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**VOTER ANXIETY DIVIDING GOP;  
ENERGIZED DEMOCRATS BACKING CLINTON**

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## VOTER ANXIETY DIVIDING GOP; ENERGIZED DEMOCRATS BACKING CLINTON

Anxiety may replace anger as the dominant voter emotion in 1996. A major national survey finds significantly more Americans than 18 months ago worried about affording major expenses such as health care costs, college tuition, retirement funds and housing costs. Voter anxiety has increased across the political spectrum and appears to be dividing the Republican coalition and turning off Independents. At the same time, Democratic groups are uniting in opposition to GOP policies and are more politically energized.

Times Mirror's voter typology<sup>1</sup> finds greater support for Bill Clinton's job performance among Democratic groups than support for GOP policies among Republican groups. More than seven-in-ten voters classified as left of center approve of the President's performance. On the conservative side, strong support for the policies of GOP leaders is only found among "free market" *Enterprisers* (79% approve). However, among socially conservative *Moralists*, just 66% express approval, and even fewer (56%) of *Libertarians* voice support for the policies of the Republican leaders. Two swing voting groups, the economically anxious *New Economy Independents* and *The Embittered*, mostly approve of Bill Clinton's performance and overwhelmingly disapprove of GOP policies.

Voter worries about affording major expenses appear to be playing an important role in the rising political fortunes of Bill Clinton and the sagging popularity of Republican policies. The percentage of Americans very worried that they cannot afford health care costs rose from 50% in March of 1994 to 66% in the current survey. Similarly, the survey found increased worries about saving enough money to retire (42% to 48%), paying for college tuition (37% to 44%), losing a job or taking a pay cut (28% to 34%), and being able to own or afford to keep a home (31% to 38%).

### Approve of Bill Clinton and GOP Leaders

	% Who approve of ...	
	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>GOP Leaders</u>
<b><i>TYPOLGY GROUPS</i></b>		
<i>Right/Conservative:</i>		
Enterprisers	13	79
Moralists	23	66
Libertarians	39	56
<i>Center:</i>		
New Economy Independents	50	22
The Embittered	45	19
<i>Democrat/Liberal:</i>		
Seculars	78	12
New Democrats	76	19
New Dealers	72	9
Partisan Poor	78	10

<sup>1</sup>

The Times Mirror typology is described in an appendix to this report.

On balance, more Democrats and Independents are worried about all of these things than Republicans, but the "bigger tent" GOP now counts within its ranks a greater percentage of middle class people who are very concerned about their financial future. Most dramatically, while only 36% of *Enterpriser* Republicans are very worried about being able to afford health care, fully 64% of *Moralists* are. The same pattern is evident for most other major financial matters. For example, the adequacy of retirement funds is a worry for just 29% of *Enterprisers* but 50% of *Moralists*.

The political consequence of these concerns also emerges clearly in the survey. As shown in the table below, Republicans who are anxious about paying health care costs are significantly less likely to approve of GOP policies than are Republicans who are not so worried about these expenses. At the same time, worried Independents are much more apt to think well of Bill Clinton and disapprove of Republican ideas than are Independents who are less anxious about paying their health care bills.

	APPROVE OF ...	
	<u>Bill Clinton</u>	<u>GOP Policies</u>
<i>Republicans:</i>		
Concerned about health care costs		
Yes	18	60
No	18	85
<i>Independents:</i>		
Concerned about health care costs		
Yes	52	26
No	35	43

### ***The Buck Doesn't Stop Here...***

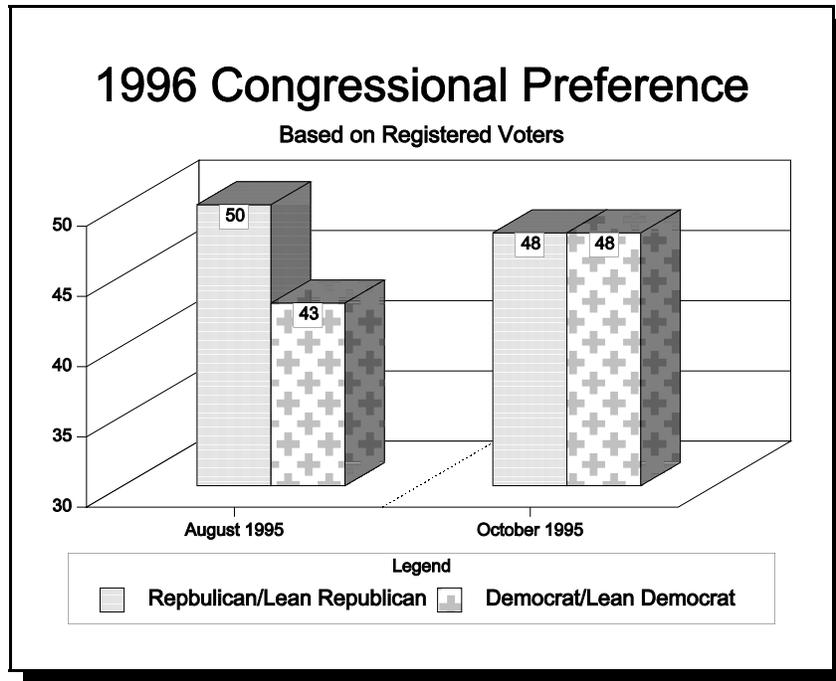
Beyond increased economic anxiety, the poll of 2,000 adult Americans found discontent with the course of the country even greater than it was four years ago. However, unlike 1991 the concern is not nearly as singularly focused on the condition of the economy, and Bill Clinton, at least for now, is escaping the blame. The public is pinning it on Congress and to a lesser extent, shouldering it themselves.

Americans who are dissatisfied with the "way things are going" in the nation (73% of respondents) cite in free response questions a broad range of largely familiar issues. Most often mentioned are the condition of the economy, fear of crime, and concerns about the health care system. Health care was mentioned spontaneously more often than in response to open questions in surveys conducted over the past 18 months. This undoubtedly reflects public concerns raised by the Medicare/Medicaid debate in Congress.

Almost as many Americans are dissatisfied with the state of the nation because of the way the political system works as are disillusioned for other reasons. Higher taxes, the moral crisis, the size of government, a declining educational system, the need for welfare reform, and the budget deficit round out the long list of reasons that make Americans unhappy with conditions in the country.

Although no single problem or concern is driving public discontent with the country's course, the public is more of one mind as to who's at fault -- 35% name Congress and 27% blame "the people themselves" for the country's problems. In contrast, only 7% said the President is principally at fault. There are also less direct indications that Clinton may not be blamed as Presidents usually are for the country's problems. Four years ago, a strong correlation existed between attitudes toward the state of the nation and views about re-electing George Bush. Today, there is a weaker relationship between the national mood and a second term for Bill Clinton.

Congress is now a bigger target than it has been in the past because it is criticized *both* by those who fault the political system, *and* by those who decry the policies of the Republican leadership. Large percentages of Democrats and Republicans now see Congress as most responsible for the country's troubles. There is little indication that the "Republican revolution" has altered American antipathy toward the Congress. It now gets a lower favorability rating than it did prior to the mid-term elections of 1994. The only significant change observed is that the public's intention to vote for Democratic congressional candidates is appreciably higher than it was two months ago.



### *More Criticism of Business*

Despite deep and growing concern about wages and layoffs, relatively few Americans blame either business corporations (8%) or Wall Street (2%) for the country's problems. However, the poll does show the public with a less positive view of business than last year; the percentage holding an unfavorable opinion of business corporations increased from 24% in 1994 to 36% in the current survey. More significantly, the survey found a deep belief that corporations care little about their customers and employees and too much about their stockholders and top executives. Just 4% of the public said corporations put the interests of their employees first and 6% said the customer comes first. Most respondents said big companies care primarily about their shareholders (46%) and top executives (34%). The public would have it otherwise: 31% said the customer *should* come first, 30% said employees, 15% said stockholders. Only 4% believe corporations should put the interests of top executives first. These public views about corporate priorities were largely shared by Republicans, Democrats, and Independents alike. Americans of all political persuasions also felt that corporate mergers should be scrutinized more carefully by government in the future.

### *The Public's Agenda*

The public as a whole sends a very mixed message as to what issues it wants discussed by Presidential candidates. While voters remain keenly interested in the economy, issues that have emerged from the budget debate now rival that topic on their political agenda. Only one-in-five respondents to the Times Mirror survey volunteered that economic conditions should be the top issue of the campaign (down from close to 60% four years ago). Even jobs, cited by 6%, was less than half the 15% mentioned in 1991. Health care reform received as many mentions as the economy (20%), after which the public cited balancing the budget (14%). A significant percentage also mentioned crime (9%), welfare reform (8%), the moral crisis (8%) and education reform (6%). Very few people spoke spontaneously of improving race relations (2%).

Somewhat broader and more altruistic answers are given by many respondents when presented a list and asked to rank what the next President's top tasks should be. However, again no consensus emerged and priorities very much reflected the predominant values within the electorate. If anything, dealing with the moral breakdown in the country is the one recurring theme that runs across the political spectrum. Once a strictly Republican refrain, and still the top issue for social conservatives (*Moralists*), this issue has considerable saliency with *Independents* and with moderate *New Democrats* and conservative *New Dealers*.

In contrast, the survey found little indication that the Million Man March or the O.J. Simpson case has created greater interest among whites in the racial issue. Just 12% of white Americans said that dealing with racial tension should be one of the President's two top priorities.

### NEXT PRESIDENT'S TOP TASKS By Voter Groups

#### ENTERPRISERS:

Balance budget  
Moral breakdown  
Reduce crime

#### MORALISTS:

Moral breakdown  
Balance budget  
Improve jobs

#### LIBERTARIANS:

Balance budget  
Reduce crime  
Improve education

#### NEW ECONOMY IND:

Improve education  
Moral breakdown  
Balance budget

#### THE EMBITTERED:

Balance budget  
Moral breakdown  
Problems of poor/needy

#### SECULARS:

Improve education  
Problems of poor/needy  
Balance budget

#### NEW DEMOCRATS:

Improve education  
Moral breakdown  
Reduce crime

#### NEW DEALERS:

Problems of poor/needy  
Balance budget  
Improve jobs

#### PARTISAN POOR:

Improve education  
Problems of poor/needy  
Reduce crime

### *Character, Compassion, Stay-the-Course Leadership*

Although voters are sending a mixed message about issues, there is a considerable consensus about the personal qualities Americans are looking for in their next president. High ethical standards, compassion for the average citizen, and good judgement in a crisis are traits that overwhelming majorities of the public believe are crucially important. Few partisan differences are evident in this respect. Republicans put somewhat more emphasis on high ethical standards, and Democrats stress compassion more, but overall, both attributes are considered highly desirable by members of both parties and by Independents as well.

A second priority tier included *strong leadership* qualities such as decisiveness, consistency on issues and sincerity in saying what one believes. The poll found much *less* interest in characteristics associated with *political professionalism*. Relatively few respondents put much value on willingness to compromise, party loyalty, political savvy, experience in public office or familiarity with Washington.

These findings offer a sharp contrast to the results of a similar question asked by the Gallup Poll in 1979. Then, as now, there was much voter interest in a compassionate President who would have good judgement in a crisis. But an electorate disillusioned with Jimmy Carter gave experience in government higher priority and ethical standards lower priority than do voters today.

In the current survey, voters often associated Colin Powell or Bill Clinton with the qualities they most want in a President. Powell, who has since decided that he will not run, was most identified with good character and good judgement. Clinton was most identified with compassion. Neither Dole nor any of the other announced GOP candidates were named most often in association with highly rated personal qualities.

Powell's strong showing in the polls as a Republican challenger has reflected the fact that his personal image coincides with the qualities voters say they want in a President. But it also has reflected the retired general's unique ability to attract diverse groups of voters. From *Enterpriser* Republicans to *Partisan Poor* Democrats, large majorities said they can envision the possibility of voting for Powell<sup>2</sup>. No other Republican candidate is attractive to Independent voters, let alone Democrats. Dole appeals to all three right of Center groups, but turns off Independents. Gingrich and Gramm only appeal to *Enterprisers*; majorities of populist *Moralists* and more moderate *Libertarians* say they are not likely to vote for either man should they be candidates next November. Buchanan gets few expressions of support from any of the Republican groups. Surprisingly, only

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<sup>2</sup> New Deal Democrats, composed largely of older, southern whites is the only group that does not express strong interest in voting for Powell.

32% of *Moralists* say there is a chance they would vote for the former presidential speech writer if he is on the ballot next year.

POTENTIAL CANDIDATE SUPPORT									
Based on Registered Voters									
<i>Good/Some Chance of Voting For ...</i>	Enter-	Moral-	Liber-	New	Embit-	Secu-	New	New	Part-
	<u>prisers</u>	<u>ists</u>	<u>tarians</u>	<u>Economy</u>	<u>tered</u>	<u>lars</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Dealers</u>	<u>Poor</u>
Clinton	14	25	45	63	58	95	84	84	92
Dole	83	69	67	38	41	19	25	28	24
Perot	26	31	31	40	43	21	26	35	11
Powell	61	69	82	73	73	68	63	48	62
Gingrich	55	39	35	16	9	1	8	8	11
Buchanan	40	32	28	18	22	7	16	19	16
Gramm	52	37	35	16	16	10	15	9	14

In contrast, eight in ten or more of each of the Democratic groups say there is a good chance or some chance that they would vote to re-elect Bill Clinton. And more importantly, more than six-in-ten of the Independent groups in the People & the Press typology say they might vote for the President. It is difficult to distinguish whether this result is due more to revitalized support for Clinton or concern-based opposition to the GOP policies. In particular, Clinton's approval ratings have increased most among whites, seniors, middle income people, and suburbanites. All are groups that have been important to the GOP's recent electoral success, but they now express more anxiety about the future and less approval of Republican policies. The President has improved his image the most within his own ranks among moderate *New Democrats* and older *New Dealers*.

### ***Gender Politics***

Gender and race also play an important role in the changing political fortunes of the President and GOP leaders. White males, who voted Republican heavily in the mid-term elections are now divided over the party leaders' policies, and look more favorably on Clinton than they did a year ago. White females give Clinton a moderately positive rating (48% approve, 40% disapprove), but give GOP leaders a much more negative evaluation (36% approve, 50% disapprove). Non-whites strongly support the president and are equally opposed to the plans and

policies of Republican leaders.

<b>GENDER, RACE AND POLITICS</b>				
	White	White	Non-White	Non-White
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
	%	%	%	%
<i>Clinton Approval:</i>				
Approve	43	48	59	58
Disapprove	48	40	32	29
No Opinion	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>GOP Approval:</i>				
Approve	43	36	27	22
Disapprove	46	50	61	65
No Opinion	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>1996 Vote:</i>				
<i>Good/Some Chance of</i>				
<i>Voting For ...</i>				
Clinton	47	56	68	76
Dole	56	45	34	26
Perot	38	30	32	22
Powell	68	64	68	55
Gingrich	28	21	20	16
Buchanan	25	26	20	17
Gramm	31	22	19	16

Besides growing concerns about the personal consequences of budget cutting, the differing views of men and women about government are an important element in public opinion. White females are much greater supporters of an activist government than are white men. Overall, non-whites of both sexes favor an activist government far more than white men and women. White males see themselves as having a more conservative view on government than they believe Clinton does, while white women rate Clinton's philosophy close to their own. All of the GOP leaders are seen by both white women *and* white men as being more anti-government than are voters themselves. This is especially the case for Gingrich.

The unusual degree of political cohesion among Democratic groups is clearly an important element in Clinton's new found political strength. Compared to four years ago, the current poll found larger percentages of Democrats saying that it matters who's elected President and that there are real differences between the parties. The percentage of Democrats saying that there are real differences between the two parties rose from 28% in 1994 to 41% currently. Fewer Republicans (36%) and Independents (27%) expressed that opinion. Although Democrats seem more energized and united, there is little indication that either party has gained new converts. Nor has strong interest in a third party subsided. The GOP had held a slight edge in party affiliation in Times Mirror Center surveys conducted between December 1994 and March 1995. But in all surveys since April, including the new poll, equal percentages of survey respondents self-identified with each party. Both parties are less well regarded by Independent voters than they were last summer and the percentage of the public favoring creation of a third party has increased slowly over the course of the past 15 months (53%, July 1994; 57% April 1995; 59% currently).

The public's views of the two parties are echoed in the way it judges the accomplishments of the President and the Republican congressional leadership. Few think Clinton (24%) or the GOP leaders (20%) have made progress in dealing with the country's problems. Most think each has tried but not succeeded (50% and 40% respectively). Even core constituents doubt that progress has been made either by the President or by Republican leaders. Only fiercely partisan free market *Enterprisers* see GOP success, and only the *Partisan Poor* think Clinton is making progress in dealing with the country's problems.

## I. MOOD OF THE NATION

The level of discontent among Americans remains very high. Almost three out of four (73%) said they are dissatisfied with the way things are going in the country today. This was almost double the level of October 1988 when it was 40% (and a 56% majority was satisfied), somewhat greater than in 1992 (68%), and about the same in 1994 (72% on average). Women were somewhat more dissatisfied than men overall (76% vs. 69%), as were those 50 to 64 years old (80%). But the public divided mainly along political lines. Those disapproving of President Clinton were much more discontented than those approving of him (84% vs. 63%). Those intending to vote for an Independent in the 1996 presidential elections were more disaffected (84%) than those favoring Clinton (64%) or a generic Republican (75%). Within the Times Mirror's typology, the two independent groups were most dissatisfied (85% of the New Economy Independents, 84% of the Embittered). These groups, who together constitute nearly one-fourth of the adult U.S. population, are the swing voters who can spell the difference in an election.

There was not a single focus of the public's discontent, however. The top three reasons were volunteered almost equally often: economics (including jobs and wages), cited by 21%; health care, 21%; and crime, 20%. This was basically the same as the problems that have been at the top of the public agenda for several years. What was new, however, was that complaints about the political system and Washington politics were so high, 17%, as the reason for dissatisfaction. As recently as last April, although the question was phrased somewhat differently, only 6% said dissatisfaction with the government and politics was "the most important problem" facing the country.<sup>3</sup>

Blacks cited the economy twice as often as whites (37% vs. 19%) as the cause of their dissatisfaction now, but strikingly, there was no significant difference in economic mentions among respondents despite different political identification: 22% by Democrats, 21% by Republicans, and 22% by Independents. There was also no difference between those preferring Clinton, a Republican, or an Independent (20%, 22%, and 22%, respectively) for president in 1996.

Health care is once again one of Americans' concerns after recently rating very low as a national problem. Before the 1992 presidential election, it was mentioned as "the most important problem" facing the country by 3% or fewer respondents. Over the next two years, it rose to as high as 20% in mid-1994 during Congressional deliberations on Clinton's health plan, but dropped back swiftly to only 5% in April of this year. Now, one-in-five (21%) Americans cite health care as the

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<sup>3</sup> "Now the GOP Faces Cynical, Dissatisfied Public." Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, Apr. 13, 1995. Washington DC. Over a dozen Times Mirror surveys back to 1987 asked respondents for "the most important problem facing this country today."

cause for dissatisfaction. The angry and sometimes bitter political debate over the future of Medicare appears to have increased public anxiety as well as attention to health care issues.

Women mentioned the health care system and the lack of health care much more often than men (25% vs. 17%), particularly women over 50 years old (28%). Within the Times Mirror typology, the Seculars, a highly educated and socially tolerant Democratic group, stood out in mentions of health care (33%). Regionally, Easterners were more concerned (28%) than Americans in other parts of the country. And the long-standing political divisions on the issue were again apparent. Democrats cited health care as the reason for dissatisfaction much more than Republicans and Independents (30% vs. 14% and 21%, respectively). Those whose presidential preference in 1996 was Clinton mentioned health care more often (28%) than those favoring a Republican or an Independent (14% and 23%, respectively).

### ***Waning Concern About Crime?***

While health care advanced again, crime appears to be waning somewhat as an issue. Some 18 months ago, in March, 1994, 31% of Americans named crime/gangs/the justice system as "the most important problem" facing the country. The proportion dropped irregularly to 23% last April. This month 20% cited crime as a reason for their dissatisfaction. Crime was mentioned much more often by women than men (25% vs. 18%), but no other significant demographic or political difference emerged on this issue.

Disaffection with American politics, although it came in a bit lower than the top three complaints on average, concerned Independents most. Twenty-two percent of Independents said Washington politics or the political system was the main reason for their disaffection, compared to 14% of Republicans and 13% of Democrats. For Independents, then, politics was more important than crime and about as important as the economy and health care as a reason for discontent. Within the Times Mirror typology, the Democratic-oriented Seculars and the classic Republican group called the Enterprisers were most upset about politics (25% and 24%, respectively).

Two additional reasons given by respondents for dissatisfaction with America today are noteworthy:

- *Foreign policy* was cited by 8% of respondents. This probably reflects in part the looming prospect of American troops being sent to Bosnia to police a peace agreement. Men, particularly men 18 to 29 years old, expressed this concern most often, as did those who preferred a Republican or an Independent in the White House next year rather than Clinton.

- *Race relations* was cited by only 5% of the public. This was an unexpectedly small number in view of the controversial O.J. Simpson murder case and the Million Man March by blacks in Washington. Blacks mentioned this problem nearly four times more often than whites (14% vs. 4%), and young men more than young women (9% vs. 4% of 18 to 29 year olds), but no other demographic or political differences were found on the issue.

Beyond their individual merit, causes for dissatisfaction volunteered by respondents can be arranged according to those that fall within the agenda of the two political parties. The GOP list is longer and its items were cited considerably more often by the public than were those on the Democratic list. Specifically, Republican agenda items included high taxes, mentioned by 14%; moral crisis/family values, 13%; government is too big, 12%; welfare reform, 9%; and the budget deficit, 5%. The Democratic items were health care, cited by 21%; the educational system, 9%; and dislike of social spending cuts, 8%.

### ***Congress Still Takes the Heat***

Just 7% of respondents blamed Clinton for their dissatisfaction with the state of the nation. Congress and "the people themselves" were fingered far more often (35% and 27%, respectively). Democrats blamed the GOP-led Congress more than Republicans (41% vs. 30%), but in another surprise, Republicans blamed "the people themselves" more than they blamed Clinton (31% vs. 9%). Ironically, the Bystanders, a Times Mirror typology group that opts out of the political process, were among those who blamed "the people themselves" most often (31%). Congress was blamed more often for four of the top five problems. The exception was crime, which seems to be viewed broadly as a social problem rather than one that a government institution or individual can solve.

These results are one of several signs that Clinton's chances at re-election may not depend on the mood of the electorate next November as much as is normally the case. In 1991 as the presidential campaign season began, for example, 74% of those satisfied with the state of the nation said they would vote for George Bush, compared to a meager 20% who said they would vote for a generic Democrat; conversely, only 35% of those who were dissatisfied said they would vote for Bush, while 52% would chose the Democrat.<sup>4</sup> In the current survey, even though diluted by posing a three-way race, the correlation between national mood and support for the president can be seen to be considerably less significant.

<b>STATE OF THE NATION AND SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT</b>		
	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<b>1991:</b>		
Bush	74	35
Democrat	20	52
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100
<b>1995:</b>		
Clinton	42	27
Republican	24	29
Independent	14	25
Don't know	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>
	100	100

Of those satisfied with the way things are going in the country, 42% said they would vote for Clinton next year, 24% for a Republican, and 14% for an Independent. Of those dissatisfied, the preferences were almost identical: 27% for Clinton, 29% for a Republican, and 25% for an Independent.

***Government Seen As Biggest Threat***

Along much the same line, more Americans by far said they feel more threatened by the government than by any social or economic institution. One out of two respondents said the government is "the biggest threat" to people like themselves. Perot voters are marginally stronger in this view than the average, but most remarkable is that Democrats, Republicans and Independents in essentially identical proportions identified government as the biggest threat: 50%, 49%, and 50%, respectively. They apparently do so for different reasons, however. Respondents who wanted government programs cut and those who want current programs maintained<sup>5</sup> were essentially the same in seeing government as the biggest threat; 50% of the "anti-government" group and 49% of

<sup>4</sup> Times Mirror Center surveys in October, 1991.

<sup>5</sup> Anti-government respondents were distinguished from pro-government respondents based on replies to the following question: "If '1' represents someone who believes that government programs should be cut back very much in order to lower taxes and reduce the power of the government, and '6' represents someone who feels that government programs that help needy people and deal with important national problems should be maintained, where on the scale of '1' to '6' would you place yourself?"

those who could be called "government activists" saw government as the biggest threat. Interestingly, among the Times Mirror typology groups, the Democratic-oriented Partisan Poor voiced two contradictory complaints: that the government spends too much and is too big (16%), and that there were too many cuts being made in social spending (14%).

The news media was cited second most often as the biggest threat (15%), followed by business corporations (13%), Wall Street bankers and investment companies (8%), and the entertainment industry (5%). More Democrats and Independents (16% and 14%, respectively) saw business as the main threat than did Republicans (10%). Instead, more Republicans saw the media as the biggest threat (19%) compared to Democrats (12%) or Independents (14%). The public's new attitudes toward business and the media are discussed later in this report.

## II. PUBLIC PRIORITIES

The Medicare debate has brought health care reform back to the top of the public's agenda. It tops the list of issues the public would like to see presidential candidates address in the 1996 campaign. At this point, the economy is much less of a dominant issue than it was during the 1992 presidential campaign. In October 1991, 43% of the public said the economy was the *one issue* they would most like to hear the candidates talk about. Today, only 14% name the economy the top issue.

There is a gender gap in public priorities echoing the gender gap that underlies party identification and voting behavior. Women show much more interest in social issues such as health care and education reform. Nearly a quarter of the women polled said health care was the one issue they wanted to hear the candidates talk about, compared to only 15% of men. Men were more focused on economic issues, primarily balancing the budget, the state of the economy and taxes.

Public priorities divide along partisan lines as well. Candidate messages about balancing the budget are likely to resonate with the strongly Republican Enterprisers and the economically conservative Libertarians. Candidates who talk about health care reform will most likely catch the attention of core Democratic groups, as well as the New Economy Independents, a crucial group of swing voters. Right-leaning Enterprisers and Moralists are more interested than others in hearing the candidates talk about the moral crisis in this country.

Foreign policy does not appear to be a priority for any sector of the electorate in the upcoming campaign season. And race relations is barely on the public's radar screen, in spite of news media attention to the "Million Man March" and the inside the beltway contention that race would be a defining issue in the 1996 election. Blacks are slightly more interested than whites in hearing the candidates address race relations; still, a mere 6% say race is the one issue they would most like to hear about.

<b>Public Priorities</b>					
<b>Top 5 Issues the Public Wants Candidates to Address</b>					
	<b>Health Care</b>		<b>Balance</b>		<b>Moral</b>
	<b><u>Reform</u></b>	<b><u>Economy</u></b>	<b><u>Budget</u></b>	<b><u>Crime</u></b>	<b><u>Crisis</u></b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
Total	20	14	14	9	8
Enterprisers	7	14	26	8	15
Moralists	16	16	14	9	13
Libertarians	10	26	19	4	5
New Economy Indeps.	28	10	12	11	6
Embittered	17	16	13	6	8
Bystanders	14	10	8	11	7
Seculars	29	15	10	10	4
New Democrats	26	14	7	9	8
New Dealers	29	7	11	10	4
Partisan Poor	27	10	11	11	4

Americans are split over what one issue the next president should focus on once elected. In 1992 there was much more unanimity of opinion. Then, the public was clearly intent on economic issues: 40% said the first priority of the next president should be to reduce the deficit, 31% said it should be to reduce unemployment. Today the public view is much more diffuse. Twenty percent said the president's first priority should be balancing the budget, 17% said it should be the moral breakdown in the country, 14% said improve the educational system, and 12% said deal with the problems of poor and needy people.

Men, senior citizens and those in the highest income bracket were the groups most likely to say balancing the budget should be the president's highest priority. Evangelical and non-Evangelical Republicans are split over presidential priorities. Non-Evangelical Republicans would give the highest priority a balanced budget rather than the country's moral crisis by a margin of 33% to 19%. Evangelicals, on the other hand, would prefer to see the president deal with the moral crisis rather than a balanced budget by a nearly equal margin -- 32% vs. 17%.

Improving the educational system is the number one priority for young voters, age 18-29. This issue was also given higher priority by Democratic groups than by Republicans. Educational reform was a top priority of the Seculars, the New Democrats and the Partisan Poor, as well as the

unaffiliated New Economy Independents. Republican groups placed more emphasis on balancing the budget and dealing with the moral breakdown in the country.

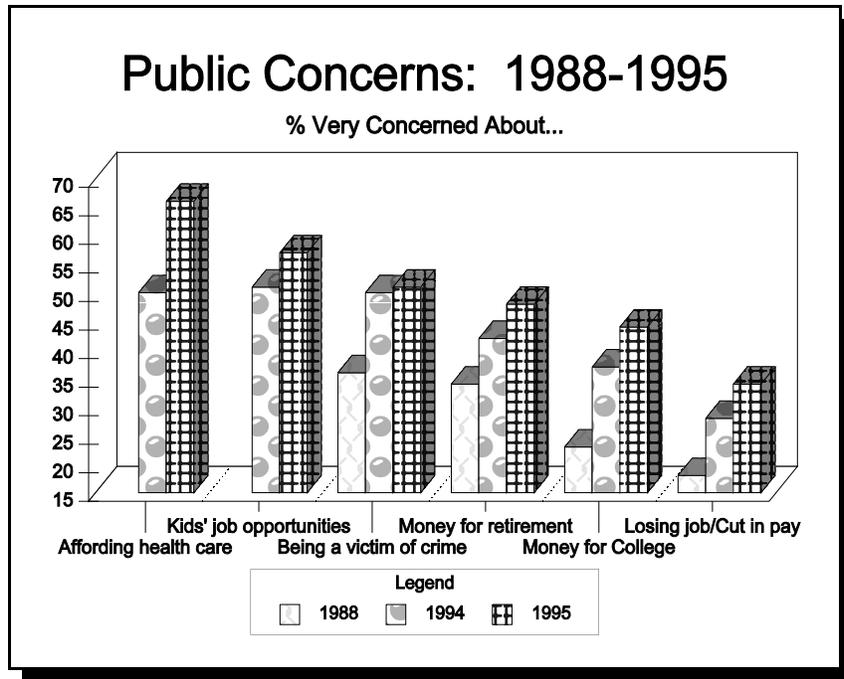
### ***Public Concerns***

The public's priorities aside, the source of the public's sour mood is much easier to read. People are becoming less and less satisfied with the amount of money they earn, and they are extremely concerned about their future financial security. The proportion of respondents who said they are "very satisfied" with their earnings has fallen to 17% from an already low 23% in 1994. The decrease in satisfaction over earnings is most dramatic among political Independents, Perot voters and those age 50-64.

Public dissatisfaction with earnings and pessimism about future earning prospects have shown little movement in spite of the economic recovery the country has experienced in the last few years. In January of 1992, during the sustained economic recession, 61% of Americans complained they did not earn enough money to live the kind of life they wanted, and only 34% believed they would earn enough in the future. By July 1994, although the economy had improved significantly, these percentages were virtually unchanged: 60% and 34%, respectively.

The public's anxiety level over a whole range of issues central to their lives is considerably higher now than it was in 1994 and *dramatically* higher than it was in 1988. Nearly half of Americans now say they are "very concerned" about not having enough money for their retirement, compared to only about one-third in 1988. Fully 44% said they are very concerned about being unable to save enough money to put a child through college, up from 23% in 1988. And the percentage of people who said they are very concerned about losing their job or taking a cut in pay has nearly doubled to 34% from 18% in 1988.

The public also expresses increased anxiety over being unable to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick, and, for those who have children, not having adequate child care and their children not having good job opportunities in the future. The rising stress has occurred even though the economy has moved out of recession, unemployment has gone down, and crime rates have dipped somewhat. This is additional evidence that changes taking place at the macro level have yet to be felt by individual citizens.



Concern over future financial security now exists across nearly all demographic categories. Immediate financial concerns, such as losing a job or taking a cut in pay, still seem to fall mostly on the least well-off. But college-educated and mid-to-upper income Americans are now increasingly worried about having enough money for their retirement and being able to afford health care in the future. This may increase the *political* significance of these issues, because middle class and affluent groups are more likely to be attentive to the presidential campaign and more likely to vote next November.

Looking at anxiety levels through the prism of the typology, one group stands out as relatively immune from many of the concerns that plague most other Americans. The affluent Enterprisers expressed the lowest levels of concern on six of the eight issues measured. Their partisan brethren, the Moralists, provide a stark contrast. This socially conservative, largely middle class voting block showed high levels of anxiety in every one of the measures. The Moralists' greatest economic concerns were affording health care for themselves or their families, future job prospects for their children, and not having enough money for their own retirement.

These concerns may help explain not only why the Moralists have failed to embrace the agenda of GOP leaders in Congress, but also why the Republican coalition that stretches from the Enterprisers to the Moralists appears more fractured now than in many years.

The two largest Independent groups in the electorate are also highly stressed about their own economic conditions and extremely pessimistic about the future. The New Economy Independents, who are the largest swing voting block in the electorate today, have not been won over by the agenda of the new Republican Congress -- 64% disapprove of the policies of the GOP congressional leaders. For this group, as well as the other important Independent voting block, the Embittered, a major concern is being able to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick. More than seven in ten New Economy Independents and fully 80% of the Embittered are very concerned about this problem.

<b>Public's Major Financial Concerns</b>				
<b>% Very Concerned About...</b>				
	<u>Affording necessary health care</u>	<u>Having enough money for retirement</u>	<u>Affording college for kids</u>	<u>Losing/ Not affording own home</u>
Total	65	48	44	38
Enterprisers	36	29	27	20
Moralists	64	50	44	35
Libertarians	50	34	26	20
New Economy Indeps.	73	62	57	48
Embittered	80	59	58	44
Bystanders	73	45	50	54
Seculars	62	41	37	34
New Democrats	71	46	43	42
New Dealers	85	60	56	45
Partisan Poor	85	49	36	37

Those Independent voters, who express concern over their own and their families' financial futures, represent close to 20% of the electorate. They were fairly evenly divided, if not somewhat more approving, on the president's job performance but expressed overwhelming disapproval of the policies of the Republican Congress. For example, among those New Economy Independents and Embittered who say they are concerned about being able to afford health care in the future, 70% disapprove of GOP congressional leaders, only 17% approve. And they appear to be holding out hope for an Independent candidate in 1996. Among those who were concerned about having enough money for their retirement, 42% said they would vote for an Independent candidate for president, 28% for Bill Clinton, and 18% for a Republican candidate.

### III. PUBLIC VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENCY

Americans *care* this year about the coming election more than they did at this time four years ago. Compared to 1991, the public now expresses greater interest both in *which individual* and *which party* wins in 1996. Nearly eight-in-ten (78%) said they personally care a good deal who wins the election, up from 73% who felt the same way in October, 1991. Six-in-ten also said they care a great deal which party is victorious (61%), a six percentage point increase from four years ago (55%).

Democrats in particular care about who wins more than they did in 1991, perhaps reflecting increased concern about the cuts in social spending and the changes in welfare and Medicare policy. Fully 85% of Democrats said they care who wins, compared to 69% four years ago; all four of the Democratic-oriented typology groups are similarly enthusiastic. Republicans as a whole remain at the same high level on this measure -- 84% now vs. 83% in 1991 -- but Enterprisers are much more energized (93%) while Liberarians much less so (68%).

#### *Personal Qualities Sought in A President*

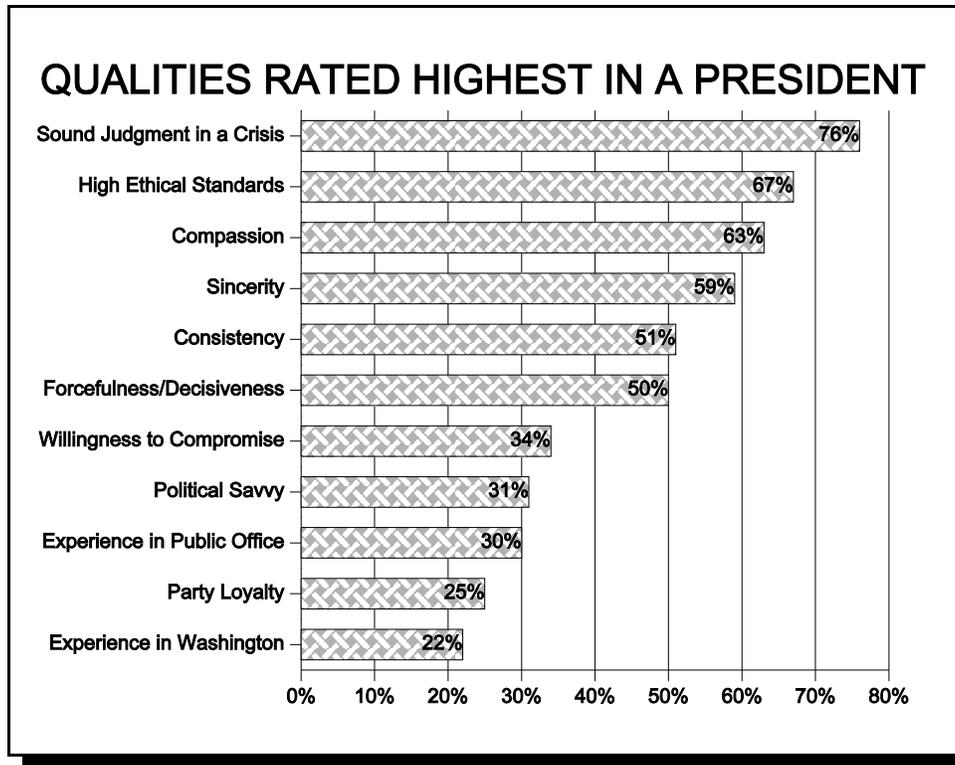
The electorate also knows what qualities it wants in a president. The Times Mirror survey found a three-tier hierarchy of qualities. The public regards *personal* qualities most highly. *Leadership* qualities it values moderately. *Political* qualification it considers of least importance. Specifically:

- The largest majorities said they want a president who has the personal traits of "sound judgment in a crisis" (76%), "high ethical standards" (67%), and "compassion for the average citizen" (63%). Women were more likely than men to feel that compassion is essential (68% vs. 58%).

- A lesser proportion but still a majority chose leadership qualities such as "saying what one believes, even if it is unpopular" (59%), "consistent positions on issues" (51%), and "being forceful and decisive" (50%).

- One-third or less of the public favored professional political qualities including willingness to compromise (34%), political savvy (31%), experience in public office (30%), loyalty to party (25%), and experience in Washington (22%).

These priorities have changed somewhat with time. In a comparable Gallup Poll question in 1979, when Jimmy Carter was the incumbent, experience in public office was considered much more necessary, whereas high ethical standards were not nearly as important to the electorate as today.



When asked to choose which *one* of all the qualities is most essential for a president, the three personal traits beat all the others by a two-to-one margin: high ethical standards (22%), compassion (19%), and sound judgment (18%). The choice was somewhat colored by the party affiliation of the respondent. Among Republicans, nearly one-third cited ethical standards as the most essential quality, compared to only 16% of Democrats. The top rated quality among Democrats was compassion (24% vs. 13% Republicans). Among the Democratic groups in the Times Mirror typology, those which rated compassion most highly were the Partisan Poor (28%) and the Seculars (26%). Independents as a whole rated three traits about equally: compassion (20%), ethical standards (19%) and sound judgment (19%). Of the two key independent groups (and thus swing voters) in the typology, New Economy Independents rated compassion most essential (26%), while the Embittered rated high ethics first (24%) and compassion second (20%).

Not surprisingly, income and education also matter in this regard. The more affluent and better educated rated high ethical standards as most essential, while the less educated and less affluent chose compassion most often. Blacks, as well as respondents under 30 years of age, were also more likely to pick compassion. Evangelical Christians were among those putting the highest value on high ethical standards.

Of the top three qualities considered essential in a president, two were most identified with the now non-candidate, Colin Powell, while only one of them was associated with Bill Clinton. None of the current GOP candidates, including Bob Dole, were most associated with the top-ranked personal qualities. Specifically, nearly one-third of Americans saw in Powell the attributes of sound judgment (33%) and high ethical standards (30%), compared to only 19% and 10%, respectively, who associated them with Clinton. A slightly larger proportion associated high ethical standards with Dole than with Clinton (15% vs. 10%). However, Clinton wins on compassion. Four-in-ten identified this quality with the President, nearly three times the number that associated it with either Powell (15%) or Perot (14%).

Americans saw little to choose among the candidates in leadership traits. More of the public viewed Powell as "forceful and decisive" than they did Clinton (25% vs. 15%), but the public identified sincerity ("saying what one believes even if it is unpopular") more with Clinton than with Powell (26% vs. 18%). On consistency, there is no clear winner in the ratings: Dole, 15%; Powell, 14%; Clinton, 12%; Perot, 12%; and Gingrich, 11%.

#### **POLITICAL CANDIDATES\* MOST IDENTIFIED WITH QUALITIES**

	<u>Powell</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Gingrich</u>	All Other Candidates	DK/ Refused	N
<i>PERSONAL QUALITIES:</i>								
Sound Judgment in Crisis	33	19	12	5	1	8	22=100	(355)
High Ethical Standards	30	11	15	4	3	15	22=100	(445)
Compassion	15	40	5	14	1	5	20=100	(343)
<i>LEADERSHIP QUALITIES:</i>								
Sincerity	18	26	9	14	5	9	19=100	(167)
Consistency	14	12	15	12	10	10	27=100	(147)
Forcefulness/Decisiveness	25	15	14	8	5	9	24=100	(125)
<i>PROFESSION POLITICAL QUALITIES:</i>								
Willingness to Compromise	18	30	10	13	0	2	27=100	(83)
Political Savvy	6	30	19	5	3	4	33=100	(48)
Experience in Public Office	7	32	10	9	0	10	32=100	(34)
Party Loyalty	10	23	14	17	3	7	26=100	(69)
Experience in Washington	3	30	39	4	0	0	24=100	(28)

\*Some of the political figures are *potential* candidates.

### ***A President's Role in the Moral Crisis***

Americans perceive a moral crisis in the country and place a great deal of importance on high ethical standards in who becomes president, but there is a mixed view on what the president can do about these concerns. A majority felt that whoever is elected can make a difference in dealing with the problem of violence (65%), and to a slightly lesser degree, with the problems of race and of low moral and ethical standards (54% each). However, much fewer (34%) felt that family breakdown and illegitimate children are issues upon which a president can have an impact.

Partisan differences emerged on these issues. Republicans and Democrats largely agreed that a president could have some effect on the problems of race and violence. But on the breakdown of the family and low moral and ethical standards, Republicans were more likely than Democrats to believe the president can make a difference (41% vs. 33%, and 63% vs 53%, respectively).

There were also differing views on the *ways* in which the President can have the greatest impact. With respect to the breakdown of the family, a majority (52%) felt the President can make the biggest difference by proposing policies, one-quarter (26%) said by serving as a role model, and one-fifth (19%) said by drawing national attention to the issue. On the issue of low moral and ethical standards, however, Americans were more likely to think the President would be effective by serving as a role model (47%), rather than by proposing policies (33%) or drawing attention to the problem (18%). Republicans were much more likely than Democrats to feel that the President could have the greatest impact by serving as a role model (56% vs. 34%), while Democrats felt he could be most effective by proposing policies (42%, compared to 27% among Republicans).

#### IV. POLITICAL JUDGEMENTS

##### *Opinions about Candidates and Leaders*

Overall, approval of Bill Clinton at 48% appears to be holding steady in the midst of the crucial debates in Washington these days. Approval of the policies of Republican leaders in Congress, on the other hand, has continued a 10-month slide, falling from 52% in December of last year, to 44% after the first 100 days, and now to 36%.

President Clinton's support, at this point, is much more broad-based than support for the GOP agenda. The President's job approval ratings cut across socio-economic lines, whereas approval of Republican congressional leaders appears to be much more concentrated demographically. Forty-six percent of college graduates approved of the Republican's policies compared to only 23% of those with less than a high school education. Similarly, 58% of those making more than \$75,000 a year, but fewer than one third of those with incomes under \$30,000, approved of the Republicans.

The approval ratings for Clinton and the Republican congressional leaders provide some insight into the relative strength of the two major party coalitions. The Democrats seem much more firmly united behind President Clinton than the Republicans do behind their leaders in Congress. The President received strong approval ratings from the four core Democratic groups (72% or better) in the Times Mirror typology, and positive ratings from the Independent groups (45% or better). The Republican leaders in Congress receive more tepid support from their core constituents. A large majority of the affluent Enterprisers (79%) expressed strong support for the Republican policies and proposals, but only two-thirds of Moralists (66%) and even fewer Libertarians (56%) said they approve of the GOP agenda. And only about one-in-five of the key Independent groups -- 22% of the New Economy Independents and 19% of the Embittered -- expressed approval of the policies of the GOP Congress.

With twelve months to go before the 1996 Presidential campaign, the public remains evenly split between Bill Clinton and an unnamed Republican candidate (34% vs. 33%, respectively) in a three-way test race. More than a quarter (26%) said they would prefer to see an unnamed Independent candidate elected President in 1996. Clinton's support seems to be strongest among women, minorities, and older Americans (49% of those age 65 and older chose Clinton). The generic Republican ran strongest among white males, Evangelical Christians and those with annual incomes exceeding \$75,000. Support for an Independent candidate was strongest among young voters (33% of those age 18-29 chose the Independent) and among those who voted for Ross Perot in 1992.

Among the leading 1996 presidential hopefuls, non-candidate Colin Powell receives the strongest endorsement. Fully 65% of the public said there is either a good chance or some chance they would vote for Powell if he ran for President. Bill Clinton was the next most popular choice (55%), followed by Bob Dole (47%). Clinton appears strong among Democratic and Independent groups and Dole strong mostly among Republicans, but Colin Powell enjoyed strong support across the board. Powell appealed mostly to Republican groups, but strong majorities of most Democratic groups -- the Seculars, New Democrats and the Partisan Poor -- said there is at least some chance they would vote for Powell.

Bill Clinton appears to be highly acceptable to all of the traditional Democratic voting groups. At least 84% of registered voters among Seculars, New Democrats, New Dealers and the Partisan Poor said there is a chance they would vote for him in 1996. Clinton also ran fairly strong among the two key Independent groups (61% on average), though not as strong as Powell (73%) who at the time of the survey seemed to control the center of the electorate.

### ***Primary Voters***

Among those who say they are very likely to vote in their state's primary next year, relatively few can see themselves voting for what might be considered the second tier of GOP candidates. Only about a third of Moralists and Libertarians, two core Republican groups, say there is even some chance they will vote for Patrick Buchanan or Phil Gramm if either is a candidate for president next year. The Moralists would presumably be a natural constituency for Buchanan, given his message of cultural conservatism and economic populism. However, this group seems more drawn to Colin Powell and, to a lesser extent, Bob Dole. Only the Enterprisers express strong support for Buchanan and Gramm. They are also more likely than any other group to say there is a chance they would vote for Newt Gingrich if he were to run for President.

Buchanan, Gramm and Gingrich hold very little appeal for the key Independent voting blocks, the New Economy Independents and the Embittered -- many of whom will be able to take part in the party primaries in 1996 in states where Independents are eligible to participate. These groups are much more enamored with Colin Powell. Three-quarters of each group said there was a chance they would vote for Powell if he were to run in '96.

**POTENTIAL GOP CANDIDATE SUPPORT**  
Based on Likely Primary Voters

<i>Good/Some Chance of Voting For ...</i>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enterprisers</u>	<u>Moralists</u>	<u>Libertarians</u>	<u>New Economy Independents</u>	<u>Embittered</u>
Bob Dole	48	85	70	70	37	38
Colin Powell	67	60	73	83	75	75
Newt Gingrich	25	56	40	37	13	9
Patrick Buchanan	23	40	32	29	17	23
Phil Gramm	26	53	34	35	15	17

Any resistance to a Powell candidacy among Republican groups would likely have come from the ideologically conservative Enterprisers, who were less enthusiastic about Powell than they are about Bob Dole. A Newt Gingrich candidacy would be much more appealing to the Enterprisers than to Moralists. This is not surprising considering the Enterprisers are philosophically more in line with the GOP Contract with America and express the highest levels of approval for the Republican leaders in Congress of any right-leaning group. In contrast, more than half of both the Moralists, as well as the Libertarians, said there is "no chance" they would vote for Newt for President.

The widening gender gap which underlies party identification and attitudes toward the "Republican revolution" could have a significant impact on the presidential election. Since the beginning of the 104th Congress, women have consistently expressed more negative attitudes toward the GOP agenda, toward specific GOP policies, and toward Republican House Speaker, Newt Gingrich. This survey found that women disapprove of congressional Republicans' policies and proposals by a staggering margin of 53% to 33%. In contrast, men dislike the GOP's ideas by a narrower 48% to 40% margin.

The gap is apparent in presidential politics as well. Not only were women more inclined to say they would vote for Bill Clinton in 1996 (60% vs. 50% of men); they were also much less likely than men to say they would vote for the leading GOP candidates (42% vs. 53% of men said there is a chance they would vote for Bob Dole).

Support for a Powell candidacy was no doubt tied to the widespread perception that little progress is being made toward solving the major problems facing the country. An overwhelming majority of the public (73%) is dissatisfied with the way things are going in the country and very few believe significant progress is being made. President Clinton seems to escape much of the blame for the state of the nation, but not Republican leaders in Congress.

Twenty-four percent of the public said the President has made progress in solving the nation's problems, which is about the same as the public said about GOP Congressional leaders (20%). Fifty percent said Clinton has tried but failed; only 40% gave GOP leaders that much credit. Some 12% said Clinton has made problems worse, but almost twice that proportion, 21%, said GOP leaders have made the problems worse.

***Views of the Parties***

While Bill Clinton seems to have escaped much of the blame for the way things are going in the country, his party clearly has not. Public attitudes toward *both* major political parties have soured considerably over the last year. The public may be skeptical about the policies and proposals of the GOP Congress, but their negative attitudes toward both parties suggest a more general distaste for politics as usual.

Since July of 1994, favorability ratings for the Republican party have fallen 11 percentage points, and ratings for the Democrats have fallen 13 percentage points. While self-described Republicans and Democrats continue to express overwhelmingly favorable opinions of their own parties, that support has softened somewhat over the last year or so. In July 1994 29% of Republicans had a *very* favorable opinion of their own party; today 21% do. Similarly, 31% of Democrats had a very favorable view of their party in July of '94, compared to 22% today. More importantly, favorability ratings of both parties have fallen off sharply among Independents over the last year.

<b>Trend in Favorability Ratings of Parties</b>				
<b>July 1992-Oct. 1995</b>				
	REPUBLICAN		DEMOCRATIC	
	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
October 1995	52	44	49	48
July 1994	63	33	62	34
May 1993	54	35	57	34
July 1992	46	48	61	33

Nearly 60% of the public now agrees we should have a third major party in this country -- the highest level recorded since the question was first asked by the *Washington Post* in September 1982. There is a widespread perception that the two major parties are extremely polarized these days. Only 18% of the public sees "hardly any difference" in what the parties stand for today. Democrats are more likely than Republicans or Independents to see sharp differences between the two parties. More than 40% of Democrats said there is a "great deal" of difference between the two parties, up from 28% who felt that way in July 1994. Among Democratic voting groups, the centrist New Democrats show the largest increase on this front. In 1994, only 16% saw a great deal of difference between the two parties; this year 37% perceive the polarization.

TREND IN DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PARTIES By Party ID								
	---- July 1994 ----				---- October 1995 ----			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
<i>Difference:</i>								
Great Deal	23	30	<b>28</b>	15	34	36	<b>41</b>	27
Fair Amount	51	53	52	50	46	48	45	47
Hardly Any	24	16	19	34	18	14	13	25
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

In the current survey, nearly three-quarters of the public (72%) said Republicans and Democrats have been bickering and opposing one another more than usual. In August of 1993, on the heels of a bruising and very partisan budget battle in Congress, only 57% of the public thought the parties were opposing each other more than usual. Despite widespread dissatisfaction with the two major parties and growing support for a third one, Ross Perot continues to be an unpopular alternative for most Americans. Nearly two-thirds of the public said there *no chance* they would vote for Perot if he is a candidate for President next year. Even among Perot's strongest supporters in 1992, this sentiment prevails. Fifty-six percent of New Economy Independents and 62% of Libertarians said there is no chance they will vote for Perot.

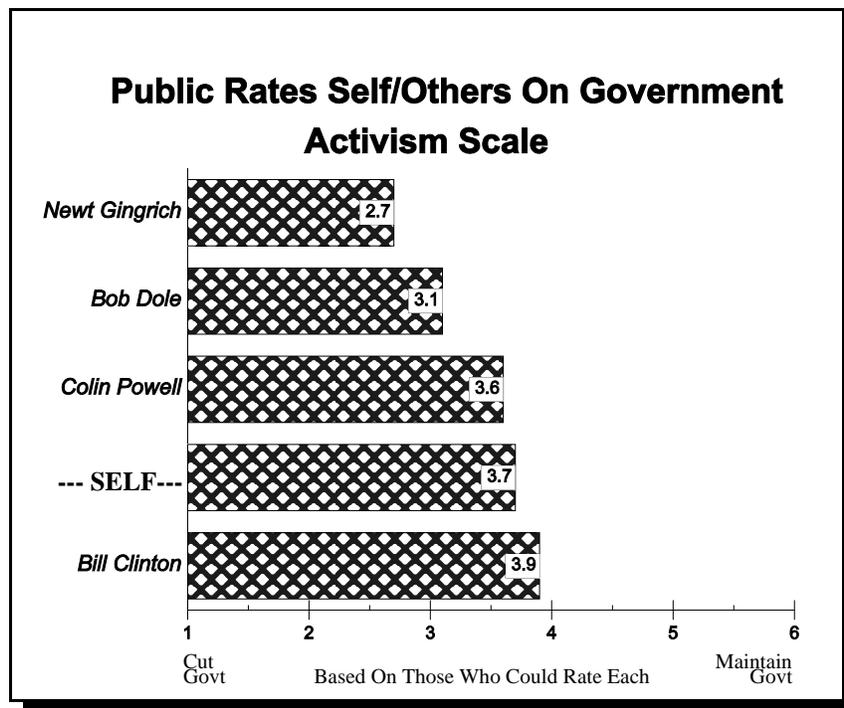
The public's perceptions of the parties seem to have contributed to an increasingly negative view of Congress. Congress's favorability rating has dropped substantially since July of 1994. Today only 42% of the public has a favorable opinion of Congress, compared to 53% in July '94.

Among those who say the parties are opposing each other more these days than usual, even fewer -- 37% -- have a favorable opinion of the Congress. Fully 61% of this group holds an unfavorable view of Congress, compared to only 40% of those who think the parties are working together more now than in the past.

### ***The Role of Government and Presidential Candidates***

The debate in Washington over the role of government is likely to become a major theme of the 1996 campaign. While the 1994 Republican sweep of Congress was interpreted by many as a repudiation of big government, the public actually sees itself as closer to Bill Clinton's position on the role of government than to Newt Gingrich's or Bob Dole's. When asked to rate themselves on a government activism scale, where 1 represents someone who believes government programs should be cut back in order to lower taxes and reduce the power of government, and 6 is someone who thinks that government programs that help the needy and deal with national problems should be maintained, respondents placed themselves at 3.7, or closer to the activist end of the scale. The public perceived the President to be slightly less conservative, at 3.9, and felt closest in ideology to Colin Powell (3.6). In fact, nearly a quarter of the public rated themselves the same as Powell.

Newt Gingrich was perceived by the public to be the most conservative, followed by Bob Dole. The public saw Powell by this measure as closer to Clinton than to Republicans. The only typology group to rate themselves near Newt Gingrich in terms of government activism was the conservative Enterprisers.



## V. VOTER VALUES AND ISSUE COALITIONS

The latest Times Mirror poll, in an unusual result, finds more unity among Democratic groups than among Republican groups on policy issues that could be raised in the election campaign. Specifically, Republicans are divided on abortion rights, social safety net issues, government scrutiny of big company mergers, and the flat tax. The poll found Democrats most divided on two issues: affirmative action and illegal immigrants. And there is more good news for Democrats; overall, the Independent groups are closer to their positions than to Republican stands.

On **abortion rights**, more than seven-in-ten of the public (71%) agreed that a woman's right to have an abortion should be preserved. Four years ago, an equally large number of Americans felt the same way (74%). Among those least supportive of abortion rights were Evangelical Christians (52%), while most supportive were Non-Evangelical Protestants (88%).

This issue deeply divides the Republican groups in the Times Mirror voter typology. Just over half of the socially conservative Enterprisers and Moralists supported abortion rights, compared to 86% of the Libertarians. Among the Democratic groups, at least 64% of each group favored preserving abortion rights, with the socially tolerant Seculars almost unanimous on the issue (95%). A key swing group, the New Economy Independents, overwhelmingly favored the Democrats on this issue (80% supportive of abortion rights).

Large majorities support an active government role in helping both **low income and middle income families**. But compared to four years ago, many fewer Americans are committed to it. At a similar juncture in the 1991 campaign, more than one-half of respondents *completely* agreed that government should help low income families (53%), as well as middle income families (52%), while in the current study, only one-third completely agreed (35% and 36%, respectively). This decline in intensity cuts across all major groups in the electorate regarding government aid for low income families, with the greatest drop among Republicans (23 percentage point decline vs. 12 percentage points for Democrats). Nonetheless, fully 69% of Republicans agreed that the government should help low income families in this respect.

Democratic groups are united on social safety net issues, too, but there is less cohesion among the Republicans. Specifically, the Moralists (who are less affluent than other Republican groups) were significantly more likely than either the free-market Enterprisers or the Libertarians to support government aid for low income families, as well as middle income families. In addition, the two swing groups, the New Economy Independents and the Embittered, are much closer to the Democrats on these issues than to the Republicans.

Nearly three-quarters of Americans agreed that the **mergers of big companies** should be looked at more closely by government (72%). Overall, Democrats were much more in agreement than Republicans (80% vs. 61%), with Independents closer to Democrats (75%). Among Republicans, the Moralists again split from the pro-business Enterprisers and Libertarians in voicing much greater support for government scrutiny. Democrats, however, were relatively unified on this issue, with at least 70% of all groups agreeing that government should keep a closer watch on mergers. Similar to the social safety net issues, both independent groups were more closely aligned with the Democrats than with the Republicans.

Just over half of the public (52%) was in favor of a **flat tax**, with Republicans far more so than Democrats (62% vs. 42%). Not surprisingly, the two Republican groups who stand to benefit most from it -- the Enterprisers and the Moralists -- were more supportive (69% and 64%, respectively) than the Moralists (56%). The New Economy Independents were closer to the Democratic position on this issue.

Only slightly more than a third of Americans (36%) agreed with **affirmative action** policy, with Democrats twice as supportive as Republicans (50% vs. 25%). All Republican groups showed low levels of support for special preferences for minorities in jobs and education, but among the Democratic groups, the Partisan Poor, the group with the largest concentration of blacks, were much more supportive of special preferences than were other Democratic groups. Again, the two key independent groups were somewhat more in tune with the Democratic position on this issue.

Nearly six-in-ten Americans (58%) agreed that **illegal immigrants** and their children should be denied education, health and welfare benefits. On this issue, Democrats and Republicans were both somewhat divided. Less than a majority of Seculars, New Democrats or Partisan Poor supported the denial of benefits, while 62% of the more conservative New Dealers did so. Among Republican groups, roughly six-in-ten of Moralists and Libertarians felt illegal immigrants should not receive benefits, compared to a slightly higher number of Enterprisers (74%).

With respect to **political reform**, large majorities continue to support term limits (79% vs. 80% in 1991), although compared to four years ago, there has been some decline in the intensity with which these views are held (55% completely agreed then vs. 45% now). In addition to the core Republican groups, the two independents groups in the typology voiced strongest support for term limits.

More than six-in-ten agreed (64%) that the US should play a leading role in **dealing with the world's problems**. This view was evenly spread across the partisan preferences, although there

were differences within them. Among the most internationalist by this measure were the (Republican) Moralists, the (Independent) Embittered, and the (Democratic) Secular and Partisan Poor. Most isolationist in this regard were the Enterprisers and Libertarians on the right and New Dealers on the left.

ISSUE COALITIONS AMONG THE TYPOLOGY GROUPS									
(% Agree)									
	<u>Abortion Rights</u>	<u>Govt Aid Middle Income</u>	<u>Govt Aid Low Income</u>	<u>Govt Scrutinize Mergers</u>	<u>Flat Tax Rate</u>	<u>Special Preferences Minorities</u>	<u>Deny Immigrants Benefits</u>	<u>Term Limits</u>	<u>US World Leader</u>
TOTAL	71	78	81	72	52	36	58	79	64
REPUBLICAN GROUPS									
Enterprisers	54	50	50	52	69	14	74	89	57
Moralists	58	77	80	74	56	26	59	87	67
Libertarians	86	60	67	49	64	24	62	67	58
INDEPENDENT GROUPS									
New Economy Ind.	80	85	92	77	45	42	60	86	64
Embittered	64	80	95	80	56	52	55	89	71
Bystanders	68	88	90	74	47	35	56	67	51
DEMOCRATIC GROUPS									
Seculars	95	91	88	78	34	47	46	68	71
New Democrats	78	87	87	70	46	46	48	73	65
New Dealers	70	83	86	95	46	38	62	78	59
Partisan Poor	64	88	95	79	43	62	48	65	78

## VI. VIEWS ABOUT BUSINESS AND THE MEDIA

### *Attitudes Toward Business Slip*

With the earnings of American workers rising the smallest amount on record last year -- at 2.7%, barely ahead of inflation -- and with layoffs providing depressing counterpoints to new highs of the stock market, the public's regard for business corporations has declined sharply. The favorability rating of big companies remains relatively high at 60%, but it has fallen by 10 percentage points in 15 months to its lowest level of the nineties. Merely 4% of the public believed that big companies put the interests of their employees first; 46% said they put stockholders first and 34% said they put top executives first.

What they *should* do instead, respondents said, is turn that hierarchy almost upside down. Thirty-one percent said corporations should put customers first and 30% said employees first; only 4% said put the top executives first. Fully 72% said mergers of big companies should be looked at more closely by the government. An even larger majority (77%) felt that too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few large companies, but this figure has remained relatively steady for more than a year.

Whether or not it reflects badly on the business community, the public has also become strikingly disenchanted with the perceived cost, in terms of loss of jobs, of free trade agreements like NAFTA. Almost twice as many now say such agreements hurt the job situation (55% all told, including 28% who said hurt a little, 27% who said hurt a lot). Just a year and a half ago, only 32% held that view (14% hurt a little, 18% hurt a lot).

Despite the anxiety of Americans about jobs and wages expressed in these findings, however, the public's contradictory attitude toward big business was also evident. A slim majority said government regulation of business does more harm than good (50% vs. 45%), perhaps reflecting more the historic antipathy of Americans toward the government than sympathy for business. Three-fourths (75%) of respondents felt confident that business is living up to its responsibility to the public, although this was much the same as found in 1979 (71%). A similar number of respondents saw the news media (15%) and business corporations (13%) as the greatest threat to people like themselves, and nearly half as many named the one-time favored American whipping boy, Wall Street banks and investment companies (8%). All took a back seat to fear of the government, which 50% of respondents called the biggest threat.

The new critics of corporations are found mostly among women, the middle aged (30 to 49 years old), and those with family income in the \$20,000 a year range. Politically, the new critics are

more likely to be Independent, and geographically, they come more often from small cities and towns. To a considerable degree, they are the same people who are newly disillusioned with Congress.

More importantly, perhaps, in view of the coming presidential campaign, divisions were found among traditional Republican groups on two key policy issues: mergers and trade.

Of the 72% who agreed that mergers should be watched more closely by the government, 28% agreed completely, and among these were a disproportionate number of blacks and non-whites, persons over 65 years of age, and those in families earning under \$20,000 a year. Politically, they were almost twice as often Democrats and Clinton voters rather than Republicans and Bush voters. But among the three traditional GOP groups in the *Times Mirror* typology, the Moralists, who have a decidedly anti-business bent, were akin to all of the Democratic and Independent groups rather than like the Enterprisers and Libertarians. Seventy-four percent of the Moralists agreed on closer scrutiny, compared to 52% of the Enterprisers and 49% of the Libertarians. All of the other groups in the typology favored closer scrutiny by at least 70%.

Of the 55% who felt free trade agreements hurt the job situation, there were few marked demographic differences. There was also no difference between Democrats and Republicans -- 53% of each said jobs are hurt -- while 59% of Independents said the same. Among those expressing a presidential preference for 1996, 49% of those favoring Clinton said jobs are hurt, compared to 54% of those favoring a Republican and 60% of those favoring an Independent candidate. Among the three Republican groups in the *Times Mirror* typology, the Libertarians were the odd-man out (45% said hurt), much like two Democratic groups (the Seculars and Partisan Poor), while the GOP-inclined Enterprisers (at 55%) and the Moralists (at 59%) were much like the other Democratic groups and the Independents.

The Republican groups were also noteworthy for their positions on whose interests corporations *should* put first. Enterprisers and Moralists put employees first; Libertarians put employees second, after stockholders. But all three put top executives lowest on their list, with 4% or less saying they should be first, lower even than the average of the more "populist" Independent and Democratic groups.

Finally, two of the three Republican groups -- the Enterprisers and the Libertarians -- were over-represented among those who had a "great deal of confidence" in business living up to its public responsibilities. Similarly, the groups over-represented among those who had no confidence in business living up to its responsibilities included both of the Independent groups -and three of the

four Democratic groups. The fourth Democratic group -- the New Democrats -- are largely partial to business despite liberal social leanings.

### ***The News Media Takes Some Hits***

Although far behind the government in this regard, a significant proportion of the public (15%) saw the news media as the biggest threat in their lives, marginally more than business (13%) and much more than Wall Street (8%) and the entertainment industry (5%).

The quintessential Republican typology group, the Enterprisers, led in citing the media most often (25%), much as they led in blaming the media (along with the Partisan Poor) for the reasons for their dissatisfaction with the state of the country. These same Enterprisers -- affluent, educated, mostly white -- may see the media connected to entertainment; they also were among those most likely to see the entertainment industry as the biggest threat.

The public does not blame the media for exaggerating the amount of crime in the country. Almost a two-thirds majority (64%) believed the media accurately reflects the level of crime, and only 31% felt that news organizations are guilty of exaggeration in this respect. These are essentially the same proportions of almost two years ago (64% and 28%, respectively, in January, 1994). Leaders in the belief that the press exaggerates were the Democratic-leaning Seculars (39%), the Independent-leaning (low education, low income) Embittered (38%), and the Republican Enterprisers (37%).

The public was not critical, either, about the volume of political coverage by the media. Sixty percent said it was about the right amount, while 18% said too much and an identical 18% said too little. Four years ago, at the same time in the presidential election cycle, the results were similar: 58% said the coverage was the right amount, 12% said too much and 22% said too little. New Dealers and Enterprisers were above average in complaining about too much coverage (28% and 23%, respectively), while the Embittered and the Moralists were above average in saying too little (25% and 22%, respectively).

There was a huge rise, however, in the proportion of Americans who said they want more coverage about the candidates' stand on political *issues* rather than his or her past experiences and qualifications. This represents a significant shift from the past two presidential elections. Fully 66% said they want the issues paid most attention to, compared to 46% in 1991 and 41% in 1987. In comparison, only 24% said they want most attention given to experience, almost half the level of previous years (42% in 1991 and 45% in 1987). Those who want most focus on the personal

character of a candidate constituted 9%, much the same as previously. Among the typology groups, the Democratic-oriented Seculars were strongest in favor of most coverage of issues (85%), while the Republican Enterprisers and the independents called the Embittered were above average in calling for more personal character coverage (18% and 16%, respectively).

Beyond specific topics, however, there was a dramatic rise in the perception that the First Amendment protects the interests of the media as much as those of the public. In August, 1989, only 32% of respondents said the Constitution protects "news organizations and their interests," while 56% said it defends "the people and the public interest more." In the current poll, almost half (48%) said the Constitution protects news organizations more, while 46% said it defends the public mostly.

# APPENDIX

## About the Typology

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

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

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

### *The Divided Right*

- Enterprisers (13% of adult population): Affluent, well-educated, and predominantly white. This classic Republican group is mainly characterized as pro-business, anti-government, anti-social welfare.

- Moralists (16%): Middle-aged, middle-income, predominantly white, religious (more than half are Evangelicals). This core Republican group is also socially intolerant and anti-social welfare, militaristic, anti-big business and anti-big government. Former Democrats drawn to the GOP's religious and cultural conservatism have increased its size substantially since 1987.

- Libertarians (8%): Highly-educated, affluent, predominately white male. This group has Republican lineage but is uncomfortable with today's GOP, particularly its religious right. Pro-business, anti-government, anti-social welfare but highly tolerant, very low on religious faith, cynical about politicians.

### *The Detached Center*

- New Economy Independents (13%): Average income, young to middle aged, mostly female. This group is unanchored in either party and many supported Perot in 1992. It has many conflicting values: strongly environmentalist but not believers in government regulation; pro-social welfare but not very sympathetic to blacks; inclined to fundamental religious beliefs but highly tolerant of homosexuals.

- Bystanders (8%): Very young, poorly educated, with low income. This group opts out of the political process or are not eligible to vote (high Hispanic concentration). Slightly more male than female, its only claimed commitment is to environmentalism.

- The Embittered (9%): Low income, low education, middle-aged. One in five of this group are black, four in ten have children under 18. Old ties to Democrats have eroded but the Embittered feel unwelcome in the GOP. They distrust government, politicians, corporations. They are religious

and socially intolerant. They strongly blame discrimination for lack of black progress, but are not strongly in favor of social welfare programs.

***The "Not So" Left***

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

- New Democrats (12%): Mostly female, average income and education, as many white Evangelical Protestants as white Catholics. Religious but not intolerant, more pro-business than other Democratic groups, they reject discrimination as a major barrier to black progress, are pro-government and environmentalist.

- New Dealers (8%): One of the two oldest groups in the typology (one in four over 65), average education and low income. Once part of FDR's coalition, beneficiary of government programs, this group is now turned off by politics. Strongly conservative on race and social welfare, strong on religion, moderate on social tolerance, pro-America, distrusts politicians and business.

- Partisan Poor (5%): Very poor (38% with household income under \$20,000 a year), disadvantaged, about four in ten in the south. This oldest typology group, rooted in New Deal coalition, believes more government spending on the poor is needed. More than one-third are non-whites. Very religious and socially intolerant.

<b>The Times Mirror Typology (Percent of adult population)</b>				
	<u>July 1994</u>	<u>Oct. 1994</u>	<u>April 1995</u>	<u>Oct. 1995</u>
<i>Enterprisers</i>	10	12	15	13
<i>Moralists</i>	18	17	12	16
<i>Libertarians</i>	4	6	6	8
<i>New Economy</i>				
<i>Independents</i>	19	14	17	13
<i>Embittered</i>	7	6	7	9
<i>Bystanders</i>	8	9	11	8
<i>Seculars</i>				
<i>New Democrats</i>	11	10	9	12
<i>New Dealers</i>	7	8	7	8
<i>Partisan Poor</i>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100

### ***1996 Voting Blocs and the Typology***

The typology gives us an opportunity to look at the structure of various sectors of the electorate. As was evident in the 1994 elections, the sum of an electoral group is often more powerful than its parts. In 1994, white males, talk radio listeners and conservative Christians turned out to vote in higher numbers and voted with greater unanimity than other voting blocs, and thus their impact on the election was substantial.

Some of the key voting blocs to watch in 1996 will be primary voters, talk radio listeners, and the Christian Right. The overwhelming majority of Republican primary voters (those who say they are "very likely" to vote in a primary in their state next year) are clustered in two typology groups. Forty percent of likely GOP primary voters are upscale, economically conservative Enterprisers, and an equal percentage (39%) are socially conservative, middle class Moralists. The battle over the Republican presidential nomination will likely be waged between these two GOP voting blocs, who at this point do not agree in their assessments of the Republican congressional agenda or the current Republican presidential field.

In recent years, talk radio has become a powerful tool for political expression and coalition building. The regular talk radio audience remains largely conservative. More than 20% of those who listen to talk radio regularly are Enterprisers; 14% are Moralists. However, more Democrats appear to be tuning into talk radio this year than last. In October 1994, just weeks before the November elections, only 7% of the regular talk radio audience consisted of New Democrats; today that number has nearly doubled to 15%. This moderate, middle class Democratic group makes up about 12% of the electorate and will be an important group to watch in 1996.

The Christian right could be another important swing group in the 1996 elections, particularly during the Republican nomination process. Nearly half (47%) of those Republicans who identify themselves as born again or Evangelical Christians, can be found among the ranks of the religious and culturally conservative Moralists. Forty percent are Enterprisers. Again these two groups have increasingly divergent attitudes toward their party's social and political agenda. This schism may weaken the electoral strength of the Christian Right in the 1996 election.

### Potential Voting Blocs

	<u>All Voters</u>	<u>Likely GOP Primary Voters</u>	<u>Talk Radio Listeners</u>	<u>Christian Right</u>
Enterprisers	13	40	22	40
Moralists	16	39	14	47
Libertarians	8	12	10	3
New Economy Indeps.	13	4	9	3
Embittered	9	2	9	3
Bystanders	8	1	3	4
Seculars	8	--	8	--
New Democrats	12	2	15	--
New Dealers	8	--	6	--
Partisan Poor	<u>5</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>--</u>
	100	100	100	100

# TABLES

**TOP FIVE SOURCES OF DISSATISFACTION**  
(Based on Those Dissatisfied)

	<u>Health Care System</u> %	<u>Economy</u> %	<u>Crime</u> %	<u>Political System</u> %	<u>Taxes Too High</u> %
<b>Total</b>	21	21	20	17	14
<b>Sex</b>					
Male	17	22	15	21	17
Female	25	21	25	13	10
<b>Race</b>					
White	21	19	20	17	14
Non-white	21	33	22	11	12
Black	21	37	21	13	10
<b>Age</b>					
Under 30	20	20	22	7	9
30-49	20	26	19	16	19
50-64	22	17	21	23	12
65+	26	16	22	20	7
<b>Education</b>					
College Grad.	22	22	20	22	14
Some College	22	22	24	15	16
High School Grad.	22	21	20	14	13
<H.S. Grad	18	18	17	17	11
<b>Family Income</b>					
\$75,000+	18	23	19	17	16
\$50,000-\$74,999	15	21	22	17	19
\$30,000-\$49,999	22	20	21	20	15
\$20,000-\$29,999	19	23	27	14	14
<\$20,000	25	22	15	13	10
<b>Region</b>					
East	28	26	18	16	14
Midwest	21	20	18	18	16
South	19	18	22	16	11
West	19	22	23	16	13

Question: What things are you most dissatisfied with?

Continued ...

	<u>Health Care System</u> %	<u>Economy</u> %	<u>Crime</u> %	<u>Political System</u> %	<u>Taxes Too High</u> %
<b>Total</b>	21	21	20	17	14
<b>Community Size</b>					
Large City	22	25	23	13	14
Suburb	24	23	24	18	14
Small City/Town	20	20	20	18	12
Rural Area	20	19	17	16	15
<b>Religious Preference</b>					
Total White Protestant	19	16	21	18	13
White Prot. Evangelical	16	14	18	16	11
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	22	18	23	21	15
White Catholic	26	25	23	13	15
<b>Party ID</b>					
Republican	14	21	20	14	13
Democrat	30	22	25	13	12
Independent	21	22	16	22	15
<b>1992 Vote</b>					
Clinton	28	22	22	17	11
Bush	17	20	22	17	15
Perot	19	23	18	20	16
<b>1994 Congressional Vote</b>					
Democrat	31	21	21	18	12
Republican	13	19	24	18	16
Didn't Vote	21	22	19	14	13
<b>Presidential Approval</b>					
Approve	27	23	23	14	11
Disapprove	17	21	19	18	15
No Opinion	20	16	16	16	14
<b>GOP Congress Approval</b>					
Approve	15	22	24	16	13
Disapprove	26	22	19	17	14
No Opinion	20	17	18	17	14
<b>Listens To Talk Radio</b>					
Regularly	21	24	19	21	16
Sometimes	20	23	19	17	13
Rarely/Never	22	19	22	14	13

**WHO'S MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR WAY THINGS ARE GOING?  
(Based on Those Dissatisfied)**

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>People Themselves</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>President</u>	<u>Media</u>	<u>Entertain- ment</u>	<u>Wall Street</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	35	27	8	7	6	3	2
<b>Sex</b>							
Male	37	24	11	6	7	2	2
Female	33	29	6	8	6	4	2
<b>Race</b>							
White	35	27	8	6	6	4	2
Non-white	35	24	10	9	5	2	1
Black	36	22	11	8	5	3	1
<b>Age</b>							
Under 30	33	37	7	9	4	2	*
30-49	34	24	11	8	7	3	2
50-64	37	23	6	5	6	5	2
65+	36	24	6	3	6	4	3
<b>Education</b>							
College Grad.	38	26	10	4	6	3	1
Some College	34	27	9	6	8	3	2
High School Grad.	36	27	8	7	5	4	2
<H.S. Grad	27	26	7	11	7	1	2
<b>Family Income</b>							
\$75,000+	32	29	8	5	6	4	3
\$50,000-\$74,999	37	26	12	9	6	2	1
\$30,000-\$49,999	38	25	9	7	7	4	2
\$20,000-\$29,999	32	28	9	6	6	5	2
<\$20,000	37	26	6	7	6	2	2
<b>Region</b>							
East	35	22	12	6	6	3	2
Midwest	34	28	9	5	7	2	3
South	36	30	6	9	5	4	1
West	35	26	9	6	8	4	1

Question: Generally, who do you think is most responsible for ... (insert mention from Q. 3)?

**Continued ...**

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>People Themselves</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>President</u>	<u>Media</u>	<u>Entertain- ment</u>	<u>Wall Street</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	35	27	8	7	6	3	2
<b>Community Size</b>							
Large City	34	25	11	6	4	4	2
Suburb	36	29	9	4	7	6	*
Small City/Town	35	29	7	8	5	2	3
Rural Area	35	22	7	10	9	2	2
<b>Religious Preference</b>							
Total White Protestant	33	29	7	7	6	3	2
White Prot. Evangelical	30	31	4	8	7	4	2
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	35	27	9	5	6	3	2
White Catholic	39	22	8	8	8	4	2
<b>Party ID</b>							
Republican	30	30	7	9	7	5	2
Democrat	41	24	8	5	6	3	2
Independent	34	26	10	7	6	2	1
<b>1992 Vote</b>							
Clinton	41	24	10	4	5	3	2
Bush	29	31	6	8	8	5	3
Perot	41	26	11	6	3	2	0
<b>1994 Congressional Vote</b>							
Democrat	42	24	10	5	5	1	2
Republican	32	28	8	8	8	4	1
Didn't Vote	33	28	8	7	6	4	2
<b>Presidential Approval</b>							
Approve	39	25	10	3	6	4	2
Disapprove	32	28	7	10	7	3	2
No Opinion	33	31	8	8	4	1	3
<b>GOP Congress Approval</b>							
Approve	31	29	6	8	9	5	2
Disapprove	40	24	10	6	5	3	2
No Opinion	25	34	8	9	1	3	2
<b>Listens To Talk Radio</b>							
Regularly	41	23	7	8	6	1	2
Sometimes	37	22	9	7	6	5	3
Rarely/Never	31	32	8	6	6	3	1

## TOP FIVE ISSUES PUBLIC WANTS CANDIDATES TO DISCUSS

	<u>Health Care</u> <u>Reform</u> %	<u>Economy</u> %	<u>Balance</u> <u>Budget</u> %	<u>Crime</u> %	<u>Moral</u> <u>Crisis</u> %
<b>Total</b>	20	14	14	9	8
<b>Sex</b>					
Male	15	16	17	8	7
Female	24	12	10	10	9
<b>Race</b>					
White	20	14	15	9	9
Non-white	21	11	5	10	5
Black	22	9	4	10	7
<b>Age</b>					
Under 30	17	12	9	10	6
30-49	18	15	13	9	10
50-64	22	13	14	9	7
65+	23	15	20	9	8
<b>Education</b>					
College Grad.	18	18	16	8	9
Some College	17	13	15	9	9
High School Grad.	21	12	13	10	7
<H.S. Grad	22	12	9	10	9
<b>Family Income</b>					
\$75,000+	14	19	24	11	11
\$50,000-\$74,999	16	19	16	6	10
\$30,000-\$49,999	18	13	15	10	8
\$20,000-\$29,999	23	12	14	10	7
<\$20,000	22	12	8	9	7
<b>Region</b>					
East	23	15	12	8	8
Midwest	19	13	14	10	8
South	21	13	12	10	10
West	15	16	16	8	7
<b>Community Size</b>					
Large City	20	14	11	10	6
Suburb	17	19	16	10	7
Small City/Town	20	13	14	8	10
Rural Area	20	10	12	9	8

Question: What one issue would you most like to hear presidential candidates talk about?

Continued ...

	Health Care <u>Reform</u> %	Economy <u>Economy</u> %	Balance <u>Budget</u> %	Crime <u>Crime</u> %	Moral <u>Crisis</u> %
<b>Total</b>	20	14	14	9	8
<b>Religious Preference</b>					
Total White Protestant	20	13	16	8	10
White Prot. Evangelical	19	10	15	8	16
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	20	15	17	8	5
White Catholic	22	16	15	10	6
<b>Party ID</b>					
Republican	13	15	18	8	13
Democrat	27	11	9	11	6
Independent	19	15	14	9	6
<b>1992 Vote</b>					
Clinton	27	13	9	9	5
Bush	11	16	22	8	13
Perot	16	17	21	10	11
<b>1994 Congressional Vote</b>					
Democrat	26	15	13	10	4
Republican	12	15	20	8	14
Didn't Vote	21	12	10	9	7
<b>Presidential Approval</b>					
Approve	26	14	11	11	5
Disapprove	14	14	18	8	13
No Opinion	13	11	8	6	4
<b>GOP Congress Approval</b>					
Approve	13	15	20	8	11
Disapprove	25	14	10	10	7
No Opinion	15	11	8	10	8
<b>Listens To Talk Radio</b>					
Regularly	19	17	16	8	9
Sometimes	20	12	14	8	9
Rarely/Never	20	14	12	10	7
<b>TYPOLGY GROUPS</b>					
Enterprisers	7	14	26	8	15
Moralists	16	16	14	9	13
Libertarians	10	26	19	4	5
New Economy Independents	28	10	12	11	6
Embittered	17	16	13	6	8
Bystanders	14	10	8	11	7
Seculars	29	15	10	10	4
New Democrats	26	14	7	9	8
New Dealers	29	7	11	10	4
Partisan Poor	27	10	11	11	4

**TREND IN PUBLIC CONCERN**  
(March 1994 vs. October 1995)

	<i>Not Having Enough Money For Retirement (% Very Concerned)</i>			<i>Being Able to Afford Necessary Health Care For Family Member (% Very Concerned)</i>		
	March	Oct	<u>Change</u>	March	Oct	<u>Change</u>
	<u>1994</u>	<u>1995</u>		<u>1994</u>	<u>1995</u>	
	%	%		%	%	
<b>Total</b>	42	48	+ 6	50	66	+16
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	38	45	+ 7	45	60	+15
Female	46	50	+ 4	55	71	+16
<b>Race</b>						
White	39	45	+ 6	47	62	+15
Non-white	64	65	+ 1	72	84	+12
Black	67	66	- 1	74	85	+11
<b>Age</b>						
Under 30	42	45	+ 3	56	63	+ 7
30-49	47	52	+ 5	48	65	+17
50-64	48	55	+ 7	55	72	+17
65+	24	34	+10	42	62	+20
<b>Education</b>						
College Grad.	29	37	+ 8	32	52	+20
Some College	33	45	+12	53	57	+ 4
High School Grad.	48	52	+ 4	54	71	+17
<H.S. Grad	56	54	- 2	62	83	+21
<b>Family Income</b>						
\$50,000+	27	39	+12	33	44	+11
\$30,000-\$49,999	37	46	+ 9	52	61	+ 9
\$20,000-\$29,999	47	53	+ 6	58	72	+14
<\$20,000	58	54	- 4	65	81	+16
<b>Region</b>						
East	48	48	0	50	70	+20
Midwest	38	48	+10	49	63	+14
South	42	53	+11	53	69	+16
West	42	38	- 4	47	58	+11

Question: Now I'd like you to think about some concerns that people may have. How concerned are you, if at all, about (Not having enough money for your retirement/Being unable to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick)? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned about this?

Continued ...

	<i>Not Having Enough Money For Retirement (% Very Concerned)</i>			<i>Being Able to Afford Necessary Health Care For Family Member (% Very Concerned)</i>		
	March	Oct		March	Oct	
	<u>1994</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>Change</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>Change</u>
	%	%		%	%	
<b><i>Total</i></b>	42	48	+ 6	50	66	+16
<b><i>Community Size</i></b>						
Large City	45	53	+ 8	49	67	+18
Suburb	39	44	+ 5	45	62	+17
Small City/Town	43	50	+ 7	53	66	+13
Rural Area	42	44	+ 2	52	65	+13
<b><i>Party ID</i></b>						
Republican	36	41	+ 5	40	53	+13
Democrat	46	54	+ 8	58	76	+18
Independent	46	49	+ 3	52	68	+16
<b><i>1992 Vote</i></b>						
Clinton	45	52	+ 7	55	76	+21
Bush	32	38	+ 6	40	50	+10
Perot	37	53	+16	41	57	+16
<b><i>Presidential Approval</i></b>						
Approve	43	50	+ 7	55	73	+18
Disapprove	39	45	+ 6	46	55	+ 9

**TOP FIVE QUALITIES "ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL" IN A PRESIDENT\***

	<u>High Ethics</u> %	<u>Com- passion</u> %	<u>Sound Judgment</u> %	<u>Sincer- ity</u> %	<u>Consist- ency</u> %	<u>Forceful- ness</u> %
<b>Total</b>	22	19	18	9	8	6
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	20	19	20	10	8	6
Female	24	19	16	8	7	6
<b>Race</b>						
White	24	18	18	9	8	6
Non-white	9	24	16	8	5	7
Black	9	24	15	7	4	5
<b>Age</b>						
Under 30	16	23	15	11	10	4
30-49	23	19	17	9	9	6
50-64	29	18	21	8	6	6
65+	20	14	21	8	5	8
<b>Education</b>						
College Grad.	27	14	24	9	7	7
Some College	29	20	16	7	9	6
High School Grad.	19	19	16	10	9	6
<H.S. Grad	12	24	16	9	3	6
<b>Family Income</b>						
\$75,000+	30	11	26	6	10	9
\$50,000-\$74,999	26	17	20	11	10	5
\$30,000-\$49,999	26	17	18	10	9	5
\$20,000-\$29,999	20	21	15	9	8	7
<\$20,000	15	25	16	8	7	5
<b>Region</b>						
East	19	21	17	10	8	6
Midwest	21	22	18	10	6	6
South	22	16	16	8	8	8
West	26	17	22	9	9	3

\* Based on those who rated at least one quality "absolutely essential" in Q.13

Question: Of all the qualities you think are absolutely essential, which ONE would you say is the most important for a President to have?

**Continued ...**

	<u>High Ethics</u> %	<u>Com- passion</u> %	<u>Sound Judgment</u> %	<u>Sincer- ity</u> %	<u>Consist- ency</u> %	<u>Forceful- ness</u> %
<b><i>Total</i></b>	22	19	18	9	8	6
<b><i>Community Size</i></b>						
Large City	22	18	20	8	7	6
Suburb	24	17	22	9	8	6
Small City/Town	21	20	17	9	8	6
Rural Area	23	20	14	9	8	7
<b><i>Religious Preference</i></b>						
Total White Protestant	26	17	18	9	8	6
White Prot. Evangelical	32	18	14	9	8	6
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	23	17	22	8	8	7
White Catholic	22	17	22	9	8	6
<b><i>Party ID</i></b>						
Republican	31	13	17	9	10	7
Democrat	16	24	18	9	5	5
Independent	19	20	19	8	9	6
<b><i>1992 Vote</i></b>						
Clinton	16	24	21	10	6	7
Bush	36	10	16	7	10	7
Perot	24	19	21	10	8	6
<b><i>1994 Congressional Vote</i></b>						
Democrat	19	20	19	10	6	8
Republican	32	12	22	8	10	5
Didn't Vote	19	23	15	9	7	6
<b><i>Presidential Approval</i></b>						
Approve	15	23	21	10	6	6
Disapprove	31	15	16	8	10	6
No Opinion	18	17	14	10	9	5
<b><i>GOP Congress Approval</i></b>						
Approve	29	13	21	8	10	7
Disapprove	16	24	16	10	7	6
No Opinion	24	16	18	8	7	3
<b><i>Listens To Talk Radio</i></b>						
Regularly	25	17	18	8	8	7
Sometimes	22	18	18	8	8	6
Rarely/Never	21	20	18	10	7	6

**TREND IN CLINTON APPROVAL  
(December 1994 vs. October 1995)**

	--December 1994--		--October 1995--		Change In Approval
	Approve %	Disapprove %	Approve %	Disapprove %	
<b>Total</b>	41	47	48	42	+ 7
<b>Sex</b>					
Male	41	50	46	46	+ 5
Female	41	45	50	38	+ 9
<b>Race</b>					
White	37	52	46	44	+ 9
Non-white	66	22	62	26	- 4
Black	71	16	66	22	- 5
<b>Age</b>					
Under 30	40	47	48	40	+ 8
30-49	40	50	47	44	+ 7
50-64	41	47	43	49	+ 2
65+	44	42	54	33	+10
<b>Education</b>					
College Grad.	45	47	48	46	+ 3
Some College	42	46	49	42	+ 7
High School Grad.	36	51	46	42	+10
<H.S. Grad	45	42	50	34	+ 5
<b>Family Income</b>					
\$50,000+	41	52	44	49	+ 3
\$30,000-\$49,999	37	54	47	43	+10
\$20,000-\$29,999	46	43	47	42	+ 1
<\$20,000	47	38	51	37	+ 4
<b>Region</b>					
East	46	40	52	35	+ 6
Midwest	38	54	47	41	+ 9
South	38	51	43	46	+ 5
West	45	41	50	43	+ 5

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

Continued ...

	--December 1994--		--October 1995--		Change In
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Approval</u>
	%	%	%	%	
<b><i>Total</i></b>	41	47	48	42	+ 7
<b><i>Community Size</i></b>					
Large City	51	39	52	40	+ 1
Suburb	42	45	52	40	+10
Small City/Town	39	50	48	39	+ 9
Rural Area	34	54	40	49	+ 6
<b><i>Party ID</i></b>					
Republican	16	73	22	70	+ 6
Democrat	74	18	76	13	+ 2
Independent	38	48	46	43	+ 8
<b><i>1992 Vote</i></b>					
Clinton	75	17	77	14	+ 2
Bush	12	78	16	77	+ 4
Perot	24	68	34	56	+10

**TREND IN APPROVAL OF REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS  
(December 1994 vs. October 1995)**

	--December 1994--		--October 1995--		Change In Approval
	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	
<b>Total</b>	52	28	37	51	-15
<b>Sex</b>					
Male	58	25	40	48	-18
Female	46	31	33	53	-13
<b>Race</b>					
White	54	26	39	48	-15
Non-white	35	44	20	66	-15
Black	30	48	15	72	-15
<b>Age</b>					
Under 30	60	29	40	43	-20
30-49	52	29	39	48	-13
50-64	49	28	37	54	-12
65+	43	28	26	62	-17
<b>Education</b>					
College Grad.	55	32	46	47	-9
Some College	52	31	42	45	-10
High School Grad.	53	25	34	52	-19
<H.S. Grad	45	28	23	59	-22
<b>Family Income</b>					
\$50,000+	57	28	51	41	-6
\$30,000-\$49,999	53	30	40	48	-13
\$20,000-\$29,999	56	26	36	52	-20
<\$20,000	43	31	24	59	-19
<b>Region</b>					
East	48	30	32	56	-16
Midwest	52	28	34	49	-18
South	53	27	39	50	-14
West	51	29	40	49	-11

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

Continued ...

	<u>--December 1994--</u>		<u>--October 1995--</u>		<u>Change</u>
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>In</u>
	%	%	%	%	<u>Approval</u>
<b>Total</b>	52	28	37	51	-15
<b>Community Size</b>					
Large City	47	31	33	55	-14
Suburb	59	30	44	46	-15
Small City/Town	51	26	35	51	-16
Rural Area	50	28	35	51	-15
<b>Party ID</b>					
Republican	82	4	71	20	-11
Democrat	21	58	10	79	-11
Independent	49	28	31	54	-18
<b>1992 Vote</b>					
Clinton	21	57	15	76	-6
Bush	78	6	69	22	-9
Perot	60	19	44	43	-16
<b>Presidential Approval</b>					
Approve	33	47	25	64	-8
Disapprove	70	14	55	37	-15
No Opinion	39	22	15	42	-24

	<u>--April 1995--</u>		<u>--October 1995--</u>		<u>Change</u>
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>In</u>
	%	%	%	%	<u>Approval</u>
<b>TYPOLGY GROUPS</b>					
Total	44	43	36	51	-8
Enterprisers	82	10	79	12	-3
Moralists	76	14	66	25	-10
Libertarians	64	27	56	30	-8
New Economy Independents	32	53	22	64	-10
Embittered	42	45	19	68	-23
Bystanders	36	40	26	50	-10
Seculars	15	76	12	79	-3
New Democrats	18	67	19	61	+1
New Dealers	19	68	9	83	-10
Partisan Poor	19	63	10	75	-9

**CLINTON, DOLE AND POWELL ELECTABILITY**  
(Good Chance/Some Chance Combined)

	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Powell</u>
	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	55	47	65
<b>Sex</b>			
Male	50	53	68
Female	60	42	63
<b>Race</b>			
White	52	50	66
Non-white	76	25	63
Black	82	19	62
<b>Age</b>			
Under 30	55	46	68
30-49	55	48	70
50-64	50	49	68
65+	62	44	48
<b>Education</b>			
College Grad.	55	56	80
Some College	55	48	67
High School Grad.	54	45	64
<H.S. Grad	60	38	47
<b>Family Income</b>			
\$75,000+	45	59	80
\$50,000-\$74,999	54	54	74
\$30,000-\$49,999	54	49	68
\$20,000-\$29,999	53	45	63
<\$20,000	60	38	57
<b>Region</b>			
East	66	42	66
Midwest	54	48	67
South	51	49	63
West	53	47	66

Question: As I read the names of some leaders who may possibly run for President next year, tell me how much of a chance there is that you would vote for this person. Is there a good chance, some chance or no chance that you would vote for (Bill Clinton/Bob Dole/Colin Powell) if he is one of the candidates for president next November?

Continued ...

	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Powell</u>
	%	%	%
<b><i>Total</i></b>	55	47	65
<b><i>Community Size</i></b>			
Large City	61	39	65
Suburb	57	50	70
Small City/Town	55	46	63
Rural Area	50	53	64
<b><i>Religious Preference</i></b>			
Total White Protestant	47	55	65
White Prot. Evangelical	40	60	62
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	53	49	70
White Catholic	58	49	70
<b><i>Party ID</i></b>			
Republican	22	74	71
Democrat	91	24	60
Independent	54	45	67
<b><i>1992 Vote</i></b>			
Clinton	89	24	63
Bush	18	79	72
Perot	40	57	73
<b><i>1994 Congressional Vote</i></b>			
Democrat	84	24	66
Republican	27	72	70
Didn't Vote	56	45	62
<b><i>Presidential Approval</i></b>			
Approve	89	31	64
Disapprove	16	68	68
No Opinion	60	35	60
<b><i>GOP Congress Approval</i></b>			
Approve	31	72	69
Disapprove	72	29	64
No Opinion	60	46	60
<b><i>Listens To Talk Radio</i></b>			
Regularly	51	49	70
Sometimes	54	48	64
Rarely/Never	58	46	64

**TREND IN FAVORABILITY RATINGS OF PARTIES**  
(% Favorable)

	---Republican Party---			---Democratic Party---		
	July 1994 %	Oct 1995 %	Change	July 1994 %	Oct 1995 %	Change
<b>Total</b>	63	52	-11	62	49	-13
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	67	57	-10	58	43	-15
Female	60	48	-12	65	55	-10
<b>Race</b>						
White	67	56	-11	59	46	-13
Non-white	40	29	-11	79	71	- 8
Black	33	21	-12	84	77	- 7
<b>Age</b>						
Under 30	67	54	-13	58	49	- 9
30-49	64	53	-11	61	47	-14
50-64	62	55	- 7	66	45	-21
65+	59	47	-12	64	59	- 5
<b>Education</b>						
College Grad.	64	56	- 8	55	42	-13
Some College	65	53	-12	60	49	-11
High School Grad.	65	53	-12	65	50	-15
<H.S. Grad	56	44	-12	64	57	- 7
<b>Family Income</b>						
\$75,000+	70	66	- 4	52	34	-18
\$50,000-\$74,999	71	57	-14	53	48	- 5
\$30,000-\$49,999	65	55	-10	62	45	-17
\$20,000-\$29,999	64	53	-11	66	49	-17
<\$20,000	56	42	-14	68	59	- 9
<b>Region</b>						
East	63	48	-15	63	54	- 9
Midwest	62	52	-10	62	51	-11
South	64	54	-10	61	46	-15
West	63	53	-10	61	48	-13

Question: Now I'd like your views on some people and things in the news. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. (First) would you say your overall opinion of (The Republican/Democratic Party) is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable or very unfavorable?

Continued ...

	---Republican Party---			---Democratic Party---		
	July <u>1994</u> %	Oct <u>1995</u> %	<u>Change</u>	July <u>1994</u> %	Oct <u>1995</u> %	<u>Change</u>
<b><i>Total</i></b>	63	52	-11	52	49	-13
<b><i>Community Size</i></b>						
Large City	57	46	-11	66	56	-10
Suburb	66	55	-11	55	47	- 8
Small City/Town	63	51	-12	63	52	-11
Rural Area	67	58	- 9	63	40	-23
<b><i>Religious Preference</i></b>						
Total White Protestant	70	61	- 9	56	41	-15
White Prot. Evangelical	73	67	- 6	53	35	-18
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	69	56	-13	58	46	-12
White Catholic	70	56	-14	65	52	-13
<b><i>Party ID</i></b>						
Republican	94	91	- 3	27	19	- 8
Democrat	37	18	-19	94	86	- 8
Independent	64	49	-15	60	47	-13
<b><i>1992 Vote</i></b>						
Clinton	40	24	-16	90	75	-15
Bush	90	87	- 3	33	18	-15
Perot	67	60	- 7	55	40	-15
<b><i>Presidential Approval</i></b>						
Approve	50	34	-16	88	73	-15
Disapprove	78	75	- 3	36	23	-13
No Opinion	59	43	-16	64	46	-18

**TREND IN FAVORABILITY RATINGS OF  
CONGRESS AND BUSINESS CORPORATIONS**  
(% Favorable)

	---Congress---			---Business Corps---		
	July 1994 %	Oct 1995 %	Change	July 1994 %	Oct 1995 %	Change
<b>Total</b>	53	42	-11	70	60	-10
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	48	42	- 6	72	65	- 7
Female	57	42	-15	68	56	-12
<b>Race</b>						
White	52	42	-10	70	61	- 9
Non-white	54	41	-13	66	56	-10
Black	54	39	-15	66	59	- 7
<b>Age</b>						
Under 30	53	48	- 5	72	65	- 7
30-49	52	39	-13	69	57	-12
50-64	54	44	-10	68	60	- 8
65+	51	41	-10	70	62	- 8
<b>Education</b>						
College Grad.	49	41	- 8	76	67	- 9
Some College	52	44	- 8	72	61	-11
High School Grad.	56	42	-14	70	60	-10
<H.S. Grad	52	40	-12	59	52	- 7
<b>Family Income</b>						
\$75,000+	50	41	- 9	80	73	- 7
\$50,000-\$74,999	49	44	- 5	79	68	-11
\$30,000-\$49,999	52	41	-11	68	62	- 6
\$20,000-\$29,999	55	41	-14	69	56	-13
<\$20,000	54	42	-12	64	53	-11
<b>Region</b>						
East	59	40	-19	69	58	-11
Midwest	54	41	-13	68	60	- 8
South	50	44	- 6	72	62	-10
West	48	41	- 7	69	60	- 9

Question: Now I'd like your views on some people and things in the news. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes you overall opinion of who or what I name. (First) would you say your overall opinion of (Congress/Business Corporations) is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable or very unfavorable?

Continued ...

	---Congress---			---Business Corps.---		
	July <u>1994</u> %	Oct <u>1995</u> %	<u>Change</u>	July <u>1994</u> %	Oct <u>1995</u> %	<u>Change</u>
<b>Total</b>	53	42	-11	70	60	-10
<b>Community Size</b>						
Large City	54	42	-12	67	59	- 8
Suburb	48	43	- 5	70	65	- 5
Small City/Town	54	42	-12	72	59	-13
Rural Area	54	40	-14	67	59	- 8
<b>Religious Preference</b>						
Total White Protestant	51	43	- 8	72	65	- 7
White Prot. Evangelical	54	49	- 5	73	65	- 8
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	49	39	-10	72	64	- 8
White Catholic	55	46	- 9	71	62	- 9
<b>Party ID</b>						
Republican	45	55	+10	80	72	- 8
Democrat	64	35	-29	65	55	-10
Independent	49	37	-12	69	55	-14
<b>1992 Vote</b>						
Clinton	63	34	-29	63	53	-10
Bush	44	56	+12	80	73	- 7
Perot	43	36	- 7	70	62	- 8
<b>Presidential Approval</b>						
Approve	64	40	-24	69	59	-10
Disapprove	40	45	+ 5	73	64	- 9
No Opinion	63	37	-26	55	49	- 6

**TREND IN PARTY ID  
(March 1995 vs. October 1995)**

	---March 1995---			---October 1995---			Decrease In Rep. Affiliation
	Rep %	Dem %	Indep %	Rep %	Dem %	Indep %	
<b>Total</b>	35	28	32	30	30	35	- 5
<b>Sex</b>							
Male	37	25	35	32	24	40	- 5
Female	33	32	29	29	35	31	- 4
<b>Race</b>							
White	38	24	34	34	26	36	- 4
Non-white	16	55	26	11	52	33	- 5
Black	11	64	22	6	62	28	- 5
<b>Age</b>							
Under 30	40	23	34	29	25	42	-11
30-49	34	28	35	30	28	37	- 4
50-64	36	29	30	34	28	34	- 2
65+	31	37	25	30	42	25	- 1
<b>Education</b>							
College Grad.	39	29	30	37	27	34	- 2
Some College	42	24	32	33	30	33	- 9
High School Grad.	34	27	35	29	30	37	- 5
<H.S. Grad	25	37	29	23	35	36	- 2
<b>Family Income</b>							
\$75,000+	47	21	29	50	21	28	+ 3
\$50,000-\$74,999	44	25	30	35	31	31	- 9
\$30,000-\$49,999	39	24	34	31	28	37	- 8
\$20,000-\$29,999	32	28	37	28	29	38	- 4
<\$20,000	25	37	33	23	35	38	- 2
<b>Region</b>							
East	34	25	37	24	32	42	-10
Midwest	35	28	33	30	28	38	- 5
South	33	33	29	33	29	33	0
West	40	24	33	34	31	29	- 6

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

Continued ...

	---March 1995---			---October 1995---			Decrease In Rep. <u>Affiliation</u>
	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Indep</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Indep</u> %	
<b><i>Total</i></b>	35	28	32	30	30	35	- 5
<b><i>Community Size</i></b>							
Large City	26	37	33	22	34	39	- 4
Suburb	41	25	31	36	29	31	- 5
Small City/Town	36	26	34	30	30	35	- 6
Rural Area	37	29	30	33	26	37	- 4
<b><i>1992 Vote</i></b>							
Clinton	12	54	31	7	60	30	- 5
Bush	71	8	19	69	5	23	- 2
Perot	32	16	50	33	13	52	+ 1
<b><i>1994 Congressional Vote</i></b>							
Democrat	6	66	26	6	63	29	0
Republican	69	7	21	62	6	30	- 7
Didn't Vote	30	25	39	26	26	41	- 4
<b><i>Presidential Approval</i></b>							
Approve	17	47	33	14	48	34	- 3
Disapprove	55	12	30	51	9	36	- 4
No Opinion	29	19	40	23	31	35	- 6
<b><i>GOP Congress Approval</i></b>							
Approve	59	11	27	59	8	30	0
Disapprove	14	50	33	12	47	37	- 2
No Opinion	25	23	43	22	24	42	- 3
<b><i>Listens To Talk Radio</i></b>							
Regularly	47	22	30	33	28	36	-14
Sometimes	38	27	30	31	33	33	- 7
Rarely/Never	32	30	33	29	29	37	- 3

# **SURVEY METHODOLOGY**

## **ABOUT THIS SURVEY**

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 2,000 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period October 25 - 30, 1995. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=1021) or Form 2 (N=979), the sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

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

## SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

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

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

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

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

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

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1994). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

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

# **THE QUESTIONNAIRE**

**TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS**  
**OCTOBER 1995 TYPOLOGY SURVEY**  
**-- FINAL TOPLINE--**  
**October 25-30, 1995**  
**N = 2,000**

Hello, I am \_\_\_\_\_ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates in Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and TV stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home. [IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?]

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

		Early														Early						
		Sept 1995	Aug 1995	June 1995	April 1995	Feb 1995	Dec 1994	Oct 1994	Sept 1994	July 1994	May 1994	Mar 1994	Jan 1994	Jan 1994	Dec 1994	Oct 1993	Sept 1993	Aug 1993	June 1993	May 1993	April 1993	Feb 1993
48	Approve	45	44	50	47	44	41	38	41	45	46	45	51	48	48	44	49	39	39	45	49	56
42	Disapprove	42	44	40	43	44	47	47	52	46	42	42	35	35	36	42	35	46	43	37	29	25
<u>10</u> 100	Don't know	<u>13</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>22</u> 100	<u>19</u> 100

Q.1a Do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Republican leaders in Congress? (IF "DON'T KNOW," ENTER AS CODE 9. IF "DEPENDS," PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Republican leaders in Congress?)

		Sept 1995	Aug 1995	June 1995	April 1995	March 1995	Dec 1994 <sup>6</sup>
36	Approve	36	38	41	44	43	52
51	Disapprove	50	45	45	43	39	28
<u>13</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>14</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>20</u> 100

<sup>6</sup> In December the question asked "As best you can tell, do you approve or disapprove of Republican congressional leaders' policies and plans for the future?"

Q.2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

		April <u>1995</u>	July <u>1994</u>	Mar <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1993</u>	Early Sept <u>1993</u>	June <u>1993</u>	Jan <u>1993</u>	Jan <u>1992</u>	Nov <u>1991</u>	May <u>1990</u>	Feb <u>1989</u>	Oct <u>1988</u>	May <u>1988</u>	Jan <u>1988</u>
23	Satisfied	23	24	24	22	20	22	39	28	34	41	45	56	41	39
73	Dissatisfied	74	73	71	73	75	71	50	68	61	54	50	40	54	55
<u>4</u> 100	No Opinion	<u>3</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100

**ASK Q.3 AND Q.4 ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAY DISSATISFIED:**

Q.3 What things are you most dissatisfied with? (**OPEN-ENDED: ACCEPT UP TO 3 MENTIONS**)

- 21 The health care system/lack of health care
- 20 Crime
- 17 The political system/Washington politics
- 14 Taxes are too high
- 13 The economy
- 13 Moral crisis/Lack of family values/Too many babies being born out of wedlock
- 12 Government spends too much/Government is too big
- 9 Welfare reform
- 9 The educational system
- 8 Lack of jobs
- 8 Don't like cuts being made in social spending
- 8 Foreign Policy
- 5 The deficit
- 5 Race relations
- 5 Judicial system/Court system
- 2 Low wages
- 12 Other (**SPECIFY**)
- 3 Don't know/Refused
- 1 None/Nothing

**21 ECONOMY (NET)**  
(N=1440)

Q.4 Generally, who do you think is most responsible for... **(IF RESPONDENT ONLY GAVE ONE ANSWER IN Q.3, INSERT "THIS"; IF MORE THAN ONE ANSWER, INSERT FIRST MENTION FROM Q.3)? (READ LIST AND ROTATE)**

- 7 The President
  - 35 The Congress
  - 8 Business corporations
  - 6 The news media
  - 3 The entertainment industry
  - 2 Wall Street banks and investment companies
  - 27 The people themselves
  - 8 Or who? **(SPECIFY)**
  - 4 Don't know/Refused
- 100  
(N=1392)

**(NO QUESTION 5)**

**NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE 1996 ELECTIONS...**

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY: (N=1021)**

Q.6

F1 Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care a good deal who wins the 1996 presidential election OR that you don't care very much?<sup>7</sup>

		Oct <u>1991</u>	May <u>1987</u>
78	Care a good deal	73	76
19	Don't care very much	22	20
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100

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<sup>7</sup> Question worded "the 1992 presidential election" in October 1991 and "the presidential election in 1988" in May 1987.

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY: (N=979)**

Q.6a

F2 Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care a good deal which party wins the 1996 presidential election OR that you don't care very much?<sup>8</sup>

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
61	Care a good deal	55	54
36	Don't care very much	39	40
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.7 Looking ahead, would you like to see Bill Clinton re-elected, or would you like to see a Republican candidate, or an Independent candidate be elected President in 1996?

		<u>Aug</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1993</u>
31	Clinton	29	29	28	28
28	Republican	32	33	35	22
22	Independent	23	20	15	12
<u>19</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>16</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>22</u> 100	<u>38</u> 100

**IF ANSWERED "DON'T KNOW" IN Q.7, ASK:**

Q.7a Do you LEAN most to Clinton, a Republican candidate or an Independent candidate?

		<u>Aug</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1994</u>
34	Clinton/Lean Clinton	32	31	33
33	Republican/Lean Republican	35	38	40
26	Independent/Lean Independent	26	23	18
<u>7</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100

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<sup>8</sup> Question worded "the 1992 presidential election" in October 1991 and "the presidential election in 1988" in May 1987.

**ASK ALL:**

Q.8 As I read the names of some leaders who may possibly run for President next year, tell me how much of a chance there is that you would vote for this person. First **(INSERT ITEM: READ AND ROTATE)**, is there a good chance, some chance or no chance that you would vote for him if he is one of the candidates for president next November? What about **(NEXT ITEM)**... is there a good chance, some chance or no chance that you would vote for him?

		<u>Good Chance</u>	<u>Some Chance</u>	<u>No Chance</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	Bill Clinton	30	25	44	1=100
	September, 1995	29	24	45	2=100
b.	Bob Dole	17	30	48	5=100
	September, 1995	19	31	46	4=100
c.	Ross Perot	12	21	65	2=100
	September, 1995	11	20	68	1=100
d.	Colin Powell	27	38	28	7=100
	September, 1995	28	39	27	6=100
e.	Newt Gingrich	6	17	70	7=100
	September, 1995	7	18	70	5=100
f.	Patrick Buchanan	4	20	67	9=100
	September, 1995	3	17	71	9=100
g.	Phil Gramm	5	20	61	14=100
	September, 1995	6	18	62	14=100

Q.9 What one issue would you most like to hear presidential candidates talk about? (**OPEN-ENDED: ACCEPT UP TO THREE MENTIONS**)

		<u>Oct 1991</u>
20	Health care reform/Health care in general	8
14	The economy	43
14	Balancing the budget/Budget deficit/National debt	8
9	Crime/Drugs	5
8	The moral crisis in this country	-
8	Cutting taxes/Taxes	6
8	Welfare reform	-
6	The job situation/Unemployment/Protecting US jobs	15
6	Education/Education reform	11
5	Foreign Policy	-
4	Reforming/Cleaning up the political system/Term limits/Campaign finance reform	-
2	Race relations	-
*	Bosnia	-
10	Other ( <b>SPECIFY</b> )	27
6	Don't know/Refused	13
3	None	
<b>28</b>	<b>DOWNSIZING GOVERNMENT (NET)</b>	
<b>19</b>	<b>ECONOMIC CONDITIONS (NET)</b>	
<b>26</b>	<b>SOCIAL ISSUES (NET)</b>	
<b>5</b>	<b>FOREIGN POLICY (NET)</b>	

- Q.10 Suppose the 1996 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?
- Q.10a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:**

		<u>Aug</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Early</u> <u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
48	Republican/Lean Republican	50	45	47	52	48	45
48	Democrat/Lean Democrat	43	43	44	40	46	47
<u>4</u> 100	Other candidate/Undecided (VOL.)	<u>7</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100

(N=1505)

**ASK ALL:**

**ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT:**

- Q.11 In your opinion, what is the biggest threat to people like yourself in the future... The actions of... (INSERT ITEM: READ AND ROTATE)

50	Government
13	Business corporations
15	The news media
5	The entertainment industry (OR)
8	Wall Street Banks and investment companies
3	None of the above (VOL.) (DO NOT READ)
<u>6</u> 100	Don't know/Refused

(NO QUESTION 12)

**NOW I HAVE A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY...**

Q.13 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: READ AND ROTATE)

	<u>(5)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(1-3)</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. Sound judgment in crisis	76	12	10	2=100
b. High ethical standards	67	18	13	2=100
c. Compassion for the average citizen	64	19	16	1=100
d. Willingness to compromise	34	29	35	2=100
e. Experience in public office	30	23	46	1=100
f. Experience in Washington	21	23	54	2=100
g. Saying what one believes, even if unpopular	59	21	18	2=100
h. Forcefulness and decisiveness	50	30	18	2=100
i. Political savvy and know-how	31	26	41	2=100
j. Having consistent positions on issues	51	28	19	2=100
k. Loyalty to one's party	25	15	58	2=100

**IF NO QUALITIES RATED 5, GO TO Q.18**

**FOR EACH QUALITY RATED 5 IN Q.13:**

Q.14 Of all the qualities you think are absolutely essential (**READ BACK ALL RESPONSES WHICH WERE CODED 5 IN Q.13**), which ONE would you say is the most important for a President to have?

**97 MENTIONED ONE OR MORE**

22 High ethical standards

19 Compassion for average citizens

18 Sound judgement in crisis

9 Saying what one believes, even if unpopular

8 Having consistent positions on issues

6 Forcefulness and decisiveness

5 Willingness to compromise

4 Loyalty to one's party

2 Political savvy and know-how

2 Experience in public office

2 Experience in Washington

3 Not sure/Refused

100

**(N=1904)**

**(NO QUESTION 15)**

Q.16 Thinking of the candidates who are running or may run for President in 1996, who do you most identify with  
**(READ FIRST CHOICE, FROM Q.14)? (DO NOT READ LIST OF CANDIDATES)**

23	Bill Clinton
12	Bob Dole
9	Ross Perot
22	Colin Powell
3	Newt Gingrich
2	Patrick Buchanan
3	Phil Gramm
*	Malcolm Steve Forbes
*	Richard Lugar
*	Lamar Alexander
3	Other ( <b>SPECIFY</b> )
<u>23</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	
(N=1844)	

**(NO QUESTION 17)**

**ASK ALL:**

- Q.18 Now, 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. **(INSERT ITEM: READ AND ROTATE)**
- Q.18a And which should be the President's second highest priority? **(READ ITEMS AGAIN, IF NECESSARY -- SAME ORDER USED IN Q.18)**

	<u>First Priority</u>	<u>Second Priority</u>
Balance the budget	20	14
Improve the job situation	11	12
Reform Medicare	7	10
Improve the educational system	14	16
Deal with the moral breakdown in the country	17	10
Work to reduce crime	11	15
Deal with racial tensions	5	9
Deal with the problems of poor and needy people	12	11
Other/None/Don't know	<u>3</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100

**ASK QUESTIONS 19, AND 19a OF FORM 1 ONLY:**

Q.19

F1 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?

34 Yes -- **GO TO Q.19a**

62 No -- **GO TO Q.21**

4 Don't know/Refused -- **GO TO Q.21**

100

(N=1021)

**ASK THOSE WHO ANSWERED "YES" IN Q.19:**

Q.19a

F1 In which way can the President make the biggest difference... **(READ RESPONSES)**

19 By drawing national attention to these problems, OR

52 By proposing policies that deal with these problems, OR

26 By serving as a role model?

3 Don't know/Refused

100

**(N=357)**

**ASK QUESTIONS 20 AND 20a OF FORM 2 ONLY:**

Q.20

F2 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?

54 Yes -- **GO TO Q.20a**

40 No -- **GO TO Q.22**

6 Don't know/Refused -- **GO TO Q.22**

100

**(N=979)**

**ASK THOSE WHO ANSWERED "YES" IN Q.20:**

Q.20a.

F2 In which way can the President make the biggest difference... **(READ RESPONSES)**

18 By drawing national attention to these problems, OR

33 By proposing policies that deal with these problems, OR

47 By serving as a role model?

2 Don't know/Refused

100

**(N=532)**

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY:**

Q.21

F1 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?

54 Yes

42 No

$\frac{4}{100}$  Don't know/Refused  
(N=1021)

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY:**

Q.22

F2 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?

65 Yes

31 No

$\frac{4}{100}$  Don't know/Refused  
(N=979)

**ASK ALL:  
ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...**

Q.23 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?

			April <u>1995</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	July <u>1994</u>
a.	63	Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient	63	64	66
	53	Strongly	51	54	54
	10	Not Strongly	12	10	12
		Government often does a better job than people give			
	34	it credit for	34	32	31
	20	Strongly	19	19	17
	14	Not Strongly	15	13	14
	<u>3</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100		100	100	100
b.		Government regulation of business is necessary to			
	45	protect the public interest	43	38	41
	28	Strongly	25	24	24
	17	Not Strongly	18	14	17
		Government regulation of business usually does more			
	50	harm than good	51	55	54
	37	Strongly	38	41	39
	13	Not Strongly	13	14	15
	<u>5</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100		100	100	100
c.		Poor people today have it easy because they can get			
	54	government benefits without doing anything in return	52	48	53
	36	Strongly	37	35	37
	18	Not Strongly	15	13	16
		Poor people have hard lives because government			
	36	benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently	39	41	39
	25	Strongly	28	31	27
	11	Not Strongly	11	10	12
	<u>10</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>
	100		100	100	100
d.		The government should do more to help needy			
	47	Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt	46	50	48
	35	Strongly	33	39	35
	12	Not Strongly	13	11	13
		The government today can't afford to do much			
	47	more to help the needy	47	43	47
	31	Strongly	34	31	32
	16	Not Strongly	13	12	15
	<u>6</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100		100	100	100

**Q.23 con't ...**

		<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
e.	The position of blacks in American society has improved			
69	in recent years	70	67	72
	52 Strongly	52	50	52
	17 Not Strongly	18	17	20
	There hasn't been much real progress for blacks in			
27	recent years	26	27	25
	20 Strongly	19	20	18
	7 Not Strongly	7	7	7
<u>4</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100
f.	Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black			
37	people can't get ahead these days	34	34	32
	25 Strongly	21	24	20
	12 Not Strongly	13	10	12
	Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly			
53	responsible for their own condition	56	54	59
	38 Strongly	40	40	43
	15 Not Strongly	16	14	16
<u>10</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100
i.	The best way to ensure peace is through military strength			
36		35	40	36
	28 Strongly	27	32	28
	8 Not Strongly	8	8	8
59	Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace	58	52	58
	49 Strongly	46	43	46
	10 Not Strongly	12	9	12
<u>5</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100
j.	We should all be willing to fight for our country,			
49	whether it is right or wrong	49	47	52
	38 Strongly	39	39	43
	11 Not Strongly	10	8	9
	It's acceptable to refuse to fight in a war you believe			
48	is morally wrong	47	47	45
	38 Strongly	38	37	35
	10 Not Strongly	9	10	10
<u>3</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

**Q.23 con't ...**

		<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
m.	77	75	73	76
	62	59	58	59
	15	16	15	17
	18	20	20	19
	9	10	10	9
	9	10	10	10
	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100
n.	53	51	50	52
	44	42	40	43
	9	9	10	9
	43	44	44	43
	27	26	28	27
	16	18	16	16
	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100
o.	73	76	74	71
	60	64	61	58
	13	12	13	13
	24	21	22	25
	14	12	13	14
	10	9	9	11
	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100
p.	33	32	29	34
	18	18	17	18
	15	14	12	16
	64	64	68	64
	53	53	56	51
	11	11	12	13
	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100

Q.24 Now I'd like your views on some people and things in the news. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... **(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE ALWAYS STARTING WITH EITHER HILLARY CLINTON OR COLIN POWELL)** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? **(INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND CAN'T RATE")**

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
a.	Hillary Clinton	14	44	24	14	-	4=100
	August, 1995	16	33	25	22	*	4=100
	July, 1994	19	38	22	18	1	2=100
	May, 1993	19	41	18	11	1	10=100
b.	Congress	4	38	42	13	-	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
	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
c.	Colin Powell	21	55	11	3	2	8=100
	August, 1995	26	36	12	5	7	14=100
	February, 1995	31	36	8	3	12	10=100
	December, 1994	31	38	7	2	11	11=100
	July, 1994	33	41	6	2	10	8=100
	June, 1992	30	35	11	4	10	10=100
	March, 1991	51	28	2	1	7	11=100
d.	The Republican Party	10	42	28	16	*	4=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
e.	The Democratic Party	9	40	37	11	-	3=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
f.	Business Corporations	6	54	29	7	-	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

**SPLIT FORM QUESTIONS 25 AND 26.**

**NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU TO RATE YOURSELF AND OTHER PEOPLE ON A SCALE OF 1 TO 6.**

**FORM 1 ONLY:**

Q.25/26 If "1" represents someone who believes that government programs should be cut back very much in order to lower taxes and reduce the power of government, and "6" represents someone who feels that government programs that help needy people and deal with important national problems should be maintained, where on the scale of 1 to 6 would you place yourself? And where on the scale would you place...? (**INSERT NAME, ROTATE b-f**)

		<u>Anti-Government</u>	<u>Government Activist</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Average Rating</u> <sup>9</sup>
a.	Self	45	53	2=100	4
	August, 1995	45	53	2=100	4
b.	Bill Clinton	36	61	3=100	4
	August, 1995	35	61	4=100	4
c.	Bob Dole	55	35	10=100	3
	August, 1995	55	30	15=100	3
d.	Newt Gingrich	62	27	11=100	3
	August, 1995	59	23	18=100	3
e.	Colin Powell	39	45	16=100	4
	August, 1995	32	34	34=100	4
f.	Al Gore	38	52	10=100	4
	August, 1995	33	53	14=100	4

	<i>SUMMARY OF SELF vs. CLINTON</i>		<i>SUMMARY OF SELF vs. DOLE</i>		<i>SUMMARY OF SELF vs. GINGRICH</i>		<i>SUMMARY OF SELF vs. POWELL</i>
	<u>Oct 1995</u>	<u>Aug 1995</u>	<u>Oct 1995</u>	<u>Aug 1995</u>	<u>Oct 1995</u>	<u>Aug 1995</u>	<u>Oct 1995</u>
Self more "Conservative"	40	40	28	24	23	21	28
Self less "Conservative"	33	35	44	43	49	48	31
Self same	23	19	17	18	15	13	24
Other	<u>4</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100

<sup>9</sup> Based among those who could rate each.

**ON ANOTHER SUBJECT:**

Q.27 Thinking about the Democratic and Republican Parties, would you say there is a great deal of difference in what they stand for, a fair amount of difference, or hardly any difference at all?

		July <u>1994</u>	May <u>1990</u>	May <u>1987</u>
34	A great deal	<u>23</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>25</u>
46	A fair amount	51	45	45
18	Hardly at all	24	27	25
<u>2</u> 100	No opinion/Don't know	<u>2</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100

Q.27a 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 <u>1993</u>
21	Working together more	20
72	Opposing each other more	57
3	Same as in past ( <b>VOL.</b> )	13
<u>4</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>10</u> 100

**ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT:**

Q.28 Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the Republican presidential nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates or poor candidates?<sup>10</sup>

		<i>Democratic</i>		<i>Republican</i>
		<u>Oct</u>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Jan</u>
		<u>1991</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1988</u>
3	Excellent	2	3	3
29	Good	18	27	34
46	Fair	38	44	42
18	Poor	15	17	11
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>27</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.29 So far, do you think news organizations are giving too much coverage to the 1996 presidential campaign, too little coverage to the campaign, or the right amount of coverage?<sup>11</sup>

		<u>Sept</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Nov</u>
		<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1987</u>
18	Too much	22	19	12	24	21
18	Too little	11	15	22	7	16
60	Right amount	62	62	58	62	58
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

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<sup>10</sup> In trends the questions were asked about the men running for the Democratic presidential nomination.

<sup>11</sup> In trends the questions were asked about the 1992 and 1988 Presidential elections.

**ASK ONLY OF FORM 1:**

Q.30

F1 In reporting on a presidential candidate, what one factor do you think news organizations should pay the most attention to: **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

		Oct <u>1991</u>	Nov <u>1987</u>
9	A candidate's personal character,	7	9
66	A candidate's stand on issues, OR	46	41
24	A candidate's past experiences and qualifications	42	45
<u>1</u> 100 <b>(N=1021)</b>	Don't Know/Refused <b>(DO NOT READ)</b>	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100

**ASK ONLY OF FORM 2:**

Q.30a

F2 In reporting on a presidential candidate, what one factor do you think news organizations should pay the most attention to: **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

6	What a candidate is like as a person,
69	What a candidate believes about important issues, OR
23	What a candidate has accomplished in the past
<u>2</u> 100 <b>(N=979)</b>	Don't know/Refused <b>(DO NOT READ)</b>

**ASK ALL:**

Q.31 Thinking about the issue of crime, do you think the press exaggerates the amount of crime there is in the country these days, or do you think the press accurately reflects how much crime there is?

		March <u>1994</u>	Jan <u>1994</u>
31	Exaggerates	29	28
64	Accurate	63	64
<u>5</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100

Q.31a Some people feel that the freedom of the press portion of the Constitution mainly protects news organizations and their interests. Others feel that the freedom of the press portion protects the people and the public interest more. Which position is closer to your opinion?

		<u>Aug 1989</u>
48	Protects news organizations more	32
46	Protects public interest more	56
2	Both equally (VOL.)	6
<u>4</u> 100	Don't know	<u>6</u> 100

**NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT BUSINESS CORPORATIONS...**

Q.32 How much confidence do you have in business living up to its responsibility to the American public -- a great deal of confidence, some confidence, or no real confidence?

		<i>Time-Yankelovich</i> <u>Dec. 1979</u>
10	Great deal of confidence	14
65	Some confidence	57
23	No real confidence	25
<u>2</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u> 100

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY:**

Q.33

F1 These days, whose interests do business corporations put first,...the interests of... **(READ)?**

46	Their stockholders
34	Their top executives
4	Their employees
6	Their customers, OR
6	The communities they are located in?
1	None of the above (VOL. -- DO NOT READ)
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)

(N=1021)

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY:**

Q.34

F2 In your opinion, whose interests should business corporations put FIRST,...the interests of...(READ)?

- 15 Their stockholders
  - 4 Their top executives
  - 30 Their employees
  - 31 Their customers, OR
  - 18 The communities they are located in?
  - \* None of the above (VOL. -- DO NOT READ)
  - 2 Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)
- 100  
(N=979)

**ASK ALL:**

Q.35 Now I'd like to ask how things are going in your personal life today. Some of these things may not apply to you. First, how satisfied are with... (INSERT ITEM: ROTATE STARTING POINT): Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not too satisfied or not at all satisfied?

		<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Some-what Satisfied</u>	<u>Not too Satisfied</u>	<u>Not at all Satisfied</u>	<u>Does Not Apply</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a.	The amount of money you earn?	17	43	19	14	7	*=100
	March, 1994	23	39	15	14	8	1=100
b.	The kind of work you do?	46	28	6	4	16	*=100
	March, 1994	45	25	5	5	20	*=100
c.	The amount of leisure time you have?	36	36	18	9	1	*=100
	March, 1994	41	32	16	10	*	1=100
d.	Your ability to balance your job and your family life?	38	35	10	5	12	*=100

Q.36 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)**? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned about this? What about **(NEXT ITEM)**...?

		Very Con- cerned	Somewhat Con- cerned	Not too Con- cerned	Not at all Con- cerned	Does Not Apply	Don't Know
<b>ASK ITEMS a.-d. OF FORM 1 ONLY: (N=1021)</b>							
a.F1	Not having enough money for your retirement?	48	29	10	8	4	1=100
	March 1994	42	29	14	12	3	1=100
	May 1988	34	35	15	8	4	4=100
b.F1	Being unable to save enough money to put a child through college?	44	19	9	12	15	1=100
	March, 1994	37	16	8	12	26	1=100
	May, 1988	23	22	11	11	29	4=100
c.F1	Losing your home because you can't afford to keep it or Being able to own your own home	38	19	20	19	4	*=100
	March, 1994	31	16	20	28	4	1=100
d.F1	Losing your job or taking a cut in pay?	34	17	16	17	16	*=100
	March, 1994	28	16	14	21	21	*=100
	May, 1988 <sup>12</sup>	18	16	23	18	22	3=100
<b>ASK ITEMS e.-h. OF FORM 2 ONLY: (N=979)</b>							
e.F2	Becoming a victim of crime?	51	30	15	4	*	*=100
	March, 1994	50	30	14	6	*	*=100
	May, 1988	36	36	21	5	*	2=100
f.F2	Not having adequate child care when you go to work?	30	15	11	15	29	*=100
	March, 1994	21	13	9	16	40	1=100
	May, 1988	17	11	10	12	47	3=100
g.F2	Being unable to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick?	66	17	9	7	1	*100
	March, 1994	50	22	15	11	1	1=100
h.F2	Your children not having good job opportunities?	57	23	6	4	10	--=100
	March, 1994	51	21	8	8	12	*=100

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<sup>12</sup> In 1988 question asked only about losing your job.

**ASK ALL:**

Q.37 On another subject, how do you think more free trade agreements with other countries, such as NAFTA, would affect the job situation here? Would they help the job situation a lot, help it a little, HURT it a little, or hurt the job situation a lot?

		March <u>1994</u> <sup>13</sup>
9	Help a lot	20
27	Help a little	32
28	Hurt a little	14
27	Hurt a lot	18
1	Would not affect ( <b>VOL.</b> )	1
<u>8</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>15</u> 100

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<sup>13</sup> 1994 question was part of a series: Tell me how you think each of the following measures would affect the countries overall job situation ... more free trade agreements with other countries, such as NAFTA?

Q.38 Now I'm going to read you some more pairs of statements. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is... **(READ AND ROTATE) AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE:** Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?

		<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
q.	This country should do whatever it takes to protect			
77	the environment	74	77	78
65	Strongly	63	65	62
12	Not Strongly	11	12	16
	This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect			
20	the environment	22	19	19
13	Strongly	15	13	12
7	Not Strongly	7	6	7
<u>3</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100
r.	Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too			
35	many jobs and hurt the economy	39	32	33
23	Strongly	28	23	21
12	Not Strongly	11	9	12
	Stricter environmental laws and regulations are			
61	worth the cost	57	62	62
47	Strongly	44	49	45
14	Not Strongly	13	13	17
<u>4</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100
u.	Homosexuality is a way of life that should be			
45	accepted by society	47	46	46
29	Strongly	30	33	26
16	Not Strongly	17	13	20
	Homosexuality is a way of life that should be			
50	discouraged by society	48	48	49
41	Strongly	40	41	41
9	Not Strongly	8	7	8
<u>5</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100
v.	Books that contain dangerous ideas should be			
46	banned from public school libraries	45	42	46
37	Strongly	40	36	37
9	Not Strongly	5	6	9
	Public school libraries should be allowed to			
52	carry any books they want	53	55	51
41	Strongly	44	47	39
11	Not Strongly	9	8	12
<u>2</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

**Q.38 con't ...**

			<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
w.	84	Miracles are performed by the power of God	83	82	84
	75	Strongly	76	73	72
	9	Not Strongly	7	9	12
	11	There is no such thing as a miracle performed by God	12	12	12
	7	Strongly	7	8	7
	4	Not Strongly	5	4	5
	<u>5</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
	100		100	100	100
x.		We will all be called before God on Judgment			
	83	Day to answer for our sins	81	80	80
	76	Strongly	75	74	71
	7	Not Strongly	6	6	9
		I don't believe we will have to answer for our			
	13	sins on Judgment Day	14	14	16
	9	Strongly	9	10	9
	4	Not Strongly	5	4	7
	<u>4</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
	100		100	100	100

**ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...**

Q.39 I am going to read some statements that candidates may be making next year in the election campaign. For each statement tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(READ AND ROTATE)**.

	Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
<b>ASK ITEMS a.-d. OF FORM 1 ONLY: (N=1021)</b>					
a.F1					
There should be a limit on how many terms a person can serve in Congress.	45	34	12	8	1=100
November, 1991	55	25	10	8	2=100
b.F1					
Government should play an active role in improving health care, housing and education for middle income families.	36	42	16	4	2=100
November, 1991	52	32	10	4	2=100
c.F1					
A woman's right to decide about abortion should be preserved.	49	22	10	17	2=100
November, 1991	55	19	8	15	3=100
d.F1					
Illegal immigrants and their children should NOT be allowed to receive education, health and welfare benefits.	29	29	25	15	2=100
<b>ASK ITEMS e.-i. OF FORM 2 ONLY: (N=979)</b>					
e.F2					
Government should play an active role in improving health care, housing and education for low income families.	35	46	14	5	*=100
November, 1991	53	35	7	4	1=100
f.F2					
Everyone should be taxed at the same rate, regardless of how much money they make.	26	26	22	24	2=100
g.F2					
In order to overcome the effects of past discrimination, qualified blacks, women and other minorities should be given special preferences in hiring and education.	8	28	37	25	2=100

**Q.39 con't ...**

		Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
h.F2	The U.S. should play a leading role in dealing with the world's problems.	15	49	27	8	1=100
i.F2	Mergers of big companies should be looked at more closely by the government.	28	44	20	6	2=100

**ASK ALL:**

**ROTATE Q.40 AND Q.41: ELIMINATE INTRODUCTORY CLAUSE ("THINKING ABOUT THE MAJOR PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY") FOR SECOND QUESTION.**

Q.40 Thinking about the major problems facing the country, would you say President Clinton has made progress toward solving these problems, tried but failed to solve these problems, not addressed these problems, or made these problems even worse?

- 24 Made progress
- 50 Tried but failed
- 11 Not addressed
- 12 Made problems worse
- 3 Don't know/Refused
- 100

Q.41 (Thinking about the major problems facing the country,) would you say the Republican leaders in Congress have made progress toward solving these problems, tried but failed to solve these problems, not addressed these problems, or made these problems even worse?

- 20 Made progress
- 40 Tried but failed
- 14 Not addressed
- 21 Made problems worse
- 5 Don't know/Refused
- 100

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

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

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

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

Q.44 Do you consider yourself a STRONG Democrat, or NOT a strong Democrat?

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

Q.45 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

		<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
14	Republican	18	13	14	17	14	13	9	12	11	13
16	Democratic	14	13	12	14	13	13	11	12	13	13
<u>10</u> 40	Neither	<u>9</u> 41	<u>15</u> 41	<u>8</u> 34	<u>7</u> 38	<u>13</u> 40	<u>13</u> 39	<u>11</u> 31	<u>10</u> 34	<u>10</u> 34	<u>12</u> 38

**ASK ALL:**

Q.46 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)**

18 Regularly

33 Sometimes

25 Rarely

24 OR never?

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

**(NO Q.47)**

Q.48 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?

		<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<i>ABC/Washington Post</i> <sup>14</sup> <u>Jan</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1982</u>
59	Agree	57	53	41	44
37	Disagree	38	43	48	44
<u>4</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100

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<sup>14</sup> Trends based on a somewhat different question wording: "Tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with [the following statement], or if perhaps, you have no opinion about the statement -- "We should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans.""

Q.49 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>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
46	Most of the time	43	49	45	46	39	47	37	37	41
35	Some of the time	35	30	35	33	34	34	37	35	35
14	Only now and then	16	13	14	15	18	14	17	18	15
5	Hardly at all	6	7	6	6	9	4	6	8	7
<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	Don't know	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>3</u> <u>100</u>	<u>2</u> <u>100</u>	<u>2</u> <u>100</u>

Q.50 In the 1992 Presidential election, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?  
**IF VOTED, ASK:** Did you vote for Clinton, Bush or Perot?

35	Yes, Clinton
25	Yes, Bush
11	Yes, Perot
1	Yes, other candidate
1	Yes, don't remember which candidate
22	No, didn't vote/Too young
1	Don't remember if voted
<u>4</u> <u>100</u>	Refused

Q.51 In the 1994 elections for Congress last November, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

		April <u>1995</u>
62	Yes, voted	62
35	No, didn't vote/Too young -- <b>GO TO Q.43</b>	37
$\frac{3}{100}$	Don't Remember if voted/Refused -- <b>GO TO Q.43</b>	$\frac{1}{100}$

**IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED YES IN Q.51, ASK:**

Q.52 Are you absolutely certain you voted, or is there a chance you may not have?

		April <u>1995</u>
57	Absolutely certain	58
$\frac{5}{62}$	Didn't vote/may not have voted -- <b>GO TO Q.43</b>	$\frac{4}{62}$

**IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED YES, CERTAIN, IN Q.52, ASK:**

Q.53 Did you happen to vote for a Republican candidate or a Democratic candidate for U.S. Congress in your district?

		April <u>1995</u>
47	Republican	50
43	Democrat	40
1	Other/Independent candidate	2
*	Didn't vote for Congress	1
6	Don't Remember which candidate	5
$\frac{3}{100}$	Refused	$\frac{2}{100}$
<b>(N=1219)</b>		<b>(N=1101)</b>

**ASK ALL:**

Q.54 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?

Q.55 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?

		April <u>1995</u>	Nov <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	Early Oct <u>1994</u>	July <u>1994</u>	June <u>1992</u>
76	Yes, registered	76	73	77	76	79	76
	73 Absolutely sure	74	70	74	72	75	73
	3 Chance	2	2	3	4	4	3
	* Don't know	0	1	0	*	0	0
23	No	23	26	22	23	20	23
$\frac{1}{100}$	Not sure/Don't know	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

**ASK ALL:**

Q.56 If there is a primary election in your state next year, how likely is that you will vote in either the Republican or Democratic primary for President? Is it very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely?

		Sept <u>1987</u>	May <u>1987</u>
63	Very likely	60	65
20	Somewhat likely	23	18
6	Not too likely	6	7
8	Not at all likely	9	6
1	No primary (VOL.)	*	1
$\frac{2}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$

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

		<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
41	Always	42	43	43	40	47	41	38	33	45	39	34
32	Nearly always	29	24	28	30	26	32	37	35	30	33	37
12	Part of the time	12	11	13	14	10	13	13	12	10	12	11
11	Seldom	11	13	10	11	11	11	9	10	8	8	6
*	<b>(VOL.)</b> Other	*	1	5	*	1	*	0	1	1	1	2
3	<b>(VOL.)</b> Never vote	6	8	1	5	5	3	3	8	6	6	9
$\frac{1}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$