² Party identification analysis is based on a compilation of all Times Mirror and Pew Research Center surveys conducted from 1989 through 1999. The entire data set includes more than 100,000 interviews.

The party's strengths may be felt more, however, at other levels. The Democrats now lead the Republicans on the generic congressional ballot question — 49% to 43% — and the Democratic Party leadership seems to be more in sync with the public on many of the legislative and policy issues that have been in the forefront this year. The public continues to give the GOP leadership in Congress low marks for performance. In addition, Clinton continues to enjoy high approval ratings and most Americans think, in the end, his accomplishments will outweigh his failures.

While Republicans strongly dislike Bill Clinton, as many as one-third (32%) say they approve of the job he's doing. Similarly, 32% think Clinton's accomplishments will ultimately outweigh his failures; and 35% think he was right to stay in office when threatened with impeachment. Nonetheless, GOP loyalists are solidly behind Bush in the 2000 presidential race. Fully 70% say there's a good chance they'll vote for Bush; 77% say there's *no chance* they'll vote for Gore. Democrats are much less unified in their support for Gore: 48% say there's a good chance they'll vote for the vice president; as many (47%) say there's at least some chance they'll vote for Bush.

Independent voters, who now represent 39% of the electorate, will undoubtedly be the key to the 2000 elections. Their political attitudes seem to best capture the public's current ambivalence toward the two major parties. Six-in-ten (59%) Independents approve of Clinton, and nearly as many think his accomplishments will outweigh his failures. Less than 40% approve of the GOP Congress, and a majority (56%) think the Republicans were wrong to impeach Clinton. Views on impeachment clearly affect Independents' opinions about the Republican Party. Among those who think the GOP was wrong to impeach Clinton, 51% have an unfavorable view of the party; those who think Congress was right to impeach Clinton have a much more favorable view of the Republican Party (59% favorable, 33% unfavorable).

	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Ind</u> %
<i>Clinton job</i>			
Approve	32	85	59
Disapprove	62	9	31
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100
<i>2000 Pres'l</i>			
Gore	5	78	35
Bush	93	19	56
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100
<i>2000 Cong'l</i>			
Democrat	5	93	45
Republican	92	5	41
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100

Any ill will Independents may feel toward the GOP is not translated into support for Al Gore in the 2000 presidential contest. They support Bush over Gore by a margin of 56% to 35%. Fully 74% say there is a chance they will vote for Bush; only 52% say there is a chance they will vote for Gore. Moreover, most (53%) want the next president to pursue a different policy agenda from the Clinton administration.

Demographic Trends in Party Affiliation

As has been the case recently, the Republican Party’s strength, demographically, continues to come from men (especially men age 30-49), college graduates, those with annual family incomes in excess of \$50,000, and white evangelical Protestants. The Democratic Party’s most loyal supporters are women (especially women over age 50), blacks and those without a high school degree.

Age and gender continue to define the parties to some extent; and the Republican Party’s problems with young people and women persist. The decline in GOP affiliation among young people represents one of the most significant changes in party identification since the late 1980s. The decline has been steep and steady: In 1989, 37% of those under 30 identified themselves as Republicans, in 1994 it was down to 30%, today only 23% consider themselves Republicans. Young men have migrated toward the Democratic Party, while young women have become more independent.

	--- 1994 ---			--- 1999 ---			Change in Rep
	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %	
Under 30	30	26	41	23	30	43	-7
Men	32	21	44	24	30	42	-8
Women	27	32	38	21	31	44	-6
30-49	29	31	36	27	32	36	-2
50-64	26	37	33	21	36	37	-5
65+	28	42	26	30	36	30	+2

The GOP had an opportunity to bring more young people into the fold in 1995. On average in 1995, 32% of those under age 30 identified themselves as Republicans. That number fell sharply in 1996 to 25%, and there has been no rebound. Much of the Gingrich-era falloff in GOP support can be traced to young people. Declines in Republican affiliation from 1995 to 1996 were much less pronounced among middle-aged and older Americans.

Those over 50 continue to be the most heavily Democratic age group on average. However, seniors show some movement away from the party. In 1994, 42% of those age 65 and over identified themselves as Democrats, in this survey 36% did so. There has been relatively little change in party identification among middle-aged Americans (those age 30-49) over this same time period.

The Gender Gap Persists

The partisan gender gap, which became a central component of American politics in the 1980s, remains a driving force today and a real asset for the Democratic Party. Many more women than men align themselves with the Democrats — 38% vs. 29%. The Republican Party draws in more men than women, though the gap is not nearly as large: 28% of men identify with the GOP compared to 25% of women.

Over the last decade, women have consistently favored the Democratic over the Republican Party. In 1999, 38% of women consider themselves Democrats, only 25% are Republicans, another 30% are Independents.

For most of the 1990s, the GOP has had a clear advantage among men. This pattern was most pronounced in 1995, when 33% of men aligned themselves with the Republican Party and only 25% considered themselves Democrats. However, as the percent of men identifying with the Republican Party has gradually fallen off, the parties have come closer to parity among men. In 1999, 28% of men consider themselves Republicans, 29% are Democrats and 35% are Independents.

The gender gap may be more beneficial for Democrats in Congress than for Al Gore. Fully 92% of Democratic women say they will vote for their party's candidate from their congressional district, significantly fewer (75%) say they will vote for Gore over Bush. Republican men are much more consistent in their support. Fully 89% say they will vote Republican in their congressional district and 94% say they will vote for Bush over Gore.

Race and Party ID

Trends in party affiliation by race show very little change over the last 10 years. The GOP has failed to make any inroads with blacks, and it has lost support marginally among whites. At no point over the last decade have more than 10% of blacks identified with the Republican Party. In 1999, fully two-thirds of blacks consider themselves Democrats and among the 22% who call themselves Independents, the vast majority leans Democratic.

A Persistent Gender Gap

	--- Men ---		--- Women ---	
	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %
1999	28	29	25	38
1998	29	30	25	37
1997	31	27	26	39
1996	31	28	27	37
1995	33	25	31	34
1994	31	27	29	35
1993	28	29	26	38
1992	29	29	27	37
1991	32	27	30	35
1990	33	29	30	37
1989	34	28	31	36

Race and Party ID

	--- White ---		--- Black ---	
	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %
1999	30	30	7	66
1998	30	30	7	63
1997	32	30	7	63
1996	32	29	6	64
1995	35	26	7	60
1994	34	28	6	62
1993	31	30	4	69
1992	31	29	5	65
1991	34	28	8	63
1990	35	30	8	64
1989	35	29	10	62

The parties are now at parity among whites. For most of the 1990s, Republicans had an advantage among whites — the gap was widest in 1995 when white Republicans outnumbered Democrats by a margin of 35% to 26%. Today whites divide evenly — 30% Republican, 30% Democrat.

Congressional Test Ballot

With party control of Congress potentially up for grabs in 2000, the Democrats now enjoy a slight lead over Republicans on the generic congressional ballot question. Among registered voters, 49% say they would vote for the Democrat from their district, 43% would vote Republican. Another 8% are still undecided. Democrats are much more firmly united behind their party in Congress than they are behind Al Gore. Fully 93% of Democrats say if the election was held today, they would vote for the Democrat from their district; 78% say they would vote for Gore over Bush. Republicans are more consistent in this regard: 92% say they would vote GOP in the House election, 93% say they would vote for Bush. Independents narrowly favor the Democrats for Congress — 45% to 41%, though many (14%) are undecided.

Looking at the independently oriented typology groups, New Prosperity Independents favor Republicans over Democrats for Congress by a better than two-to-one margin. This group also favors Bush over Gore by a wide margin (67%-24%) and will presumably be pivotal in the next election. The other Independent group, the Disaffecteds, divides more evenly: 46% say they would vote for the GOP congressional candidate, 40% would vote Democratic.

The Typology and the Race for Congress
(Based on Registered Voters)*

	Staunch <u>Conservs</u>	Moderate <u>Reps</u>	Populist <u>Reps</u>	New Prosperity <u>Indeps</u>	Disaf- fecteds <u>ecteds</u>	Liberal <u>Dems</u>	Socially Conserv <u>Dems</u>	New <u>Dems</u>	Partisan <u>Poor</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Republican	90	78	79	59	46	6	8	9	4
Democrat	5	15	10	27	40	88	87	86	93
Other/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Includes leaners.

Conservatives Care More

These two Independent groups place little stock in party control of Congress, however. Fully 54% of New Prosperity Independents and 52% of Disaffecteds say they do not care very much which party wins control of Congress in the 2000 elections. Overall, 59% of the public cares a good deal which party wins control. The Republican-leaning Staunch Conservatives care more than any other group about party control of Congress: fully 78% say they care a good deal. They are much more concerned about party control of Congress than the other staunchly ideological group — the Liberal Democrats. Fewer than two-thirds of them (64%) care a good deal.

Bush Democrats?

One-in-ten registered voters plan to divide their loyalties in the 2000 election — by supporting Bush for president and a Democrat for Congress. Not surprisingly, this group is made up predominantly of Democrats and Independents (42% and 46%, respectively). Just 9% are Republicans.

Politically, these ticket-splitters largely mirror the general public. They approve of Clinton and disapprove of the GOP congressional leaders. Fully 43% of this group view the Republican Party unfavorably; in comparison, only 24% look upon the Democratic Party unfavorably. Six-in-ten voted for Clinton in the 1996 presidential election; 16% voted for Perot.

The Politics of Split-Ticket Voters*

	----- <i>Favors</i> -----		
	Bush/GOP Congress	Bush/Dem Congress	Gore/Dem Congress
	%	%	%
Republican	64	9	1
Democrat	3	42	71
Independent/Other	<u>33</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>28</u>
	100	100	100
Approve of Clinton	25	67	91
Approve GOP Cong.	59	40	16
<i>(Percentage of Voters</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>36)</i>

Note: The "Gore/Republican Congress" split-ticket voters are too few to analyze by subgroups.

* Based on registered voters.

Looking at the typology groups, the two more conservative Democratic groups — the Socially Conservative Democrats and the New Democrats — are more likely than others to split their tickets in 2000. Roughly 20% in each of these groups prefer Bush for president and a Democrat for Congress. Gore enjoys more loyal support from the Partisan Poor (11% of whom say they will split their ticket) and Liberal Democrats (9%). Staunch Conservatives, at 3%, are the least likely to split their ticket in this way; they are the most likely to vote a straight GOP ticket — 86% will vote Bush for president and Republican for Congress.

Mixed Views of the Parties

Regardless of party affiliation, Americans overwhelmingly think the party leaders in Washington are bickering more these days. Overall, 68% say that Republicans and Democrats in Washington have been bickering and opposing one another more than usual this year. This represents a significant increase since August 1998, when 51% said the parties were bickering more than usual. Perceptions of party gridlock peaked in October 1995, during the contentious months leading up to the federal government shutdown. At that time, 72% said the parties were fighting more than usual. Since then, fewer people have held this view. In November 1997, only 45% felt this way.

There is little variation in opinion on this matter across party groups. Fully 65% of Republicans, 71% of Democrats and 67% of Independents say the party leaders are bickering more these days. This view is prevalent across all typology groups. With the exception of the Moderate Republicans, at least two-thirds of each group believes the parties have been opposing each other more than usual.

Just as GOP affiliation has fallen off marginally over the last decade, views about the Republican Party have become more unfavorable. GOP favorability ratings dipped sharply between December 1994 and October 1995 (from 67% favorable to 52% favorable). They reached a low of 44% favorable in early 1999 — during the impeachment proceedings. Since then, they have rebounded somewhat. They now stand at 53% favorable; 43% unfavorable.

GOP Favorability Ratings Falter

	Dec 1994	Oct 1995	Jan 1997	March 1998	Jan 1999	Aug 1999
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Republican Party...</i>						
Favorable	67	52	52	50	44	53
Unfavorable	27	44	43	43	50	43
Can't rate	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Democratic Party...</i>						
Favorable	50	49	60	58	55	59
Unfavorable	44	48	35	36	38	37
Can't rate	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

The GOP-oriented groups have a largely favorable view of the Republican Party. Even among these groups, however, few characterize their view as *very favorable*. Only 14% of Staunch Conservatives, 21% of Moderate Republicans and 15% of Populist Republicans say they view the party very favorably. On balance, the New Prosperity Independents view the GOP in a favorable light (63% favorable, 33% unfavorable). The Disaffecteds are slightly less enthusiastic (52% favorable, 39% unfavorable).

Ratings for the Democratic Party have improved somewhat since 1994. In December 1994, following the GOP midterm election victory, 50% of the public viewed the Democratic Party favorably. The ratings rebounded in January 1997 (60%) and have remained near that level since then. Today 59% have a favorable view of the party.

The Parties and the Issues

The Democratic Party has a clear edge over the GOP when it comes to the pressing policy issues of the day. When asked what one issue the next president should focus on, Social Security and Medicare and education top the list. On each of these issues, the public has more confidence in the Democratic Party than the Republicans. The same pattern holds for two other top tier policy issues: the economy and health care. Again, the public favors the Democrats’ approach on these issues over the Republicans’ by wide margins.

Democrats Lead on Policy Issues					
----- Next President’s Top Priority -----					
	Social Security/ Medicare	Education	Morality	Economy	Health Care
<i>Can do a better job...</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Republicans	30	27	61	35	21
Democrats	53	52	14	52	57
No difference	9	9	9	6	12
Don’t know	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

The one important exception is morality. This issue, which ranks third on the public’s list of priorities for the next president, is one where the Republicans have a clear advantage. Six-in-ten of those who say morality should be the top priority think the GOP can do a better job handling this issue. Furthermore, the state of morality in this country now tops the “most important problem” list.

The poll also tested several specific policy issues and found strong support for several GOP initiatives. Strong majorities of Americans favor requiring parental consent for abortion, stricter treatment of juvenile offenders and reductions in capital gains taxes. In addition, the public favors federal funding for school vouchers by a margin of 57%-40%.

Still, Democrats have the advantage on several of the issues that have been in the forefront of this year's legislative agenda. Overwhelming majorities of Americans favor increasing the minimum wage and allowing patients to sue their health insurance companies when treatments are denied or delayed. Nearly two-thirds (64%) think the federal government should create national standards to protect the rights of patients in HMOs and managed care plans. A majority (56%) favor banning unlimited soft money contributions to political parties.

The Importance of Party Further Declines

There has been a slight increase in the number of Americans who are willing to vote against their party in some elections, and increasing numbers say they don't agree completely with their party's positions. Fully 73% of Democrats say they sometimes support candidates from the other party, an increase of 10 percentage points since 1990. Among Republicans, 78% say they sometimes vote for a Democrat, up slightly over the past nine years.

A solid majority of Republicans — 81% — don't agree completely with their party's positions on issues, an increase of 6 percentage points since 1990; 76% of Democrats say this, an increase of 7 percentage points from nine years ago.

	-- Republican --		-- Democrat --	
	1990	1999	1990	1999
	%	%	%	%
I don't agree completely with what the party stands for	75	81	69	76
Sometimes I support the other party	74	78	63	73
It's more a matter of not liking the other party	17	20	22	27

Notably, even African-Americans, who have been a strong source of Democratic support, say in growing numbers they support the other party at least occasionally. More than half (54%) of Democratic blacks now say they sometimes support a GOP candidate, up from 40% in 1990.

Democrats more than Republicans say that belonging to their party is more a matter of *disliking* the alternative. Among Democrats, 27% say being Democratic is more a matter of not liking Republicans; 20% of GOP members say this. These percentages have changed little during the past nine years.

Among the Republican-leaning typology groups, Staunch Conservatives are the most loyal party members. They are least likely to support a Democrat — though as many as 71% say they sometimes do. This compares with 81% of Moderate Republicans and 80% of Populist Republicans. Populists are the least involved in Republican Party activities; 39% say they involve themselves with what the party is doing, compared to 50% of Moderate Republicans and 55% of Staunch Conservatives.

Overall, Democrats are nearly as likely as Republicans to defect to the other party on election day. The Partisan Poor are slightly less inclined to vote Republican, though even among this highly partisan group, 65% sometimes support a Republican. About three-in-four Liberals, New Democrats and Socially Conservative Democrats say they sometimes vote for a GOP candidate.

Roughly 30% of Liberals and the Partisan Poor say for them being a Democrat is more a matter of not liking Republicans. Just 19% of Socially Conservative Democrats and 23% of New Democrats agree.

Third Party Support Resurgent

After a two-year decline, a 54% majority of Americans now say we should have a third major party. This is up from 46% in 1998. Almost 60% wanted a third party in 1995.

Democrats and Republicans see eye-to-eye on this issue with almost equal percentages — roughly half — agreeing that we need a third major party, significant increases for both parties in only one year. Last year, when support for a third party was at a five-year low, only 36% of Republicans said we need a third party. The current numbers reflect a 12 percentage point increase among Republicans in one year. The percent of Democrats saying we need a third major party has jumped 10 points since 1998. Almost two-thirds (63%) of Independents say the country needs a third party, an increase of only three percentage points in one year.

	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %
<i>We should have a third major party...</i>			
1999	54	40	6=100
1998	46	47	7=100
1997	47	46	7=100
1996	58	37	5=100
1995	59	37	4=100
1994	53	43	4=100

Partisan Values

The role of government, compassion for the less fortunate and attitudes towards politicians are among the issues that continue to divide rank-and-file Republicans and Democrats. The gap between the parties is greatest on the question of whether the government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt.

More than half of Republicans say that government regulation does more harm than good and that corporations make a reasonable profit, 56% and 54% respectively. Only about one-third of Democrats agree with either of these two statements. Independents reflect the middle ground.

Democrats value government assistance to the poor and openness toward homosexuals. Fully two-thirds (67%) of Democrats think the government should do more to help the needy even if it means going deeper into debt, and 52% believe poor people have hard lives. More than half (54%) say homosexuality should be accepted. In each case, a minority of Republicans agree.

Independents tend to be more critical of politicians than either Republicans or Democrats. A solid majority of Independents — 64% — believe most elected officials “don’t care what people like me think”; somewhat slimmer majorities of Democrats and Republicans agree (59% and 54%, respectively).

Republicans and Democrats do see eye-to-eye on the importance of religion while Independents are not as enthusiastic. Almost equal percentages of the two major parties consider religion very important in their lives (80% and 79%, respectively), while 69% of Independents say this.

Party Values			
<i>Which statement is closer to your views?</i>			
	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Republican Attitudes:			
Blacks are responsible for their condition	71	51	60
Discrimination keeps blacks from getting ahead	19	38	27
Govt. regulation does more harm than good	56	34	44
Govt. regulation protects the public	38	58	48
Corporations make reasonable profit	54	35	41
Corporations make too much profit	40	59	53
Democratic Attitudes:			
Govt. should do more to help the needy	44	67	57
Govt. can’t afford more help for the needy	48	27	35
Homosexuality should be accepted	35	54	55
Homosexuality should be discouraged	59	39	39
The poor have hard lives	31	52	42
The poor have it easy	57	37	44
Independent Attitudes:			
Politicians don’t care what people like me think	54	59	64
Politicians care what people like me think	42	35	31
Religion is very important in my life	80	79	69
Religion is not that important to me	19	19	28

Independents and Democrats a Lot Alike

Independents describe themselves much more like Democrats than Republicans. When asked how well 20 words or phrases describe them, Independents agree more with Democrats on 11 items, and more with Republicans on only four. All three groups agree on five other descriptors. Interestingly, Independents are almost as likely to say “Democrat” describes them perfectly as does “Republican.”

Almost half of both Democrats and Independents (46% and 47%, respectively) describe themselves as environmentalists compared to only one-third of Republicans. Fully 73% of Republicans say the word “patriot” describes them perfectly; slightly more than half of Democrats and Independents agree. But strong majorities in all three groups say the phrase “working class” fits them perfectly: 68% of Democrats, 67% of Independents and 65% of Republicans.

When asked about the term “Democrat,” 15% of Independents say it fits them perfectly; 12% say the same about “Republican.” Yet roughly 30% of Independents say “conservative” describes them perfectly as do 52% of Republicans and 22% of Democrats. Even Democrats are hesitant to adopt the “Liberal” label. Only 28% say this describes them perfectly.

How They Describe Themselves			
<i>Would you call yourself...*</i>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%
An environmentalist	33	46	47
Pro-life	47	32	33
A patriot	73	54	56
A business interests supporter	40	32	30
A gay rights supporter	8	22	20
Pro-choice	26	43	37
Conservative	52	22	29
Religious	61	57	49
A women’s movement supporter	29	50	42
Liberal	7	28	20
Republican	72	3	12
A NRA supporter	32	20	28
A union supporter	17	42	27
A civil rights supporter	38	62	49
Democrat	3	73	15
Anti-government	9	8	9
Working class	65	68	67
An Internet enthusiast	24	22	25
Financially well off	20	17	15
Poor	12	19	16

* Percent who say each is a "perfect description" of themselves.

SECTION IV. THE 2000 ELECTIONS

The campaign for the 2000 elections presents both parties with substantial political challenges. In the presidential race, the two Democratic candidates continue to lag behind GOP frontrunner George W. Bush. Vice President Al Gore, in particular, is struggling with an image problem — while most Americans see him as trustworthy, likable and caring, only one-third see Gore as a strong leader. But in face-offs between the two *parties*, the GOP enjoys no comparable edge over the Democratic Party, which has plenty of momentum of its own heading into the congressional elections. Indeed, one-in-five Bush supporters (20%) say they are likely to vote for a Democrat in their House district.

Favorable Views of Bush Widespread

Bush's pool of potential support across the typology speaks to the Texas governor's political strength at this point. Indeed, a majority of voters in *all but two* of the groups say there is at least some chance they would vote for Bush. While Bush enjoys the strongest support among the three Republican-leaning groups — more than 80% in each say there is a chance they would support him — he is popular among the two Independent groups as well. Some 81% of the New Prosperity Independents say there is a chance they would vote for Bush, and nearly two-thirds of the Disaffecteds (65%) say the same.

Notably, majorities in two Democratic-leaning groups also say they would consider a vote for Bush. Some 54% of the New Democrats and 53% of the Socially Conservative Democrats say there is at least some chance they will vote for Bush. Only among the two remaining Democratic groups — the Liberals and the Partisan Poor — does Bush fail to register positively with a majority of voters.

For most other presidential contenders as well, the base of potential support — and their name recognition — varies across the typology groups. Steve Forbes is viewed most favorably by the Staunch Conservatives, with half (51%) saying there is at least some chance they would support him. Some 41% of the New Prosperity Independents and 40% of Moderate Republicans also say they would consider voting for Forbes.

<i>Typology Group</i>	<i>Good/some chance would vote for...*</i>	
	<u>Bush</u> %	<u>Gore</u> %
Staunch Conservatives	94	9
Moderate Republicans	93	33
Populist Republicans	84	30
New Prosperity Independents	81	43
Disaffecteds	65	44
Liberal Democrats	43	87
Socially Conservative Democrats	53	71
New Democrats	54	83
Partisan Poor	40	67

* Based on registered voters.

Notably, Arizona Senator John McCain draws the strongest support from two groups that agree on almost nothing politically — Staunch Conservatives and Liberal Democrats. Some 39% of Staunch Conservatives would consider voting for McCain, while 32% of Liberal Democrats might vote for him. McCain was much less well known this summer across most other typology groups, although he tends to be viewed favorably by those who have heard of him.

Indeed, while Steve Forbes has wider name-recognition, McCain enjoys more widespread appeal among voters who are familiar with both candidates — especially among Independents and Democrats. Fully 61% of the New Prosperity Independents would consider voting for McCain, for example, while less than half (49%) say the same about Forbes. Another GOP contender, Gary Bauer, is known by only one-in-five voters (22%).

McCain, Bradley Support		
<i>Typology Group</i>	<i>Good/some chance would vote for...*</i>	
	<u>McCain</u>	<u>Bradley</u>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Staunch Conservatives	39	31
Moderate Republicans	24	31
Populist Republicans	17	24
New Prosperity Independents	30	38
Disaffecteds	16	26
Liberal Democrats	32	59
Socially Conservative Democrats	17	34
New Democrats	17	43
Partisan Poor	7	25

* Based on registered voters.

On the Democratic side, Bradley's biggest challenge is also familiarity. Among voters who are familiar with both Bradley and Gore, the Democratic-leaning groups tend to like Gore better, while the Republican and Independent groups prefer Bradley. Indeed, 31% of Staunch Conservatives have heard of Bradley and would consider voting for him, while just 9% say the same about Gore.

Reform Party Potentials

Patrick Buchanan and Minnesota Governor Jesse Ventura are both fairly well known, with more than 80% of voters saying they have heard of each. Among voters who were able to rate both, Buchanan was viewed — at least before his withdrawal from the GOP — more favorably by Republican groups, while Ventura rates slightly better among Independent groups. For example, 44% of Staunch Conservatives say they would consider a vote for Buchanan, while just 32% say the same about Ventura. Among the New Prosperity Independents, on the other hand, one-third (32%) would consider voting for Ventura, while 26% say they might vote for Buchanan.

Overall, Buchanan and Ventura draw slightly more potential support from young voters, especially young men. Fully 47% of men under 30 say they would consider voting for Buchanan, for example, compared to 32% of all voters.

The Bush Coalition

Although Bush's lead in two-way matchups with Gore has fallen in some recent polls, Bush's consistent advantage throughout the past year underscores an image problem that continues to burden the vice president. In the July survey of nearly 3,000 registered voters, Bush led Gore by a 53%-41% margin. A short follow-up survey of 1,100 of these same voters in October found little change, with Bush ahead 54%-39%.

Bush's advantage stems in part from his strong support among Independents, coupled with defections among sizeable minorities in several of the Democratic groups. Bush not only draws solid support (91%) from Republicans and Republican-leaning voters, but he is favored by 21% of Democrats and Democratic-leaning voters. In contrast, Gore draws support from 75% of voters aligned with his party and just 6% of those who are Republican or Republican-leaning.

Notably, the Democratic defectors give different reasons than the Republican voters for supporting Bush over Gore. Among the Republicans, the top reason for *not* liking Gore is his stand on issues (43%), followed by his leadership ability (23%) and personality (20%). Among the Democratic voters who defect to Bush, the top reason for not liking Gore is his personality (32%), followed by his stand on issues (25%) and leadership ability (25%).

In the typology, Bush draws nearly unanimous support from voters in each of the three Republican-leaning groups: the Populist Republicans (87% say they would vote for Bush), the Moderate Republicans (88%) and the Staunch Conservatives (96%). While majorities in the four Democratic-leaning groups all support Gore, these voters do not deliver the overwhelming numbers the Republican-leaning groups give to Bush. Indeed, four-in-ten (42%) Bush supporters in the two-way matchup with Gore come from one of the Independent or Democratic-leaning groups.

Bush-Gore Choice and the Typology*

<i>Typology Group</i>	Don't		
	<u>Bush</u> %	<u>Gore</u> %	<u>Know</u> %
Staunch Conservatives	96	2	2=100
Moderate Republicans	88	8	4=100
Populist Republicans	87	7	6=100
New Prosperity Independents	67	24	9=100
Disaffecteds	56	31	13=100
Liberal Democrats	14	82	4=100
Socially Conservative Democrats	29	66	5=100
New Democrats	22	74	4=100
Partisan Poor	17	78	5=100

*Based on registered voters.

While nearly three-in-four New Democrats (74%) support Gore, another 22% say they are inclined to vote for Bush. The Socially Conservative Democrats are even less enthusiastic about their party's front-runner. Two-thirds (66%) say they will support Gore, 29% would vote for Bush. Equally important, Bush bests Gore within both of the Independent groups. More than half (56%) of the Disaffecteds and two-thirds (67%) of the New Prosperity Independents are Bush supporters.

Gore's strongest support comes from the Liberals — 82% say they would vote for the vice president. Among the Partisan Poor, 78% support Gore.

Gore's Leadership Problem

So far, Gore fails to draw overwhelming support even among those who voted for Clinton three years ago. This is particularly evident among swing voters. Among Independents who voted for Clinton in the last election, for example, nearly four-in-ten (38%) say they would now vote for Bush over Gore. Some 30% of young voters who supported Clinton in 1996 say they'll vote for Bush.

Groups that have traditionally given the Democrats greater support also show signs of defection. More than one-in-four women (28%) who voted for Clinton in 1992 say they would choose Bush over Gore. Nearly as many Hispanic voters who previously supported Clinton say the same (25%). Among blacks who supported Clinton, Gore does slightly better — just 15% say they would support Bush.

The big problem for Gore at this point lies with his image as a leader. Fully two-thirds of Americans (68%) say Bush is a "strong leader" — more than twice as many as describe Gore the same way (33%). Gore is also seen less than Bush as someone with new ideas or as personally likeable. The vice president has a slight edge over Bush as someone who cares about people.

	Describes...	
	<u>Bush</u> %	<u>Gore</u> %
A strong leader	68	33
Has new ideas	55	40
Personally likeable	74	63
Cares about people	54	60
Trustworthy	63	59

Indeed, voters across nearly all typology groups view Bush as a stronger leader than Gore — more voters describe Bush as a strong leader than Gore in every group except the Partisan Poor. The disparate views of the two front-runners' leadership skills are especially noteworthy among the Independent groups, with more than two-thirds saying Bush is a strong leader and less than half as many saying the same about Gore.

Many voters also question Gore's strength when it comes to having new ideas. Within the Republican-leaning and Independent groups, Bush is more widely seen as a candidate with new ideas, although Democratic groups give slightly more credit to Gore than Bush on this question.

Support for Gore and Bush within the typology groups has been relatively stable throughout the past several months. A follow-up interview to the main July survey, conducted with more than 1,000 voters in October, found little movement in the two-way matchup.

Bradley Comes As Close

Although Democratic voters prefer Gore over Bradley as their party's nominee, Bradley does as least as well as Gore in a possible two-way matchup against Bush. Overall, voters prefer Bush over Bradley by a 54%-41% margin. That compares with a 54%-39% margin for Bush vs. Gore.

Although Bush now leads both Bradley and Gore across nearly every major demographic group, women divide much more narrowly between Bush and Gore than between Bush and Bradley. In a matchup with Gore, Bush leads by only 5 percentage points among women, with a notable 27-point edge among men. In a matchup with Bradley, however, Bush benefits from sizeable leads among both women (10 percentage points) and men (17 points).

Among Democratic voters, Bradley draws slightly less support than Gore does in two-way matchup against Bush (71% vs. 78%). But Bradley does slightly better among Independents (37% vs. 31%). Bradley also draws more support than Gore in the East (43% vs. 35%).

<i>Typology Group</i>	<i>Strong leader?</i>		<i>New ideas?</i>	
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>
	%	%	%	%
Staunch Conservatives	84	8	69	20
Moderate Republicans	87	20	73	25
Populist Republicans	84	12	71	23
New Prosperity Independents	79	22	48	36
Disaffecteds	68	27	59	36
Liberal Democrats	51	48	39	51
Socially Conservative Democrats	58	49	47	58
New Democrats	63	43	45	53
Partisan Poor	51	62	46	63

	<i>Vote Preference*</i>		<u>Bush Advantage</u>
	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	
	%	%	
Men	34	61	+27
Women	44	49	+5
	<u>Bradley</u>	<u>Bush</u>	
	%	%	
Men	39	56	+17
Women	42	52	+10

* Based on registered voters.

The potential for Bradley to do slightly better than Gore among Independent voters is underscored by the swing typology groups. For example, in a two-way matchup against Bush, Bradley draws roughly one-third of the vote from the Disaffecteds (34%) and the New Prosperity Independents (32%). This compares with lower support if Gore is the Democratic nominee — drawing 24% of the vote among Disaffecteds, and 22% among the New Prosperity Independents.

The Good News for Gore?

Perhaps the best news for Gore is that so far, few Americans have begun to focus closely on the next presidential election. Just one-in-ten (10%) say they are following news about the campaign very closely. More than half (55%) say they are not following campaign news closely. Interest in the campaign is higher among men than women (14% vs. 6% following very closely) and among senior citizens (17%).

Asked who is most likely to *win* the presidency, if the candidates are Gore and Bush, 70% of Americans pick Bush. Notably, even half (50%) of Democrats think Bush would win an election against Gore. But predictions this early do not necessarily have a strong track record. For example, an October 1991 poll — also conducted more than a year before the upcoming presidential election — found 76% of Americans predicting then-President George Bush would be re-elected in 1992.

Bradley Independents*		
	New Prosperity	
	<u>Independents</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>
<i>Vote preference...</i>	%	%
Gore	22	24
Bush	69	63
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100
Bradley	32	34
Bush	58	57
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100

* Based on registered voters.

SECTION V. THE CLINTON LEGACY AND THE NEXT PRESIDENT

Clinton Fatigue

Despite strong approval for Clinton's handling of his job as president, weariness with the problems associated with the Clinton administration remains high. Seven-in-ten Americans say they are tired of the problems associated with the administration, and fewer than one-third of Americans wish that Clinton could run for a third term.

Across the voter typology, frustration with the administration is predictably higher among the Republican-leaning groups (more than 80% of Staunch Conservatives, Moderate Republicans and Populist Republicans are tired of the administration's problems) than among Democratic groups (just under 60% of Liberal Democrats, Socially Conservative Democrats, New Democrats, and the Partisan Poor agree). Opinion among the Independent groups is in between, with roughly 70% of New Prosperity Independents and the Disaffecteds expressing weariness with the administration's problems.

Clinton Fatigue by Typology Groups

	<i>Tired of problems with Clinton Administration</i>		
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
Staunch Conservatives	95	5	0=100
Moderate Republicans	86	12	2=100
Populist Republicans	86	13	1=100
New Prosperity Independents	73	25	2=100
Disaffecteds	68	27	5=100
Liberal Democrats	56	43	1=100
Socially Conservative Democrats	59	38	3=100
New Democrats	58	39	3=100
Partisan Poor	59	37	4=100

Voters in the Liberal Democrat and New Democrat groups who express fatigue with the Clinton administration nonetheless support Gore by a nearly three-to-one margin. In contrast, Socially Conservative Democrats who are tired of the administration's problems are more divided — just 53% would vote for Gore, while fully 44% who express Clinton fatigue support Bush.

More generally, Gore's ties to the Clinton administration bother Republican loyalists more than Democratic defectors. A majority (57%) of Republican voters who oppose Gore cite his ties to the Clinton administration as the main reason why they

don't support the vice president, while 34% cite his personality and leadership abilities. In contrast, only 31% of Democrats and Democratic-leaning voters who don't support Gore say it is because of

Impact of Clinton Fatigue on Democrats*

<i>2000 Vote...</i>	<i>Liberal Democrats</i>		<i>Socially Conservative Democrats</i>		<i>New Democrats</i>	
	<u>Fatigued</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>Fatigued</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>Fatigued</u>	<u>Not</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Gore	79	91	53	80	70	76
Bush	18	3	44	19	25	23
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(n=98)	(n=77)	(n=118)	(n=82)	(n=99)	(n=72)

* Based on registered voters.

his ties to the administration — fully 58% attribute their opposition to Gore's personality and leadership ability.

Clinton's Legacy

Despite weariness with the administration's problems, opinion on the legacy of the Clinton presidency is slightly more positive now than at the beginning of the year. A majority of Americans (56%) say the accomplishments of the administration will outweigh its failures, up from 50% in January 1999, while 38% say its failures will outweigh its accomplishments. In contrast, Americans were somewhat more mixed in their view of the Reagan

	<i>Clinton</i> <u>Aug 1999</u> %	<i>Reagan</i> <u>May 1987</u> %
Accomplishments outweigh failures	56	46
Failures outweigh accomplishments	38	41
Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100

administration near the end of his term: 46% predicted that the accomplishments of the Reagan administration would outweigh its failures, and 41% said the opposite.

Among Republican groups, Staunch Conservatives in particular are critical of the Clinton presidency — 83% believe that the administration's failures will outweigh its accomplishments. About half of Populist Republicans and Moderate Republicans agree, with less than 30% in the Democratic groups saying the same. The Partisan Poor are among the most positive about Clinton's term in office — 65% wish that he could run for a third term.

Looking Back on Impeachment

A majority (63%) of Americans say Clinton made the right decision to stay in office during the investigation of his relationship with Monica Lewinsky: 34% say he should have resigned. The public's feelings about the House of Representative's decision to impeach the president are somewhat more mixed, however, with just over half (55%) saying the House shouldn't have tried and impeached the president. Some 41% think the House was right to impeach.

Staunch Conservatives again stand out as the group most critical of President Clinton: eight-in-ten (82%) think he should have resigned and 80% say it was correct to impeach him. Just over half of Moderate Republicans and Populist Republicans agree that Clinton should have resigned, while more than 60% think it was right to impeach. Among the Democratic groups, most say Clinton was right to stay in office and that the House was wrong to impeach him.

Presidential Qualities

Little has changed in the past four years in what Americans believe are important qualities in a president. Most people (78%) still agree that sound judgment in a crisis is an absolutely essential quality in a president, more than any other characteristic tested. Smaller majorities identify high ethical standards, compassion for the average citizen and saying what one believes as essential. Just half think that having consistent policy positions is important, while 46% think that forcefulness and decisiveness are necessary.

Today, 38% say experience in public office is very important, up significantly from 30% who said this in 1995. Slightly more Americans today also think experience in Washington is essential (27% up from 21%). The number of people who believe that party loyalty is critical has also increased to 33%, up from 25% in 1995. One-third of the public considers the willingness to compromise to be essential.

	<i>Absolutely Essential</i>	
	<u>1995</u>	<u>1999</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Sound judgment	76	78
High ethical standards	67	63
Compassion	64	63
Saying what one believes	59	57
Consistent positions	51	50
Forcefulness & decisiveness	50	46
Experience in public office	30	38
Willingness to compromise	34	33
Party loyalty	25	33
Experience in Washington	21	27

Personal integrity is particularly important to voters supporting Bush. Seven-in-ten Bush supporters (71%) say that high ethical standards are a necessary presidential quality, while 60% say it is very important for a president to say what he or she believes, even if it is unpopular. Just over half of those supporting Gore believe either quality is essential. On the other hand, more Gore supporters than Bush supporters think it is essential for a president to have compassion for the average citizen (67% vs. 59%) and be willing to compromise (37% vs. 29%).

Sound judgment in a crisis is considered the most important quality by all the typology groups except the Partisan Poor, 76% of whom say compassion for average citizens is essential. Only 44% of Staunch Conservatives say compassion is essential. Among Republican groups, having high ethical standards is the second most widely cited important quality, while Liberal Democrats, Socially Conservative Democrats and New Democrats choose compassion second.

Important Presidential Qualities by Typology Group

	Staunch Conservs %	Moderate Reps %	Populist Reps %	New Prosperity Indeps %	Disaf- fecteds %	Liberal Dems %	Socially Conserv Dems %	New Dems %	Partisan Poor %
Sound judgment	85	81	78	82	82	79	82	77	64
High ethical standards	84	81	75	61	67	46	58	56	53
Compassion	44	62	67	53	67	66	70	61	76

Presidential Qualities and the 2000 Vote

The personal characteristics voters want to see in a president are linked to candidate preferences. Those who say that high ethical standards are essential are more likely to say they would consider voting for Bush than are those who do not, and they are less likely to support either Gore or Bradley.

In contrast, registered voters who think compassion is an essential presidential quality are stronger supporters of both Gore and Bradley than are those who do not think it is important. Bush's support is stronger among those who think that compassion is not necessary. A willingness to compromise is correlated with greater support for both Gore and Bradley.

Party loyalty has a particularly noticeable effect among Democratic voters. Among those who say loyalty is essential, fully 80% would consider a vote for Gore, while just 50% might vote for Bradley.

Presidential Qualities and Voter Support

	<i>Good/some chance would vote for...*</i>		
	<u>Bush</u> %	<u>Gore</u> %	<u>Bradley</u> %
<i>High ethical standards...</i>			
Essential	74	45	48
Not essential	61	66	61
<i>Compassion for citizens...</i>			
Essential	67	56	55
Not essential	75	45	48
<i>Willingness to compromise...</i>			
Essential	67	59	57
Not essential	72	48	50

* Based on registered voters who have heard of each.

Can the President Make a Difference?

A majority of Americans believe that the person who is elected president can make a difference in dealing with a variety of issues confronting the nation today. Roughly 60% say the president can have an impact on such national problems as violence, racial and ethnic tensions, and low moral and ethical standards. However, the public is less clear on how much the president can do about the

Problems the President Can Fix

	1995 %	1999 %
<i>Think the president can deal with...</i>		
Low moral standards	54	60
Violence in society	65	58
Racial/ethnic tension	54	58
Family problems	34	39

problems facing the nation's families — just 39% say the president can make a difference with such issues as families not staying together and children born out of wedlock, with 56% saying that the person who is elected president can make no difference on these problems.

Since 1995, there has been a slight increase in the number of people who say the president can make a difference on family problems (39% up from 34%) and low moral and ethical standards (60% up from 54%), but the number who say that the president can have an impact on the problem of violence in society has dropped to 58% from 65% in 1995.

More Republicans than either Democrats or Independents say the president can make a difference on moral and ethical standards and on family problems. However, there is little difference in opinion between the parties on the ability of the president to have an influence on ethnic and racial problems and violence in our society.

The President as Role Model

More Americans than in 1995 think the president can address problems with morals and ethics by serving as a role model. Nearly four-in-ten (38%) believe the president can best deal with these issues by serving as a role model, up from 25% four years ago. Just one-in-ten think the president can accomplish more by proposing policy solutions (11%) or drawing national attention to these problems (9%).

Similarly, more Americans believe the president can best address problems facing the nation’s families by serving as a role model than did four years ago — 16% today compared to 9% in 1995 — although most still say that who is elected president makes no difference with these problems (61%).

Republicans in particular see the president as a role model for the country; 56% say this is the way to make the biggest difference on low ethical and moral standards, while 27% say the same about problems facing today's families. In contrast, 28% of Democrats and 33% of Independents say the president can best deal with low moral standards as a role model, and just one-in-ten say the same of family problems (11% and 12%, respectively).

The Role Model President		
	<u>1995</u>	<u>1999</u>
	%	%
<i>President can best deal with low morals/ethics by...</i>		
Serving as a role model	25	38
Proposing policies	18	11
Drawing attention	10	9
Don't know how	1	2
Can't have effect	<u>46</u>	<u>40</u>
	100	100
<i>President can best deal with family problems by...</i>		
Serving as a role model	9	16
Proposing policies	18	15
Drawing attention	6	7
Don't know how	1	1
Can't have effect	<u>66</u>	<u>61</u>
	100	100

SECTION VI. ISSUES

Morality Top Concern, Social Security Top Priority

Concerns about the moral climate in this country now top the list of national problems. Fully 35% of the public cites moral concerns — ranging from lack of family values to teen violence — when asked in an open-ended format to name the most important problem facing the nation today. Taken together, these worries overwhelm all other issues including the economy, health care and education.

Moral concerns cut across the political spectrum and can be found within each typology group. However, policy *priorities* are much more varied. When asked what one issue the next president should focus on, differences emerge both across and within the major party coalitions.

Overall, the Republican-oriented groups place more emphasis on morality than do the Democrats. The Democrats place higher priority on health care.

Morality is the top priority for Staunch Conservatives and Populists. This issue is given less weight by Moderate Republicans, who emphasize Social Security and Medicare, as well as education. Staunch Conservatives are the only group to give taxes top priority status.

Presidential Priorities Define Typology Groups*	
<i>Staunch Conservatives</i>	Morality (46%) Taxes (34%)
<i>Moderate Republicans</i>	Social Security (41%) Education (30%)
<i>Populist Republicans</i>	Morality (39%) Social Security (30%)
<i>New Prosperity Indeps.</i>	Education (36%) Economy (31%)
<i>Disaffecteds</i>	Social Security (39%) Health Care (32%)
<i>Liberal Democrats</i>	Education (45%) Health Care (42%)
<i>Socially Conserv. Dems.</i>	Social Security (49%) Health Care (33%)
<i>New Democrats</i>	Social Security (41%) Education (33%)
<i>Partisan Poor</i>	Social Security (40%) Poverty (32%)

* First and second priority combined.

The financial stability of Social Security and Medicare is the top concern of three of the four Democratically-oriented groups. Among the Democratic groups, only the Liberal Democrats place less emphasis on Social Security and Medicare, focusing instead on education and health care.

The two centrist groups in the typology do not share the same policy priorities. The New Prosperity Independents give the highest priority to education. They would also like to see the president focus on the economy. The Disaffecteds make Social Security and Medicare their top priority; health care comes in second.

Specific Policy Proposals

In addition to addressing general policy priorities, the poll tested several specific issues and proposals. The public expresses very clear preferences on several of the issues and divides more evenly on others. The series highlights important schisms within the major party coalitions and finds the Democratic Party groups more united overall than the Republicans.

Crime: It remains one of the public’s top concerns, but Americans are deeply divided over approaches to dealing with this issue. Overall, a majority (56%) favor restricting the sale of handguns. Support for gun control varies widely within the Republican Party. Only 28% of Staunch Conservatives favor restricting handgun sales, compared to 60% of Populist Republicans and 63% of Moderate Republicans. Democrats are more united on this issue, although Socially Conservative Democrats and the Partisan Poor are less enthusiastic about restrictions — 51% and 54%, respectively, favor them.

	Staunch	Moderate	Populist
<i>Restricting handgun sales...</i>	<u>Cons</u>	<u>Reps</u>	<u>Reps</u>
Favor	28	63	60
Oppose	69	37	37
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100

New Prosperity Independents are strongly in favor of gun control (66% favor restrictions on handgun sales), while Disaffecteds are more evenly divided (48% favor, 51% oppose).

Republicans are more unified on the issue of how juvenile offenders should be treated. Overwhelming majorities of Staunch Conservatives (87%), Moderate Republicans (81%) and Populists (77%) favor laws that would result in more juvenile offenders aged 14 and over being tried as adults. Most Democrats share this point of view with the exception of Liberal Democrats. Roughly seven-in-ten Socially Conservative Democrats, New Democrats and Partisan Poor favor tougher laws for juveniles. Only 55% of Liberals do. Both Independent groups strongly favor these types of laws.

Education: Most Americans (57%) favor federal funding for vouchers to help low- and middle-income parents send their children to private and parochial schools. While the public is divided on this issue, there is little variance across the typology groups. Roughly six-in-ten Staunch Conservatives, Moderate Republicans and Populists favor vouchers. Roughly 50% of Liberals, Socially Conservative Democrats and New Democrats favor them. The Partisan Poor stand out somewhat on this issue: 62% favor federal funding for vouchers.

The issue of “English only” in the classroom is much more divisive — both across and within party groups. Overall 49% of the public favors doing away with bilingual education and requiring that all public school students are taught in English only. This policy proposal is most popular among Staunch Conservatives — fully 80% favor such an approach. Only 53% of Moderate Republicans and even fewer Populists (43%) favor doing away with bilingual education. Democrats are also divided on the issue. Socially Conservative Democrats are most supportive of this proposal (58% favor). Liberals are least enthusiastic — 29% are in favor. New Democrats and the Partisan Poor fall in between these two extremes, but on balance oppose an English-only requirement.

Health Care: A strong majority of Americans now favor the creation of federal government standards to protect the rights of patients in HMOs and managed health-care plans. Only 30% say this would get the government too involved in health care. Support for such standards has increased significantly in the last year. Overall, 64% of Americans want the government to enact such standards, up 16 percentage points since September 1998. Republican support for a so-called patients’ bill of rights has increased 14 percentage points in the last year, from 36% in 1998 to the current 50%. Support among Independents has increased from 44% to 65% this year. Among Democrats, the percentage has gone from 63% to 73%.

	<i>Republican</i>		<i>Democrat</i>		<i>Independent</i>	
	<u>'98</u>	<u>'99</u>	<u>'98</u>	<u>'99</u>	<u>'98</u>	<u>'99</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Create govt. standards	36	50	63	73	44	65
Too much govt.	57	44	32	21	46	29
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Overwhelming majorities of Liberals, Partisan Poor and Disaffecteds want government standards for HMOs and managed health-care plans, at 80%, 77%, and 70%, respectively. Staunch Conservatives are the only typology group in which a *minority* favor such standards; only 33% support national standards.

Fully eight-in-ten Americans (82%) favor allowing patients to sue insurance companies that deny or delay treatment; almost half (47%) strongly favor this proposal. Although support is generally across-the-board for this measure, Democrats and Independents are somewhat more enthusiastic about it. Fully 53% of Democrats strongly favor the measure as do 48% of Independents, compared to 40% of Republicans.

Disaffecteds, Liberals and the Partisan Poor register the strongest support for allowing patients to sue insurance companies: 59%, 56% and 56%, respectively, again strongly favor this proposal. Only one-third of Staunch Conservatives (32%) strongly favor it.

International Issues: The public is divided on two Clinton foreign policy initiatives tested in the poll. A slim majority (54%) favors using American military troops as peacekeepers in Bosnia and Kosovo. And, on balance, the public opposes giving the president fast-track authority to negotiate international trade deals (49% vs. 44% favor).

Important divisions within the Republican Party emerge on both of these issues. For example, only 29% of Staunch Conservatives favor using American troops as peacekeepers in Bosnia and Kosovo; 69% oppose this. On the other hand, Moderate Republicans overwhelmingly favor the use of U.S. troops — 69% favor, 28% oppose. Populist Republicans come closer to Staunch Conservatives on this issue — 42% favor using U.S. troops as peacekeepers, 55% oppose.

Republicans Divide on International Issues			
	Staunch <u>Cons</u>	Moderate <u>Reps</u>	Populist <u>Reps</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<i>U.S. troops as peacekeepers in Bosnia/Kosovo...</i>			
Favor	29	69	42
Oppose	69	28	55
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Fast-track authority for president...</i>			
Favor	22	43	35
Oppose	76	53	57
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100

Not surprisingly, Democrats are more supportive of this Clinton policy. Roughly six-in-ten favor using U.S. troops as peacekeepers. The Partisan Poor are the least supportive of this — only 51% favor.

On the issue of trade agreements, divisions within the Republican Party are again apparent. Staunch Conservatives are strongly opposed to granting the president fast-track authority: 76% oppose, only 22% favor. Moderate Republicans and Populist Republicans also oppose this proposal; however, their opposition is more muted. Among Moderate Republicans, 53% oppose, 43% favor; among Populists, 57% oppose, 35% favor.

Democratic groups are more united on this issue. Roughly 50% of Liberals, Socially Conservative Democrats and Partisan Poor favor fast track. New Democrats are more likely than any other typology group to endorse the idea — 61% favor.

Taxes: Overall, the public favors a reduction in the capital gains tax. Most Republicans favor such a tax cut; Staunch Conservatives overwhelmingly favor such a tax cut (85%). Populist Republicans are less enthusiastic — 65% favor. New Prosperity Independents are more likely than Populists to favor a capital gains cut. Moderate Republicans fall in between these two extremes.

Roughly half of the Democrats would like to see a cut in the capital gains tax. Socially Conservative Democrats and New Democrats are most in favor of such a tax cut (58% for each group). Even so, fully 51% of the Partisan Poor support a reduction.

Social Security Privatization: Just over half of Americans (57%) have heard about proposals to allow people to put a portion of Social Security taxes into a personal savings account to be used for retirement. Among those who have heard of it, the idea is quite popular. Overall, 70% of those who have heard about this proposal favor it. It receives widespread support from across the political spectrum. At least six-in-ten of each typology group favors the proposal. New Prosperity Independents are the most likely to endorse this idea (78% favor); the Partisan Poor are the least enthusiastic (59% favor).

Minimum Wage: The public overwhelmingly favors raising the minimum wage — 82% favor; 48% strongly. Support for an increase in the minimum wage has remained steady since this question was asked in February 1998. Support is strongest among Democrats: 61% strongly favor raising the minimum wage. Almost half of Independents are strongly in favor of the wage increase compared to about one-third (35%) of Republicans.

Within the Republican Party there are real differences of opinion on this issue. Only 14% of Staunch Conservatives strongly favor an increase in the minimum wage. This compares with 38% of Moderate Republicans and 53% of Populist Republicans.

Abortion: Laws that would require young women to gain the consent of at least one parent before having an abortion are quite popular with the public. Fully 73% of the public favors such a requirement.

Republicans are much more unified on this issue than are Democrats. Roughly eight-in-ten Staunch Conservatives, Moderate Republicans and Populist Republicans favor a parental consent requirement.

Democrats, on the other hand split on this issue. Liberals are evenly divided — 51% favor, 49% oppose. Socially Conservative Democrats overwhelmingly favor parental consent (81%). New Democrats and the Partisan Poor are mostly in favor — 71% for each group.

	Socially			
	Liberal	Conserv	New	Partisan
	<u>Dems</u>	<u>Dems</u>	<u>Dems</u>	<u>Poor</u>
<i>Parental consent laws...</i>	%	%	%	%
Strongly favor	24	55	38	48
Favor	27	27	33	23
Oppose	28	10	11	13
Strongly oppose	21	6	16	13
Don't know	*	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100

Campaign Finance: A majority of the public (56%) favors a ban on soft money — the unlimited campaign contributions that corporations, unions and others can now make to political parties: 29% of the public strongly favors such a ban; 15% strongly oppose it. Support for this measure cuts across party lines — 32% of Republicans, 30% of Independents and 27% of Democrats strongly favor a spending ban. Among typology groups, Liberals express the strongest support for banning soft money, almost half (47%) strongly favor such action.

Cloning: On balance the public is opposed to restrictions on scientific research on human cloning — 57% vs. 39% favor such restrictions. Staunch Conservatives are the most likely to favor restricting this type of research. However, even among this group a narrow majority (51%) opposes such restrictions.

SECTION VII. THE ECONOMY

Reflecting the strong economy of the late 1990s, personal financial attitudes have improved since 1994. On average, Americans report more satisfaction with their financial situation and less financial pressure than five years ago. But averages disguise a more complex picture. The current survey finds that it is mostly upper-income Americans and college graduates who express more financial satisfaction, while less affluent and not as well-educated people report less of a financial crunch than in 1994. Despite both these trends, satisfaction with wage earnings has remained virtually the same except among middle-income people — their wage satisfaction has dropped.

More Satisfaction, Less Pressure

Overall, almost two-thirds of Americans (64%) say they are satisfied with the way things are going for them financially, an eight percentage point gain since 1994. Similarly, nearly seven-in-ten (68%) Americans now say paying bills is generally not a problem for them, up from 63% five years ago. Conversely, about 29% think they often don't have enough money to make ends meet, down seven percentage points from 1994.

Rich More Satisfied, Poor Less Stressed			
	1994	1999	Change
	%	%	
<i>Satisfied with financial situation</i>			
\$50,000+	72	82	+10
\$30,000 - \$49,999	62	64	+2
\$20,000 - \$29,999	50	53	+3
Less than \$20,000	40	40	0
<i>Don't have enough to make ends meet</i>			
\$50,000+	16	13	-3
\$30,000 - \$49,999	27	25	-2
\$20,000 - \$29,999	40	38	-2
Less than \$20,000	60	54	-6

Lower-income Americans have experienced little or no increase in overall financial satisfaction in the last five years. Among those making less than \$20,000, only four-in-ten express financial contentment, with a steady 79% rating their personal financial situation as only fair or poor. There has been, however, a drop from 60% to 54% in the last five years among those in this income bracket who say they often don't have enough money to make ends meet. This reduction in financial pressure is also seen among women, Hispanics and young people.

The more affluent are almost the opposite of lower-income Americans. While those making more than \$50,000 are more fiscally satisfied overall than they were in 1994, they have experienced almost no decrease in financial pressure. For example, among the more wealthy, general financial satisfaction is up 10 percentage points from 1994. Yet despite this boost, there has been relatively little increase in those who say they have no problem paying their bills.

Just Not Enough

Dissatisfaction with wage earnings registers across most income and education levels, with only 39% of Americans saying they earn enough money to lead the kind of life they want. Among the more affluent (a household income of at least \$50,000 per year) there has been no significant change in satisfaction with salary since 1994, and among middle-income (\$30,000 - \$49,999) Americans there has been a significant drop of 8 percentage points, from 44% to 36%. Even four-in-ten (38%) of those making \$75,000 or more think they do not earn enough money to lead the kind of life they want.

Among those with less than a college education, wage satisfaction has changed little over the last five years. Today only 33% in this group say they earn enough to live the kind of life they want. This is down marginally from 35% in 1994.

This group does express slightly more satisfaction with personal finances overall. But only 42% of them rate their current financial situation as excellent or good, reflecting little change from 1994. Indeed, this is well below the 71% of college graduates who rate their financial situation as excellent or good.

Hispanics, Blacks, Women More Satisfied

Hispanics have shown a significant increase in fiscal satisfaction since 1994. Fully 60% say they are financially satisfied, up 15 percent in the last five years. In addition, the number of Hispanics who say paying bills isn't a problem for them also increased 13 percentage points from 1994 to 1999. However, like other segments of the population, fully two-thirds (66%) of Hispanics still think they do not earn enough money to lead the kind of life they want.

Hispanics More Content Than in 1994			
	<u>1994</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>Change</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
<i>Percent satisfied financially...</i>			
Whites	59	67	+8
Blacks	34	43	+9
Hispanics	45	60	+15
Men	59	66	+7
Women	54	61	+7

African-Americans are also somewhat happier with their finances than in 1994: 43% now say they often don't have enough money to make ends meet, down from 55% in 1994. However, only one-fifth of blacks now feel they earn enough money to lead the kind of life they want, compared to 42% of whites. This has changed relatively little since 1994, when 22% of African-Americans felt this way. Overall, 70% of blacks rate their personal financial situation as either fair or poor, compared to 47% of whites, and 51% of Hispanics who do so.

Two-thirds (66%) of men and 61% of women now say they are generally satisfied with the way things are going for them financially — a seven percentage point increase from 1994 for each group. There has also been a substantial increase since 1994 in the number of women saying they have no problem paying their bills, 57% to 65%, respectively. Interestingly, younger women are slightly more content with the amount of money they earn than younger men. The reverse is true with older men and women.

SECTION VIII. OTHER FINDINGS

Amid increased speculation about the political preferences of the growing Hispanic population in the U.S., the current survey suggests this emerging constituency remains largely in the Democratic fold. Indeed, more than four-in-ten Hispanics (46%) consider themselves Democrats (compared to one-third of all Americans), and just 13% identify with the GOP (compared to 25% overall). Among those Hispanics who voted in the 1996 elections, most supported Clinton. And a large majority of Hispanics (72%) continue to approve of Clinton today.

Although Gore lags behind Bush among Americans overall, Hispanics are evenly divided between the two front-running candidates. About half (48%) lean toward Gore, while as many (47%) prefer Bush.

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Hispanic</u> %
<i>Party ID...</i>		
Republican	25	13
Democrat	33	46
Independent	37	35
Rep/Lean Rep	40	29
Dem/Lean Dem	48	60
<i>Vote 2000...*</i>		
Gore/Lean Gore	41	48
Bush/Lean Bush	53	47
<i>Clinton Approval...</i>		
Approve	60	72
Disapprove	32	21
* Total column based on registered voters; Hispanic column based on all adults.		

While the Hispanic vote is becoming a more important factor in several states, nationwide Hispanics are slightly below the national average in voter registration. Fewer than two-thirds of Hispanics (62%) are registered to vote, compared to 73% overall.

Two Strong Democratic Constituencies

The Democratic Party has an even greater edge among two other smaller constituencies — Jewish Americans and Asian-Americans. Jewish Americans are registered in overwhelming numbers (83%) and support the party in large numbers. Three-in-four (75%) align themselves with or lean toward the Democratic Party, and just as many (77%) approve of Clinton's performance in office. What's more, Gore maintains a substantial lead over Bush (69% vs. 28%) among Jewish Americans. (See table on next page.)

Jewish Americans are much more tolerant on social issues than most Americans and express greater satisfaction with their own financial situation.

Asian-Americans also tend to support the Democratic Party and its candidates — more than half (53%) at least lean toward identifying with the party and they support Gore over Bush by nearly a two-to-one margin (60% vs. 32%). But Asian-Americans are registered to vote in extremely low numbers. Just over one-third (36%) say they are registered, compared to 73% overall.

	<u>Registered</u> <u>to vote</u> %
All Americans	73
Jewish	83
Hispanic	62
Asian	36

At the same time, Asian-Americans are substantially more pro-government than the average American. Nearly two-thirds of Asians (65%) believe government regulation of business is needed to protect the public interest, compared to less than half (48%) overall. At the same time, Asian-Americans express less confidence as a group in America's ability to solve its pressing problems.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Young Voters</u> <u>(Under Age 25)</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Party ID</i>					
Republican	25	13	11	9	21
Democrat	33	46	39	33	29
Independent	37	35	43	46	45
Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Republican/Lean Republican	40	29	19	31	38
Democrat/Lean Democrat	48	60	75	53	48
<i>2000 Vote Preference*</i>					
Gore	41	48	69	60	45
Bush	53	47	28	32	51
Don't know/Refused	6	5	3	8	4
<i>Clinton Approval</i>					
Approve	60	72	77	70	67
Disapprove	32	21	12	11	26
Don't know/Refused	8	7	11	19	7
<i>GOP Congressional Approval</i>					
Approve	40	40	28	30	50
Disapprove	44	43	63	44	34
Don't know/Refused	16	17	9	26	16
<i>1996 Presidential Vote</i>					
Clinton	38	39	59	28	18
Dole	20	9	12	4	8
Perot	8	5	1	2	5
Did Not Vote/Other/DK	34	47	28	66	69
<i>1992 Presidential Vote</i>					
Clinton	31	27	55	17	6
Bush	28	17	17	10	5
Perot	6	4	2	2	1
Did Not Vote/Other/DK	35	52	26	71	88
<i>Voter Registration</i>					
Registered	73	62	83	36	46
Not Registered	27	38	17	64	54
	(N=3973)	(N=254)	(N=80)	(N=81)	(N=507)

* Total column based on registered voters; all others based on all adults.

PROFILES OF THE TYPOLOGY GROUPS

STAUNCH CONSERVATIVES

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Enterprisers

10% OF ADULT POPULATION

12% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 72% Republican; 24% Independent, Lean Republican

COMMENTS: As in 1994, this extremely partisan Republican group's politics are driven by a belief in the free enterprise system and social values that reflect a conservative agenda. Dissatisfied with the state of the nation, Staunch Conservatives pay close attention to what is going on in politics and are highly vocal.

DEFINING VALUES: Pro-business, pro-military, pro-life, anti-gay and anti-social welfare with a strong faith in America. Anti-environmental. Self-defined patriot. Distrustful of government. Little concern for the poor. Unsupportive of the women's movement.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>STAUNCH CONSERVATIVES</u>
Key Beliefs:	%	%
Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good.	44	80
The best way to ensure peace is through military strength.	33	65
Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return.	45	71
This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment.	15	71

WHO THEY ARE: Predominately white (95%), male (65%) and older. Married (70%). Extremely satisfied financially (47% make at least \$50,000). Almost two-thirds (63%) are white Protestant.

MEDIA HABITS: Above-average news consumption: Staunch Conservatives listen to radio news shows and read a daily newspaper regularly more than any other group.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Over four-in-ten (44%) trade stocks or bonds in the stock markets. Many (59%) go online.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Nine-in-ten (93%) follow public affairs most or some of the time. Highest voter registration and 90% say they vote always or nearly always. More than half (56%) have sent a letter to their congressional representative.

1996 VOTE: 73% Dole, 6% Clinton, 6% Perot

ISSUE PRIORITIES: Morality and Taxes

MODERATE REPUBLICANS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Upbeats

11% OF GENERAL POPULATION

12% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 76% Republican; 22% Independent, Lean Republican

COMMENTS: Although loyal Republicans, these voters split with other GOP groups in their more positive views toward government and politicians, the environment and even Bill Clinton. These upbeat Moderate Republicans strongly believe America can solve its problems. They take conservative positions on social welfare issues, however.

DEFINING VALUES: Pro-business, pro-military, but also pro-government. Strong environmentalists. Highly religious. Self-defined patriots. Little compassion for poor. More satisfied than Staunch Conservatives with state of the union.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MODERATE REPUBLICANS</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>	%	%
Government often does a better job than people give it credit for.	43	61
This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment.	80	91
We should all be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong.	47	71
Most elected officials care what people like me think.	35	67

WHO THEY ARE: White, relatively well educated and very satisfied financially. Largest percent of Catholics across all groups.

MEDIA HABITS: Average media consumption.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: More than one-in-four (27%) are a parent of a child who plays in an organized sports league. Above average Internet use (58%). Just over two-thirds (68%) exercise regularly.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: High attention to politics. Regular voters who are highly politically knowledgeable.

1996 VOTE: 50% Dole, 19% Clinton, 8% Perot

ISSUE PRIORITIES: Social Security and Education

POPULIST REPUBLICANS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Moralists

9% OF GENERAL POPULATION

10% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 72% Republican; 25% Independent, Lean Republican

COMMENTS: Populist Republicans stand out for their strong religious faith and conservative views on many moral issues. They are less affluent than other GOP groups, however. Many of their social values are similar to other wings of the Republican Party, yet Populist Republicans tend to favor government efforts to help the needy.

DEFINING VALUES: Religious, xenophobic and pro-life. Negative attitudes toward gays and elected officials. Sympathetic toward the poor. Most think corporations have too much power and money. Tend to favor environmental protection. Almost two-thirds are dissatisfied with the state of the nation.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>POPULIST REPUBLICANS</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>	%	%
People in this country should learn to live with less.	40	58
Homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged by society.	44	70
Business corporations make too much profit.	52	75
Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries.	52	76

WHO THEY ARE: Heavily female (60%) and less educated. Fully 42% are white evangelical Protestants.

MEDIA HABITS: Average news consumption.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Greater numbers than any other group attend Bible study or prayer group meetings. Many (58%) do charity work. Only 42% go online.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Average interest in politics and voter turnout, but relatively low political knowledge.

1996 VOTE: 37% Dole, 21% Clinton, 14% Perot

ISSUE PRIORITIES: Morality and Social Security

NEW PROSPERITY INDEPENDENTS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: None

10% OF GENERAL POPULATION

11% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 69% Independent, 21% Republican, 5% Democrat

COMMENTS: Affluent and less religious, this group is basically non-partisan with a slight lean toward the Republican Party. New Prosperity Independents are highly satisfied with the way things are going in the country. A majority approves of Bill Clinton, yet tends to be critical of government. One-third consider themselves Internet enthusiasts. Two-thirds favor having a third major political party in addition to the Democrats and Republicans.

DEFINING VALUES: Pro-business, pro-environment and many are pro-choice. Sympathetic toward immigrants, but not as understanding toward black Americans and the poor. Somewhat critical of government. Tolerant on social issues.

Key Beliefs:	NEW PROSPERITY	
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>INDEPENDENTS</u>
	%	%
Everyone has it in their own power to succeed.	80	93
Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit.	42	65
I'm generally satisfied with the way things are going for me financially.	64	87
Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents.	46	65

WHO THEY ARE: Well educated (38% have a college degree), affluent (almost one-fourth earn at least \$75,000) and young (70% less than age 50). Slightly more men than women (55% to 45%, respectively). Less religious (only 13% go to church weekly).

MEDIA HABITS: Above average news consumption. Some 59% read a daily newspaper regularly. More than 40% go online for news at least once a week.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: More go online than any other group — 75%. Seven-in-ten (71%) exercise regularly. More than one-third (39%) trade stocks and bonds. Slightly more than half have a friend, colleague or family member who is gay.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Politically knowledgeable, but average voter turnout.

1996 VOTE: 28% Clinton, 25% Dole, 16% Perot

ISSUE PRIORITIES: Education and the Economy

THE DISAFFECTEDS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Embittered/The Disaffecteds

9% OF GENERAL POPULATION

10% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 73% Independent, 8% Democrat, 6% Republican

COMMENTS: The Disaffecteds feel completely estranged from both parties. This financially pressured and pessimistic group is not only dissatisfied with the ability of politicians to help improve things, but also has less faith in America in general.

DEFINING VALUES: Distrustful of government, politicians, and business corporations. Favor third major political party. Also, anti-immigrant and intolerant of homosexuality. Very unsatisfied financially.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>DISAFFECTEDS</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>	%	%
Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing, and health care.	44	56
Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside of our control.	15	24
I often don't have enough money to make ends meet.	29	71
Most elected officials don't care what people like me think.	60	77

WHO THEY ARE: Less educated (only 8% have a college degree) and lower-income (73% make less than \$50,000). More than one-quarter (28%) describe themselves as poor. Half are between the ages of 30-49. Second only to Partisan Poor in number of single moms. One-fifth (20%) work in manufacturing.

MEDIA HABITS: One-fifth (20%) regularly watch daytime talk shows like Jerry Springer.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Highest incidence of smokers (41%) among all groups.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Low political knowledge. Among lowest voter turnout rates of all groups, second only to Bystanders.

1996 VOTE: 33% Clinton, 16% Perot, 10% Dole

ISSUE PRIORITIES: Social Security and Health Care

LIBERAL DEMOCRATS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Seculars/60's Democrats

9% OF GENERAL POPULATION

10% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 56% Democrat; 41% Independent, Lean Democrat

COMMENTS: Extremely tolerant on social issues. Champion individual rights and a range of liberal causes. Despite steadfast support for Democratic candidates, many Liberal Democrats prefer to call themselves Independents. Most favor having a third major party.

DEFINING VALUES: Pro-choice and support civil rights, gay rights, and the environment. Critical of big business. Very low expression of religious faith. Most sympathetic of any group to the poor, African-Americans and immigrants. Highly supportive of the women's movement.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>LIBERAL DEMOCRATS</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>	%	%
Public school libraries should be allowed to carry any books they want.	45	84
Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society.	49	88
Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently.	42	70
Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest.	48	71

WHO THEY ARE: Most highly educated group (50% have a college degree). Least religious of all typology groups. One-third never married.

MEDIA HABITS: Average news consumption. More than 40% get news online.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Few live in rural areas. Many attend theater, ballet, opera and do volunteer work for nonprofits. Most (60%) have a gay friend, colleague or family member. Above average Internet use. Almost three-in-four (73%) exercise regularly.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Most politically knowledgeable of all groups. Above average voter turnout.

1996 VOTE: 70% Clinton, 4% Perot, 2% Dole

ISSUE PRIORITIES: Education and Health Care

SOCIALLY CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: New Dealers

13% OF GENERAL POPULATION

14% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 70% Democrat; 27% Independent, Lean Democrat

COMMENTS: This group differs from other Democratic-leaning groups with its conservative views on many social and political issues. Socially Conservative Democrats are less tolerant of immigrants and gays. Almost two-thirds think people should be willing to fight for the country whether it is right or wrong. Nearly three-fourths describe themselves as working class.

DEFINING VALUES: Pro-U.S., yet disenchanted with the government. Intolerant on social issues. Positive attitude toward military. Think big business has too much power and money. Highly religious. Not affluent but satisfied financially.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SOCIALLY CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>	%	%
Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries.	52	70
Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing, and health care.	44	55
We should all be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong.	47	65

WHO THEY ARE: Slightly less educated, older group (27% are women over age 50). Labor union supporters. Higher than average number (62%) are married.

MEDIA HABITS: More watch nightly network news regularly than any other group. Almost six-in-ten (58%) read a daily newspaper regularly.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Many follow pro-sports closely.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Most (80%) say they follow what's going on in government and public affairs. Average voter turnout. Average political knowledge.

1996 VOTE: 63% Clinton, 7% Perot, 6% Dole

ISSUE PRIORITIES: Social Security and Health Care

NEW DEMOCRATS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: New Democrats

9% OF GENERAL POPULATION

10% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 75% Democrat; 21% Independent, Lean Democrat

COMMENTS: Strong faith in President Clinton's platform on a range of social and political issues. They are the most satisfied of any group with the president and the state of the union. New Democrats also include the second largest group of African-Americans.

DEFINING VALUES: Favorable view of government. Pro-business, yet think government regulation is necessary. Concerned about environmental issues and think government should take strong measures in this area. Accepting of gays. Somewhat less sympathetic toward the poor, black Americans and immigrants than Liberal Democrats.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>NEW</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>DEMOCRATS</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit.	42	61
Elected officials in Washington try hard to stay in touch with voters back home.	26	64
Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society.	49	68

WHO THEY ARE: Many are reasonably well educated and fall into the middle-income bracket. Nearly six-in-ten (58%) are women and 21% are black. Numerous are self-described union supporters.

MEDIA HABITS: More than average watch news magazines and cable news like CNN regularly.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Many (55%) volunteer for a charity or non-profit.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Average political knowledge. Average voter turnout.

1996 VOTE: 71% Clinton, 3% Dole, 3% Perot

ISSUE PRIORITIES: Social Security and Education

PARTISAN POOR

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Partisan Poor

9% OF GENERAL POPULATION

11% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 85% Democrat; 12% Independent, Lean Democrat

COMMENTS: Poorest of the ten groups, these voters are very religious, anti-business, and strong supporters of government efforts to help the needy. The Partisan Poor includes the largest group of African-Americans (39%).

DEFINING VALUES: Xenophobic and anti-big business. Disenchanted with government. Think the government should do even more to help the poor. Very religious. Support civil rights and the women's movement.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>PARTISAN</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Religion is a very important part of my life.	75	94
Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently.	42	65
Business corporations make too much profit.	52	73

WHO THEY ARE: Have very low incomes (40% make under \$20,000), and two-thirds (66%) are female. Nearly four-in-ten are African-American and 14% are Hispanic. Not very well educated. Pro-labor union. Largest group of single mothers.

MEDIA HABITS: One-in-four (23%) watch daytime talk shows like Jerry Springer.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Not yet plugged in. Only 32% are online — least out of all groups. Almost half (49%) attend Bible study or prayer group meetings.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Average voter turnout.

1996 VOTE: 70% Clinton, 4% Perot, 3% Dole

ISSUE PRIORITIES: Social Security and Poverty

BYSTANDERS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Bystanders

11% OF GENERAL POPULATION

0% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 54% Independent, 25% Democrat, 10% Republican

COMMENTS: These Americans choose not to participate in politics, or are not eligible to do so (noncitizens).

DEFINING VALUES: Somewhat sympathetic toward poor. Uninterested in what goes on in politics. Rarely vote.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>BYSTANDERS</u>
<u>Key Beliefs:</u>	%	%
Follow what's going on in government and public affairs most/some of the time.	75	34
Did not vote in 1996 Presidential election.	27	90

WHO THEY ARE: Young (49% under 30), less educated and not very religious. Work in manufacturing, construction and restaurant/retail industries.

MEDIA HABITS: Low rates of news consumption. Many watch daytime talk shows like Jerry Springer.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: One-third (33%) smoke cigarettes.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: Are the least interested in politics and have the lowest political knowledge and vocalization.

1996 VOTE: 90% didn't vote.

TABLES

TREND IN PARTY IDENTIFICATION

	----- 1994 -----				----- 1999 -----				Change in Rep
	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Ind</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Ind</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	
Total	29	33	35	3=100	25	33	37	5=100	-4
Sex									
Male	30	27	39	4	28	30	38	4	-2
Female	27	38	31	4	23	35	36	6	-4
Age									
Under 30	30	26	41	3	23	30	43	4	-7
30-49	29	31	36	4	27	32	36	5	-2
50-64	26	37	33	4	21	36	37	6	-5
65+	28	42	26	4	30	36	30	4	+2
Sex and Age									
Men 18-29	32	21	44	3	24	30	42	4	-8
Men 30-49	31	24	41	4	30	29	37	4	-1
Men 50+	28	34	34	4	27	32	37	4	-1
Women 18-29	27	32	38	3	21	31	44	4	-6
Women 30-49	27	38	32	3	25	34	35	6	-2
Women 50+	27	43	26	4	23	40	31	6	-4
Race									
White	32	29	36	3	29	28	39	4	-3
Black	6	66	24	4	5	65	24	6	-1
Hispanic*	18	38	42	2	13	46	35	6	-5
Other	13	36	46	5	14	38	38	10	+1
Education									
College Grad.	36	27	36	1	32	30	34	4	-4
Some College	31	30	36	3	28	32	36	4	-3
High School Grad.	28	34	34	4	24	32	39	5	-4
<H.S. Grad.	19	40	35	6	16	40	38	6	-3
Region									
East	27	33	37	3	22	31	42	5	-5
Midwest	28	31	36	5	26	29	39	6	-2
South	30	35	31	4	27	35	33	5	-3
West	28	31	38	3	26	35	35	4	-2
Community Size									
Large City	24	38	35	3	18	41	35	6	-6
Suburb	34	28	35	3	31	27	38	4	-3
Small City/Town	27	34	35	4	24	33	38	5	-3
Rural Area	29	32	35	4	29	30	36	5	0

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

* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Continued ...

	----- 1994 -----				----- 1999 -----				Change in Rep
	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %	DK %	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %	DK %	
Total	29	33	35	3=100	25	33	37	5=100	-4
Family Income									
\$75,000+	40	23	34	3	33	30	34	3	-7
\$50,000-\$74,999	38	27	33	2	34	33	30	3	-4
\$30,000-\$49,999	31	31	36	2	26	32	38	4	-5
\$20,000-\$29,999	26	36	34	4	22	33	40	5	-4
<\$20,000	20	41	35	4	16	41	38	5	-4
Religious Affiliation									
Total White Protestant	35	27	35	3	34	26	36	4	-1
White Protestant Evangelical	38	28	32	2	37	27	32	4	-1
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	34	26	37	3	31	26	39	4	-3
White Catholic	30	33	32	5	28	30	38	4	-2
Black Protestant Evangelical	7	76	14	3	7	70	19	4	0
Black Prot. Non-Evangelical	3	61	30	6	4	63	26	7	+1
Jewish	14	43	40	3	11	39	43	7	-3
Labor Household									
Yes	23	40	34	3	22	41	32	5	-1
Party ID									
Strong Republican	100	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	-
Not Strong Republican	100	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	-
Lean Republican	-	-	92	8	-	-	94	6	-
Independent	-	-	82	18	-	-	75	25	-
Lean Democrat	-	-	95	5	-	-	92	8	-
Not Strong Democrat	-	100	-	-	-	100	-	-	-
Strong Democrat	-	100	-	-	-	100	-	-	-
Marital/Parent Status									
Married	32	30	34	4	28	30	37	5	-4
Never Married	28	30	40	2	21	33	42	4	-7
Divorced/Separated	20	38	38	4	21	38	36	5	+1
Widowed	24	48	23	5	27	38	27	8	+3
Parent	30	29	37	4	26	32	38	4	-4
1996/2000 Vote Preference									
Clinton/Gore	7	61	29	3	4	61	31	4	-3
Dole/Bush	60	9	29	2	44	13	39	4	-16
Perot	21	24	52	3	-	-	-	-	-
Clinton Approval									
Approve	12	54	31	3	13	47	36	4	+1
Disapprove	47	13	37	3	50	9	36	5	+3
1992/1996 Presidential Vote									
Clinton/Clinton	7	64	27	2	8	59	29	4	+1
Bush/Dole	66	7	25	2	68	5	26	1	+2
Perot	24	19	53	4	28	18	50	4	+4

PROFILE OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES

	<u>Republican</u> %	<u>Democrat</u> %	<u>Independent</u> %
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	53	44	50
Female	47	56	50
<i>Age</i>			
Under 30	20	21	27
30-49	44	40	40
50-64	16	21	19
65+	19	17	13
<i>Sex and Age</i>			
Men 18-29	11	11	14
Men 30-49	24	18	20
Men 50+	16	15	16
Women 18-29	9	10	13
Women 30-49	20	22	20
Women 50+	18	24	16
<i>Race</i>			
White	94	70	86
Black	2	23	8
Hispanic*	5	14	9
Other	3	6	5
<i>Education</i>			
College Grad.	29	21	21
Some College	27	23	23
High School Grad.	34	37	40
<H.S. Grad.	9	18	15
<i>Region</i>			
East	17	19	23
Midwest	24	21	25
South	38	38	32
West	21	22	20
<i>Community Size</i>			
Large City	15	26	20
Suburb	28	19	24
Small City/Town	35	36	37
Rural Area	21	17	18

Reading this Table: This table shows the percentages of each of these three groups — Republicans, Democrats, and Independents — that are male, female, under 30, etc. For example, the first column shows that 53% of all Republicans are men, while 47% are women; the second column shows that 44% of Democrats are men, while 56% are women.

* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Continued ...

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>
	%	%	%
Family Income			
\$75,000+	19	13	13
\$50,000-\$74,999	20	14	12
\$30,000-\$49,999	24	23	24
\$20,000-\$29,999	12	14	16
<\$20,000	12	23	19
Religious Affiliation			
Total White Protestant	62	37	45
White Protestant Evangelical	33	18	20
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	29	19	25
White Catholic	20	17	19
Black Protestant Evangelical	2	13	3
Black Prot. Non-Evangelical	*	6	2
Jewish	1	2	2
Secular	4	5	11
Labor Household			
Yes	14	21	14
Party ID			
Strong Republican	43	--	--
Not Strong Republican	57	--	--
Lean Republican	--	--	37
Independent	--	--	25
Lean Democrat	--	--	38
Not Strong Democrat	--	54	--
Strong Democrat	--	46	--
Marital Status			
Married	59	48	52
Never Married	19	23	25
Divorced/Separated	13	18	15
Widowed	9	10	7
Parental Status			
Parent	38	35	37
Single Mother	4	8	8
2000 Vote Preference			
Gore	6	77	35
Bush	92	20	55
Clinton Approval			
Approve	32	85	59
Disapprove	62	9	31
GOP Congressional Approval			
Approve	67	22	38
Disapprove	23	64	42
1996 Presidential Vote			
Clinton	12	68	30
Dole	55	3	15
Perot	9	4	11
1992 Presidential Vote			
Clinton	7	60	24
Bush	63	8	24
Perot	5	4	8

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE PREFERENCE*

(Based on Registered Voters)

	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Bradley</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	39	54	7=100	41	54	5=100	(1,134)
Sex							
Male	34	61	5	39	56	5	(496)
Female	44	49	7	42	52	6	(638)
Age							
Under 30	44	54	2	46	53	1	(124)
30-49	37	58	5	36	59	5	(502)
50-64	40	50	10	45	46	9	(300)
65+	39	52	9	41	54	5	(199)
Sex and Age							
Men 18-29	33	64	3	37	62	1	(60)
Men 30-49	32	63	5	36	59	5	(209)
Men 50+	36	57	7	42	52	6	(227)
Women 18-29	55	44	1	55	44	1	(64)
Women 30-49	42	53	5	36	60	4	(293)
Women 50+	42	46	12	44	48	8	(272)
Race							
White	33	60	7	35	59	6	(997)
Black	80	15	5	76	22	2	(78)
Education							
College Grad.	41	54	5	45	51	4	(435)
Some College	39	55	6	42	53	5	(314)
H. S. Grad. and Less	38	54	8	38	56	6	(383)
Region							
East	35	60	5	43	51	6	(201)
Midwest	38	54	8	42	53	5	(273)
South	40	54	6	37	59	4	(415)
West	42	50	8	41	51	8	(245)
Community Size							
Large City	53	41	6	50	46	4	(221)
Suburb	38	57	5	41	55	4	(288)
Small City/Town	36	57	7	40	55	5	(377)
Rural Area	30	63	7	31	62	7	(240)
Family Income							
\$75,000+	37	59	4	42	56	2	(221)
\$50,000-\$74,999	35	60	5	37	57	6	(213)
\$30,000-\$49,999	40	56	4	41	56	3	(271)
\$20,000-\$29,999	44	47	9	50	46	4	(138)
<\$20,000	46	46	8	43	53	4	(153)

* Includes leaners. Based on the *re-interview* survey (N=1,134).

Question: Suppose the 2000 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were (Al Gore/Bill Bradley), the Democrat, and George W. Bush, the Republican. Who would you vote for?
As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to (Gore/Bradley), the Democrat or Bush, the Republican?

Continued ...

	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Bradley</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	39	54	7=100	41	54	5=100	(1,134)
Religious Affiliation							
Total White Protestant	27	66	7	30	65	5	(597)
White Protestant Evangelical	25	67	8	23	71	6	(282)
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	29	66	5	36	60	4	(315)
White Catholic	36	57	7	41	53	6	(235)
Secular	44	49	7	47	44	9	(68)
Party ID							
Republican	4	92	4	9	88	3	(349)
Democrat	78	18	4	72	25	3	(360)
Independent	31	59	10	37	55	8	(393)
Strong Republican	1	95	4	6	92	2	(150)
Not Strong Republican	6	91	3	11	85	4	(199)
Lean Republican	7	83	10	15	79	6	(178)
Independent	22	55	23	36	44	20	(89)
Lean Democrat	54	31	5	63	32	5	(158)
Not Strong Democrat	65	30	5	61	35	4	(185)
Strong Democrat	93	5	2	82	16	2	(175)
Martial Status							
Married	35	58	7	36	58	6	(701)
Never Married	48	47	5	50	46	4	(161)
Divorced/Separated	44	49	7	46	48	6	(165)
Widowed	38	53	9	42	54	4	(105)
Parental Status							
Parent	39	56	5	38	58	4	(394)
2000 Presidential Vote Preference							
Gore	100	--	--	79	18	3	(431)
Bush	--	100	--	13	85	2	(625)
Clinton Approval							
Approve	61	33	6	58	37	5	(642)
Disapprove	6	87	7	14	80	6	(424)
GOP Congressional Approval							
Approve	18	77	5	21	76	3	(438)
Disapprove	57	37	6	57	38	5	(571)
1996 Presidential Vote							
Clinton	68	29	3	64	34	2	(512)
Dole	2	93	5	11	86	3	(347)
Perot	21	63	16	28	60	12	(101)
1992 Presidential Vote							
Clinton	71	24	5	66	30	4	(432)
Bush	8	87	5	13	84	3	(436)
Perot	27	57	16	41	48	11	(83)

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TYPOLOGY GROUPS

	Total	Staunch	Moderate	Populist	New	Disaffecteds	Liberal	Socially	New	Partisan	
	<u>%</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Prosperity</u>		<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Conservative</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sex											
Male	48	65	50	40	55	52	47	47	42	34	48
Female	<u>52</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>52</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Age											
Under 30	23	10	23	14	28	20	27	14	23	16	49
30-49	41	40	40	50	42	50	41	38	36	40	36
50-64	19	23	18	18	17	17	20	25	19	22	9
65+	16	26	18	16	12	10	12	21	20	20	6
Sex and Age											
Men 18-29	12	7	13	8	14	12	14	8	12	7	24
Men 30-49	20	27	21	20	24	24	19	21	15	16	18
Men 50+	15	31	15	12	16	15	14	18	16	11	6
Women 18-29	11	3	11	7	14	8	13	7	11	9	25
Women 30-49	21	13	19	31	18	26	22	17	21	24	18
Women 50+	19	19	20	21	13	11	17	27	24	31	9
Race											
White	82	95	94	91	91	85	80	80	71	52	80
Black	12	1	2	6	4	8	11	16	21	39	10
Hispanic*	10	4	8	5	8	8	9	10	15	14	15
Other	5	3	3	2	4	3	7	3	6	8	9
Education											
College Grad.	23	35	31	16	38	8	50	16	23	12	8
Some College	24	29	23	24	26	23	27	21	27	19	20
High School Grad.	37	29	36	43	30	48	18	44	34	46	44
<H.S. Grad.	15	7	9	16	5	19	5	18	15	22	28

* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Continued ...

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TYPOLOGY GROUPS (con't)

	Total	Staunch	Moderate	Populist	New	Disaffecteds	Liberal	Socially	New	Partisan	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Prosperity</u>		<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Conservative</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
<i>Region</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Region											
East	20	15	19	17	25	24	28	15	23	15	21
Midwest	23	24	24	27	23	23	20	28	21	16	26
South	36	36	39	40	28	35	26	39	36	46	32
West	21	25	18	16	24	18	26	18	20	23	21
Community Size											
Large City	21	14	16	14	20	17	30	22	26	26	25
Suburb	23	25	29	25	29	21	24	21	21	16	20
Small City/Town	36	38	32	35	37	36	34	35	39	36	39
Rural Area	19	23	22	24	13	24	12	20	12	19	15
Family Income											
\$75,000+	14	23	24	7	24	3	22	12	16	5	8
\$50,000-\$74,999	15	24	18	16	17	6	16	16	17	7	10
\$30,000-\$49,999	24	23	21	29	26	24	24	28	23	19	18
\$20,000-\$29,999	14	10	11	17	11	23	11	14	13	20	15
<\$20,000	18	6	12	17	8	26	13	15	18	40	29
Religious Affiliation											
Total White Protestant	47	63	57	65	41	51	30	49	38	28	42
White Protestant Evangelical	22	32	31	42	10	25	3	30	16	18	16
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	24	31	26	23	31	26	27	20	22	9	26
White Catholic	18	19	26	16	21	17	18	19	20	14	13
Black Protestant Evangelical	6	*	2	2	1	2	3	9	12	25	5
Black Prot. Non-Evangelical	3	*	*	2	1	3	5	4	5	10	2
Jewish	2	1	1	1	4	*	5	1	3	1	2
Secular	7	4	1	2	14	10	18	3	3	2	15
Labor Household											
Yes	16	14	16	16	14	13	17	25	17	18	10

Continued ...

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TYPOLOGY GROUPS (con't)

	Total	Staunch	Moderate	Populist	New		Liberal	Socially	New	Partisan	
	<u>%</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Prosperity</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
<i>Party ID</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Republican	25	72	76	72	21	6	1	--	--	--	10
Democrat	33	1	--	--	5	8	56	70	75	85	25
Independent	37	24	22	25	69	73	41	27	21	12	54
Strong Republican	11	43	34	28	2	1	--	--	--	--	1
Not Strong Republican	14	29	42	44	19	5	1	--	--	--	9
Lean Republican	15	22	21	22	33	27	3	3	*	*	16
Independent	12	3	3	6	25	36	8	6	5	3	29
Lean Democrat	15	2	--	--	16	23	32	23	20	12	20
Not Strong Democrat	18	1	--	--	5	8	34	38	35	35	18
Strong Democrat	15	--	--	--	*	*	22	32	40	50	7
<i>Marital Status</i>											
Married	53	70	60	59	54	49	46	62	47	41	36
Never Married	22	9	20	16	26	21	33	14	24	21	42
Divorced/Separated	15	11	9	13	14	24	15	14	17	21	16
Widowed	9	10	10	11	4	5	5	9	10	17	6
<i>Parental Status</i>											
Parent	36	34	35	43	35	43	33	33	30	40	37
Single Mother	7	3	3	6	8	11	5	4	7	14	11
<i>2000 Vote Preference</i>											
Gore	41	2	8	7	24	31	82	66	74	78	--
Bush	53	96	88	87	67	56	14	29	22	17	--
<i>Clinton Approval</i>											
Approve	60	16	44	31	55	55	87	81	89	81	60
Disapprove	32	80	48	60	37	33	8	13	7	11	24

Continued ...

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TYPOLOGY GROUPS (con't)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Staunch</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Moderate</u> <u>Republicans</u>	<u>Populist</u> <u>Republicans</u>	<u>New</u> <u>Prosperity</u> <u>Independents</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>Liberal</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Socially</u> <u>Conservative</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>New</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Partisan</u> <u>Poor</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>GOP Congressional Approval</i>											
Approve	40	63	70	52	46	42	20	21	32	19	34
Disapprove	44	30	16	33	40	40	68	65	54	66	31
<i>1996 Presidential Vote</i>											
Clinton	38	6	19	21	28	33	70	63	71	70	4
Dole	20	73	50	37	25	10	2	6	3	3	*
Perot	8	6	8	14	16	16	4	7	3	4	2
<i>1992 Presidential Vote</i>											
Clinton	31	4	9	12	23	25	60	57	60	65	2
Bush	28	76	62	50	32	24	10	12	8	6	3
Perot	6	6	4	9	11	15	4	6	3	5	1

VIEWS ON THE ISSUES BY TYPOLOGY GROUPS

	Total	Staunch Conservatives	Moderate Republicans	Populist Republicans	New Prosperity Independents	Disaffecteds	Liberal Democrats	Socially Conservative Democrats	New Democrats	Partisan Poor	Bystanders
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Restricting sale of handguns</i>											
Favor	56	28	63	60	66	48	78	51	66	54	55
Oppose	42	69	37	37	33	51	20	48	32	45	43
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	*	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Using American troops as peacekeepers in Bosnia/Kosovo</i>											
Favor	54	29	69	42	56	52	64	61	65	51	46
Oppose	43	69	28	55	41	44	35	36	31	46	49
Don't know	3	2	3	3	3	4	1	3	4	3	5
<i>Giving president fast-track authority</i>											
Favor	44	22	43	35	39	38	55	50	61	52	40
Oppose	49	76	53	57	56	54	39	47	35	38	45
Don't know	7	2	4	8	5	8	6	3	4	10	15
<i>Reducing capital gains tax</i>											
Favor	64	85	78	65	70	68	54	58	58	51	55
Oppose	25	10	12	25	22	23	35	34	32	36	24
Don't know	11	5	10	10	8	9	11	8	10	13	21
<i>Requiring abortion consent for minors</i>											
Favor	73	86	86	79	67	76	51	81	71	71	61
Oppose	25	13	14	18	32	19	49	16	27	26	35
Don't know	2	1	0	3	1	5	*	3	2	3	4
<i>Federal funding for vouchers</i>											
Favor	57	63	59	60	53	58	50	55	52	62	59
Oppose	40	34	39	39	43	40	48	42	37	35	36
Don't know	3	3	2	1	4	2	2	3	11	3	5

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

Continued ...

VIEWS ON THE ISSUES BY TYPOLOGY GROUPS (con't)

	Total	Staunch	Moderate	Populist	New		Liberal	Socially	New	Partisan	
	<u>%</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Prosperity</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Ending bilingual education</i>											
Favor	49	80	53	43	44	55	29	58	45	42	38
Oppose	49	18	46	56	54	43	70	40	53	57	59
Don't know	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	3
<i>Trying juvenile offenders as adults</i>											
Favor	73	87	81	77	76	73	55	73	70	70	66
Oppose	24	12	17	17	20	26	43	24	25	27	29
Don't know	3	1	2	6	4	1	2	3	5	3	5
<i>Restricting human cloning research</i>											
Favor	39	46	41	43	42	34	44	36	41	35	34
Oppose	57	51	55	56	54	59	54	63	54	59	61
Don't know	4	3	4	1	4	7	2	1	5	6	5
<i>Increasing the minimum wage</i>											
Favor	82	44	75	84	73	86	96	91	89	89	92
Oppose	16	53	23	15	26	10	4	8	9	11	4
Don't know	2	3	2	1	1	4	*	1	2	0	4
<i>Banning unlimited campaign contributions</i>											
Favor	56	56	51	56	66	56	79	54	53	45	46
Oppose	39	39	43	36	33	38	19	43	43	50	40
Don't know	5	5	6	8	1	6	2	3	4	5	14
<i>Allowing patients to sue insurance companies</i>											
Favor	82	73	81	82	84	86	93	83	83	81	80
Oppose	15	23	16	12	16	12	5	17	15	17	18
Don't know	3	4	3	6	*	2	2	*	2	2	2

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND LIFESTYLES BY TYPOLOGY GROUPS

	Total	Staunch	Moderate	Populist	New		Liberal	Socially	New	Partisan	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Prosperity</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Voter Registration</i>											
Registered	73	92	85	80	79	75	81	83	83	86	0
Not Registered/Don't Know	<u>27</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>100</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Voting Frequency</i>											
Always/Nearly Always	68	90	81	74	72	63	78	78	78	77	0
Part of the Time/Seldom	24	8	18	23	22	32	20	19	19	20	51
Never/Other/Don't Know	8	2	1	3	6	5	2	3	3	3	49
<i>Follow Public Affairs</i>											
Most/Some of the Time	75	93	86	70	77	70	82	80	83	74	34
Now and Then/Hardly At All	25	7	14	29	22	29	18	20	16	26	65
<i>Regularly...</i>											
Read a Newspaper	52	64	52	49	59	46	55	58	54	51	33
Watch Network Nightly News	40	45	42	35	38	38	37	53	46	39	26
Watch News Magazine Shows	35	30	36	34	33	32	35	41	47	41	25
Watch Cable News Networks	30	36	29	27	33	28	36	34	40	30	13
Listen to Call-In Radio Shows	18	35	17	16	22	17	15	13	13	17	12
<i>Goes Online</i>											
Yes	52	59	58	42	75	40	70	44	53	32	46
No	48	41	42	58	25	60	30	56	47	68	54
<i>Majority Party in Congress?</i>											
Correct Answer	55	84	58	44	59	43	70	60	52	53	28
Incorrect Answer/Don't Know	45	16	42	56	41	57	30	40	48	47	72
<i>Is Govt. Spending More than Taking In?</i>											
Correct Answer	59	48	65	52	61	55	68	60	71	59	51
Incorrect Answer/Don't Know	41	52	35	48	39	45	32	40	29	41	49

Continued ...

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND LIFESTYLES BY TYPOLOGY GROUPS (con't)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Staunch</u>	<u>Moderate</u>	<u>Populist</u>	<u>New</u>		<u>Liberal</u>	<u>Socially</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>Partisan</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Prosperity</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Conservative</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Financial Shape</i>											
Excellent/Good	49	68	70	37	72	19	57	59	57	12	35
Fair/Poor	50	30	29	62	28	79	42	41	42	87	65
<i>Do you...</i>											
Exercise Regularly	65	63	68	64	71	66	73	61	63	62	58
Volunteer for Charity or Non-Profit	50	56	55	58	57	36	60	49	55	47	28
Follow College or Pro-Sports Closely	49	52	52	45	53	38	46	54	55	49	42
Attend Theater, Ballet, Opera, etc.	40	41	44	38	47	31	67	38	43	31	22
Attend Bible Study or Prayer Groups	34	40	41	57	15	33	14	36	31	49	24
Trade Stocks and Bonds	25	43	33	26	39	16	26	26	21	13	8
Work With, Lead, or Coach Youth Group	21	21	28	30	20	16	26	16	23	22	10
Watch Daytime Talk Shows	14	2	9	12	9	20	9	13	19	23	23
<i>Description Applies</i>											
Gay Friend/Colleague/Family Member	39	29	34	34	52	33	60	35	41	37	37
Smoke Cigarettes Regularly	24	15	16	26	18	41	18	20	21	31	33
Have Child in Sports League	22	19	27	25	24	21	23	24	27	17	12
Parents Born Outside U.S. or Canada	15	14	12	11	18	11	22	16	20	12	16

ABOUT THE SURVEYS

Results for the main Political Typology Survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 3,973 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period July 14 – September 9, 1999. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. For results based on either Form A (N=1974) or Form B (N=1999), the sampling error is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. For results based on registered voters (N=2993), the sampling error is plus or minus 2 percentage points.

Results for the subsequent Political Typology Re-interview Survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a sample of 1,411 adults who were interviewed for the main Typology Survey. These re-interviews were conducted during the period October 7 – 11, 1999. 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 3 percentage points. For results based on registered voters (N=1134), the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

Results for the Values Update Survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a sample of 985 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period September 28 – October 10, 1999. 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 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 samples for these surveys are random digit samples 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 numbers in the U.S. 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. The use of replicates also insures that the regional distribution of numbers called is appropriate. Again, this works to increase the representativeness of the sample.

For the main Typology Survey, at least ten attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number; for the other surveys, at least five 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 is at home." 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 1998). 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.

METHODOLOGY FOR CREATING THE TYPOLOGY

The 10-group political typology was developed by classifying people on the basis of their political value orientations, partisanship, and political activism.

The typology was developed through a two-step statistical procedure involving factor analysis and cluster analysis. Factor analysis was used to identify survey questions that were most closely associated with underlying value orientations. Based on the factor analysis results, eight value scales were developed, each based on the responses to two or more questions (see description of the values scales in Section I).

Subsequently, cluster analysis was used to classify *individuals* into groups of people who are similar in their partisan and value orientations. One group — the Bystanders — was classified at the outset by their lack of voter registration status and minimal interest in politics. These respondents were not included in the cluster analysis.

For all remaining respondents, several different cluster solutions were evaluated using three criteria: the average within-group variance on the scales, compared to the total sample variance; the between-group variances, based on the variance of the means across groups on the scales; and the size, demographic composition, and political attitudes (based on independent measures that were *not* used to create the clusters) of the various groups. On the basis of these evaluations, the nine-group cluster was chosen.

QUESTIONNAIRES

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
POLITICAL TYPOLOGY SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE**

July 14 – September 9, 1999

T = Total Sample (N = 3973)

A= Form A (N = 1974); B= Form B (N = 1999)

Q.1(T) Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. 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 DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
August, 1999	60	32	8=100
July, 1999	58	31	11=100
June, 1999	55	35	10=100
May, 1999	56	34	10=100
April, 1999	56	38	6=100
March, 1999	62	31	7=100
February, 1999	64	30	6=100
Mid-January, 1999	66	29	5=100
January, 1999	63	30	7=100
Late December, 1998	71	27	2=100
Early December, 1998	61	32	7=100
November, 1998	65	29	6=100
September 21-22, 1998	62	33	5=100
September 19-20, 1998	55	36	9=100
Early September, 1998	61	33	6=100
Late August, 1998	62	32	6=100
Early August, 1998	63	28	9=100
June, 1998	59	32	9=100
May, 1998	62	28	10=100
April, 1998	62	28	10=100
March, 1998	65	26	9=100
Early February, 1998	71	26	3=100
January, 1998	61	30	9=100
November, 1997	58	31	11=100
September, 1997	58	29	13=100
August, 1997	59	32	9=100
June, 1997	54	34	12=100
May, 1997	57	34	9=100
April, 1997	55	34	11=100
February, 1997	60	32	8=100
Early February, 1997	57	30	13=100
January, 1997	59	31	10=100
November, 1996	57	34	9=100
July, 1996	54	38	8=100
June, 1996	54	38	8=100
April, 1996	53	39	8=100
March, 1996	55	38	7=100

Q.1 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
February, 1996	51	39	10=100
January, 1996	50	43	7=100
October, 1995	48	42	10=100
September, 1995	45	42	13=100
August, 1995	44	44	12=100
June, 1995	50	40	10=100
April, 1995	47	43	10=100
March, 1995	44	44	12=100
February, 1995	44	44	12=100
December, 1994	41	47	12=100
November, 1994	48	40	12=100
October, 1994	41	47	12=100
Early October, 1994	38	47	15=100
September, 1994	41	52	7=100
July, 1994	45	46	9=100
June, 1994	42	44	14=100
May, 1994	46	42	12=100
March, 1994	45	42	13=100
January, 1994	51	35	14=100
Early January, 1994	48	35	17=100
December, 1993	48	36	16=100
October, 1993	44	42	14=100
September, 1993	49	35	16=100
Early September, 1993	43	43	14=100
August, 1993	39	46	15=100
May, 1993	39	43	18=100
Early May, 1993	45	37	18=100
April, 1993	49	29	22=100
February, 1993	56	25	19=100

Q.2 (T) Do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
August, 1999	40	44	16=100
July, 1999	36	45	19=100
June, 1999	37	46	17=100
May, 1999	38	44	18=100
March, 1999	38	47	15=100
February, 1999	37	51	12=100
Mid-January, 1999	36	51	13=100
January, 1999	38	50	12=100
Late December, 1998	39	56	5=100
Early December, 1998	38	49	13=100
November, 1998	41	48	11=100
September 21-22, 1998	44	44	12=100

Q.2 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
September 19-20, 1998	46	41	13=100
Early September, 1998	44	37	19=100
Late August, 1998	48	36	16=100
Early August, 1998	43	37	20=100
June, 1998	42	38	20=100
May, 1998	40	41	19=100
April, 1998	41	40	19=100
March, 1998	43	39	18=100
January, 1998	43	41	16=100
November, 1997	41	43	16=100
August, 1997	42	44	14=100
June, 1997	33	50	17=100
May, 1997	40	44	16=100
April, 1997	40	44	16=100
February, 1997	44	42	14=100
January, 1997	38	47	15=100
November, 1996	40	43	17=100
July, 1996	38	48	14=100
June, 1996	36	50	14=100
April, 1996	39	46	15=100
March, 1996	35	51	14=100
February, 1996	33	53	14=100
January, 1996	36	54	10=100
October, 1995	36	51	13=100
September, 1995	36	50	14=100
August, 1995	38	45	17=100
June, 1995	41	45	14=100
April, 1995	44	43	13=100
March 1995	43	39	18=100
December, 1994	52	28	20=100

Q.3(T) Next, I'm going to read you a list of some people who have been in the news lately. Not everyone will have heard of them. For each one that I name, please tell me whether or not you have heard of this person. (First, **(INSERT NAME; ROTATE ITEMS)**, have you heard of this person or not? **(IF YES, ASK Q.4; IF NO, DK, SKIP TO NEXT ITEM.)** [NOTE: ASK ITEMS A-I, ITEMS J-K, AND ITEMS L AND M IN BLOCKS; ROTATE BLOCKS, ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS WITHIN BLOCKS]

Q.4(T) How much of a chance is there that you would vote for **(INSERT NAME)** if (he/she) is a candidate for president in 2000 — is there a good chance, some chance, or no chance?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2993]:

Based on Those Who Have Heard

	<u>Have</u>	<u>Have not</u>	<u>DK/</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Som</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	<u>Heard</u>	<u>Heard</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>(N)</u>
a. Dan Quayle	97	3	*=100	10	27	60	3=100		(2913)
June, 1999	95	5	*=100	9	28	61	2=100		
May, 1999	97	3	0=100	9	29	58	4=100		
February, 1999	97	3	0=100	9	33	54	4=100		
b. George W. Bush	98	2	*=100	40	30	27	3=100		(2936)
June, 1999	96	4	*=100	34	35	27	4=100		
May, 1999	95	4	1=100	34	34	28	4=100		
February, 1999	95	5	*=100	32	36	27	5=100		

Q.3/Q.4 CONTINUED ...

		<i>Based on Those Who Have Heard</i>						
		Have	Have not	DK/	Good	Some	DK/	
		<u>Heard</u>	<u>Heard</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
								<u>(N)</u>
c.	Elizabeth Dole	92	8	*=100	20	38	40	2=100 (2786)
	June, 1999	92	8	*=100	19	42	36	3=100
	May, 1999	93	7	*=100	20	43	33	4=100
	February, 1999	91	9	*=100	26	38	33	3=100
d.	Steve Forbes	72	27	1=100	11	34	50	5=100 (2255)
	June, 1999	75	25	*=100	9	31	53	7=100
	May, 1999	70	29	1=100	9	34	51	6=100
	February, 1999	71	29	*=100	8	35	52	5=100
e.	Patrick Buchanan	86	14	*=100	7	25	63	5=100 (2613)
	June, 1999	84	15	1=100	4	25	65	6=100
	May, 1999	85	15	*=100	5	29	60	6=100
	February, 1999	83	15	2=100	6	26	63	5=100
f.	John McCain	40	59	1=100	17	38	37	8=100 (1270)
	June, 1999	43	56	1=100	15	40	36	9=100
	May, 1999	36	63	1=100	16	37	39	8=100
	February, 1999	32	67	1=100	16	42	35	7=100
g.	Gary Bauer	22	77	1=100	8	21	63	8=100 (703)
	June, 1999	20	79	1=100	9	25	55	11=100
	May, 1999	19	80	1=100	10	17	60	13=100
	February, 1999	18	81	1=100	12	26	51	11=100
h.	Lamar Alexander	48	51	1=100	4	26	63	7=100 (1550)
	June, 1999	52	47	1=100	3	26	63	8=100
	May, 1999	48	51	1=100	6	27	59	8=100
	February, 1999	42	57	1=100	6	27	60	7=100
i.	Orrin Hatch	56	43	1=100	7	28	58	7=100 (1788)
j.	Al Gore	98	2	*=100	25	28	44	3=100 (2938)
	June, 1999	98	2	*=100	22	32	43	3=100
	May, 1999	97	3	0=100	20	27	49	4=100
	February, 1999	98	2	0=100	22	30	45	3=100
k.	Bill Bradley	64	35	1=100	15	39	38	8=100 (1991)
	June, 1999	61	38	1=100	15	38	37	10=100
	May, 1999	60	38	2=100	12	39	40	9=100
	February, 1999	55	44	1=100	14	41	39	6=100
l.	Jesse Ventura	83	17	*=100	12	21	62	5=100 (2521)
m.	Bob Smith	19	81	*=100	5	18	71	6=100 (589)

Q.5(T) Suppose the 2000 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were Al Gore, the Democrat, and George W. Bush, the Republican. Who would you vote for?

IF "3" OTHER, "8" DON'T KNOW, OR "9" REFUSED, ASK:

Q.6(T) As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to Gore, the Democrat or Bush, the Republican?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2993]:

		July <u>1999</u>	March <u>1999³</u>	Jan <u>1999</u>	Early Sept <u>1998</u>
41	Gore/Lean Gore	42	41	44	40
53	Bush/Lean Bush	53	54	50	53
<u>6</u>	Undecided/Other	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100	100	100

Q.7(B) Now I'd like your views on the state of the nation... All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
August, 1999	56	39	5=100
January, 1999	53	41	6=100
November, 1998	46	44	10=100
Early September, 1998	54	42	4=100
Late August, 1998	55	41	4=100
Early August, 1998	50	44	6=100
February, 1998	59	37	4=100
January, 1998	46	50	4=100
September, 1997	45	49	6=100
August, 1997	49	46	5=100
January, 1997	38	58	4=100
July, 1996	29	67	4=100
March, 1996	28	70	2=100
October, 1995	23	73	4=100
June, 1995	25	73	2=100
April, 1995	23	74	3=100
July, 1994	24	73	3=100
March, 1994	24	71	5=100
October, 1993	22	73	5=100
September, 1993	20	75	4=100
May, 1993	22	71	7=100
January, 1993	39	50	11=100
January, 1992	28	68	4=100
November, 1991	34	61	5=100
<i>Late February, 1991 (Gallup)</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>3=100</i>
August, 1990	47	48	5=100
May, 1990	41	54	5=100
January, 1989	45	50	5=100
September, 1988	50	45	5=100
May, 1988	41	54	5=100
January, 1988	39	55	6=100

³

In March 1999 and previous months, the question asked: "Suppose the 2000 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were Al Gore, the Democrat and Texas Governor George W. Bush, the Republican. Who would you vote for?"

Q.8(B) What do you think is the most important problem facing the country today? **(RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE ONLY FOR CLARITY — DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION.)**

		June 1999	May 1998	Nov 1997	July 1996	June 1995	Mar 1994	Dec 1993	June 1993	Jan 1992	May 1990	Feb 1989	April 1987
13	Morality/Ethics/Family values	11	10	9	13	12	10	6	7	3	5	2	3
12	Crime/Gangs/Justice system	11	13	12	19	22	31	25	7	3	7	8	3
8	Education	7	9	5	6	6	5	5	5	2	4	4	0
6	Teen violence in school	7	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
6	Health care/Cost, availability of health care	3	4	5	4	7	14	14	11	3	3	1	*
6	Drugs/Alcohol	5	7	7	8	5	10	8	5	4	37	23	6
4	Other social issues	4	3	--	2	0	*	3	*	*	*	*	*
4	Too many guns/Gun control	6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4	Social Security	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4	Other domestic issues	1	1	--	2	5	1	3	2	10	11	10	21
4	Poverty	3	3	3	3	4	2	3	3	1	3	4	6
3	Dissatisfaction with government/politics	3	5	4	8	6	5	2	5	2	2	1	0
3	Deficit/National debt/ Balanced budget	1	6	5	7	9	5	6	13	4	11	19	12
3	Taxes	2	4	3	3	3	3	2	4	1	3	2	0
3	Unemployment/Lack of jobs	4	6	6	7	10	12	15	19	22	7	9	13
3	Other Economic Issues	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3	Scandal/Corruption in government	2	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3	Medicare	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2	Other International issues	4	3	--	*	4	1	2	3	4	6	10	22
2	Too much foreign aid/ Spend money at home	4	2	1	5	2	2	1	2	1	3	1	0
2	Welfare abuse	1	3	1	7	5	2	*	*	*	*	*	*
2	Homelessness	4	2	3	2	4	3	5	5	6	8	10	*

Q. 8 CONTINUED ...

		June 1999	May 1998	Nov 1997	July 1996	June 1995	Mar 1994	Dec 1993	June 1993	Jan 1992	May 1990	Feb 1989	April 1987
2	Economy (general)	3	4	4	4	5	4	6	17	43	5	4	7
2	Other defense issues	*	1	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2	Youth/Teenage kids not acting responsible	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1	Issues related to elderly	3	3	1	2	*	1	1	2	1	2	2	0
1	Racism	1	1	1	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	0	0
1	Inflation/Difference between wages/Costs	*	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	3
1	Immigration	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1	HMO Reform	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
*	Environment/Pollution	*	2	1	1	1	2	1	*	1	8	2	0
*	China/Relations with China/ Stolen secrets/China spy	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
*	War in Kosovo/Yugoslavia/ The Balkans/Serbia	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
*	Terrorism	*	*	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1	Other	6	5	6	2	2	2	*	4	1	5	9	1
*	None	1	*	1	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
11	Don't know/No answer	11	12	7	6	3	4	6	2	3	1	3	3
15	ECONOMIC (NET)	8	16	18	18	28	26	33	53	76	26	28	35
7	DEFENSE/INTER- NATIONAL (NET)	11	5	10	1	9	2	*	*	*	*	*	*
6	POVERTY/HOMELESS (NET)	6	6	6	5	8	6	*	*	*	*	*	*
		(1153)	(981)	(599)	(1216)	(1500)	(989)	(1479)	(1507)	(1220)	(3004)	(2048)	(4244)

Next I would like to ask you about some things that have been in the news. Not everyone will have heard about them...
 Q.9(B) Do you happen to know which political party has a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives?

		Dec <u>1998</u>	June <u>1997</u>	April <u>1996</u>	June <u>1995</u>
55	Republican	56	50	70	73
8	Democratic	11	6	8	5
<u>37</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>33</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>22</u>
100		100	100	100	100

Q.10(B) Do you happen to know if the federal government is spending MORE money than it is taking in this year, or spending LESS money than it is taking in?

		<u>Feb 1989</u>
41	Spending more than it is taking in	81
31	Spending less than it is taking in	6
1	(DO NOT READ) About equal	3
<u>27</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>10</u>
100		100

Now a few questions about the office of the Presidency...

Q.11(A) First, I'm going to read you a list of personal characteristics or qualities. If "5" represents an ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL quality in a president, and "1" a quality that is NOT TOO IMPORTANT, where on this scale of 5 to 1 would you rate...(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS)

		<i>Absolutely essential</i> <u>(5)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<i>Not too Important</i> <u>(1-3)</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	Sound judgment in crisis October, 1995	78 76	12 12	9 10	1=100 2=100
b.	High ethical standards October, 1995	63 67	19 18	17 13	1=100 2=100
c.	Compassion for the average citizen October, 1995	63 64	20 19	16 16	1=100 1=100
d.	Willingness to compromise October, 1995	33 34	29 29	36 35	2=100 2=100
e.	Experience in public office October, 1995	38 30	27 23	34 46	1=100 1=100
f.	Experience in Washington October, 1995	27 21	23 23	49 54	1=100 2=100
g.	Saying what one believes, even if unpopular October, 1995	57 59	21 21	20 18	2=100 2=100
h.	Forcefulness and decisiveness October, 1995	46 50	31 30	21 18	2=100 2=100

Q.11 CONTINUED ...

		<i>Absolutely essential</i>		<i>Not too Important</i>	
		<u>(5)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(1-3)</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
i.	Having consistent positions on issues	50	28	20	2=100
	October, 1995	51	28	19	2=100
j.	Loyalty to one's party	33	14	52	1=100
	October, 1995	25	15	58	2=100

Q.12(A) Thinking about problems such as families not staying together and children being born out of wedlock, do you think WHO is elected president can make a difference in dealing with these problems, or not?

IF ANSWERED "1" YES, ASK [N=778]:

Q.13(A) In which way can the president make the biggest difference — by drawing national attention to these problems, OR by proposing policies that deal with these problems, OR by serving as a role model?

		<u>Oct 1995</u>
39	Yes	34
	7 By drawing national attention to these problems, OR	6
	15 By proposing policies that deal with these problems, OR	18
	16 By serving as a role model?	9
	1 Don't know/Refused	1
56	No	62
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>
100		100

Now a few questions about the office of the presidency...

Q.14(B) Thinking about problems such as low moral and ethical standards and a lack of respect for religion, do you think WHO is elected president can make a difference in dealing with these problems, or not?

IF ANSWERED "1" YES, ASK [N=1205]:

Q.15(B) In which way can the president make the biggest difference — by drawing national attention to these problems, OR by proposing policies that deal with these problems, OR by serving as a role model?

		<u>Oct 1995</u>
60	Yes	54
	9 By drawing national attention to these problems, OR	10
	11 By proposing policies that deal with these problems, OR	18
	38 By serving as a role model?	25
	2 Don't know/Refused	1
33	No	40
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>
100		100

Q.16(A) Thinking about the problems between racial and ethnic groups, do you think WHO is elected president can make a difference in dealing with these problems, or not?

		<u>Oct 1995</u>
58	Yes	54
38	No	42
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>
100		100

Q.17(B) Thinking about the problem of the amount of violence in our society, do you think WHO is elected president can make a difference in dealing with this problem, or not?

		<u>Oct 1995</u>
58	Yes	65
36	No	31
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>
100		100

Q.18(T) 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?)**

		<u>June</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
		<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
a.	Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient						
51		59	56	63	63	64	66
	41 Strongly	49	48	53	51	54	54
	10 Not Strongly	10	8	10	12	10	12
	Government often does a better job than people give it credit for						
43		36	39	34	34	32	31
	28 Strongly	23	25	20	19	19	17
	15 Not Strongly	13	14	14	15	13	14
<u>6</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100
		<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>	
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	
b.	Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest						
48		45	45	43	38	41	
	32 Strongly	29	28	25	24	24	
	16 Not Strongly	16	17	18	14	17	
	Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good						
44		46	50	51	55	54	
	32 Strongly	33	37	38	41	39	
	12 Not Strongly	13	13	13	14	15	
<u>8</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	
100		100	100	100	100	100	

Q.18 CONTINUED ...

		<u>June</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
		<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
c.	Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return	45	46	54	52	48	53
45	30 Strongly	33	35	36	37	35	37
	15 Not Strongly	12	11	18	15	13	16
	Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently	42	40	36	39	41	39
42	31 Strongly	31	28	25	28	31	27
	11 Not Strongly	11	12	11	11	10	12
<u>13</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100
		<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
d.	The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt	46	49	47	46	50	48
57	44 Strongly	36	42	35	33	39	35
	13 Not Strongly	10	7	12	13	11	13
	The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy	44	44	47	47	43	47
35	23 Strongly	31	34	31	34	31	32
	12 Not Strongly	13	10	16	13	12	15
<u>8</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100
		<u>June</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
		<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
e.	The position of blacks in American society has improved in recent years	73	73	69	70	67	72
78	63 Strongly	55	57	52	52	50	52
	15 Not Strongly	18	16	17	18	17	20
	There hasn't been much real progress for blacks in recent years	22	21	27	26	27	25
18	13 Strongly	16	16	20	19	20	18
	5 Not Strongly	6	5	7	7	7	7
<u>4</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.18 CONTINUED ...

		<u>Oct</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
		<u>1997</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
f.	Racial discrimination is the main reason why							
	28 many black people can't get ahead these days	25	33	28	37	34	34	32
	19 Strongly	--	22	19	25	21	24	20
	9 Not Strongly	--	11	9	12	13	10	12
	Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are							
	59 mostly responsible for their own condition	61	54	58	53	56	54	59
	46 Strongly	--	41	45	38	40	40	43
	13 Not Strongly	--	13	13	15	16	14	16
	<u>13</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
		<u>Oct</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>July</u>			
		<u>1997</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1994</u>			
g.	Immigrants today strengthen our country							
	46 because of their hard work and talents	41	41	37	31			
	30 Strongly	--	26	--	17			
	16 Not Strongly	--	15	--	14			
	Immigrants today are a burden on our country							
	44 because they take our jobs, housing, and							
	health care	48	48	54	63			
	34 Strongly	--	37	--	49			
	10 Not Strongly	--	11	--	14			
	<u>10</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>			
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>			
		<u>July</u>						
		<u>1994</u>						
h.	Other countries generally treat the United							
	24 States about as fairly as we treat them	19						
	13 Strongly	10						
	11 Not strongly	9						
	Other countries often take unfair advantage							
	70 of the United States	78						
	59 Strongly	68						
	11 Not strongly	10						
	<u>6</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>3</u>						
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>						

Q.18 CONTINUED ...

		<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
i.	The best way to ensure peace is through					
33	military strength	36	36	35	40	36
	26 Strongly	30	28	27	32	28
	7 Not Strongly	6	8	8	8	8
55	Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace	53	59	58	52	58
	45 Strongly	44	49	46	43	46
	10 Not Strongly	9	10	12	9	12
<u>12</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100
		<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
j.	We should all be willing to fight for our					
47	country, whether it is right or wrong	48	49	49	47	52
	39 Strongly	39	38	39	39	43
	8 Not Strongly	7	11	10	8	9
47	It's acceptable to refuse to fight in a war					
	you believe is morally wrong	47	48	47	47	45
	38 Strongly	39	38	38	37	35
	9 Not Strongly	8	10	9	10	10
<u>6</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100
		<u>July</u>				
		<u>1994</u>				
k.	Most people who want to get ahead can make it					
74	if they're willing to work hard	68				
	66 Strongly	59				
	8 Not strongly	9				
23	Hard work and determination are no guarantee of					
	success for most people	30				
	18 Strongly	22				
	5 Not strongly	8				
<u>3</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>2</u>				
100		100				
		<u>July</u>				
		<u>1994</u>				
l.	Success in life is pretty much determined by					
15	forces outside of our control	18				
	10 Strongly	12				
	5 Not strongly	6				
80	Everyone has it in their own power to succeed	79				
	72 Strongly	67				
	8 Not strongly	12				
<u>5</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>3</u>				
100		100				

Q.18 CONTINUED ...

		<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
m.	77	75	77	75	73	76
	62	61	62	59	58	59
	15	14	15	16	15	17
	The largest companies do NOT have					
	17	18	18	20	20	19
	10	10	9	10	10	9
	7	8	9	10	10	10
	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
		<u>June</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>
		<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>
n.	52	51	51	53	51	50
	42	43	43	44	42	40
	10	8	8	9	9	10
	Most corporations make a fair and reasonable					
	42	43	42	43	44	44
	29	28	27	27	26	28
	13	15	15	16	18	16
	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
		<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>
o.	68	69	72	73	76	74
	55	58	59	60	64	61
	13	11	13	13	12	13
	Elected officials in Washington try hard to stay in					
	26	25	23	24	21	22
	16	15	14	14	12	13
	10	10	9	10	9	9
	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
		<u>June</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>
		<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>
p.	35	28	38	33	32	29
	21	17	23	18	18	17
	14	11	15	15	14	12
	Most elected officials don't care what people					
	60	67	58	64	64	68
	49	55	48	53	53	56
	11	12	10	11	11	12
	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.19(T) Next I'm going to read you some words and phrases and ask you to rate how well each describes you. Please use a scale from 1 to 10, where "10" represents a description that is PERFECT for you, and "1" represents a description that is TOTALLY WRONG for you. (First,) on this scale of 1 to 10, how well does...(READ ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS) describe you?
(INTERVIEWERS: RE-READ SCALE DESCRIPTION AFTER EVERY FIVE ITEMS: "10 represents a description that is PERFECT for you, and "1" represents a description that is TOTALLY WRONG for you. You can choose any number between 1 and 10.)

		Description Totally <u>Wrong</u>		Description <u>Perfect</u> DK	
		1 - 3	4 - 7	8 - 10	
a.	A religious person	12	33	55	*=100
	March, 1994	14	34	51	1=100
	April, 1987	11	39	49	1=100
b.	Supporter of the women's movement ⁴	16	42	41	1=100
	March, 1994	26	45	25	4=100
	May, 1990	21	45	30	4=100
	April, 1987	22	46	29	3=100
c.	An environmentalist	12	44	43	1=100
	March, 1994	13	41	43	3=100
	May, 1990	9	43	42	6=100
	April, 1987	9	49	39	3=100
d.	A Republican	38	35	24	3=100
	March, 1994	38	33	25	4=100
	May, 1990	42	27	25	6=100
	April, 1987	48	29	19	4=100
e.	A Democrat	33	33	31	3=100
	March, 1994	37	32	27	4=100
	May, 1990	34	29	31	6=100
	April, 1987	33	32	31	4=100
f.	A liberal	33	44	19	4=100
	March, 1994	34	41	19	6=100
	May, 1990	34	37	21	8=100
	April, 1987	37	37	19	7=100
g.	A conservative	21	45	32	2=100
	March, 1994	22	44	30	4=100
	May, 1990	27	38	28	7=100
	April, 1987	28	39	27	6=100

4

In previous years, men were asked "how well does *supporter of the women's movement* describe you;" women were asked "how well does *feminist* describe you."

Q. 19 CONTINUED ...

		Description		Description	
		Totally		Perfect	DK
		<u>Wrong</u>		<u>8 - 10</u>	
		1 - 3	4 - 7		
h.	A union supporter	30	39	29	2=100
	March, 1994	33	37	27	3=100
	May, 1990	31	36	28	5=100
	April, 1987	32	39	26	3=100
i.	A supporter of				
	business interests	12	52	33	3=100
	March, 1994	12	45	38	5=100
	May, 1990	10	43	41	6=100
	April, 1987	17	50	29	4=100
j.	A National Rifle				
	Association supporter	44	28	26	2=100
	March 1994	45	26	26	3=100
	April, 1987	37	29	27	7=100
k.	A supporter of the				
	civil rights movement	11	37	50	2=100
	March, 1994	13	37	46	4=100
	May, 1990	11	38	45	6=100
	April, 1987	12	38	47	3=100
l.	A supporter of the				
	pro-life movement	27	33	36	4=100
	March, 1994 ⁵	41	27	28	4=100
	May, 1990 ⁶	37	26	31	6=100
	April, 1987	35	29	32	4=100
m.	A supporter of the				
	gay rights movement	50	31	17	2=100
	March, 1994	56	26	15	3=100
	April, 1987	66	22	9	3=100
n.	A supporter of				
	the pro-choice movement	27	33	36	4=100
	March, 1994 ⁷	37	25	35	3=100
o.	Anti-government	58	31	8	3=100
p.	A patriot	8	30	59	3=100
q.	Financially well off	25	57	17	1=100

⁵ In March 1994, the category was worded: "A supporter of the (pro-life) or anti-abortion movement."

⁶ In May 1990 and April 1987, the category was worded: "A supporter of the anti-abortion movement."

⁷ In March 1994, the category was worded: "A supporter of abortion rights."

Q. 19 CONTINUED ...

		Description		Description	
		Totally		Perfect	DK
		<u>Wrong</u>		<u>8 - 10</u>	
		1 - 3	4 - 7		
r.	Working class	8	24	67	1=100
s.	A poor person	42	40	16	2=100
t.	Internet enthusiast	37	36	23	4=100

Q.20 Now I'd like your opinion of some groups and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of what I name. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... **(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE)** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? **(INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")**

		Very	Mostly	Mostly	Very	Never	Can't
		Favor-	Favor-	Unfavor-	Unfavor-	Heard	Rate
		<u>able</u>	<u>able</u>	<u>able</u>	<u>able</u>	<u>Of</u>	
ASK ALL							
a.	The Republican Party	8	45	31	12	*	4=100
	February, 1999	7	37	36	15	0	5=100
	January, 1999	10	34	27	23	0	6=100
	Early December, 1998	11	35	27	20	*	7=100
	October, 1998 (RVs)	9	43	28	14	0	6=100
	Early September, 1998	9	47	26	11	*	7=100
	March, 1998	10	40	31	12	*	7=100
	August, 1997	9	38	36	11	*	6=100
	June, 1997	8	43	31	11	1	6=100
	January, 1997	8	44	33	10	*	5=100
	October, 1995	10	42	28	16	*	4=100
	December, 1994	21	46	19	8	*	6=100
	July, 1994	12	51	25	8	*	4=100
	May, 1993	12	42	25	10	0	11=100
	July, 1992	9	37	31	17	*	6=100
b.	The Democratic Party	14	45	28	9	*	4=100
	February, 1999	11	47	26	11	0	5=100
	January, 1999	14	41	26	12	0	7=100
	Early December, 1998	18	41	24	10	0	7=100
	October, 1998 (RVs)	11	45	29	9	*	6=100
	Early September, 1998	13	47	25	8	*	7=100
	March, 1998	15	43	26	10	*	6=100
	August, 1997	11	41	32	10	0	6=100
	June, 1997	10	51	25	8	*	6=100
	January, 1997	13	47	28	7	*	5=100
	October, 1995	9	40	37	11	0	3=100
	December, 1994	13	37	31	13	*	6=100
	July, 1994	13	49	27	7	*	4=100
	May, 1993	14	43	25	9	0	9=100
	July, 1992	17	44	24	9	*	6=100

Q.20 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never Heard Of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>
ASK ITEM c THRU f FORM A ONLY:						
c. Congress	8	55	27	7	*	3=100
June, 1999	9	47	30	9	*	5=100
February, 1999	4	48	36	8	0	4=100
January, 1999	7	41	30	15	0	7=100
Early December, 1998	11	41	29	12	0	7=100
October, 1998 (RVs)	7	55	25	8	0	5=100
Early September, 1998	7	59	22	5	0	7=100
October, 1997	5	48	33	11	0	3=100
August 1997	6	44	33	11	0	6=100
June, 1997	4	48	34	8	0	6=100
May, 1997	5	44	32	10	*	9=100
February, 1997	6	46	31	9	*	8=100
January, 1997	6	50	32	8	*	4=100
June, 1996	6	39	38	12	*	5=100
April, 1996	6	39	37	13	0	5=100
January, 1996	4	38	38	16	*	4=100
October, 1995	4	38	42	13	0	3=100
August, 1995	5	40	34	13	*	7=100
June, 1995	8	45	31	11	*	5=100
February, 1995	10	44	27	10	0	9=100
July, 1994	7	46	34	9	*	4=100
May, 1993	8	35	35	13	0	9=100
November, 1991	7	44	34	9	0	6=100
March, 1991	16	50	19	7	0	8=100
May, 1990	6	53	25	9	1	6=100
May, 1988	8	56	23	5	0	8=100
January, 1988	6	58	25	4	0	7=100
May, 1987	10	64	16	4	*	6=100
January, 1987	7	52	23	8	0	10=100
June, 1985	9	58	21	5	*	7=100
d. The United Nations	19	57	14	5	*	5=100
June, 1999	19	51	16	7	0	7=100
Early September, 1998	14	55	16	7	*	8=100
September, 1997	11	53	19	9	*	8=100
February, 1996	19	46	20	9	1	5=100
June, 1995	14	53	20	8	*	5=100
February, 1995	13	49	18	8	*	12=100
July, 1994	21	55	14	5	1	4=100
May, 1993	21	52	13	4	0	10=100
May, 1990	15	55	13	6	1	10=100

Q.20 CONTINUED ...

		Very Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Never Heard <u>Of</u>	Can't <u>Rate</u>
e.	The military	30	59	8	2	*	1=100
	June, 1999	36	47	11	2	0	4=100
	Early September, 1998	29	57	7	3	0	4=100
	October, 1997	22	56	13	5	0	4=100
	May, 1997	23	57	11	5	0	4=100
	February, 1996	33	49	12	4	*	2=100
	July, 1994	30	57	8	3	*	2=100
	May, 1993	32	53	8	2	0	5=100
	March, 1991	60	34	2	2	0	2=100
	May, 1990	18	55	15	6	*	6=100
	January, 1988	20	57	14	3	*	6=100
	April, 1987	17	63	12	4	0	4=100
	January, 1987	19	54	11	5	*	11=100
	July, 1986	32	53	7	3	0	5=100
	June, 1985	24	53	13	5	*	5=100
f.	Insurance companies	8	41	35	14	*	2=100
	Early September, 1998	5	36	35	19	*	5=100
	July, 1994	6	34	38	20	*	2=100

ASK ITEM g THRU j FORM B ONLY:

g.	Labor unions	12	47	27	9	*	5=100
	Early September, 1998	12	40	25	13	*	10=100
	June, 1997	15	43	25	10	*	7=100
	May, 1997	15	34	26	13	*	12=100
	April, 1996	10	37	28	17	*	8=100
	February, 1996	17	37	27	14	*	5=100
	July, 1994	14	43	28	10	*	5=100
	January, 1988 ⁸	10	42	29	10	*	9=100
	July, 1985	9	37	30	17	*	7=100
h.	Business corporations	8	65	19	3	0	5=100
	Early September, 1998	9	55	21	5	*	10=100
	October, 1997	11	55	23	5	*	6=100
	June, 1997	8	60	18	7	*	7=100
	May, 1997	9	50	21	7	1	12=100
	June, 1996	10	52	25	6	*	7=100
	February, 1996	9	50	24	10	1	6=100
	October, 1995	6	54	29	7	0	4=100
	July, 1994	8	62	19	5	*	6=100
	November, 1991	8	57	22	6	0	7=100
	January, 1988	6	53	27	5	*	9=100
	June, 1985	8	50	24	7	1	10=100

⁸

In January 1988, the category was worded "Organized labor."

Q. 20 CONTINUED ...

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard Of	Can't Rate
i. Network television news	19	55	18	6	*	2=100
June, 1999	20	48	22	6	*	4=100
February, 1998	16	60	17	5	*	2=100
February, 1997	15	58	18	5	*	4=100
April, 1996	21	58	13	4	0	4=100
January, 1996	25	58	11	4	*	2=100
June, 1995	16	51	21	9	*	3=100
July, 1994	17	52	22	7	*	2=100
May, 1993	23	58	12	3	0	4=100
January, 1992	27	55	11	2	0	5=100
November, 1991	24	51	16	5	0	4=100
March, 1991	40	51	5	2	0	2=100
May, 1990	22	60	12	3	*	3=100
August, 1989	28	54	11	3		4=100
February, 1989	21	61	12	3		3=100
August, 1988 (RVs)	29	52	9	5		5=100
May, 1988	20	58	14	4		4=100
January 27, 1988	12	69	13	3		3=100
January 7-18, 1988	18	60	14	4		4=100
October, 1987	19	62	10	3		6=100
May, 1987	21	63	11	3		2=100
January, 1987	19	55	16	6		4=100
July, 1986	30	53	10	4		3=100
August, 1985	30	51	8	2		7=100
June, 1985	25	59	8	2		6=100
j. The daily newspaper you are most familiar with	22	56	13	5	*	4=100
June, 1999	24	55	11	6	*	4=100
February, 1998	18	56	13	5	*	8=100
February, 1997	21	53	15	4	0	7=100
April, 1996	24	56	12	4	0	4=100
January, 1996	27	52	11	5	*	5=100
June, 1995	22	52	14	7	1	4=100
July, 1994	23	57	13	5	*	2=100
May, 1993	26	55	10	4	0	5=100
January, 1992	27	51	13	5	0	4=100
November, 1991	24	56	11	5	0	4=100
March, 1991	30	55	7	3	*	5=100
May, 1990	22	56	12	5	*	5=100
August, 1989	25	52	12	5		6=100
February, 1989	22	56	13	4		5=100
August, 1988 (RVs)	30	48	10	5		7=100
May, 1988	19	59	13	4		5=100
January 27, 1988	19	62	11	3		5=100
January 7-18, 1988	21	59	12	4		4=100
October, 1987	21	58	9	4		8=100
May, 1987	22	59	12	3		4=100
January, 1987	19	57	13	6		5=100
July, 1986	28	51	11	6		4=100
August, 1985	25	52	10	5		8=100
June, 1985	25	56	8	3		8=100

Q.21 I'd like your opinion of some programs and proposals being discussed in this country today. Please tell me if you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose each one. The first one is... **(READ AND ROTATE)**

ASK FORM A ONLY:

		Strongly <u>Favor</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	Strongly <u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	Restricting the sale of handguns	33	23	22	20	2=100
	June, 1996	29	24	26	19	2=100
	July, 1994	35	23	19	21	2=100
	May, 1993	28	27	26	17	2=100
	May, 1990	38	27	20	13	2=100
b.	Using American military troops as peacekeepers in Bosnia and Kosovo	15	39	25	18	3=100
c.	Giving the president fast track authority to negotiate international trade deals that Congress can only approve or disapprove, but not change	11	33	32	17	7=100
	Early September, 1998 ⁹	13	30	29	18	10=100
d.	Reducing the capital gains tax	26	38	18	7	11=100

ASK FORM B ONLY:

e.	Requiring that women under 18 years get the consent of at least one parent before they are allowed to have an abortion?	45	28	14	11	2=100
	May, 1992		73	23		4=100
f.	Federal funding for vouchers to help low and middle income parents send their children to private and parochial schools	23	34	25	15	3=100
	Early September, 1998	24	30	26	15	5=100
g.	Doing away with bilingual education and requiring that all public school students are taught in English only	27	22	29	20	2=100
	Early September, 1998	32	22	22	21	3=100
h.	Laws that would result in more juvenile offenders aged 14 and over being tried as adults	36	37	16	8	3=100
i.	Restricting scientific research on human cloning	19	20	24	33	4=100
	Early September, 1998	27	18	21	29	5=100

⁹

In September 1998, the question was worded: "Giving President Clinton fast track authority to negotiate international trade deals that Congress can only approve or disapprove, but not change."

On another subject...

Q.22(B) How much, if anything, have you heard about a proposal which would allow Americans to put a portion of their Social Security taxes into a personal savings account to be used for retirement — a lot, a little, or nothing at all?

		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	June <u>1998</u>
18	A lot	16	16
39	A little	39	44
42	Nothing at all	44	40
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

IF 1 "A LOT" OR 2 "A LITTLE" ASK [N=1152]:

Q.23(B) Generally, do you favor or oppose this proposal?

		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	June <u>1998</u>
70	Favor	71	69
22	Oppose	20	20
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>
100		100	100

Q.24(A) Do you think that we should increase our defense spending, keep it about the same, or cut it back?

		June <u>1999</u>	Sept <u>1997</u> ¹⁰	Feb <u>1995</u> ¹¹	Oct <u>1994</u> *	Sept <u>1993</u>	Oct-Nov <u>1990</u> *	Oct-Nov <u>1986</u> *	Oct-Nov <u>1982</u> *	Nov <u>1978</u> *	Dec <u>1974</u> *
27	Increase	31	17	19	18	10	12	21	22	32	13
54	Keep same	47	57	56	53	52	53	55	52	45	47
16	Cut back	19	24	24	26	36	32	23	24	16	33
<u>3</u>	DK/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Gallup trend

¹⁰ In September 1997, the question was worded: "Do you think that we should increase our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?"

¹¹ In February 1995 and in previous months, the question was worded: "Do you think that we should expand our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?"

On another subject...

Q.25(A) In the long run, do you think the accomplishments of the Clinton administration will outweigh its failures, or will the failures outweigh the accomplishments?

		Reagan Administration			
		Jan	Early Sept	May	Newsweek
		1999	1998	1987	Feb 1987
56	Accomplishments will outweigh failures	50	52	46	52
38	Failures will outweigh accomplishments	34	35	41	38
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>16</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>
100		100	100	100	100

On another subject...

Q.26(T) How would you rate your own personal financial situation? Would you say you are in excellent shape, good shape, only fair shape, or poor shape?

		--- U.S. News & World Report ---								
		May	Sept	Mar	Dec	Jan	Oct	Aug	May	Jan
		1997	1996 ¹²	1994	1993	1993	1992	1992	1992	1992
6	Excellent shape	7	8	5	5	4	6	5	4	4
43	Good shape	43	47	41	34	33	34	30	35	32
41	Only fair shape	38	34	40	45	46	40	47	45	45
9	OR poor shape	11	10	13	15	16	19	17	15	18
<u>1</u>	DK/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.27(T) Are you now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

58	Full-time
11	Part-time
30	Not employed
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

IF "1" OR "2" EMPLOYED FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME, ASK [N=1438]:

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

		Early							-- U.S. News & World Report --			
		Sept	Nov	May	June	Feb	July	Mar	Oct	Aug	May	Jan
		1998	1997	1997	1996	1995	1994	1994	1992	1992	1992	1992
39	Yes	43	41	46	44	41	40	44	36	33	34	39
60	No	57	59	54	56	58	60	56	63	66	65	61
<u>1</u>	DK/Refused	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹²

Percentages based on registered voters.

IF "2" DO NOT NOW EARN ENOUGH MONEY, ASK:

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

		Early								--- U.S. News & World Report ---			
		Sept	Nov	May	June	Feb	July	March	Oct	Aug	Jan		
		<u>1998</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	
38	Yes	36	33	34	34	35	34	33	35	36	34	34	
19	No	20	24	18	20	20	24	20	36	25	28	22	
<u>3</u>	DK/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	
60%		57%	59%	54%	56%	58%	60%	56%	63%	66%	65%	61%	

On another subject...

Q.30(A) This year, have Republicans and Democrats in Washington been working together more to solve problems, OR have they been bickering and opposing one another more than usual?

		Aug	Nov	Aug	June	Oct	Aug
		<u>1998</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1993</u>
20	Working together more	27	38	43	34	21	20
68	Opposing each other more	51	45	46	49	72	57
4	Same as in past (VOL.)	8	7	3	6	3	13
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.31(B) Next, I'd like to know how often you watch certain TV programs or read certain publications. As I read each, tell me if you watch or read it regularly, sometimes, hardly ever or never. (First,) how often do you...**(READ AND ROTATE ITEMS)** — regularly, sometimes, hardly ever, or never?

		<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	Read a daily newspaper	52	28	13	7	*=100
	February, 1997	56	24	9	11	*=100
	May, 1993	66	19	7	8	*=100
	February, 1992	71	19	5	4	1=100
b.	Watch the national nightly network news on CBS, ABC or NBC? This is different from local news shows about the area where you live	40	33	16	11	*=100
	April, 1998	38	29	15	18	*=100
	February, 1997	41	31	14	14	*=100
	April, 1996	42	29	15	14	*=100
	March, 1995	48	28	14	10	*=100
	May, 1993	60	28	5	6	1=100
	February, 1993	58	23	10	9	*=100
c.	Watch cable news networks such as CNN and MSNBC	30	35	15	20	*=100

Q. 31 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
d. Watch news magazine shows such as 60 Minutes, 20/20 or Dateline ¹³	35	40	16	9	*=100
April, 1998	37	41	12	10	*=100
April, 1996	36	38	15	11	*=100
July, 1994	43	43	8	6	*=100
February, 1994	45	36	11	8	0=100
May, 1993	52	37	6	5	*=100
Feb, 1993	49	32	11	8	*=100
June, 1992	46	40	8	6	*=100
July, 1990	46	38	8	8	*=100
June, 1990	50	36	6	8	*=100
May, 1990	45	37	8	10	*=100
April, 1990	47	37	7	9	*=100
March, 1990	41	42	7	10	*=100
February, 1990	39	41	10	10	0=100
January, 1990	43	40	8	9	*=100

Q.32(B) How often, if ever, do you listen to radio shows that invite listeners to call in to discuss current events, public issues and politics...(READ)

	<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Rarely</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
August, 1999	18	23	24	35	*=100
Early September, 1998	23	25	23	29	*=100
April, 1998	13	22	24	41	*=100
October, 1997	18	28	25	29	*=100
August, 1997	17	24	28	31	*=100
Early September, 1996	15	25	22	37	1=100
July, 1996	16	24	27	33	*=100
June, 1996	17	25	26	31	1=100
April, 1996	13	23	25	39	*=100
March, 1996	18	28	24	30	*=100
October, 1995	18	33	25	24	*=100
June, 1995	15	19	27	39	*=100
April, 1995	19	30	24	27	*=100
November, 1994	16	31	26	26	1=100
July, 1994	17	29	24	30	*=100
December, 1993	23	22	25	30	0=100
April, 1993	23	32	23	22	*=100

¹³ In previous months, the question was worded: "Watch news magazine shows such as 60 Minutes or 20/20."

Q.33(T) Do you use a computer at your workplace, at school, or at home on at least an occasional basis?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
August, 1999	67	33	*=100
July, 1999	68	32	*=100
June, 1999	64	35	1=100
May, 1999	66	33	1=100
April, 1999	71	29	*=100
March, 1999	68	32	*=100
February, 1999	68	32	*=100
January, 1999	69	31	*=100
Early December, 1998	64	36	*=100
Early September, 1998	64	36	*=100
Early August, 1998	66	34	*=100
April, 1998	61	39	*=100
January, 1998	65	35	*=100
November, 1997	66	34	*=100
June, 1997	60	40	0=100
Early September, 1996	56	44	*=100
July, 1996	56	44	*=100
April, 1996	58	42	*=100
March, 1996	61	39	*=100
February, 1996	60	40	0=100
January, 1996	59	41	0=100

IF YES (USE A COMPUTER) IN Q.33, ASK:

Q.34 Do you ever go online to access the Internet or World Wide Web or to send and receive email?

BASED ON TOTAL RESPONDENTS:

		July	June	May	April	March	Feb	Jan	Early	Early	Early	July	June
		1999	1999	1999	1999	1999	1999	1999	1998	1998	1998	1998	1995 ¹⁴
52	Goes online	49	50	48	51	49	49	47	42	37	42	43	36
48	Does not go online	51	50	52	49	51	51	53	58	63	58	57	63
<u>0</u>	DK/Ref	<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹⁴

The 1995 figure combines responses from two separate questions:

(1) Do you or anyone in your household ever use a modem to connect to any computer bulletin boards, information services such as CompuServe or Prodigy, or other computers at other locations? (IF YES, PROBE: Is that you, someone else or both?)

(2) Do you, yourself, ever use a computer at (work) (school) (work or school) to connect with computer bulletin boards, information services such as America Online or Prodigy, or other computers over the Internet?

IF YES (GO ONLINE) , ASK [N=2264]:

Q.35(T) How frequently do you go online to get NEWS...would you say every day, 3 to 5 days per week, 1 or 2 days per week, once every few weeks, or less often?

		July	June	Dec	Nov	April	June
		1999	1999	1998	1998	1998	1995
22	Everyday	21	22	25	10	18	6
15	3-5 days per week	15	18	17	11	17	9
19	1-2 days per week	22	22	22	16	20	15
15	Once every few weeks	14	14	10	13	15	13
20	Less often	19	18	18	20	21	28
9	No/Never (VOL.)	9	7	8	30	9	29
*	Don't know/Refused	0	0	*	*	*	*
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.36(A)Have you EVER called, sent a letter, faxed a letter, or sent an e-mail to your Congressional representative or

opinion on an issue?¹⁵

Q.37(A)Have you done so IN JUST THE PAST 12 MONTHS?

		April	Oct	July	June	May	Mar	Jan	Dec	Sep
		1995 ¹⁶	1994	1994	1994	1994	1994	1994	1993	1993
34	Yes, have ever	45	42	48	44	36	45	40	41	41
20	Yes, in past 12 months	12	22	26	26	21	23	22	22	21
14	No, in past 12 months	33	20	22	18	15	22	18	18	19
*	Don't Know	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	1
66	No, have never	55	58	52	56	64	55	60	58	59
*	Don't know/Refused	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	*
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹⁵ Question modified to include "sent an email."

¹⁶ Follow up wording: "Have you done so since January 1st, 1995?"

Q.38(T) 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>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
q.	This country should do whatever it takes					
80	to protect the environment	77	77	74	77	78
	67 Strongly	66	65	63	65	62
	13 Not Strongly	11	12	11	12	16
	This country has gone too far in its efforts					
15	to protect the environment	18	20	22	19	19
	10 Strongly	13	13	15	13	12
	5 Not Strongly	5	7	7	6	7
<u>5</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100
		<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
r.	Stricter environmental laws and regulations					
28	cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	30	35	39	32	33
	19 Strongly	22	23	28	23	21
	9 Not Strongly	8	12	11	9	12
	Stricter environmental laws and regulations					
65	are worth the cost	63	61	57	62	62
	50 Strongly	51	47	44	49	45
	15 Not Strongly	12	14	13	13	17
<u>7</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100
		<u>July</u>				
		<u>1994</u>				
s.	There are no real limits to growth					
54	in this country today	51				
	38 Strongly	33				
	16 Not strongly	18				
	People in this country should learn					
40	to live with less	45				
	30 Strongly	30				
	9 Not strongly	15				
<u>6</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>4</u>				
100		100				

Q. 38 CONTINUED ...

		<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>								
t.	63	As Americans, we can always find ways to solve our problems and get what we want	52							
	47	Strongly	35							
	16	Not strongly	17							
	32	This country can't solve many of its important problems	45							
	24	Strongly	30							
	8	Not strongly	15							
	<u>5</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>3</u>							
	100		100							
			<u>Oct</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
			<u>1997</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
u.	49	Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society	46	45	44	44	45	47	46	46
	33	Strongly	--	32	32	29	29	30	33	26
	16	Not Strongly	--	13	12	15	16	17	13	20
	44	Homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged by society	48	50	49	49	50	48	48	49
	37	Strongly	--	43	42	42	41	40	41	41
	7	Not Strongly	--	7	7	7	9	8	7	8
	<u>7</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
			<u>June</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>		
			<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>		
v.	52	Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	46	44	46	45	42	46		
	43	Strongly	39	39	37	40	36	37		
	9	Not Strongly	7	5	9	5	6	9		
	45	Public school libraries should be allowed to carry any books they want	50	51	52	52	53	55		
	36	Strongly	40	43	41	44	47	39		
	9	Not Strongly	10	9	11	9	8	12		
	<u>3</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>		
	100		100	100	100	100	100	100		
w.	75	Religion is a very important part of my life								
	67	Strongly								
	8	Not Strongly								
	22	Religion is not that important to me								
	12	Strongly								
	10	Not Strongly								
	<u>2</u>	Neither/Don't Know								
	100									

Q. 38 CONTINUED ...

		<u>June</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
		<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
x.	We will all be called before God to						
83	to answer our sins ¹⁷	82	80	81	83	81	80
	77 Strongly	77	74	76	75	74	71
	6 Not Strongly	5	7	7	6	6	9
	I don't believe we will have to answer						
12	for our sins before God	13	13	13	14	14	16
	8 Strongly	9	9	9	9	10	9
	4 Not Strongly	4	4	4	5	4	7
<u>5</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100
		<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>July</u>			
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1994</u>			
y.	I'm generally satisfied with the way things						
64	are going for me financially	57	57	56			
	48 Strongly	43	44	36			
	16 Not Strongly	14	13	20			
34	I'm not very satisfied with my financial situation	41	42	43			
	28 Strongly	36	37	33			
	6 Not Strongly	5	5	10			
<u>2</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>			
100		100	100	100			
		<u>July</u>					
		<u>1994</u>					
z.	I often don't have enough money						
29	to make ends meet	36					
	22 Strongly	27					
	7 Not strongly	9					
	Paying the bills is generally						
68	not a problem for me	63					
	54 Strongly	43					
	14 Not strongly	20					
<u>3</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>1</u>					
100		100					

¹⁷

In June 1997, the statement was worded: "We will all be called before God on Judgment Day to answer for our sins; or I don't believe we will have to answer for our sins on Judgment Day."

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.39(T) 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>Most of The Time</u>	<u>Some of the Time</u>	<u>Only Now and Then</u>	<u>Hardly at All</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
August, 1999	40	35	17	8	*=100
November, 1998	46	27	14	13	*=100
Early September, 1998	45	34	15	6	*=100
June, 1998	36	34	21	9	*=100
November, 1997	41	36	16	7	*=100
November, 1996 (RVs)	52	32	12	4	*=100
October, 1996 (RVs)	43	37	13	6	1=100
June, 1996	41	34	17	8	*=100
October, 1995	46	35	14	5	*=100
April, 1995	43	35	16	6	*=100
November, 1994	49	30	13	7	1=100
October, 1994	45	35	14	6	*=100
July, 1994	46	33	15	6	*=100
May, 1990	39	34	18	9	*=100
February, 1989	47	34	14	4	1=100
October, 1988	52	33	11	4	*=100
September, 1988	58	32	8	2	*=100
May, 1988	37	37	17	6	3=100
January, 1988	37	35	18	8	2=100
November, 1987	49	32	14	4	1=100
May, 1987	41	35	15	7	2=100
July, 1985	36	33	18	12	1=100

Q.40(T) 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?

		Early						<i>ABC/Washington Post</i> ¹⁸	
		<u>Sept 1998</u>	<u>Aug 1997</u>	<u>July 1996</u>	<u>Oct 1995</u>	<u>April 1995</u>	<u>July 1994</u>	<u>Jan 1984</u>	<u>Sept 1982</u>
54	Agree	46	47	58	59	57	53	41	44
40	Disagree	47	46	37	37	38	43	48	44
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹⁸

In January 1984, the *ABC/Washington Post* trend was worded: "Can you please 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."
 In September 1982, the *ABC/Washington Post* trend was worded: "I'm going to read a few statements. For each, can you please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with it, or if, perhaps, you have no opinion about the statements... We should have a third party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans."

Q.41(A) Compared to recent Congresses, would you say THIS Congress has accomplished more, accomplished less, or accomplished about the same amount?

		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Early Aug <u>1998</u>	Nov <u>1997</u>	April <u>1997</u>
15	More	25	18	23	10
20	Less	15	15	12	22
60	Same	55	60	59	59
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100

Q.42(T) In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

		Early														
		Nov <u>1997</u>	June <u>1996</u>	Feb <u>1996</u>	Oct <u>1995</u>	April <u>1995</u>	Feb <u>1995</u>	Dec <u>1994</u>	Nov <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	July <u>1994</u>	June <u>1992</u>	May <u>1990</u>	Feb <u>1989</u>	May <u>1988</u>	May <u>1987</u>
25	Republican	25	30	30	30	30	33	35	28	33	29	28	28	31	28	25
33	Democrat	32	33	32	30	29	30	31	31	30	33	32	33	38	38	37
37	Independent	38	34	32	35	37	33	30	35	32	35	36	28	23	26	28
3	No preference(VOL.)	3	2	3	3	3	--	--	4	--	2	1	9	7	6	8
*	Other party(VOL.)*	*	1	*	*	2	2	*	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	
<u>2</u>	Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.43(T) Do you consider yourself a STRONG Republican, or NOT a strong Republican?

		Nov <u>1997</u>	Oct <u>1995</u>	April <u>1995</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	July <u>1994</u>	June <u>1992</u>	May <u>1990</u>	Feb <u>1989</u>	May <u>1988</u>	Jan <u>1988</u>	May <u>1987</u>
11	Strong	11	11	15	16	13	11	13	15	13	12	11
<u>14</u>	Not strong	<u>14</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>
25		25	30	30	31	29	28	28	31	28	27	25

Q.44(T) As I read each of the following statements, tell me if it comes close to what you mean when you say you are a Republican. **(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS) (IF NECESSARY: Does that come close to what you mean when you say you are a Republican?)**

BASED ON REPUBLICANS [N=1068]:

		<u>Yes, comes close</u>	<u>No, does not</u>	<u>Don't Know/ Refused</u>
a.	I usually think of myself as a Republican but I don't agree completely with what the party stands for	81	18	1=100
	May, 1990	75	21	4=100
	July, 1987	78	18	4=100
b.	I usually prefer Republican candidates but sometimes I support Democrats	78	21	1=100
	May, 1990	74	24	2=100
	July, 1987	77	21	2=100
c.	I involve myself in what the Republican Party is doing	44	55	1=100
	July, 1987	32	64	4=100
d.	With me it's more a matter of not liking the Democrats than anything else	20	79	1=100
	May, 1990	17	77	6=100
	July, 1987	18	78	4=100

Q.45(T) Do you consider yourself a STRONG Democrat, or NOT a strong Democrat?

		<u>Nov 1997</u>	<u>Oct 1995</u>	<u>April 1995</u>	<u>Oct 1994</u>	<u>July 1994</u>	<u>June 1992</u>	<u>May 1990</u>	<u>Feb 1989</u>	<u>May 1988</u>	<u>Jan 1988</u>	<u>May 1987</u>
15	Strong	14	14	14	18	15	14	16	17	19	19	18
<u>18</u>	Not strong	<u>18</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>
33		32	30	29	32	33	32	33	38	38	39	37

Q.46(T) As I read each of the following statements, tell me if it comes close to what you mean when you say you are a Democrat. **(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS) (IF NECESSARY: Does that come close to what you mean when you say you are a Democrat?)**

BASED ON DEMOCRATS [N=1233]:

	Yes, <u>comes close</u>	No, <u>does not</u>	Don't know <u>Refused</u>
a. I usually think of myself as a Democrat but I don't agree completely with what the party stands for	76	23	1=100
May, 1990	69	27	4=100
July, 1987	70	25	5=100
b. I usually prefer Democratic candidates but sometimes I support Republicans	73	27	*=100
May, 1990	63	34	3=100
July, 1987	66	32	2=100
c. I involve myself in what the Democratic Party is doing	47	51	2=100
July, 1987	36	61	3=100
d. With me it's more a matter of not liking the Republicans than anything else	27	72	1=100
May, 1990	22	73	5=100
July, 1987	20	74	6=100

Q.47(T) As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

BASED ON INDEPENDENTS/OTHER (Q. 42=3,4,5,9) [N=1672]:

34	Republican
36	Democrat
24	Neither (VOL.)
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.48(T) When you were growing up, did your parents usually vote for Republicans or Democrats? **(IF PARENTS VOTED DIFFERENTLY, ASK: How did the parent you felt closer to usually vote?)**

	Nov <u>1997</u>	July <u>1994</u>
26	Republicans	28
43	Democrats	47
8	Both/Split ticket (VOL.)	6
5	Didn't vote/Not eligible (VOL.)	4
2	Other response	2
<u>16</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>13</u>
100	100	100

Q.49

(A) Looking ahead to the next presidential election, would you like to see a president who offers policies and programs similar to those of the Clinton administration, OR would you like to see a president who offers different policies and programs?

		June <u>1999</u>	Feb <u>1999</u>
43	Policies and programs similar to Clinton Administration	43	54
50	Different policies and programs	50	41
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100

Q.50

(A) Now I am going to read you some statements. For each, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly DISagree with it, or completely DISagree with it. (The first one is...) **(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS)**

		Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	DK/ <u>Refused</u>
a.	I am tired of all the problems associated with the Clinton administration	34	36	20	7	3=100
	March, 1999	46	28	15	8	3=100
b.	I wish Bill Clinton could run for a third term	12	19	25	42	2=100
	March, 1999	16	13	19	50	2=100

ROTATE QUESTIONS 51 AND 52

Q.51

(A) Looking back, do you think Bill Clinton made the right decision to remain in office during the investigation into his relationship with Monica Lewinsky, OR do you think Clinton should have resigned?

		<u>July 1999</u>
63	Made right decision to remain in office	60
34	Clinton should have resigned	35
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>
100		100

Q.52

(A) Looking back, do you think the House of Representatives made the right decision to impeach Bill Clinton, OR do you think the House should not have impeached Clinton?

		<u>July 1999</u>
41	Made right decision to impeach Clinton	44
55	Should not have impeached Clinton	51
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>
100		100

Now thinking about your personal life...

Q.53(B) Please tell me which of the following activities, if any, you personally do. First, do you...(READ AND ROTATE)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Exercise regularly	65	35	*=100
b. Regularly watch the daytime talk shows Ricki Lake, Jerry Springer, or Jenny Jones	14	86	*=100
c. Trade stocks or bonds in the stock markets	25	75	*=100
d. Attend Bible study or prayer group meetings	34	66	*=100
e. Work with, lead, or coach a youth group	21	79	*=100
f. Follow professional or college sports closely	49	51	*=100
g. Do volunteer work for a charity or other non-profit organization	50	50	*=100
h. Attend theater, ballet, opera or classical music concerts	40	60	*=100

Q.54(B) For each description I read, please tell me if it applies to you or not. (First,)... (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Were you or either of your parents born in a country other than the United States or Canada?	15	84	1=100
b. Do you smoke cigarettes on a regular basis?	24	76	*=100
c. Are you the parent or guardian of a child who plays in an organized sports league?	22	78	*=100
d. Do you have a friend, colleague, or family member who is gay?	39	60	1=100
e. Are you the owner of a small business?	14	86	*=100
f. Are you a member of a country club?	5	95	*=100

Q.55(T) 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?

77	Yes, registered
22	No, not registered
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

IF "1" YES, REGISTERED ASK [N=3148]:

Q.56(T) 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?

95	Absolutely certain
5	Chance registration has lapsed
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.57(T) How often would you say you vote...(READ)

41	Always
27	Nearly always
14	Part of the time, OR
10	Seldom?
7	Never vote (VOLUNTEERED)
1	Other response (DO NOT READ)
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.58(T) Thinking back to the 1996 presidential election, when Clinton ran against Dole 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, Dole, or Perot?)

38	Yes, Clinton
20	Yes, Dole
8	Yes, Perot
1	Yes, other candidate
1	Yes, don't remember which candidate
27	No, didn't vote/too young
2	Don't Remember if voted
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.59(T) Thinking back to the 1992 presidential election, when Clinton ran against Bush and Perot, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? (IF YES, ASK: Did you vote for Clinton, Bush, or Perot?)

31	Yes, Clinton
28	Yes, Bush
6	Yes, Perot
*	Yes, other candidate
2	Yes, don't remember which candidate
28	No, didn't vote/too young
2	Don't Remember if voted
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.60(T) And just this past year, in the 1998 elections for CONGRESS, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

50	Yes, voted
44	No, didn't vote
3	No, too young to vote
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "1" YES, ASK [N=2100]:

Q.61(T) Are you absolutely certain you voted, or is there a chance you may not have?

92	Absolutely certain
7	Did not vote/ May not have voted
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "1" YES, CERTAIN, ASK [N=1939]:

Q.62(T) Did you happen to vote for a Republican candidate or a Democratic candidate for U.S. Congress in your district?

43	Republican
45	Democrat
2	Other/Independent Candidate
1	Didn't vote for Congress
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
POLITICAL TYPOLOGY 1999 RE-INTERVIEW SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
OCTOBER 7-11, 1999
N=1,411**

Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates in Princeton, New Jersey. A few weeks ago we were conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and TV stations around the country, and we spoke with a **(INSERT SEX AND AGE)** in your household. I'd like to ask **(HIM/HER)** a few additional questions to follow up on that previous interview. Is **(HE/SHE)** available?

[IF PEW RESPONDENT DOES NOT ANSWER THE PHONE, USE THE FOLLOWING INTRODUCTION WHEN HE OR SHE DOES GET ON THE LINE:]

Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates in Princeton, New Jersey. A few weeks ago you participated in a telephone opinion survey we were conducting for leading newspapers and TV stations around the country. I'd like to ask you a few additional questions to follow up on that previous interview.

ROTATE Q.1 AND Q.2

- Q.1 What MAN living in America today, who you've heard or read about, do you admire MOST? **(OPEN-END; RECORD RESPONSE. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE; IF ANSWERS DK, PROBE ONCE.)**
- Q.2 What WOMAN living in America today, who you've heard or read about, do you admire MOST? **(OPEN-END; RECORD RESPONSE. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE; IF ANSWERS DK, PROBE ONCE.)**

<u>Top 15 Men</u>	<u>Frequency*</u>	<u>Top 15 Women</u>	<u>Frequency*</u>
Bill Clinton	84	Hillary Clinton	161
Billy Graham	62	Elizabeth Dole	138
George Bush (unspecific)	52	Oprah Winfrey	80
Ronald Reagan	51	Barbara Bush	57
Colin Powell	45	Nancy Reagan	39
Bill Gates	41	My Wife	27
Jimmy Carter	38	Madeleine Albright	17
Jesse Ventura	34	My Mother	16
Bill Bradley	24	Maya Angelou	13
John McCain	24	Mother Theresa	10
My Father/Dad	21	Christie Todd Whitman	7
Al Gore	15	Shania Twain	6
Michael Jordan	13	Barbara Walters	4
George Bush, Sr.	12	Princess Diana	4
Donald Trump	12	Meryl Streep	2
None	28	None	19
Not Sure/DK/Refused	8	Not Sure/DK/Refused	15

* The "frequency" column is the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages.

On another subject...

Q.3 How closely have you been following news about the 2000 presidential election campaign... **(READ)**?

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	DK (VOL)
October, 1999	10	35	38	17	0=100
September, 1999 ¹⁹	15	31	33	20	1=100
July, 1999	15	38	24	22	1=100
June, 1999	11	25	29	34	1=100

ROTATE Q.4/4a-4e AND Q.5/5a-5b IN BLOCKS

Q.4 Suppose the 2000 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were Al Gore, the Democrat, and George W. Bush, the Republican. Who would you vote for?

IF "3" OTHER, "8" DON'T KNOW, OR "9" REFUSED, ASK:

Q.4a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to Gore, the Democrat or Bush, the Republican?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1134]:

	Sept <u>1999</u>	July <u>1999</u>	March <u>1999</u> ²⁰	Jan <u>1999</u>	Early Sept <u>1998</u>
39 Gore/Lean Gore	39	42	41	44	40
54 Bush/Lean Bush	54	53	54	50	53
<u>7</u> Undecided/Other/DK	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.4b What do you like most about **(INSERT NAME FROM Q.4 OR Q.4a)** — his personality, his leadership ability, his experience, or his stand on issues?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO CHOSE GORE OR BUSH IN Q.4/4a:

	<u>Personality</u>	<u>Leadership</u>	<u>Experience</u>	Stand on <u>issues</u>	<u>DK</u>	
Al Gore	8	11	32	43	6=100	(N=431)
George W. Bush	13	25	11	42	9=100	(N=625)
Bill Clinton						
September, 1996	14	24	6	49	7=100	
Bob Dole						
September, 1996	3	25	33	35	4=100	
Ross Perot						
September, 1996	8	17	13	54	8=100	

¹⁹ In previous months, the question asked: "News about candidates for the 2000 presidential election."

²⁰ In previous months, the question asked: "Suppose the 2000 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were Al Gore, the Democrat and Texas governor George W. Bush, the Republican..."

Q.4c What do you like LEAST about (INSERT NAME NOT CHOSEN IN Q.4 OR Q.4a) — his personality, his leadership ability, his experience, or his stand on issues?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO CHOSE GORE OR BUSH IN Q.4/4a:

	<u>Personality</u>	<u>Leadership</u>	<u>Experience</u>	<u>Stand on Issues</u>	<u>DK</u>	
Al Gore	24	22	5	39	10=100	(N=625)
George W. Bush	19	11	13	41	16=100	(N=431)

Q.4d Which of the following is the most important reason why you (IF Q.4 OR Q.4a=1, ASK: support ; IF Q.4 OR Q.4a > 1, ASK: don't support) Al Gore for president — his personality and leadership abilities, OR his ties to the Clinton administration?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

	<u>Why Support Gore</u>	<u>Why Don't Support Gore</u>
Personality and leadership abilities	55	38
Ties to the Clinton administration	36	51
(DO NOT READ) Other/Neither	7	7
Don't Know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100
	(N=431)	(N=703)

Q.4e Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the coming presidential election if the candidates are Al Gore and George W. Bush?

23	Al Gore
70	George W. Bush
1	Other (VOL.)
<u>6</u>	DK/Refused
100	

Q.5 Suppose the 2000 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were Bill Bradley, the Democrat, and George W. Bush, the Republican. Who would you vote for?

IF "3" OTHER, "8" DON'T KNOW, OR "9" REFUSED, ASK:

Q.5a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to Bradley, the Democrat or Bush, the Republican?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1134]:

	<u>July 1999</u>
41	Bradley/Lean Bradley ³⁶
54	Bush/Lean Bush
<u>5</u>	Undecided/Other
100	100

Q.5b What do you like (**IF Q.5 OR Q.5a=1, ASK: most ; IF Q.5 OR Q.5a =2, ASK: least**) about Bill Bradley — his personality, his leadership ability, his experience, or his stand on issues?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

	<u>Like Most About Bradley</u>	<u>Like Least About Bradley</u>
Personality	9	6
Leadership	15	8
Experience	14	13
Stand on Issues	49	36
Don't know/Refused	<u>13</u>	<u>37</u>
	100	100
	(N=453)	(N=617)

Still thinking about the 2000 elections...

Q.6 If the elections for U.S. CONGRESS were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "3" OR "9" ASK:

Q.6a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1134]:

	<u>Republican/ Lean Rep.</u>	<u>Democrat/ Lean Dem.</u>	<u>Other/ Undecided</u>
October, 1999	43	49	8=100
June, 1999	40	50	10=100
November, 1998	42	48	10=100
Late October, 1998	40	47	13=100
Early October, 1998	43	44	13=100
Early September, 1998	45	46	9=100
Late August, 1998	44	45	11=100
Early August, 1998	42	49	9=100
June, 1998	44	46	10=100
March, 1998	40	52	8=100
February, 1998	41	50	9=100
January, 1998	41	51	8=100
August, 1997	45	48	7=100
Early November, 1996 ²¹	44	48	8=100
October, 1996	42	49	9=100
Late September, 1996	43	49	8=100
Early September, 1996	43	51	6=100
July, 1996	46	47	7=100
June, 1996	44	50	6=100
March, 1996	44	49	7=100
January, 1996	46	47	7=100
October, 1995	48	48	4=100
August, 1995	50	43	7=100
November, 1994	45	43	12=100
October, 1994	47	44	9=100
Early October, 1994	52	40	8=100
September, 1994	48	46	6=100
July, 1994	45	47	8=100

²¹ Early November 1996 trend based on likely voters.

ASK ALL:

Q.7 Generally speaking, would you say that YOU PERSONALLY care a good deal which party wins control of Congress in the elections this fall, or don't you care very much which party wins?

		<u>May 1990</u>
59	Care a good deal	49
40	Don't care very much	46
<u>1</u>	Don't know	<u>5</u>
100		100

On a different subject...

[THURSDAY RESPONDENTS ASKED SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT WORDING FOR Q.8/Q.8a]²²

Q.8 As I read from a list, tell me which ONE of the following items is the most important thing for the next president to do. Please wait until I read the entire list before you respond. **(READ LIST; ROTATE ORDER)**

Q.8a And which should be the president's second highest priority? **(READ ITEMS AGAIN IF NECESSARY — USE SAME ORDER AS IN Q.8. OMIT RESPONSE FROM Q.8)**

		<u>First Priority</u>	<u>Second Priority</u>
	The economy	12	12
	Health care	11	15
	Education	15	15
13	Morality	7	
	Crime	7	10
	Taxes	6	8
	Poverty	9	8
	Social Security and Medicare	20	16
	The nuclear threat	4	6
	Other (DO NOT READ: SPECIFY)	2	2
	None of the above (DO NOT READ)	*	*
	Don't know (DO NOT READ)	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
		100	100
			(N=1399)²³

Q.9 Which political party do you think can do a better job of on — **(INSERT ITEM SELECTED IN Q.8)**? The Republican Party, or the Democratic Party?

36	Republican Party
46	Democratic Party
8	(DO NOT READ) No difference
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	
(N=1399)	

²² For Q.8 and Q.8a, respondents interviewed Thursday night ONLY (October 7, 1999) were read a slightly different list of items (using the same codes): "Keep the economy strong; Improve the nation's health care system; Improve the educational system; Deal with the moral breakdown in the country; Work to reduce crime; Deal with taxes; Deal with the problems of poor and needy people; Keep Social Security and Medicare financially strong; Prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction." The DO NOT READ codes 10 (Other), 11 (None of the above), and 99 (Don't Know/Refused) were the same.

²³ If respondent did not choose a first priority in Q.8, they were skipped out of this question.

ROTATE Q.10 AND Q.11

INTERVIEWER NOTE: LEAD OFF THE 1ST SERIES WITH “Now...” FOR THE SECOND SERIES INSERT THE WORD “more” BEFORE “pairs of opposite phrases.”

Q.10 As I read some pairs of opposite phrases, tell me which ONE best reflects your impression of Al Gore so far. (First,) does Al Gore impress you as... **(READ AND ROTATE)**

- a. Trustworthy or NOT trustworthy?
59 Trustworthy
33 Not trustworthy
2 Neither particularly **(VOLUNTEERED)**
6 Don't know/Refused
100

- b. Personally likeable or NOT personally likeable?
63 Personally likeable
31 Not personally likeable
2 Neither particularly **(VOLUNTEERED)**
4 Don't know/Refused
100

- c. Someone who has new ideas or someone who DOESN'T have new ideas?
40 Has new ideas
49 Doesn't have new ideas
2 Neither particularly **(VOLUNTEERED)**
9 Don't know/Refused
100

- d. Someone who cares about people like you or someone who DOESN'T care about people like you?
60 Cares about people like you
31 Doesn't care about people like you
2 Neither particularly **(VOLUNTEERED)**
7 Don't know/Refused
100

- e. A strong leader or NOT a strong leader?
33 A strong leader
59 Not a strong leader
2 Neither particularly **(VOLUNTEERED)**
6 Don't know/Refused
100

Q.11 As I read some pairs of opposite phrases, tell me which ONE best reflects your impression of George W. Bush so far. (First,) does George W. Bush impress you as... **(READ AND ROTATE)**

a. Trustworthy or NOT trustworthy?
 63 Trustworthy
 29 Not trustworthy
 2 Neither particularly **(VOLUNTEERED)**
6 Don't know/Refused
 100

b. Personally likeable or NOT personally likeable?
 74 Personally likeable
 20 Not personally likeable
 2 Neither particularly **(VOLUNTEERED)**
4 Don't know/Refused
 100

c. Someone who has new ideas or someone who DOESN'T have new ideas?
 55 Has new ideas
 34 Doesn't have new ideas
 2 Neither particularly **(VOLUNTEERED)**
9 Don't know/Refused
 100

d. Someone who cares about people like you or someone who DOESN'T care about people like you?
 54 Cares about people like you
 37 Doesn't care about people like you
 2 Neither particularly **(VOLUNTEERED)**
7 Don't know/Refused
 100

e. A strong leader or NOT a strong leader?
 68 A strong leader
 24 Not a strong leader
 3 Neither particularly **(VOLUNTEERED)**
5 Don't know/Refused
 100

On another subject...

Q.12 In your opinion, should the federal government create national standards to protect the rights of patients in HMOs and managed health care plans, OR would this get the government too involved in health care?

		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Early Aug <u>1998</u>
64	Government should create national standards	48	53
30	Too much government involvement	35	
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100

Q.13 I'd like your opinion of some programs and proposals being discussed in this country today. Please tell me if you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose each one. (The first one is...) **(READ AND ROTATE; ITEM c. SHOULD ALWAYS COME LAST)**

	Strongly <u>Favor</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	Strongly <u>Oppose</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
a. An increase in the minimum wage, from \$5.15 an hour to \$6.45 an hour February, 1998 ²⁴	48 48	34 32	12 14	4 5	2=100 1=100
b. Banning the unlimited campaign contributions that corporations and unions can now make to political parties	29	27	24	15	5=100
c. Allowing patients to sue insurance companies which deny or delay medical treatments	47	35	11	4	3=100

Q.14 Now I'd like you to think about some concerns that people may have. How concerned are you, if at all, about **(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS)** ? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned about this? (What about...?)

	Very <u>Concerned</u>	Somewhat <u>Concerned</u>	Not too <u>Concerned</u>	Not at all <u>Concerned</u>	Does Not Apply (VOL)	Don't <u>Know</u>
a. Not having enough money for your retirement?	51	27	13	8	1	*=100
May, 1997	42	26	15	13	3	1=100
October, 1996 (RVs)	56	24	11	7	1	1=100
March, 1996	59	23	9	7	2	*=100
October, 1995	48	29	10	8	4	1=100
May, 1988	34	35	15	8	4	4=100
b. Being unable to save enough money to put a child through college?	47	23	11	13	6	*=100
May, 1997	39	17	10	14	19	1=100
October, 1996 (RVs)	47	18	9	13	12	1=100
October, 1995	44	19	9	12	15	1=100
May, 1988	23	22	11	11	29	4=100
c. Being unable to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick?	60	19	13	7	1	*=100
May, 1997	50	20	16	13	1	*=100
October, 1996 (RVs)	61	18	12	7	1	1=100
March, 1996	68	16	10	6	*	*=100
October, 1995	66	17	9	7	1	*=100
d. Becoming a victim of a crime?	39	32	22	7	*	*=100
May, 1997	38	29	22	10	0	1=100
October, 1995	51	30	15	4	*	*=100
May, 1988	36	36	21	5	*	2=100

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Question wording: "An increase in the minimum wage, from \$5.15 an hour to \$6.15 an hour."

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
LATE SEPTEMBER 1999 VALUES UPDATE SURVEY
— FINAL TOPLINE —
September 28-October 10, 1999
N=985

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. 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 DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Late September, 1999	59	33	8=100
September, 1999	56	36	8=100
August, 1999	60	32	8=100
July, 1999	58	31	11=100
June, 1999	55	35	10=100
May, 1999	56	34	10=100
April, 1999	56	38	6=100
March, 1999	62	31	7=100
February, 1999	64	30	6=100
Mid-January, 1999	66	29	5=100
January, 1999	63	30	7=100
Late December, 1998	71	27	2=100
Early December, 1998	61	32	7=100
November, 1998	65	29	6=100
September 21-22, 1998	62	33	5=100
September 19-20, 1998	55	36	9=100
Early September, 1998	61	33	6=100
Late August, 1998	62	32	6=100
Early August, 1998	63	28	9=100
June, 1998	59	32	9=100
May, 1998	62	28	10=100
April, 1998	62	28	10=100
March, 1998	65	26	9=100
Early February, 1998	71	26	3=100
January, 1998	61	30	9=100
November, 1997	58	31	11=100
September, 1997	58	29	13=100
August, 1997	59	32	9=100
June, 1997	54	34	12=100
May, 1997	57	34	9=100
April, 1997	55	34	11=100
February, 1997	60	32	8=100
Early February, 1997	57	30	13=100
January, 1997	59	31	10=100
November, 1996	57	34	9=100
July, 1996	54	38	8=100
June, 1996	54	38	8=100
April, 1996	53	39	8=100
March, 1996	55	38	7=100
February, 1996	51	39	10=100
January, 1996	50	43	7=100
October, 1995	48	42	10=100
September, 1995	45	42	13=100

Q.1 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
August, 1995	44	44	12=100
June, 1995	50	40	10=100
April, 1995	47	43	10=100
March, 1995	44	44	12=100
February, 1995	44	44	12=100
December, 1994	41	47	12=100
November, 1994	48	40	12=100
October, 1994	41	47	12=100
Early October, 1994	38	47	15=100
September, 1994	41	52	7=100
July, 1994	45	46	9=100
June, 1994	42	44	14=100
May, 1994	46	42	12=100
March, 1994	45	42	13=100
January, 1994	51	35	14=100
Early January, 1994	48	35	17=100
December, 1993	48	36	16=100
October, 1993	44	42	14=100
September, 1993	49	35	16=100
Early September, 1993	43	43	14=100
August, 1993	39	46	15=100
May, 1993	39	43	18=100
Early May, 1993	45	37	18=100
April, 1993	49	29	22=100
February, 1993	56	25	19=100

Q.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Late September, 1999	34	46	20=100
September, 1999	35	48	17=100
August, 1999	40	44	16=100
July, 1999	36	45	19=100
June, 1999	37	46	17=100
May, 1999	38	44	18=100
March, 1999	38	47	15=100
February, 1999	37	51	12=100
Mid-January, 1999	36	51	13=100
January, 1999	38	50	12=100
Late December, 1998	39	56	5=100
Early December, 1998	38	49	13=100
November, 1998	41	48	11=100
September 21-22, 1998	44	44	12=100
September 19-20, 1998	46	41	13=100
Early September, 1998	44	37	19=100
Late August, 1998	48	36	16=100
Early August, 1998	43	37	20=100
June, 1998	42	38	20=100
May, 1998	40	41	19=100

Q.2 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
April, 1998	41	40	19=100
March, 1998	43	39	18=100
January, 1998	43	41	16=100
November, 1997	41	43	16=100
August, 1997	42	44	14=100
June, 1997	33	50	17=100
May, 1997	40	44	16=100
April, 1997	40	44	16=100
February, 1997	44	42	14=100
January, 1997	38	47	15=100
November, 1996	40	43	17=100
July, 1996	38	48	14=100
June, 1996	36	50	14=100
April, 1996	39	46	15=100
March, 1996	35	51	14=100
February, 1996	33	53	14=100
January, 1996	36	54	10=100
October, 1995	36	51	13=100
September, 1995	36	50	14=100
August, 1995	38	45	17=100
June, 1995	41	45	14=100
April, 1995	44	43	13=100
March 1995	43	39	18=100
December, 1994	52	28	20=100

[FOR QUESTIONS Q.3 THRU Q.6, DETERMINE WHAT DAY OF THE WEEK IT IS. IF THE DAY OF THE WEEK IS SUNDAY, SUBSTITUTE "FRIDAY." IF THE DAY OF THE WEEK IS NOT SUNDAY, READ "YESTERDAY".]

I'd like to ask you a few questions about how you spent your day yesterday...

Q.3 Did you get a chance to read a daily newspaper yesterday, or not?

IF "YES" IN Q.3, ASK:

Q.3a About how much time did you spend reading a daily newspaper yesterday? **(DO NOT READ)**

		<u>Nov</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>March</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>March</u>	<i>Gallup</i>
		<u>1998</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1965</u>
47	Read the paper	47	48	50	50	52	45	58	49	56	71
9	Less than 15 min.	8	8	8	7	7	9	7	7	n/a	n/a
12	15-29 min.	11	14	14	15	15	14	15	15	n/a	n/a
16	30-59 min.	16	17	17	18	18	16	21	17	n/a	n/a
10	1 hour or more	11	9	10	10	11	6	14	10	n/a	n/a
*	Don't know	1	*	1	*	1	0	1	*	n/a	n/a
53	Didn't read paper	53	52	50	50	48	55	42	50	44	29
*	Don't know	*	*	0	*	*	*	0	1	*	0
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

ASK ALL:

Q.4 Did you watch the news or a news program on television yesterday, or not?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES, WATCHED IN Q.4 ASK:

Q.4a About how much time did you spend watching the news or any news programs on TV yesterday? **(DO NOT READ)**

		Nov 1998	April 1998	Nov 1997	April 1996	June 1995	March 1995	Feb 1994	Jan 1994	March 1991	Gallup 1965
62	Watched TV News	65	59	68	59	64	61	74	72	68	55
6	Less than 15 min.	5	3	4	3	3	4	3	3	n/a	n/a
7	15-29 min.	8	7	11	6	8	9	8	8	n/a	n/a
21	30-59 min.	21	21	23	21	24	21	25	25	n/a	n/a
28	1 hour or more	30	28	30	29	28	27	37	36	n/a	n/a
*	Don't know	1	*	*	*	1	*	1	*	n/a	n/a
37	Did not watch	35	41	31	40	35	38	26	27	32	45
<u>1</u>	Don't know	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.5 Apart from news, did you watch anything else on television yesterday, or not?

IF "YES" (1) IN Q.5, ASK:

Q.5a About how much time did you spend watching TV yesterday, not including the news? **(DO NOT READ)**

		Nov 1997	June 1995	Feb 1994
63	Yes	64	59	69
1	A half hour or less	2	1	2
6	Thirty minutes or less than one hour	5	4	3
13	About an hour or more	15	10	11
6	More than one hour but less than two hours	7	6	7
18	Two hours to less than three hours	16	16	19
9	Three hours to less than four hours	11	10	12
10	Four hours or more	8	11	14
*	Don't know/Refused	*	1	1
37	Did not watch	36	40	31
<u>0</u>	Don't know	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.6 About how much time, if any did you spend listening to any news on the radio yesterday or didn't you happen to listen to the news on the radio yesterday? **(DO NOT READ)**

		Nov 1998	April 1998	Nov 1997	April 1996	June 1995	March 1995	Feb 1994	Jan 1994	March 1991	Gallup 1965
44	Yes, listened	41	49	44	44	42	47	47	47	44	58
12	Less than 15 min.	13	16	12	12	13	16	14	15	n/a	n/a
8	15-29 min.	8	9	9	11	9	12	11	10	n/a	n/a
10	30-59 min.	8	10	9	10	9	9	9	10	n/a	n/a
14	1 hour or more	12	14	14	11	11	10	13	12	n/a	n/a
56	Didn't Listen	57	51	55	55	56	52	52	52	56	42
<u>*</u>	Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**[IF THE DAY OF THE WEEK IS SUNDAY, BEGIN THIS SERIES WITH “Now thinking about yesterday...”
OTHERWISE BEGIN WITH “Again, thinking about yesterday...”]**

Q.7 Did you spend any time reading a magazine?

IF “YES” IN Q.7, ASK:

Q.7a About how much time did you spend reading magazines yesterday? **(DO NOT READ)**

		April <u>1998</u>	Nov <u>1997</u>	June <u>1995</u>	Feb <u>1994</u>
28	Yes	29	32	31	33
	4 Less than 15 minutes	4	6	4	5
	8 15 to less 30 minutes	7	8	8	9
	9 30 minutes to less than one hour	10	9	11	10
	7 One hour or more	8	9	8	9
	* Don't know/Refused	*	*	*	*
72	No	71	68	69	67
*	Don't know	*	*	*	0
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

ASK ALL:

Q.8 Not including school or work related books, did you spend anytime reading a book yesterday? **(IF YES: Was it a work of fiction or non-fiction?)**

IF “YES” IN Q.8, ASK:

Q.8a About how much time did you spend reading books yesterday? **(DO NOT READ)**

		Nov <u>1997</u>	June <u>1995</u>	Feb <u>1994</u>
35	Yes	35	30	31
	SUBJECT			
	16 Fiction	16	14	14
	16 Non-fiction	17	14	17
	2 Both	1	1	*
	1 Don't know	1	1	0
	TIME			
	3 Less than 15 minutes	2	1	2
	6 15 to less than 30 minutes	5	4	3
	9 30 minutes to less than one hour	10	8	9
	17 One hour or more	17	17	17
	* Don't know	1	0	0
65	No	65	70	69
<u>0</u>	Don't know/Refused	*	*	*
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

ASK ALL:

Q.9 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(READ ITEMS, IN ORDER. DO NOT ROTATE)**

	Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	16	31	35	17	1=100
November, 1997	15	31	35	18	1=100
July, 1994	22	32	31	15	*=100
May, 1993	15	37	31	16	1=100
June, 1992	14	36	32	17	1=100
Nov, 1991	22	28	28	21	1=100
May, 1990	19	38	31	11	1=100
Feb, 1989	22	40	29	8	1=100
May, 1988	16	39	33	11	1=100
May, 1987	14	38	34	12	2=100
b. Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly	28	49	16	5	2=100
November, 1997	32	44	18	5	1=100
July, 1994	39	44	13	3	1=100
May, 1993	29	53	13	3	2=100
June, 1992	35	49	12	3	1=100
Nov, 1991	41	43	11	4	1=100
May, 1990	30	48	17	2	3=100
Feb, 1989	30	50	16	2	2=100
May, 1988	26	50	19	3	2=100
May, 1987	22	51	21	3	3=100
c. Most elected officials care what people like me think	5	34	41	18	2=100
November, 1997	6	35	38	19	2=100
July, 1994	4	29	41	25	1=100
May, 1993	5	35	42	16	2=100
June, 1992	5	31	46	16	2=100
Nov, 1991	7	29	39	23	2=100
May, 1990	7	37	39	14	3=100
Feb, 1989	5	39	42	12	2=100
May, 1988	5	42	40	11	2=100
May, 1987	5	42	40	9	4=100
d. Voting gives people like me some say about how government runs things	27	46	17	7	3=100
November, 1997	27	40	23	9	1=100
July, 1994	24	42	21	11	2=100
Nov, 1991	32	42	15	9	2=100
May, 1990	23	50	18	7	2=100
Feb, 1989	25	48	20	5	2=100
May, 1988	26	49	18	5	2=100
May, 1987	23	55	15	4	3=100

Q.9 CONTINUED ...

		Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
e.	Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control	11	21	38	29	1=100
	November, 1997	10	23	37	28	2=100
	July, 1994	14	25	33	26	2=100
	May, 1993	11	30	41	16	2=100
	June, 1992	11	27	38	21	3=100
	May, 1990	11	29	39	18	3=100
	May, 1988	13	28	37	19	3=100
	May, 1987	8	30	41	16	5=100
f.	Hard work offers little guarantee of success	11	18	36	33	2=100
	November, 1997	13	20	34	32	1=100
	July, 1994	15	24	32	28	1=100
	June, 1992	15	30	30	22	3=100
	Nov, 1991	20	24	29	25	2=100
	May, 1990	10	26	40	23	1=100
	Feb, 1989	14	27	36	21	2=100
	May, 1988	11	21	40	26	1=100
	May, 1987	7	22	44	24	3=100
g.	I admire people who get rich by working hard	52	35	6	5	2=100
	November, 1997	52	37	7	3	1=100
	July, 1994	51	37	8	3	1=100
	June, 1992	47	42	7	3	1=100
h.	The strength of this country today is mostly based on the success of American business	23	53	14	5	5=100
	November, 1997	22	54	16	5	3=100
	July, 1994	26	52	15	5	2=100
	June, 1992	24	54	15	5	2=100
	Nov, 1991	29	47	15	6	3=100
	May, 1990	20	57	14	3	6=100
	Feb, 1989	23	54	14	4	5=100
	May, 1988	25	54	14	3	4=100
	May, 1987	16	60	16	3	5=100
i.	Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good	19	36	31	6	8=100
	November, 1997	20	37	32	5	6=100
	July, 1994	27	36	28	5	4=100
	June, 1992	19	42	28	5	6=100
	May, 1990	16	42	29	4	9=100
	May, 1988	17	40	31	4	8=100
	May, 1987	12	43	30	4	11=100

Q.9 CONTINUED ...

		Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
j.	The federal government should run ONLY those things that cannot be run at the local level	32	42	17	5	4=100
	November, 1997	33	41	17	7	2=100
	July, 1994	38	40	14	5	3=100
	May, 1990	26	51	16	2	5=100
	May, 1987	22	53	16	3	6=100
k.	When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful	23	36	31	7	3=100
	November, 1997	27	37	27	7	2=100
	July, 1994	33	36	25	5	1=100
	May, 1993	24	45	24	5	2=100
	June, 1992	29	41	24	4	2=100
	Nov, 1991	32	36	23	7	2=100
	May, 1990	22	45	25	4	4=100
	Feb, 1989	26	39	26	5	4=100
	May, 1988	24	42	26	3	5=100
	May, 1987	19	44	27	4	6=100
l.	The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives	30	30	32	6	2=100
	November, 1997	29	35	29	6	1=100
	July, 1994	37	32	25	5	1=100
	May, 1993	26	39	30	4	1=100
	June, 1992	28	36	29	5	2=100
	Nov, 1991	32	31	28	7	2=100
	May, 1990	22	40	29	5	4=100
	Feb, 1989	22	35	34	9	3=100
	May, 1988	25	36	31	5	3=100
	May, 1987	18	40	32	5	5=100
m.	The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	11	38	34	14	3=100
	November, 1997	9	39	35	15	2=100
	July, 1994	10	32	38	19	1=100
	June, 1992	8	36	37	17	2=100
	Nov, 1991	11	37	34	16	2=100
	May, 1990	10	42	35	10	3=100
	Feb, 1989	12	45	31	10	2=100
	May, 1988	11	42	34	10	3=100
	May, 1987	9	48	31	8	4=100

Q.9 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
n. Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public interest	7	38	37	13	5=100
November, 1997	7	38	40	12	3=100
July, 1994	7	38	38	15	2=100
June, 1992	5	35	42	14	4=100
Nov, 1991	8	32	38	19	3=100
May, 1990	5	38	37	13	7=100
Feb, 1989	5	33	44	12	6=100
May, 1988	6	36	39	13	6=100
May, 1987	4	39	38	10	9=100
o. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	31	43	20	3	3=100
November, 1997	31	42	20	5	2=100
July, 1994	31	42	22	4	1=100
May, 1993	26	46	22	3	3=100
June, 1992	30	47	18	3	2=100
Nov, 1991	41	39	14	3	3=100
May, 1990	29	48	15	3	5=100
Feb, 1989	35	49	12	1	3=100
May, 1988	35	44	15	2	4=100
May, 1987	27	50	16	2	5=100
p. Business corporations make too much profit	23	33	32	7	5=100
November, 1997	21	37	31	7	4=100
July, 1994	22	39	28	7	4=100
May, 1993	22	41	27	5	5=100
June, 1992	21	39	29	5	6=100
Nov, 1991	29	36	23	7	5=100
May, 1990	23	40	24	6	7=100
Feb, 1989	27	45	20	3	5=100
May, 1988	25	40	25	4	6=100
May, 1987	21	44	24	4	7=100
q. It is time for Washington politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders	29	44	19	3	5=100
November, 1997	27	41	23	4	5=100
July, 1994	34	45	14	4	3=100
June, 1992	38	46	12	2	2=100
Nov, 1991	32	45	16	4	3=100
May, 1990	21	40	26	4	9=100
Feb, 1989	20	38	30	4	8=100
May, 1988	26	42	22	3	7=100
May, 1987	16	46	26	3	9=100

Q.9 CONTINUED....

		<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
r.	Dealing with a federal government agency is often not worth the trouble	21	38	29	6	6=100
	November, 1997	21	44	27	4	4=100
	July, 1994	26	43	22	6	3=100
	June, 1992	21	43	27	4	5=100
	May, 1990	21	44	24	4	7=100
	May, 1988	20	43	27	4	6=100
	May, 1987	14	44	29	3	10=100
s.	Many people today think they can get ahead without working hard and making sacrifices	22	41	24	12	1=100
	November, 1997	25	37	24	12	2=100
	July, 1994	27	38	22	12	1=100
	June, 1992	24	39	22	13	2=100
t.	As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	15	55	20	7	3=100
	November, 1997	19	52	20	7	2=100
	July, 1994	20	48	24	6	2=100
	May, 1993	12	47	31	7	3=100
	June, 1992	16	50	24	8	2=100
	Nov, 1991	19	49	22	8	2=100
	May, 1990	13	52	24	6	5=100
	Feb, 1989	14	55	23	5	3=100
	May, 1988	15	51	23	7	4=100
	May, 1987	12	56	24	4	4=100
u.	I don't believe that there are any real limits to growth in this country today	20	42	26	8	4=100
	November, 1997	17	39	31	10	3=100
	July, 1994	22	40	28	8	2=100
	May, 1993	14	42	34	7	3=100
	June, 1992	19	39	30	8	4=100
	Nov, 1991	24	38	26	9	3=100
	May, 1990	19	46	25	5	5=100
	Feb, 1989	22	46	23	5	4=100
	May, 1988	19	45	26	6	4=100
	May, 1987	17	50	24	4	5=100
v.	We need new people in Washington even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians	15	34	34	13	4=100
	November, 1997	16	34	33	14	3=100
	July, 1994	20	40	28	10	2=100
	June, 1992	20	36	30	11	3=100
	May, 1990	13	34	37	10	6=100
	May, 1988	16	35	33	10	6=100
	May, 1987	9	35	38	10	8=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.10 Are you now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

		Early							
		Aug	Sept	Nov	May	June	Feb	July	March
		<u>1999</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
56	Full-time	58	55	55	53	57	55	55	53
13	Part-time	11	12	12	12	13	11	12	14
31	Not employed	30	33	33	35	30	34	33	32
*	DK/Ref	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.11 and Q.11a BASED ON THOSE EMPLOYED FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME [N=1829]:

Q.11 Do you now earn enough money to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

		Early								<i>U.S. News & World Report</i>			
		Aug	Sept	Nov	May	June	Feb	July	March	Oct	Aug	May	Jan
		<u>1999</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
42	Yes	39	43	41	46	44	41	40	44	36	33	34	39
58	No	60	57	59	54	56	58	60	56	63	66	65	61
*	DK/Ref	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

IF "2" DO NOT NOW EARN ENOUGH MONEY IN Q.11 ASK:

Q.11a Do you think you will be able to earn enough money in the future to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

		Early								<i>U.S. News & World Report</i>			
		Aug	Sept	Nov	May	June	Feb	July	March	Oct	Aug	May	Jan
		<u>1999</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
33	Yes	38	36	33	34	34	35	34	33	35	36	34	34
23	No	19	20	24	18	20	20	24	20	36	25	28	22
<u>2</u>	DK/Ref	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
58%		60%	57%	59%	54%	56%	58%	60%	56%	63%	66%	65%	61%

ASK ALL:

Q.12 Did you happen to use a personal computer at home yesterday?

IF "YES" IN Q.12, ASK:

Q.12a About how much time did you spend using a personal computer at home yesterday? (**DO NOT READ**)

		Nov	April	Nov	June	Feb
		<u>1998</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>
34	Yes	19	29	26	14	14
5	A half hour or less	4	--	4	3	--
7	30 minutes to less than one hour	3	--	6	3	--
9	About an hour	5	--	6	3	--
3	More than one but less than two hours	2	--	2	1	--
5	Two to less than three hours	2	--	3	2	--
2	Three to less than four hours	2	--	3	1	--
3	Four or more hours	1	--	2	1	--
*	Don't know/Refused	*	--	*	0	--
66	No/Doesn't have home PC	81	71	74	86	86
*	Don't know/Refused	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.13 Do you use a computer at your workplace, at school, or at home on at least an occasional basis?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Late September, 1999	68	32	*=100
September, 1999	70	30	*=100
August, 1999	67	33	*=100
July, 1999	68	32	*=100
June, 1999	64	35	1=100
May, 1999	66	33	1=100
April, 1999	71	29	*=100
March, 1999	68	32	*=100
February, 1999	68	32	*=100
January, 1999	69	31	*=100
Early December, 1998	64	36	*=100
Early September, 1998	64	36	*=100
Early August, 1998	66	34	*=100
April, 1998	61	39	*=100
January, 1998	65	35	*=100
November, 1997	66	34	*=100
June, 1997	60	40	0=100
Early September, 1996	56	44	*=100
July, 1996	56	44	*=100
April, 1996	58	42	*=100
March, 1996	61	39	*=100
February, 1996	60	40	0=100
January, 1996	59	41	0=100

IF YES (USE A COMPUTER), ASK:

Q.14 Do you ever go online to access the Internet or World Wide Web or to send and receive email?

BASED ON TOTAL RESPONDENTS:

	<u>Goes Online</u>	<u>Doesn't Go Online</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Late September, 1999	52	48	*=100
September, 1999	53	47	0=100
August, 1999	52	48	0=100
July, 1999	49	51	0=100
June, 1999	50	50	*=100
May, 1999	48	52	0=100
April, 1999	51	49	*=100
March, 1999	49	51	*=100
February, 1999	49	51	*=100
January, 1999	47	53	*=100
Early December, 1998	42	58	0=100
November, 1998	37	63	*=100
Early September, 1998	42	58	*=100
Early August, 1998	43	57	*=100
November, 1997	36	63	1=100
July, 1996	23	77	0=100
June, 1995 ²⁵	14	86	*=100

25

The 1995 figure combines responses from two separate questions:

(1) Do you or anyone in your household ever use a modem to connect to any computer bulletin boards, information services such as CompuServe or Prodigy, or other computers at other locations? (IF YES, PROBE: Is that you, someone else or both?)

(2) Do you, yourself, ever use a computer at (work) (school) (work or school) to connect with computer bulletin boards,

IF YES (GO ONLINE), ASK [N=535]:

Q.14a Did you happen to go online yesterday? (IF YES, ASK: From where did you go online... home, work, school, or some combination of these?) (ENTER ALL THAT APPLY)

		Nov <u>1998</u>	Nov <u>1997</u>	Oct <u>1996</u>	June <u>1995</u>
60	Yes (NET)	43	44	38	32
37	Yes, home (INTERVIEWER: home business/work at home would go here)	32	27	26	19
21	Yes, work	12	20	15	15
4	Yes, school	2	6	3	2
5	Yes, other locations	1	1	1	2
40	No, didn't go online	56	55	62	67
<u>0</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100

ASK OF ALL WHO WENT ONLINE YESTERDAY (1-4 IN Q.14a) [N=829]:

Q.14b Counting all of your online sessions, about how much time did you spend online yesterday?

		Nov <u>1998</u>	Nov <u>1997</u>	June <u>1995</u>
19	A half hour or less	29	19	36
27	Thirty minutes to less than one hour	18	22	13
20	About an hour	23	21	17
9	More than one but less than two hours	8	9	8
11	Two to less than three hours	12	10	8
5	Three to less than four hours	4	6	4
9	Four or more hours	6	12	13
<u>*</u>	Don't Know/Refused	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100

information services such as America Online or Prodigy, or other computers over the Internet?

ASK ALL:

Q.15 Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(READ ITEMS, IN ORDER. DO NOT ROTATE)**

	Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
a. There needs to be stricter laws and regulations to protect the environment	41	42	12	4	1=100
November, 1997	41	40	13	5	1=100
July, 1994	46	36	13	4	1=100
June, 1992	55	35	7	2	1=100
b. People should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment	15	41	29	13	2=100
November, 1997	17	38	29	14	2=100
July, 1994	17	40	28	14	1=100
May, 1993	12	45	31	10	2=100
June, 1992	26	41	22	10	1=100
c. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed	50	40	7	2	1=100
November, 1997	52	38	6	3	1=100
July, 1994	52	39	6	2	1=100
June, 1992	59	34	4	2	1=100
Nov, 1991	64	30	3	2	1=100
May, 1990	45	46	6	1	2=100
Feb, 1989	49	42	6	2	1=100
May, 1988	48	43	6	1	2=100
May, 1987	37	53	7	1	2=100
d. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country	20	28	29	21	2=100
November, 1997	17	28	32	21	2=100
July, 1994	21	27	28	22	2=100
May, 1993	14	29	34	20	3=100
June, 1992	16	24	30	27	3=100
Nov, 1991	16	22	32	27	3=100
May, 1990	15	28	32	21	4=100
Feb, 1989	17	24	34	22	3=100
May, 1988	17	28	32	20	3=100
May, 1987	11	31	37	16	5=100
e. It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves	20	42	21	14	3=100
November, 1997	23	38	26	11	2=100
July, 1994	20	37	26	15	2=100
May, 1993	19	43	26	9	3=100
June, 1992	28	41	20	8	3=100
May, 1990	23	44	23	6	4=100
May, 1988	26	48	17	6	3=100
May, 1987	21	50	20	4	5=100

Q.15 CONTINUED ...

		Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
f.	The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	15	34	33	14	4=100
	November, 1997	14	30	37	16	3=100
	July, 1994	13	28	37	19	3=100
	May, 1993	9	34	40	12	5=100
	June, 1992	18	35	31	12	4=100
	Nov, 1991	20	31	31	15	3=100
	May, 1990	15	36	34	10	5=100
	May, 1988	17	35	30	12	6=100
	May, 1987	13	40	33	7	7=100
g.	The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep	29	35	22	11	3=100
	November, 1997	29	33	25	11	2=100
	July, 1994	27	32	25	14	2=100
	June, 1992	32	33	22	10	3=100
	Nov, 1991	41	32	16	9	2=100
	May, 1990	27	35	25	9	4=100
	Feb, 1989	35	30	22	10	3=100
	May, 1988	28	38	22	9	3=100
	May, 1987	22	40	26	7	5=100
h.	I like political leaders who are willing to make compromises in order to get the job done	32	45	15	4	4=100
	November, 1997	32	46	14	5	3=100
	May, 1990	23	48	17	6	6=100
	May, 1988	23	49	17	5	6=100
	May, 1987	16	56	16	4	8=100
i.	I am very patriotic	49	38	8	3	2=100
	November, 1997	48	42	6	2	2=100
	July, 1994	51	40	6	2	1=100
	June, 1992	52	39	5	2	2=100
	Nov, 1991	58	33	5	2	2=100
	May, 1990	48	40	8	2	2=100
	Feb, 1989	51	40	6	1	2=100
	May, 1988	51	38	6	2	3=100
	May, 1987	43	46	7	1	3=100
j.	In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country	10	28	37	16	9=100
	November, 1997	13	27	39	14	7=100
	July, 1994	14	33	35	14	4=100
	May, 1993	14	37	37	9	3=100
	June, 1992	21	36	30	9	4=100
	Nov, 1991	17	28	33	16	6=100
	May, 1990	10	28	42	16	4=100
	Feb, 1989	13	29	39	16	3=100
	May, 1988	12	25	41	18	4=100
	May, 1987	8	28	45	14	5=100

Q.15 CONTINUED ...

		Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
k.	I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other	43	30	12	11	4=100
	November, 1997	37	33	13	13	4=100
	July, 1994	35	33	13	16	3=100
	June, 1992	33	31	14	18	4=100
	Nov, 1991	35	31	12	18	4=100
	May, 1990	19	30	18	26	7=100
	Feb, 1989	21	29	20	25	5=100
	May, 1988	21	28	18	28	5=100
	May, 1987	13	35	22	24	6=100
l.	We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment	12	19	34	31	4=100
	November, 1997	10	21	34	31	4=100
	July, 1994	10	19	35	34	2=100
	May, 1993	8	26	41	22	3=100
	June, 1992	11	23	36	27	3=100
	Nov, 1991	10	20	33	34	3=100
	May, 1990	8	16	39	33	4=100
	Feb, 1989	8	20	36	32	4=100
	May, 1988	7	19	36	35	3=100
	May, 1987	6	18	43	28	5=100
m.	Discriminations against blacks are rare today	5	17	47	26	5=100
	November, 1997	7	17	47	27	2=100
	July, 1994	6	18	45	28	3=100
	June, 1992	6	13	43	35	3=100
	May, 1990	5	26	42	23	4=100
	May, 1988	7	25	41	24	3=100
	May, 1987	6	28	43	18	5=100
n.	We should restrict and control people coming into our country to live more than we do now	38	34	18	6	4=100
	November, 1997	39	34	18	6	3=100
	July, 1994	47	35	12	5	1=100
	June, 1992	42	34	15	6	3=100
o.	It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the United States	17	25	35	16	7=100
	November, 1997	17	32	32	14	5=100
	July, 1994	19	24	35	19	3=100
	June, 1992	19	27	34	15	5=100
	Nov, 1991	21	24	31	20	4=100
	May, 1990	14	33	33	13	7=100
	Feb, 1989	20	34	30	12	4=100
	May, 1988	19	34	29	11	7=100
	May, 1987	11	33	37	10	9=100

Q.15 CONTINUED ...

		Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
p.	The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	23	32	30	12	3=100
	November, 1997	23	34	29	11	3=100
	July, 1994	20	35	27	17	1=100
	May, 1993	16	38	33	10	3=100
	June, 1992	21	33	30	13	3=100
	Nov, 1991	21	31	29	16	3=100
	May, 1990	17	35	31	13	4=100
	Feb, 1989	22	39	26	10	3=100
	May, 1988	22	37	25	12	4=100
	May, 1987	14	40	30	10	6=100
q.	American lives are worth more than the lives of people in other countries	7	10	31	49	3=100
	November, 1997	8	11	31	47	3=100
	July, 1994	12	14	31	42	1=100
	Nov, 1991	11	12	28	46	3=100
	May, 1990	10	18	32	36	4=100
	Feb, 1989	8	15	31	43	3=100
	May, 1988	9	15	34	39	3=100
	May, 1987	7	17	39	32	5=100
r.	We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	21	28	28	18	5=100
	November, 1997	21	31	26	19	3=100
	July, 1994	25	28	25	20	2=100
	May, 1993	21	34	29	13	3=100
	June, 1992	24	33	25	14	4=100
	Nov, 1991	30	30	21	16	3=100
	May, 1990	22	33	24	16	5=100
	Feb, 1989	22	35	23	15	5=100
	May, 1988	23	34	24	14	5=100
	May, 1987	17	37	27	13	6=100
s.	I often worry about the chances of nuclear war	22	30	28	18	2=100
	November, 1997	21	27	31	19	2=100
	July, 1994	24	24	32	19	1=100
	May, 1990	21	31	29	16	3=100
	May, 1988	28	33	25	12	2=100
	May, 1987	23	39	27	0	2=100
t.	Most of the countries that have gotten help from America end up resenting us	24	40	23	4	9=100
	November, 1997	24	43	23	3	7=100
	July, 1994	29	43	21	3	4=100
	June, 1992	30	43	19	3	5=100
	May, 1990	27	46	18	2	7=100
	May, 1988	32	44	16	2	6=100
	May, 1987	21	50	19	2	8=100

Q.15 CONTINUED ...

		Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
u.	It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs	45	43	8	2	2=100
	November, 1997	48	43	6	2	1=100
	July, 1994	51	39	7	2	1=100
	May, 1993	33	54	9	1	3=100
	June, 1992	47	44	5	2	2=100
	Nov, 1991	54	38	4	2	2=100
	May, 1990	39	50	6	1	4=100
	Feb, 1989	51	42	3	1	3=100
	May, 1988	47	43	6	1	3=100
	May, 1987	32	55	7	1	5=100
v.	Poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs	34	43	14	5	4=100
	November, 1997	35	44	14	4	3=100
	July, 1994	46	39	10	3	2=100
	May, 1993	31	49	15	3	2=100
	June, 1992	35	44	14	4	3=100
w.	Japan has taken unfair advantage of the United States	19	32	26	5	18=100
	November, 1997	23	38	23	4	12=100
	July, 1994	29	37	21	5	8=100
	June, 1992	34	35	21	6	4=100
x.	We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home	39	41	15	4	1=100
	November, 1997	40	38	17	3	2=100
	July, 1994	46	38	12	3	1=100
	May, 1993	40	45	12	2	1=100
	June, 1992	48	40	9	2	1=100

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.16 In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL) No Preference	(VOL) Other Party	<u>Don't know</u>
Late September, 1999	24	31	36	5	1	3=100
August, 1999	25	33	37	3	*	2=100
November, 1997	25	32	38	3	*	2=100
June, 1996	30	33	34	2	*	1=100
February, 1996	30	32	32	3	1	2=100
October, 1995	30	30	35	3	*	2=100
April, 1995	30	29	37	3	*	1=100
March, 1995	35	28	32	--	2	3=100
February, 1995	33	30	33	--	2	2=100
December, 1994	35	31	30	--	2	2=100
November, 1994	28	31	35	4	*	2=100
October, 1994	31	32	33	3	*	1=100
Early October, 1994	33	30	32	-	2	3=100
July, 1994	29	33	35	2	*	1=100
June, 1992	28	32	36	1	*	3=100
May, 1990	28	33	28	9	*	2=100
February, 1989	31	38	23	7	*	1=100
May, 1988	28	38	26	6	*	2=100
January, 1988	27	39	26	6	*	2=100
May, 1987	25	37	28	8	*	2=100

Q.17 ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED "REPUBLICAN" IN Q.16:

Q.17 Do you consider yourself a STRONG Republican, or NOT a strong Republican?

		<u>Aug</u> <u>1999</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1997</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</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>
10	Strong	11	11	11	15	16	13	11	13	15	13	12	11
<u>14</u>	Not strong	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>
24		25	25	30	30	31	29	28	28	31	28	27	25

Q.18 ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED "DEMOCRAT" IN Q.16:

Q.18 Do you consider yourself a STRONG Democrat, or NOT a strong Democrat?

		<u>Aug</u> <u>1999</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1997</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</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>
15	Strong	15	14	14	14	18	15	14	16	17	19	19	18
<u>16</u>	Not strong	<u>18</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>
31		33	32	30	29	32	33	32	33	38	38	39	37

Q.19 ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “INDEPENDENT,” “NO PREFERENCE,” “OTHER,” OR “DK,” IN Q.16

Q.19 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

BASED ON INDEPENDENTS/OTHER (Q.16=3,4,5,9) [N=450]:

31	Republican
34	Democrat
27	Neither (VOL.)
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL:

Q.20 When you were growing up, did your parents usually vote for Republicans or Democrats? (IF PARENTS VOTED DIFFERENTLY, ASK: How did the parent you felt closer to usually vote?)

		<u>Aug 1999</u>	<u>Nov 1997</u>	<u>July 1994</u>
25	Republicans	26	28	28
43	Democrats	43	43	47
8	Both/Split ticket (VOL)	8	6	6
6	Didn't vote/Not eligible (VOL)	5	5	4
3	Other response	2	1	2
<u>15</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>13</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.21 I'm going to read you some more statements on a different topic. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements. The first one is... (READ ITEMS, IN ORDER. DO NOT ROTATE)
Do you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree, or completely disagree?

		<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a.	Prayer is an important part of my daily life	55	23	15	6	1=100
	November, 1997	53	25	14	7	1=100
	July, 1994	52	26	14	8	*=100
	Nov, 1991	50	30	13	6	1=100
	May, 1990	46	31	16	6	1=100
	May, 1988	46	32	15	6	1=100
	May, 1987	41	35	17	6	1=100

Q.21 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
b. We all will be called before God at the Judgment Day to answer for our sins	61	22	7	6	4=100
November, 1997	64	21	7	5	3=100
July, 1994	61	23	7	7	2=100
May, 1993	56	26	6	5	7=100
June, 1992	62	21	7	7	3=100
May, 1990	52	29	9	5	5=100
Feb, 1989	62	22	6	5	5=100
May, 1988	52	28	8	6	6=100
May, 1987	52	29	9	5	5=100
c. Even today miracles are performed by the power of God 58	26	6	5	5=100	
November, 1997	61	24	8	4	3=100
July, 1994	58	26	8	6	2=100
June, 1992	58	25	8	6	3=100
May, 1990	49	33	9	4	5=100
Feb, 1989	53	30	7	5	5=100
May, 1988	51	29	9	6	5=100
May, 1987	47	35	9	4	5=100
d. I never doubt the existence of God	69	19	6	4	2=100
November, 1997	71	17	8	3	1=100
July, 1994	72	16	6	5	1=100
Nov, 1991	71	17	8	3	1=100
May, 1990	60	27	8	3	2=100
Feb, 1989	66	22	6	4	2=100
May, 1988	63	24	7	4	2=100
May, 1987	60	28	7	3	2=100
e. School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals	20	12	26	36	6=100
November, 1997	20	13	29	34	4=100
July, 1994	24	15	29	29	3=100
May, 1993	17	17	34	26	6=100
June, 1992	24	16	27	28	5=100
Nov, 1991	23	16	28	28	5=100
May, 1990	29	20	24	21	6=100
Feb, 1989	28	20	26	21	5=100
May, 1988	29	22	25	18	6=100
May, 1987	27	24	28	14	7=100

Q.21 CONTINUED ...

		Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
f.	Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	36	19	20	23	2=100
	November, 1997	32	18	23	23	4=100
	July, 1994	30	21	23	24	2=100
	May, 1993	26	26	23	21	4=100
	June, 1992	30	18	22	27	3=100
	Nov, 1991	29	20	20	28	3=100
	May, 1990	29	21	24	21	5=100
	Feb, 1989	26	24	23	23	4=100
	May, 1988	29	22	22	22	5=100
	May, 1987	24	26	25	19	6=100
g.	Nude magazines and X-rated movies provide harmless entertainment for those who enjoy it	15	28	24	29	4=100
	November, 1997	14	27	26	30	3=100
	July, 1994	15	29	25	29	2=100
	May, 1990	12	29	27	27	5=100
	May, 1988	15	30	28	23	5=100
	May, 1987	14	34	26	21	5=100
h.	Freedom of speech should not extend to groups like the Communist Party or the Ku Klux Klan	21	18	28	29	4=100
	November, 1997	21	17	31	26	5=100
	July, 1994	21	20	29	28	2=100
	May, 1990	17	18	32	27	6=100
	May, 1988	17	20	32	26	5=100
	May, 1987	16	23	36	19	6=100
i.	The police should be allowed to search the houses of known drug dealers without a court order	28	17	22	31	2=100
	November, 1997	31	18	23	26	2=100
	July, 1994	33	18	22	26	1=100
	May, 1990	33	24	23	18	2=100
	May, 1988	31	23	21	22	2=100
	May, 1987	25	26	27	18	4=100
j.	Women should return to their traditional roles in society	9	16	23	48	4=100
	November, 1997	10	14	30	43	3=100
	July, 1994	12	18	27	40	3=100
	Nov, 1991	10	13	26	49	2=100
	May, 1990	10	20	32	35	3=100
	Feb, 1989	10	16	30	41	3=100
	May, 1988	11	20	30	36	3=100
	May, 1987	9	21	37	29	4=100

Q.21 CONTINUED ...

		Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
k.	Too many children are being raised in day care centers these days	39	36	15	7	3=100
	November, 1997	39	35	17	6	3=100
	July, 1994	39	36	16	7	2=100
	May, 1990	26	47	17	5	5=100
	May, 1988	29	40	19	7	5=100
	May, 1987	23	45	22	5	5=100
l.	AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior	13	19	20	41	7=100
	November, 1997	13	19	22	41	5=100
	July, 1994	17	22	21	36	4=100
	May, 1993	13	22	24	33	8=100
	June, 1992	17	19	19	38	7=100
	May, 1990	16	22	19	33	10=100
	May, 1988	20	24	20	28	8=100
	May, 1987	17	26	22	25	10=100
m.	I have old-fashioned values about family and marriage	53	31	9	5	2=100
	November, 1997	50	35	8	6	1=100
	July, 1994	53	31	10	4	2=100
	Nov, 1991	49	32	10	8	1=100
	May, 1990	49	38	8	4	1=100
	Feb, 1989	46	37	9	6	2=100
	May, 1988	50	35	9	4	2=100
	May, 1987	45	42	9	2	2=100
n.	There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	47	35	11	5	2=100
	November, 1997	45	37	10	6	2=100
	July, 1994	44	36	12	6	2=100
	June, 1992	41	35	12	9	3=100
	Nov, 1991	42	34	13	9	2=100
	May, 1990	36	43	11	6	4=100
	May, 1988	38	41	12	6	4=100
	May, 1987	34	45	12	4	5=100
o.	Labor unions are necessary to protect the working person	28	42	18	7	5=100
	November, 1997	29	41	19	8	3=100
	May, 1990	25	46	19	6	4=100
	May, 1988	26	43	19	7	5=100
	May, 1987	19	48	21	6	6=100
p.	Labor unions have too much power	18	34	30	10	8=100
	November, 1997	20	34	29	11	6=100
	May, 1990	18	37	28	10	7=100
	May, 1988	20	38	26	8	8=100
	May, 1987	19	40	26	7	8=100

Q.21 CONTINUED ...

		<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
q.	Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	33	39	20	6	2=100
	November, 1997	34	36	22	6	2=100
	July, 1994	33	38	20	7	2=100
	June, 1992	38	40	16	4	2=100
	Nov, 1991	45	35	13	5	2=100
	May, 1990	38	40	16	3	3=100
	Feb, 1989	40	38	15	4	3=100
	May, 1988	34	42	18	3	3=100
	May, 1987	31	43	19	3	4=100
r.	I can usually tell whether I'll have a lot in common with someone by knowing how much education he or she has	8	21	42	27	2=100
	November, 1997	8	22	43	26	1=100
	July, 1994	8	25	42	25	*=100
	Nov, 1991	10	22	40	27	1=100
	May, 1990	7	23	46	21	3=100
	Feb, 1989	8	25	42	22	3=100
	May, 1988	6	24	44	23	3=100
	May, 1987	5	23	49	18	5=100
s.	I don't have much in common with people of other races	3	9	45	40	3=100
	November, 1997	3	9	48	38	2=100
	July, 1994	3	9	45	41	2=100
	May, 1990	5	19	50	22	4=100
	May, 1988	6	19	46	26	3=100
	May, 1987	3	20	54	18	5=100
t.	I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	16	20	40	22	2=100
	November, 1997	18	22	40	19	1=100
	July, 1994	19	24	37	19	1=100
	May, 1993	25	29	30	14	2=100
	June, 1992	26	26	31	16	1=100
	Nov, 1991	27	24	32	16	1=100
	May, 1990	19	28	41	11	1=100
	Feb, 1989	20	30	37	12	1=100
	May, 1988	17	28	42	12	1=100
	May, 1987	14	29	44	11	2=100
u.	Money is one of my most important concerns	11	26	39	23	1=100
	November, 1997	13	26	38	23	*=100
	July, 1994	15	25	36	24	*=100
	Nov, 1991	23	29	29	18	1=100
	May, 1990	18	35	35	11	1=100
	Feb, 1989	19	34	32	14	1=100
	May, 1988	17	35	35	12	1=100
	May, 1987	13	34	39	12	2=100

Q.21 CONTINUED ...

		<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
v.	I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially	16	52	22	9	1=100
	November, 1997	18	47	23	12	*=100
	July, 1994	17	47	24	11	1=100
	May, 1993	12	46	28	13	1=100
	June, 1992	16	42	25	16	1=100
	Nov, 1991	16	41	26	16	1=100
	May, 1990	9	49	28	13	1=100
	Feb, 1989	13	49	25	12	1=100
	May, 1988	13	52	25	9	1=100
	May, 1987	11	52	27	8	2=100
w.	I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote	64	27	5	3	1=100
	November, 1997	63	26	7	4	*=100
	July, 1994	66	27	4	3	*=100
	May, 1993	66	28	4	1	1=100
	June, 1992	69	22	6	2	1=100
	Nov, 1991	72	21	4	2	1=100
	May, 1990	50	35	9	4	2=100
	Feb, 1989	64	26	6	2	2=100
	May, 1988	56	32	7	2	3=100
	May, 1987	46	39	9	3	3=100
x.	I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	37	45	12	4	2=100
	November, 1997	40	46	10	3	1=100
	July, 1994	46	43	9	2	*=100
	June, 1992	51	40	6	2	1=100
	Nov, 1991	46	44	7	2	1=100
	May, 1990	33	49	12	4	2=100
	Feb, 1989	34	50	12	2	2=100
	May, 1988	39	47	10	2	2=100
	May, 1987	28	53	12	3	4=100
y.	I'm generally bored by what goes on in Washington	19	39	28	12	2=100
	November, 1997	14	37	34	14	1=100
	July, 1994	17	34	33	15	1=100
	June, 1992	20	35	31	13	1=100
	Nov, 1991	16	36	30	16	2=100
	May, 1990	12	36	38	12	2=100
	Feb, 1989	10	37	37	13	3=100
	May, 1988	11	37	38	12	2=100
	May, 1987	8	34	41	13	4=100

Q.21 CONTINUED ...

		Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
z.	I'm pretty interested in following local politics	18	48	26	6	2=100
	November, 1997	20	48	25	6	1=100
	July, 1994	24	52	18	5	1=100
	June, 1992	26	47	21	5	1=100
	Nov, 1991	29	48	16	5	2=100
	May, 1990	17	53	23	6	1=100
	Feb, 1989	24	49	21	5	1=100
	May, 1988	21	51	22	5	1=100
	May, 1987	16	54	22	4	4=100
aa.	Most issues discussed in Washington don't affect me personally	8	30	42	18	2=100
	November, 1997	8	27	45	19	1=100
	July, 1994	5	25	42	27	1=100
	June, 1992	7	26	43	22	2=100
	Nov, 1991	8	25	41	23	3=100
	May, 1990	7	28	46	16	3=100
	Feb, 1989	7	26	44	20	3=100
	May, 1988	7	29	45	17	2=100
	May, 1987	5	26	50	15	4=100
bb.	I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	36	32	20	9	3=100
	November, 1997	36	32	17	12	3=100
	July, 1994	38	32	18	9	3=100
	June, 1992	39	30	16	9	6=100
	Nov, 1991	46	28	14	8	4=100
	May, 1990	30	37	22	8	3=100
	Feb, 1989	38	34	17	7	4=100
	May, 1988	32	37	18	8	5=100
	May, 1987	25	41	22	6	6=100
cc.	Sometimes I vote for a candidate without really knowing enough about him or her	12	42	26	17	3=100
	November, 1997	14	38	26	20	2=100
	July, 1994	14	38	27	20	1=100
	June, 1992	14	38	25	20	3=100
	Nov, 1991	18	36	22	22	2=100
	May, 1990	12	41	27	15	5=100
	Feb, 1989	15	41	24	17	3=100
	May, 1988	12	44	24	15	15=100
	May, 1987	9	44	28	13	6=100

Q.22 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>Most of The Time</u>	<u>Some of the Time</u>	<u>Only Now and Then</u>	<u>Hardly at All</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Late September, 1999	39	32	20	9	*=100
August, 1999	40	35	17	8	*=100
November, 1998	46	27	14	13	*=100
October, 1998 (RVs)	57	29	10	4	*=100
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	51	33	11	5	*=100
Early September, 1998	45	34	15	6	*=100
June, 1998	36	34	21	9	*=100
November, 1997	41	36	16	7	*=100
November, 1996 (RVs)	52	32	12	4	*=100
October, 1996 (RVs)	43	37	13	6	1=100
June, 1996	41	34	17	8	*=100
October, 1995	46	35	14	5	*=100
April, 1995	43	35	16	6	*=100
November, 1994	49	30	13	7	1=100
October, 1994	45	35	14	6	*=100
July, 1994	46	33	15	6	*=100
May, 1990	39	34	18	9	*=100
February, 1989	47	34	14	4	1=100
October, 1988	52	33	11	4	*=100
September, 1988	58	32	8	2	*=100
May, 1988	37	37	17	6	3=100
January, 1988	37	35	18	8	2=100
November, 1987	49	32	14	4	1=100
May, 1987	41	35	15	7	2=100
July, 1985	36	33	18	12	1=100

Q.23 Thinking back to the 1996 presidential election, when Clinton ran against Dole 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, Dole or Perot?

	<u>Nov 1997</u>	
39	Yes, Clinton	37
22	Yes, Dole	22
6	Yes, Perot	8
1	Yes, other candidate	1
1	Yes, don't remember which candidate	2
27	No, didn't vote/Too young	26
1	Don't Remember if voted	1
<u>3</u>	Refused	<u>3</u>
100		100

ASK ALL:

Q.24 Thinking back to the 1992 presidential election, when Clinton ran against Bush and Perot, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? **IF YES, ASK:** Did you vote for Clinton, Bush or Perot?

31 Yes, Clinton
29 Yes, Bush
6 Yes, Perot
* Yes, other candidate
1 Yes, don't remember which candidate
28 No, didn't vote/Too young
2 Don't Remember if voted
3 Refused
100

Q.24a And just this past year, in the 1998 elections for CONGRESS, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "1" YES, ASK:

Q.24b Are you absolutely certain you voted, or is there a chance you may not have?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "1" YES, CERTAIN, ASK:

Q.24c Did you happen to vote for a Republican candidate or a Democratic candidate for U.S. Congress in your district?

51 Yes, voted
90 Absolutely certain
46 Republican
44 Democrat
2 Other/Independent Candidate
* Didn't vote for Congress
8 Don't know/Refused
9 Did not vote/ may not have voted
1 Don't know/Refused
45 No, didn't vote
2 No, too young to vote
2 Don't know/Refused
100

Q.25 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?

IF YES, ASK:

Q.26 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?

	<u>Yes, Registered</u>	<u>Absolutely Certain</u>	<u>Chance Lapsed</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>	<u>No, Not Registered</u>	<u>DK/ Ref.</u>
Late September, 1999	74	69	5	*	24	2=100
Early September, 1998	77	74	3	*	22	1=100
Late August, 1998	78	75	3	*	22	*=100
June, 1998	78	73	4	1	22	*=100
November, 1997	80	75	4	1	20	*=100
September, 1997	79	76	3	*	20	1=100
November, 1996	76	69	2	*	24	*=100
June, 1996	79	75	4	0	21	*=100
October, 1995	76	73	3	*	23	1=100
April, 1995	76	74	2	0	23	1=100
December, 1994	74	70	3	1	24	2=100
November, 1994	73	70	2	1	26	1=100
Late October, 1994	77	74	3	0	22	1=100
Early October, 1994	76	72	4	*	23	1=100
July, 1994	79	75	4	0	20	1=100
May, 1993	82	--	--	--	17	1=100
June, 1992	76	73	3	0	23	1=100
November, 1990	80	--	--	--	20	--=100

ASK ALL:

Q.27 How often would you say you vote...(READ)

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Nearly Always</u>	<u>Part of The time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	(VOL) <u>Other</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>DK/ Ref.</u>
Late September, 1999	28	41	15	9	1	5	1=100
Early September, 1998	43	29	13	11	3	0	1=100
Late August, 1998	38	30	16	14	*	6	*=100
June, 1998	40	29	15	12	4	0	*=100
November, 1997	33	38	15	9	*	5	*=100
September, 1997	51	23	11	10	*	5	*=100
June, 1996	41	30	12	12	1	4	*=100
February, 1996	32	34	15	11	1	6	1=100
October, 1995	41	32	12	11	*	3.	1=100
April, 1995	42	29	12	11	*	6	*=100
November, 1994	43	24	11	13	1	8	*=100
October, 1994	43	28	13	10	5	1	*=100
July, 1994	40	30	14	11	*	5	*=100
June, 1992	47	26	10	11	1	5	*=100
May, 1992	41	32	13	11	*	3	*=100
November, 1991	38	37	13	9	0	3	*=100
May, 1990	33	35	12	10	1	8	1=100
February, 1989	45	30	10	8	1	6	*=100
January, 1988	39	33	12	8	1	6	1=100
May, 1987	34	37	11	6	2	9	1=100