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**ECONOMIC RECOVERY HAS LITTLE IMPACT
ON AMERICAN MOOD**

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ECONOMIC RECOVERY HAS LITTLE IMPACT ON AMERICAN MOOD

The economic recovery is not changing public opinion in the usual way.

Despite signs of an economic turn around, Americans remain highly dissatisfied with the state of the nation, financially burdened and fearful about their futures. From an economic point of view, continued discontent with earning power of American jobs is inhibiting celebration of the economic recovery. From a political one, preoccupation with Whitewater is putting a damper on contentment with the state of the nation.

Currently, public satisfaction with the way things are going in the country is at sharp odds with how people feel about things in their local communities, and in their own lives. Just 24% are satisfied with the country's course, while 68% are satisfied with the way things were going in the local community and 83% are content with one's personal life.

It is not unusual for people to be happier with things close to home than they are with the nation as a whole, but the disparity is greater in the current environment than usual, particularly since Americans feel that the national economy is on the mend and sense it in their own lives. Mentions of the fear of unemployment and the recession are well below what they were in 1993, and for the first time Times Mirror's respondents judge their economic situations *somewhat* more positively than in previous surveys.

Displeasure with Whitewater and the amount of attention it has diverted from "the issues" no doubt has suppressed satisfaction with the course of the nation, as it has weighed down Clinton's approval ratings. Given the equivocal nature of attitudes about Clinton wrongdoing and the level of discontent with the amount of media coverage of Whitewater, considerable volatility in public opinion about the nation's course and Clinton's ratings can be expected in the months ahead.

Personal Anxiety Grows

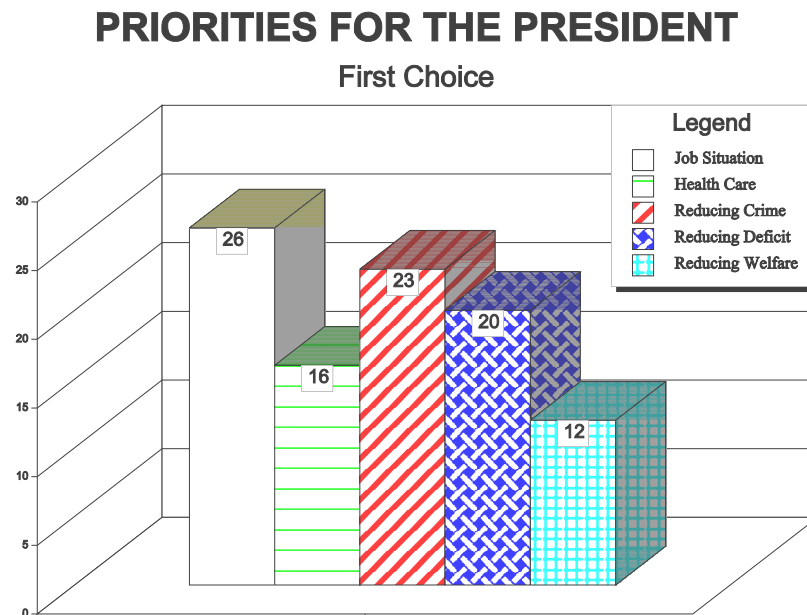
On a personal level, Americans are more worried about most aspects of their lives than they were in the late 1980's, but no personal concern has grown more than fear of crime. Today, as many as 50% of Americans say they are very concerned about becoming the victim of a crime, up from 36% in a 1988 Times Mirror survey. One in four Americans say that they or a member of their family have been a victim of a crime in the past 12 months. Further, more than half the public (53%) has been personally touched by crime, when that statistic is enlarged to include those who say that a crime has taken place in their neighborhood in the past 12 months. These findings belie the notion that crime is a media made issue,

Times Mirror's survey found the public embracing a hard line on crime and willing to become personally involved in both crime prevention and efforts to improve the social conditions that breed violence. The public wants more police and more punitive measures, but is not willing to suspend civil liberties for the sake of crime control. Almost nine in ten said they would participate in a neighborhood crime watch and seven in ten would volunteer to work with inner city kids.

On other issues the Times Mirror's survey also finds larger than expected personal experience with the problems that have dominated the national agenda. More than half (52%) of Americans say

that they or someone in the family has lost a job (27%), taken a cut in pay or benefits (33%) or is employed where job cuts have taken place (35%).

As a result, even though the public expresses more contentment with its financial situation than just four months ago, it is rock steady in putting job improvement, ahead of all other issues as the President's top priority.



Public concerns about jobs run deep. Only 44% of American workers say they now have a job that pays them enough to lead the kind of life to which they aspire. Not having enough money to pay the bills is the dominant personal problem that people encounter in their daily lives. Looking to the future, 51% of the public worries greatly about their children not having good job opportunities.

While expanding job training programs is the measure which enjoys the most public support, a frustrated public increasingly feels that restricting immigration would be an effective approach to improving jobs.

Health Care Loses Its Edge

Personal concern about health care and direct experience with the problems that beset the American health care system rival fear of crime and jobs problems. Almost half (45%) reported some problems including: having difficulty affording the cost of care (29%), being dropped by an insurance company (10%), staying with a job because of the coverage (21%), or being refused coverage for pre-existing conditions (14%). Similarly, half the public says it is very worried about being able to afford necessary health care.

But the poll finds the public backing off key features of health care reform compared to a year ago. Most notably, fewer Americans (51% vs. 60%) give top priority to providing universal access, which was the aspect of the Clinton reform proposal that animated public support for the plan when it was introduced in September. Today, Americans are also less inclined than a year ago to

accept the key trade offs required to reform health care, including longer wait times, slower introduction of new technology, and more restrictions on choice.

Partisanship and the effectiveness of Clinton's critics are evidenced in these trends. Giving lower priority to universal coverage fell mostly among Republicans, better educated people and people earning \$50,000 a year or more.

Similarly, Republicans and Democrats had a philosophical difference of opinion about who was most responsible for making sure Americans are covered by health insurance companies - Republicans think its the individual citizen, while Democrats believe the government should bear the burden of responsibility. Independents divide about equally on the question.

Societal Decline

There is also a distinct partisan coloration to growing public discontent with morality and ethics. This may be an enduring legacy of Whitewater, especially if the scandal lingers on. For the first time, lack of morality/ethics registers as one of the top five national problems facing the nation. Almost as many Times Mirror respondents said we are losing ground on morality and ethics (63%), as felt that way about drugs (62%) and crime (77%).

Even larger percentages saw the country losing ground in related areas - 69% saw the break up of families as a worsening problem and 59% felt a lack of respect for religion was growing in the country. In all instances, more Republicans than Democrats or Independents thought the country was in decline in these areas .

Local Issues

Generally, Americans saw all problems as more grave at the national level than locally. But nonetheless, the top national issues - crime, jobs, welfare, health care - were also seen as growing problems at the local level. Only with AIDS and racial conflict did a plurality of respondents feel the problem was worsening at the national level, but not in their local communities.

Education and taxes are more often at the top of peoples mind when they are asked about the *local* issues. In fact, education is volunteered almost as often as crime as an issue that does not get enough attention from local officials. Nationally, poverty and homelessness, along with crime are most often cited as problems that get too little attention from officials in Washington.

In contrast, the budget deficit and illegal immigration are not top of the mind issues as of the moment¹. But when questioned about them directly, six in ten feel that as a nation we are losing ground on each issue.

Welfare reform has neither the personal relevance, nor the salience of the other major items on the Clinton agenda. But a consensus, which includes Democrats and members of minority groups, complains that the welfare system changes things for the worse, by making recipients too dependent. The public takes a hard line on reforms, favoring most measures that require time limits and recipients to work. Surprisingly, however, the poll also found respondents willing to pay higher taxes for job training that would get people off the welfare rolls.

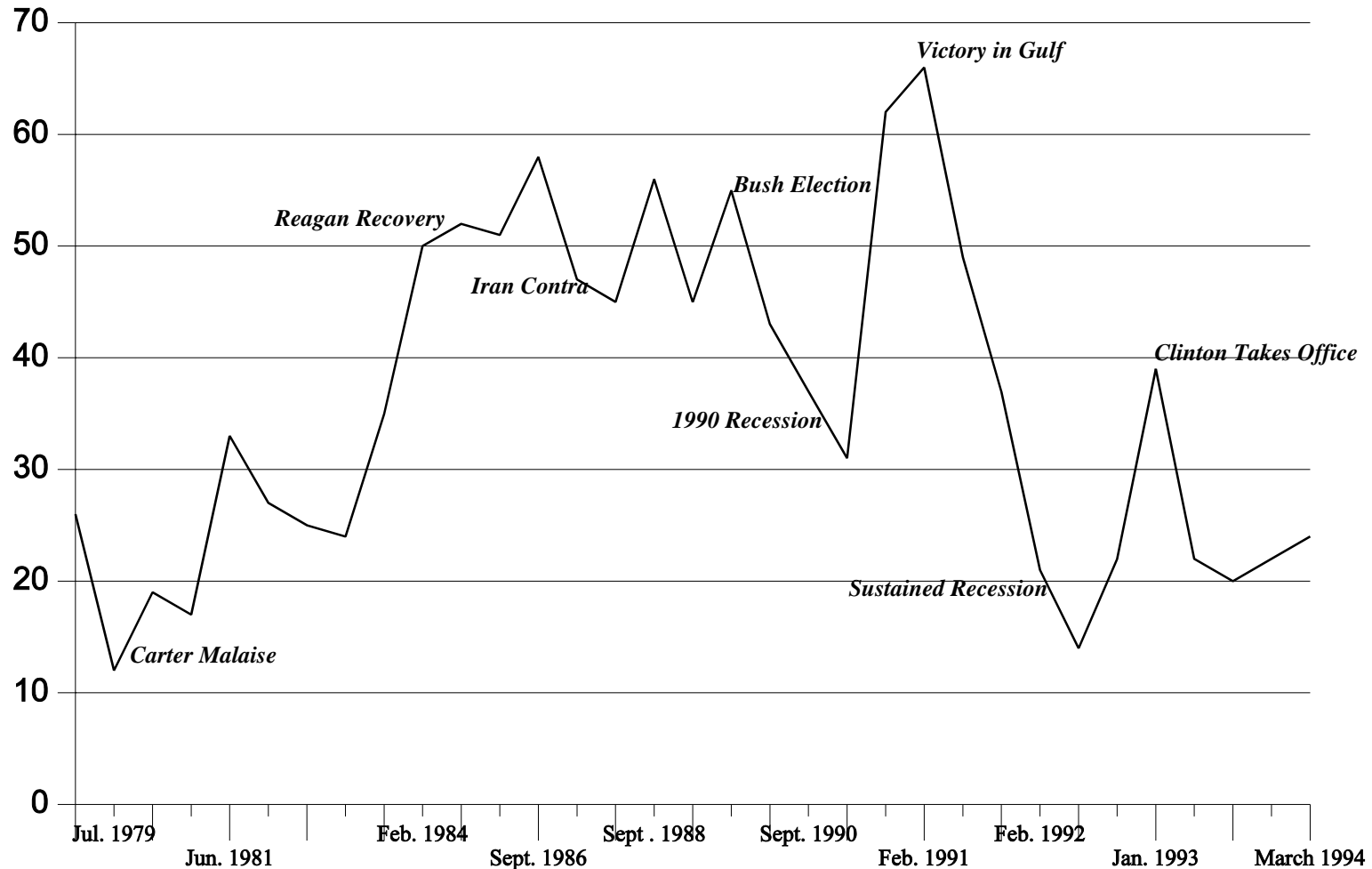
¹Just one year ago 17% named the deficit as the country's biggest problem compared to 5% currently.

Increased Partisan Parity

Although they control both the White House and the Congress, Democrats have made no gains on the GOP in public standing in recent years. Increasingly equal numbers of Americans self identify with the two parties. Party parity, if not discontent, was also reflected in that nearly half of respondents (49%) chose neither party as better able to handle the top problem facing their local community, and nearly as many (41%) expressed that view about the party's abilities to deal with the nation's problems.

Satisfied With Country's Course

Trends - Gallup & Times Mirror



FINDINGS IN DETAIL

THE PUBLIC MOOD

The public continues to be in a sour mood about the nation, as the Whitewater allegations erode confidence in President Clinton. The survey, completed before the President's news conference last Thursday, finds only one in four (24%) Americans satisfied with the way things are going in the country -- no significant improvement from the 22% figure recorded last October.

In the longer perspective, national polls have shown lower public satisfaction with the country's state of affairs only twice before in the post-Watergate era: 1) in mid-1992 when the recession severely hurt George Bush's chances for re-election; and 2) in the final years of Jimmy Carter's presidency, when the country was beset by high inflation and soaring interest rates.

Perceptions More Positive Close to Home

Were it not for Whitewater, public satisfaction levels for the state of the country would most likely be rising. Americans' gloomy view of the national situation contrasts sharply with their positive feelings about circumstances closer to home. Over two-thirds (68%) say they are satisfied with the way things are going in their local community. The survey results indicate that people are starting to feel the effects of the economic recovery. As discussed later in this report, Americans rate their personal financial situation more positively than they did three months ago, and are more optimistic about their financial future.

Unlike satisfaction ratings for the state of the country, personal satisfaction ratings do not change much over time. Nonetheless, when the national economy turns down, surveys do show a decline in the number of Americans who are happy with their personal lives. Gallup polls taken in recession years 1992 and 1982 showed significantly lower levels of personal satisfaction (77% and 76%, respectively) than today's 83%.

Demographic and Political Differences in Satisfaction

All population sub-groups give better ratings to their community and their personal lives than they do to the nation. But differences in individual satisfaction ratings across demographic and political sub-groups did emerge:

* Political partisanship colors views of the national condition. Satisfaction levels are lowest among those most at odds with Bill Clinton and his policies: Republicans (15%), '92 Bush voters (14%) and '92 Perot voters (11%). Politics is only part of the story, however. Even among Democrats and '92 Clinton voters, satisfaction levels are well below 40%.

* Money can't buy happiness -- but it helps. Family income was the strongest predictor of personal satisfaction: 74% of those with incomes under \$20,000 are satisfied with their personal life, compared to 89% at the income level of \$50,000 or more.

* Easterners are dispirited by the twin blows of the recession and the snowy winter of '94. Satisfaction with the local community is lower among Americans who live in the East (59%) than for other regions (73% Midwest; 69% South; 67% West). Large city residents, non-

whites, the less well educated and lower-income families are also less satisfied with conditions in their local communities. (See Tables)

PROBLEMS AND PRIORITIES

Last year, crime moved to the top of the national polls as the most important problem facing the nation. The current survey shows public concern about crime continues to grow. Nearly a third (32%) now say crime is the nation's number one problem, up from 25% in December 1993, and dramatically above 5% just one year ago when it was well behind concerns about unemployment, health care and the federal budget deficit.

Over the years, surveys have consistently found Americans to believe crime is on the increase. But this belief has clearly intensified. A 1989 Times Mirror Center survey found close to two-thirds (64%) saying the country was losing ground on the crime problem. Today, more than three-fourths (77%) of the public holds that view.

Crime has emerged as the top public concern as economic problems have lost some of their urgency. Two years ago, as the presidential campaign was getting under way, three-fourths (76%) of Americans identified the economy or a specific economic concern as the country's top problem. Today, that figure has plunged to 26%. Unemployment/lack of jobs (cited by 13%) is now statistically tied with health care (14%) for second place on the list of problems, but other economic issues rate much lower. Mentions of the budget deficit and economic conditions in general have fallen off sharply.

Is crime's emergence as a critical issue the result of media hype? A related issue -- drugs -- soared to the top of the public's list of important national problems in 1989, when the fall of Soviet communism removed this country's chief military threat. Once the recession hit, however, people almost seemed to forget about drugs. Mentions of drugs as the top problem dropped from 37% in 1990 to 4% in 1992.

The new survey strongly indicates that crime is a very real concern for people in 1994, not merely a byproduct of sensational media coverage. Specifically:

- * Crime is seen as a major local problem as well as a critical national concern. When asked to name the top problem facing their community, Americans cite crime (29%) more than twice as often as unemployment (12%) and education (11%). A majority (56%) say their community is losing ground in dealing with the crime problem.

- * Surprisingly large numbers of Americans claim first-hand exposure to criminal activity in their own neighborhoods. Over half of the public (53%) reports that someone in their family or neighborhood was a victim of robbery, burglary or assault in the past year.

- * Close to two-thirds (63%) of those who name crime as the country's top problem, and over two-thirds (69%) of those who name crime as their community's top problem report a recent victimization in their neighborhood.

At the national level, non-whites, Democrats and people over 50 most often identified crime as their top concern. Those who say they are dissatisfied with the state of the country cite crime more often than those who are satisfied (34% vs. 28%).

Jobs Win Out Over Health Care

After crime, Americans cite health care (14%) and unemployment/jobs (13%) most often as top national concerns. Only two other problems are named by as many as one in ten: morality/family values (10%) and drugs (10%).

Mentions of health care in the current survey are consistent with the results of other surveys taken over the past year. Reflecting improvement in the national economy, mentions of unemployment have declined significantly. In a September 1993 Times Mirror Center survey, unemployment was cited nearly twice as often as it is today (23% vs. 13%).

Health care reform has failed to gain momentum as a public priority, despite the opportunity created by improving economic conditions. When survey respondents were asked which of five national concerns should be President Clinton's top priority, they most often selected "improving the job situation" (26%) and "reducing crime" (23%). "Reforming health care" (16%) scored slightly below "reducing the federal deficit" (20%), another economic issue less on people's minds than it was a year or two ago. Only "reforming the welfare system" (12%) rates lower than health care reform.

As a top national priority, jobs scores highest among non-whites (39%), big city residents (33%), the young (31% of those aged 18-29) and political Independents (32%). Opinion on crime and health care reform divides along partisan lines. Crime is ranked highest by Republicans (28%) and Bush voters (28%). Health care reform, in contrast, tops the list of Democrats (26%) and Clinton voters (27%).

The federal budget deficit is a favorite issue of the vocal minority -- regular listeners to talk radio who have recently contacted Washington. Roughly a third (32%) of this group put the deficit above such issues as crime, jobs and health care.

It is not unemployment *per se*, but a perceived scarcity of jobs paying decent wages that keeps the jobs issue ahead of health reform as a public priority. Less than half the public (44%) now believes the country is losing ground on unemployment, while 49% see the country losing ground in terms of the health care system. In contrast, over six in ten (63%) see a deteriorating situation when it comes to the availability of good paying jobs.

As premier national concerns, unemployment/jobs and health care are both of particular concern to '92 Clinton voters. While the jobs issue is more critical to large city residents, health care has more impact among those in small cities and towns.

Morality/Family Values A Growing Concern

This is the first time the issue of morality/family values has ranked as one of the top five national problems in a Times Mirror survey. Those who single out morality and family values as a top national concern have a distinct demographic and political profile. They tend to be female, over 50, more Republican than Democrat, and more likely to have voted for Bush than Clinton. This is another issue that is championed by the vocal minority of activists and talk radio devotees.

This does not mean that the morality issue fails to resonate with the broader public. In fact, one theme that emerges sharply from the survey results is that the public sees America declining morally and spiritually. Nearly two-thirds (63%) see the country's moral and ethical standards eroding. Six in ten (59%) think respect for religion is declining nationally. Opinions about related national problems of crime, drugs and families breaking up (solid majorities see the country losing ground in each area) add to the grim public perception of societal decline, even in an environment of better economic news.

The Whitewater allegations may in part explain the greater focus on morality. The questions raised about the ethics of actions taken by the Clintons back in Arkansas and, more recently, the White House staff in connection with Whitewater, may have brought attention to ethical issues. Aside from rising concern about morality, there is little evidence of a Whitewater effect in response to the most important problem question. Direct mentions of the Whitewater scandal were too small to count. Expressions of dissatisfaction with government and politics, at 5% overall, are comparable to other surveys conducted over the past year. There is also no strong evidence that people are more concerned about corruption in government. The public splits on whether the country is losing ground on political corruption: 46% say we are; 51% think otherwise.

Washington Obsessions: Whitewater, and Other Scandals

The survey confirms the notion that much of the public sees Washington as preoccupied with "*inside the beltway*" matters. The issues or problems most often identified as getting too much attention from federal government officials are foreign affairs (12%), Whitewater (11%) and scandals or personal matters in general (13%). Those who complain about Whitewater overkill tend to be over 30 and well educated. Predictably, Democrats are more likely than Republicans to cite Whitewater in this respect. But '92 Perot voters, generally not inclined to support Clinton, are as likely as Democrats to say "enough already" about Whitewater (18% vs. 16%).

The group defined as the vocal minority -- in keeping with their generally conservative outlook -- are more likely than the broader public to say health care and gay rights get more attention in Washington than they deserve.

Consistent with the views expressed during the 1992 election campaign, the public wants Washington to focus more on domestic issues. Issues most often cited in need of more attention at the national level are crime (15%), poverty/homelessness (12%) education (8%) and health care (8%). Those who cite poverty and homelessness tend to be younger, less well educated and more likely to live in a large city. College graduates, in contrast, cite crime and education more often. The vocal minority puts education and foreign policy higher on its agenda than the overall public does.

Community Problems: Some Different Priorities

Americans generally view their local communities as being in better shape than the country. While communities are thought to face a similar set of problems, differences between national and local priorities did emerge:

* Of the top five community problems mentioned, three are also ranked as national problems -- crime (cited by 29% as the top community problem), unemployment/jobs (12%) and drugs (9%).

* Two of the top five problems, on the other hand, rank significantly higher as local problems than national problems -- education (11% local vs. 5% national) and taxes (8% local vs. 3% national).

* Health care and morality/family values, top concerns nationally, hardly register at the community level (2% each).

The relevance of crime and jobs is not difficult to understand. The survey shows over half of the public feeling the effects of crime in their neighborhood and a similar proportion having someone in the family affected by unemployment or corporate downsizing. Those dissatisfied with life in their local community are more apt to name crime, jobs or drugs as the top problem. Those satisfied are more apt to name education.

As a community problem, crime has its biggest impact in large cities and suburbs, where 45% and 39%, respectively, say it is the top community problem. Geographically, mentions of crime are highest in the Western region (40%).

Not surprisingly, there are some pronounced differences in perceptions by race and socioeconomic class. For whites and higher income families, education and taxes take on more relative importance. For non-whites and the less affluent, crime and drugs move up the list.

Across the board, all problems seem worse on a national level than they do on a local level. Of the 20 potential community problems included in the survey, only three were seen by majorities as growing worse: crime (56%), drugs (51%) and families not staying together (55%).

From a local perspective, health care is not often perceived as a problem area. Less than a third (31%) of Americans think their local community is losing ground in the way the health care system operates. Moreover, those who think their community is making progress outnumber those who think it is falling behind when it comes to access to health care (24% vs. 18%) and the quality of health care (28% vs. 18%).

In contrast to the health care situation, the quality of education is a much greater source of concern at the local level. Overall, more than four in ten (44%) believe the quality of the local schools has deteriorated. Among minorities and Easterners, solid majorities see such a decline (58% and 60%, respectively).

Local government officials, like their national counterparts, are seen by many as out of touch with the people's concerns. At the local level, the public criticizes government officials for spending too much time on politics and partisan squabbles (10%) and minor matters like street names (6%). The problems people want local government to give more attention to include crime (15%), education (12%) and infrastructure (9%).

PERSONAL CONCERNS

When people think in terms of problems facing their own families, pocketbook issues are of overriding importance. Overall, close to half (45%) name one or more economic/financial problems as their family's top concern. The number one answer is simply difficulty paying bills or making ends meet (28%), followed by unemployment or an inadequate job (9%). As economic conditions have improved, mentions of unemployment have declined -- from 28% in August 1992 to 12% last December to 9% currently.

Second to pocketbook issues are personal health problems (8%) or obtaining health care or health insurance (7%). As a family issue, crime -- the top national and community issue -- ranks very low (4%). One in five (20%) reported having no pressing problems in their family these days. Only 4% claimed their community was problem-free; virtually no respondent viewed the nation this way.

Financial problems are of chief importance for families at all income levels, although the specific problems vary. For those under \$30,000, the issue is making ends meet. Above the \$30,000 income level, taxes take on more importance.

Like My Job, Don't Like The Pay

Financial pressure as the primary source of personal dissatisfaction is underscored by another set of survey results. When people are asked to rate various aspects of their personal lives, family life comes out on top (72% very satisfied), followed by personal health (63%). Work-related items all show lower levels of satisfaction, but Americans are least pleased with their paychecks.

Overall, only a quarter (23%) say they are very satisfied with the amount of money they earn, while more than a quarter (29%) are not too or not at all satisfied. By contrast, nearly half (45%) are very satisfied with the kind of work they do; only 10% are not satisfied with this aspect of their job. The percentage not satisfied with the size of their paychecks reaches 42% among those with family incomes under \$20,000 and 47% among non-whites.

Pay is not the only major employment issue -- many are also unhappy with their work schedule. Although 41% overall say they are very satisfied with the amount of leisure time they have, that percentage is elevated by the retiree population. One quarter of all adults (26%), and a third of baby boomers (34% of those aged 30-49) are not satisfied with their time off.

Being able to afford good health insurance is another major source of significant personal dissatisfaction. Only 35% overall say they are very satisfied with their ability to get good health insurance at a reasonable price. Fully a third (34%) overall and 39% of those below the \$30,000 income level are unhappy with their ability to afford decent health coverage.

Growing Anxiety About Personal Future

As Americans contemplate the future, anxiety levels have risen -- not only about potential financial problems, but about other threats to personal and family well-being. Compared with 1988, before the recession shook public confidence, there is a higher level of concern about a variety of issues -- meeting future financial commitments, maintaining income and housing, securing child care, affording necessary medical care, staying safe from crime, and avoiding alcoholism, drug dependency and AIDS.

No concern has increased more than fear of crime: 50% of all adults are now very concerned about becoming a victim, up from 36% in the 1988 survey. Only two other items registered a similar

level of concern in the current survey: affording health care when a family member gets sick (50% very concerned) and the availability of good job opportunities for one's children (51%).

All of these fears are much more prevalent among minorities than among whites. Over 70% of non-whites are very concerned about becoming a crime victim, being unable to afford health care and facing the prospects that their children will have few job opportunities. To some degree, the wealthy and better educated are sheltered from these problems. Among college graduates, those very concerned about each problem drops below 40%.

Nonetheless, these three concerns are shared by a significant segment of the white middle class. With the exception of fear of crime, which runs much higher in large cities, these concerns are as likely to be held by those in suburban, small town and rural environments as they are by big city residents.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ECONOMY

Cautious Support For Economic Recovery

Although Americans feel better about their finances than they did just four months ago, and concern about economic conditions are much abated, the public expresses a high degree of financial pressure and is very cautious in the way it describes economic conditions.

Unwilling to concede that the national economy is experiencing a recovery, most Americans continue to describe the nation as either in recession (33%) or depression (21%). And while a growing percentage (40%) acknowledge that a recovery is underway, most describe that recovery as modest (37%). Only one in 50 Americans think the national economy is surging². Local economic conditions are described more favorably. As many as 47% see a recovery in their own areas. But even closer to home, most Americans think the recovery is modest (38%), rather than surging (7%).

The most encouraging sign for consumer confidence in the survey was the two-thirds majority (67%) expecting to make economic gains over the next 12 months. But again, few were *very* optimistic, as only 10% thought their finances would improve a lot. Most polled (57%) anticipated only *some* improvement in their economic situation.

The survey did find significant differences around the country in economic outlook. Easterners had a much bleaker view of the national economy, and of local economic conditions than Americans in other parts of the country. Only one in three respondents in the East described the national, or the local economy as in recovery. In contrast, 45% of Midwesterners saw nationwide recovery, and 50% thought that their local economy was recovering. However, people in all four regions were equally optimistic about some improvement in their personal financial situation next year.

	<i>Region of Country</i>			
	<u>East</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
<i>National Economy</i>				
Recovery	34	45	40	41
Recession	38	33	28	36
Depression	22	18	23	18
Can't say	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Local Economy</i>				
Recovery	32	50	51	48
Recession	38	26	26	17
Depression	22	16	15	28
Can't say	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100

The public's wariness about economic conditions no doubt reflects the substantial economic burden being borne by a population that has endured a long recession and has seen real wages decline over an even longer period. While mentions of recession and fear of unemployment have receded over the past two years, most Americans (45%) continue to cite economic issues, such as

² But as a point of reference, two years ago in the midst of the presidential primary season, only 16% thought the national economy was in recovery, while 81% said either recession or depression.

"not enough money", as the most important problem facing them and their families. Although on balance Americans have an improved view of their personal finances, most (53%) continue to describe their economic situation in negative terms. When asked to rate their overall economic condition, 40% rated their finances as only fair and 13% gave themselves a poor rating. Just 5% said they were in excellent shape, and 41% saw themselves as in good shape. Similarly, 44% of those questioned said they now earn enough money to lead the kind of life to which they aspire, while most (56%) did not.

As might be expected, the survey found a strong relationship between the level of family income and response to these questions. Americans earning less than \$30,000 per year voice little satisfaction with their finances or job situation. But the uncertainty associated with the American job market in the broader sense affects people *at all* income levels. As many as four in ten Americans at each income level worried that *they* might lose a job or have to take a pay cut, and seven in ten or more were concerned that their children might not have good job opportunities.

	<i>INCOME</i>			
	<u><20K</u>	<u>20-29K</u>	<u>30-39K</u>	<u>50K+</u>
<i>Percent Very Or Somewhat Concerned About:</i>				
Losing Job/Cut In Pay	43	51	44	38
Lack Of Good Job Opportunities For Children	69	75	74	76

NOTE TO READER:

The following sections deal with crime, health care, jobs and welfare at greater length. Each of the issues was examined at four broad levels: the ***relevance*** of the issue to the personal lives of respondents; their ***confidence*** in political leaders; the proposed ***solutions*** to the problems; and ***sacrifices*** the people are willing or not willing to make for those solutions.

ATTITUDES TOWARD CRIME

By far and away, crime was named most often as the top problem facing the nation and the community. Some 32% of respondents volunteered it as the biggest problem in the country, more than twice the proportion who mentioned the next biggest national concerns, health care (14%) and unemployment (13%). Asked about the top problem in the community, crime was again most mentioned (29%), and again more than twice as often as the next issues, unemployment (12%) and education (11%).

Crime was also named most often as the problem that gets too little attention from government officials in Washington (15%) and in the community (15%). More than three quarters of respondents said the country is losing ground in its efforts against crime, and more than half said their community is losing ground, too. When asked what issue President Clinton should give highest priority to, almost as many said crime (23%) as said jobs (26%).

And finally, more than half of respondents -- 53% -- had first-hand experience with a crime within the past year: they themselves, or their family, or a neighbor had been a victim. Almost one in four (24%) said the victim was within the family.

Relevance

For the most part, these were crimes against property. Some 16% of respondents said cash or property had been stolen from them or a family member within the past 12 months; another 22% said the theft of cash or property was from a neighbor. Some 8% said their family had experienced a break-in of their home and 22% said a neighbor had been burglarized. Car theft hit 7% of respondents' families, 12% of neighbors. And 5% reported that they or a family member had been physically assaulted; 8% said neighbors had been mugged.

The victims, demographically, were most often younger people, minorities, and urban residents. Some 31% of 18 to 29 year olds were victims, as were 32% of blacks, and 34% of those who live in large cities. Urban areas suffered most crime, but the disparity with tree-lined suburbs and rural areas may be less than expected: 64% of respondents in large cities said their families or neighbors were victims of a crime, not very much greater than 55% in suburbs and 45% in rural regions. Some crimes are predominantly urban, such as car theft and muggings, but theft and burglary struck all types of communities equally -- 39% of respondents in big cities reported the theft of money or property within the past year, a similar 40% in suburbs, 35% in small towns, and 38% in rural regions. Burglary ranged from 36% in big cities to 29% in rural areas.

Of respondents who considered crime to be a top national problem, 63% had such first-hand experience to a crime within the past 12 months. Of those who considered crime a top community problem, those with first-hand experience were even larger: 69%.

Not surprisingly in view of the incidence of crime, 63% of respondents said the media gives an accurate picture of the amount of crime in the country today, with 29% saying it exaggerates. This contrasts somewhat with the finding that in 1993, crime news on television more than doubled from 1992 although government crime reports and surveys of victims showed no appreciable increase in

either overall crime or violent crime rates.³ Unreported crimes might account for some of the difference. But with over half (53%) of the public reporting family or neighbors victims of crime, it seems clear that public concern about crime is not merely a reflection of what appears on TV newscasts.

Crime has a major impact on how the public feels about their community in broadest terms. Of those who have first-hand experience with crime -- a victim in the family -- 40% say they are dissatisfied with the community. Of those who have no such experience, 25% are dissatisfied.

Confidence in Political Leaders

The public does not have much confidence in President Clinton or the national political parties to recommend the right way to fight crime. Only 47% said gave Clinton a vote of confidence in this respect, which was essentially the same as his 45% overall approval rating in the survey. Republicans in Congress received 44%, Democrats 42%. Crime appears to be viewed mainly as a local rather than national issue, and reflecting this, 57% of respondents said they have confidence in their local government officials to recommend effective ways to reduce crime.

Independents and those who voted for Perot in 1992 stood out for their lack confidence in the establishment figures -- Clinton, the Republicans and the Democrats -- while placing their faith in local government officials.

In passing, it is noteworthy that the public views the other three issues studied -- health care, jobs and welfare -- as primarily national rather than community issues, and placed more confidence in national leadership than in local government officials to handle those problems.

Solutions

The public embraces the hard line rather than the soft line in dealing with violent crime. Some 69% favor longer jail terms as a way that would reduce crime a lot, an increase from 63% just a few months earlier. More police on the streets and more prisons were each favored by 57%. However, 56% support jobs for inner city youth, a relatively less punitive approach to solving the problem. Restricting violence on television was favored by 43% (a drop from 49% in December, 1993), followed by 39% for stricter gun controls. A mere 12% favor legalizing drugs as a way to reduce violence.

Women tended to favor the less punitive approaches more than men, although with some of the harsher solutions as well. Men were skeptical of all approaches and particularly of softer solutions.

Ways To Reduce Violent Crime "A Lot"

	<u>Jobs Program</u>	<u>More Police</u>	<u>Gun Control</u>	<u>Curb TV</u>
<i>Men</i>	48%	51%	29%	31%
<i>Women</i>	63%	63%	47%	53%

³ ***Media Monitor***, Center for Media and Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., January/February 1994.

Minorities were less likely to support the construction of more prisons and more likely to favor a jobs program, but they were just as likely as whites to support longer jail terms for offenders. Gun control sentiment appeared strongest among suburbanites and minorities, least among rural residents.

Drug legalization, on the other hand, attracted very limited support among all demographic groupings. Most favorable were Perot '92 supporters, reflecting the libertarian views of the disaffected who are suspicious of government and its effectiveness. Perot voters gave little backing to a jobs program, to restricting TV violence and, as described below, to giving police more power to combat crime.

Sacrifice

The public is willing to make some sacrifices to reduce crime. Respondents were most prepared to join a neighborhood crime watch group; 89% said they would do so. They were next most willing to volunteer personal time to work with youths in inner cities (73%) and pay higher taxes for more police (63%). A bare majority (52%) would accept more limits on gun ownership.

But reflecting widespread suspicion of law enforcement agencies today, only 16% would give police power to search homes and wiretap telephones without a warrant.

ATTITUDES TOWARD HEALTH CARE

As a national problem, health care reform takes a back seat to crime and jobs in the eyes of the public. Compared to crime, only half as many respondents mentioned it when asked to name the country's top problem (32% crime, 14% health care, 13% jobs). And when asked to list Clinton's chief priorities, reforming health care came in fourth (16%), after improving the job situation (26%), reducing crime (23%), and reducing the budget deficit (20%). Finally, the constituency for reducing crime is broader and distinctly different than the constituency for reforming health care.

Health care is rated high on the scale of personal concerns, however. It places second, at 15%, after a variety of economic problems which total 45%. Health care also emerged as one of the top three concerns about the future, with 50% of respondents saying they feared being unable to afford necessary care when a family member get sick. On other health-related issues, at least one-third of respondents also said they were very concerned about the risk of AIDS, about a family member becoming involved with drugs and alcohol, and about caring for an aged parent.

Health care is seen as a graver national problem than a local problem. Almost half of the public (49%) said the health care crisis at the national level was worsening (i.e., the way health care is working, the problem was losing ground). At the local level, almost one-third (31%) said the problem was getting worse (i.e., again losing ground).

Relevance

People said they are talking about health care with family and friends about as often as they talk about crime. And one out of three (34%) expressed some measure of dissatisfaction with their ability to get good health insurance at a reasonable price; 19% said not at all satisfied, 15% said not too satisfied. This is the highest level of complaint registered, higher than about their earnings (29%), their amount of leisure time (26%), their health (11%), their type of work (10%) and their family life (6%).

Almost half of respondents (45%) said they have had difficulties with one or another aspect of health care in the previous 12 months. More than one in four (29%) said they had great difficulty affording the cost of necessary medical care, and 21% said they stayed at jobs they did not like in order to retain health insurance coverage. In addition, 14% said they had been refused coverage for a pre-existing medical problem, and 10% said they were dropped from an insurance plan or refused coverage within the past year.

The problems were reported across the board by age, except those over 65 had significantly fewer troubles with the health care system (understandably in view of Medicare coverage). The poor (income under \$20,000 a year) reported difficulties with the system significantly more often than the wealthier (over \$50,000) -- 55% vs. 35%. And those who voted for Clinton and Perot in 1992 reported somewhat more difficulties than Bush voters.

Women see the problem differently and more deeply than men, reflecting the fact that health care is felt more often in the home and that wives are more in charge of this aspect of family life. They talk about it more frequently than men, 54% to 41%. They are much more likely to say they have had great difficulty affording the cost of necessary care, 37% to 21% for men. And they are far more likely to say they experience problems with the health care system, 54% to 35% for men. Women

are less likely to be covered than men; 33% of women under 30 said they now have no health insurance, compared to 26% for men.

For the future, fully 72% said they were concerned about being unable to afford necessary health care for their family; 50% said they were very concerned, and another 22% said they were somewhat concerned.

The survey found that the government was most responsible for making sure Americans had health insurance (35%), slightly more than individuals and their families (31%) and considerably more than employers (21%). Women were somewhat more likely than men to hold the government responsible (39% vs. 32% for men). Men hold families and individuals more responsible (35% vs. 27% for women). The "have's" are generally less inclined to government involvement than the "have-nots." The wealthy, the white and rural residents tend to see individuals and families as responsible for securing health insurance, while the young, the poor, minority groups and those in large cities feel the government is responsible.

Confidence

President Clinton and the Democrats appear to have the upper hand on the health care issue. Confidence in Clinton to recommend the right thing to improve the system was voiced by 52%, higher than his overall approval rating at the time of the survey (45%). Congressional Democrats did better than Congressional Republicans, 47% to 43%. Local government officials ranked in between, at 46%.

Those respondents who believe health care is important -- those who said it was a top national problem and should get top priority from Clinton -- expressed more confidence in Clinton and his approach to reform than in Congressional Republicans.

Beyond governmental actors in the health care debate, consumer groups and the American Medical Association received high votes of confidence (57% and 53%, respectively). But relatively less trust was put in trade unions (41%) and least of all in insurance companies (26%).

Solutions

Some of the urgency has left the health care issue for the public compared to one year ago. When asked about priorities for reform, all options were cited significantly less often as a top priority than a year earlier. Limiting costs, for example, dropped from 58% in April, 1993, to 49% as a top priority; universal coverage fell from 60% to 51%. Comparable fall-offs were found regarding the priority for making routine care and nursing home care more affordable. Moreover, as described below, all of the solutions that require sacrifices lost support, and none received a favorable majority.

Universal coverage was the issue that resonated strongest among those who are most concerned about health care. Of those respondents who cited health care as Clinton's top priority, 72% gave universal coverage a top priority among health care issues. No other issue rated as high a priority as universal coverage among this group.

On this driving issue of universal coverage, women gave it top priority more often than men (59% vs. 42%), non-whites much more often than whites (75% vs. 47%), and the have-nots much more than the haves (67% with incomes under \$20,000 a year vs. 44% with incomes over \$50,000 annually).

Sacrifice

The survey found that the public is less willing to make sacrifices for reform than one year ago. They are less willing to slow the introduction of new medical procedures and technologies into hospitals (44%, vs 48% in 1993), less willing to wait longer for non-emergency care (46% vs. 56% in 1993), and less willing to restrict their choice of doctors and hospitals (29% vs. 39% in 1993). Majorities are against all three options now.

Moreover, fewer than four in ten respondents (38%) said they were willing to pay more for their own health insurance in a new health care system. The only option a majority (54%) considered acceptable was rationing expensive medical procedures if they did not significantly improve or extend life.

ATTITUDES TOWARD JOBS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Jobs is the only issue that registers as a problem on all three levels -- national, community, and personal -- for Americans. It was in first place as a top priority for Clinton, ahead of crime, health care and all other issues. Fully half (52%) of respondents said they or their family have been affected by job loss, pay cut or lay-offs in the past 12 months.

The recession struck white collar as well as blue collar America. College graduates were as likely as high school graduates (53% and 54%, respectively) to say their family has been affected by job loss, lay-offs or pay cuts during the past year. Roughly six in ten twenty-somethings (58%) and baby-boomers (61%) say they or their families have suffered. Jobs are a major source of disaffection for Perot '92 voters; 65% have felt the effects of unemployment, loss of wages or layoffs.

A different geographic slice of America than usual was hit hardest by this recession -- the East and West coasts and the suburbs. Some 61% of respondents in Atlantic coast states, 57% in Pacific coast states, and 61% in suburbs say their families were affected. In contrast, 43% in the Midwest and 49% in the South said they had been affected; and 51% in rural areas, 50% in large cities, and 46% in small towns were affected.

Unemployment remains a lingering problem for some groups, particularly minorities and urban residents. But as economic conditions have improved, the problem for the broader public is more *under*employment than *un*employment. People tend to like their jobs, but their pay, benefits and work hours are major sources of personal dissatisfaction.

Almost two out of three Americans (63%) think the country is losing ground in terms of the availability of good-paying jobs. Some 44% think it is losing ground to unemployment. The major fear for the future among respondents was concern that their children will have inadequate job opportunities; 51% said they were very concerned about it.

Relevance

Jobs come up in conversation less often than crime and health care, the survey found, but more than one-third of respondents (37%) said they discuss job and unemployment matters frequently, and another 35% said they talk about the issues occasionally. Those groups that are most likely to be discussing jobs are naturally those most affected by unemployment -- non-whites (51% said they frequently talk about job issues) and low income families (44%, among those earning \$20,000 or less).

Understandably, those who ask the Clinton Administration to give jobs a top priority are those who most often have felt the recession and corporate cut-backs themselves or in their families.

Confidence

While Clinton made jobs and the economy his major campaign issue in 1992, the public is now divided in its views of his leadership in this area; 47% express confidence in him on this score, 47% do not.

Instead, Americans were as likely to express confidence in Congressional Republicans (48%) and local government officials (47%) as in Clinton. They were least likely to put trust in Congressional Democrats (42%) on this issue. Perot voters have more faith in the GOP than in

Clinton on jobs. And those respondents who gave jobs a high priority were most disenchanted with all political leaders -- Clinton, Republicans, Democrats and local officials.

Solutions

The most popular solutions, although they drew less support compared to May, 1992, would cost more money. Almost two out of three respondents favored expanding job training opportunities (61% now, 65% in 1992); and 51% favored more public education (down from 59% two years ago) as measures that would help the overall job situation a lot.

Of respondents who gave jobs highest priority, 64% favored the job training option. Of those whose families had been affected by job-related problems, 67% favored the training option. And of those who expressed fear of losing their jobs, 72% supported the training option and 62% favored more education.

Ideologically, support for government spending on the jobs front-- a traditional Democratic approach -- has the traditional Democratic constituency. The training option was most popular with women (66%), youths under 30 (66%), Democrats (67%), non-whites (75%), large city residents (69%), and Clinton voters (68%). A similar pattern was found among those favoring more funds for public education. While Perot '92 voters have more confidence in the GOP on jobs, they were also supportive of the training approach (66%) which Clinton and his Labor Secretary have pushed.

Clinton also suggested during the campaign that business and government cooperate more with each other to create jobs. This idea was supported by 53% of respondents -- disproportionately found among older, less educated, Democrats, Clinton voters, and minorities -- slightly more than in the 1992 campaign year (50%).

The only other option for improving the job situation that won increased support over the past two years was restricting immigration. A frustrated public seemed inclined to blame foreigners for unemployment. A majority (52%) said restricting the number of immigrants would help the job situation a lot; this was an increase from 45% in May, 1992. Among groups with whom this option was most popular were Americans 50 years old and older (58%), rural residents (59%), those with only a high school education (62%), and those who voted for George Bush in 1992 (57%).

Increasing the minimum wage of \$4.25 per hour set in 1991 was a solution that drew somewhat less support. More than one in three respondents (37%) said the move would help a lot, and another 33% said it would help a little. Those who favored higher wages to improve job prospects -- a dubious prospect to many economists -- were concentrated among non-whites (a total of 83% said help a lot and help a little) and those fearful of losing their jobs (82% said a lot or a little), as well as among less educated and lower income strata.

Reflecting the public's inability to find an easy solution, respondents supported contradictory approaches -- both increased protectionism and increased free trade -- to improve the job situation. Some 59% said a tax increase on imported goods would help to some degree (26% said help a lot, 33% said help a little); this was essentially the same as the 62% in 1992 who said such tariffs would help (32% said a lot, 30% said a little). Going in the other direction, 52% said more free trade agreements with other countries would help; 20% said they would help a lot, 32% said a little.

The option that drew resounding opposition was cutting the work week to four days, with pay proportionately cut. Only 5% said this solution would help the job situation a lot, and another 17%

said it would help a little. But more than two out of three respondents said the move would hurt; 45% said it would hurt a lot and 24% said hurt a little.

Sacrifice

Reaction to the shorter work/less pay solution indicates that the public is not prepared to make any personal sacrifice on this score. Rightly or wrongly, they appear to feel they are so squeezed at present, fearful of their jobs and scratching to make ends meet, that they will only keep foreigners out and ask for more government spending to increase jobs for fellow Americans.

ATTITUDES TOWARD WELFARE

Welfare barely registers as a top priority issue, certainly far below crime, health care and jobs on the consciousness of Americans. Only 2% said welfare was a top national problem, and it was not mentioned as a community problem.

Yet people have strong views about it. Fully 60% said the nation is losing ground on the issue, for example, which was not far below the response on crime and considerably above the responses on unemployment and health care. At the local level, 49% said their communities were losing ground on the welfare problem.

Relevance

Welfare concerns come up less often than the other issues in private conversation. Those who do talk about welfare issues are mostly women, older Americans, and those with marginally lower incomes (between \$20,000 and \$30,000 a year).

This relative silence is not because Americans do not know welfare recipients. Almost one in four respondents (24%) had a family member who was a current recipient (8%) or a past recipient (16%). The poor, non-white, and less educated were disproportionately represented among the recipients.

A striking finding is that welfare is considered odious by every demographic subgroup in the survey. Fully 75% of respondents said the current welfare system changes things for the worse by making the recipient dependent on the government. Only 12% said it creates change for the better by helping those unable to support themselves, a figure that is less than the percentage of those who are now or were recipients of welfare.

The highest pro-welfare responses recorded -- those who believe welfare is good -- was 28% among non-whites, 20% among those with less than high school education, and 19% among Democrats. Among those who said welfare should be a top priority for Clinton, 90% said welfare makes things worse rather than better.

Confidence

Welfare appears to be regarded even by its recipients as a failed government program, and the public has little confidence that its elected officials can reform the system. Respondents expressed only marginally more confidence in Clinton (48%) than no confidence (45%), and the same with Congressional Republicans (45% and 43%, respectively). They voiced marginally no confidence in Democrats (47% no confidence, 42% confidence) and in local government officials (49% and 41%, respectively).

Solutions

The public takes a hard line, for the most part, on what should be done about welfare. It would require everyone on welfare, even mothers of young children, to do some kind of work for their checks. It would forbid women on welfare to get a larger check when she has another child. It would put a two-year limit on receiving welfare.

Specifically, a total of 89% said the welfare situation would be improved to some degree (62% said improved a lot, another 27% said improved a little) if all welfare recipients worked. A total of 74% said it would be improved (51% said a lot, 23% said a little) by barring larger checks for additional babies. A total of 78% said it would be improved (50% said a lot, 28% said a little) by putting a two-year limit on welfare benefits.

Among the demographic groups favoring a solution that would require all to work were above-average percentages of women, Bush voters, Perot voters, respondents over 50 years old and those with income over \$50,000 a year. Those favoring no checks for extra children were particularly women, the older group, Bush voters and rural Americans. Those favoring the two-year limit were again older Americans, Perot voters, and respondents in the south.

But the public was not exclusively remorseless. A total of 92% supported new government programs for job training and public service jobs for welfare recipients; 61% said these would help a lot, 31% said help a little. Similarly, a total of 75% said guaranteed health insurance would help (46% said a lot, 29% said a little).

The demographic groups favoring both of these relatively softer measures were disproportionately women, youth under 30, Democrats, Clinton voters and respondents in the east. In addition, non-whites were highly attracted to the training and public service job option, while Perot voters leaned toward the guaranteed health insurance.

A final instructive correlation is that among those who felt welfare was a top priority issue, 70% want to require all recipients to work and 70% also want no bigger check for welfare mothers who bear more children. But only 57% would support job training and public service jobs to get people off welfare.

Sacrifice

Somewhat surprising, in view of the wide-spread antipathy to welfare, was that a majority of respondents (56%) said they were willing to pay higher taxes for job training and public service jobs to help people get off welfare. A significant minority, 39%, said it was not willing to pay more for such reform.

Among those who in above-average numbers would pay higher taxes were college graduates, youth, Democrats, Independents, non-whites, Clinton supporters, and big city residents.

POLITICS

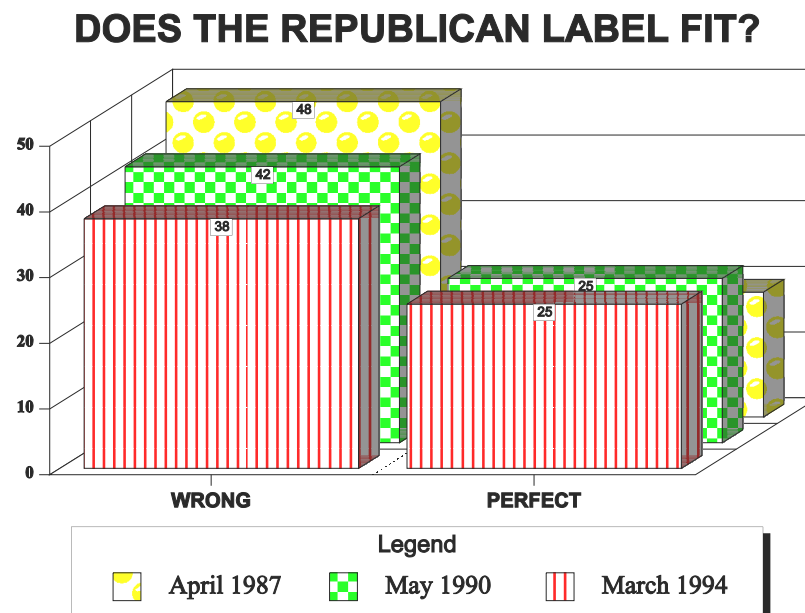
Despite controlling both the White House and the Congress, Democrats have made no gains in public standing on the GOP in recent years. Increasingly equal numbers of Americans self-identify with the two parties. If anything, since the late 1980's the percentage of the public that calls itself Republican has been growing, while the percentage of self-ascribed Democrats has been declining.

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1994</i>
<i>Republican</i>	25	28	30
<i>Democrat</i>	37	33	31
<i>Independent</i>	<u>38</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>39</u>
	100	100	100

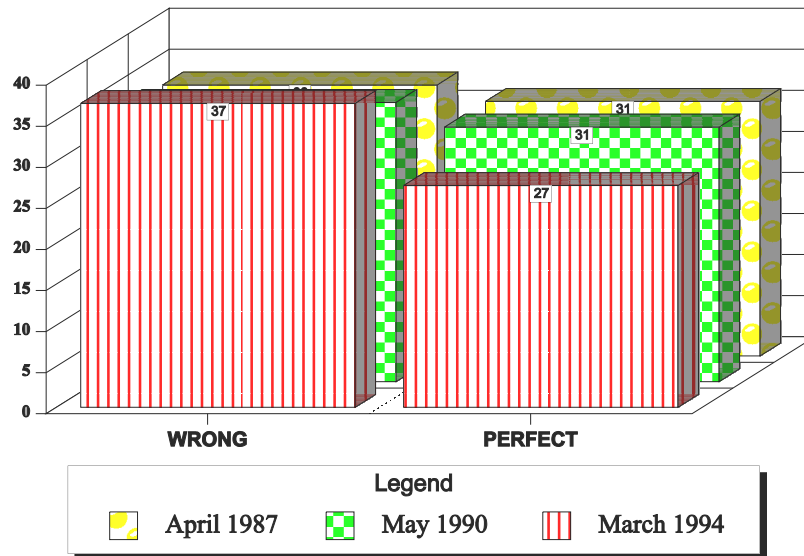
Since 1987, self-identification as Democrat has fallen off most sharply among blacks, union members, among lower income people and in the East. The GOP has made gains among men, lower income people, union members and in the Midwest.

The Political Parties At Parity

The increasing popular parity between the parties is also well illustrated by the trend to a question which asks respondents ***how much*** they self-identify with the parties and other socio-political movements and groups. Since 1987, the largest difference in response is the much reduced number of people who totally reject the Republican label. In the current survey about equal numbers of respondents say that the terms Republican and Democrat do not describe them well (38% and 37%, respectively), whereas in 1987 many more said the term Republican did not fit them ***at all***. (48% vs 33%).



DOES THE DEMOCRAT LABEL FIT?



The parity reflected in self-identifications was also evident in the perceived abilities of the two major parties. Equal percentages of Times Mirror's respondents chose the Democratic and Republican parties as best able to handle the most important problem facing the nation, and their local communities. Nearly half of respondents (49%) offered neither party as better able to handle the top problem facing their local community, and nearly as many (41%) expressed that view about handling the nation's biggest problem.

PARTY BEST ABLE TO HANDLE TOP PROBLEM FACING

	<i>The Country</i>	<i>Your Local Community</i>
<i>Republican</i>	30	26
<i>Democrat</i>	29	25
<i>Neither/DK</i>	<u>41</u>	<u>49</u>
	100	100

Similarly, the American public expresses no more confidence in Republicans in Congress than Democrats in Congress to handle such problems as crime, job improvement, health care reform, or welfare reform.

PERCENT EXPRESSING CONFIDENCE IN EACH

	<i>Congressional Republicans</i>	<i>Congressional Democrats</i>
Reduce Crime	44	42
Improve Health Care	43	48
Reduce Unemployment/ Better Jobs	48	42
Reform Welfare	45	42

Perotism And Other "isms"

While the American public expresses no clear preference for either political party, it makes itself much clearer on its identification with Ross Perot. Only 11% of those questioned in Times Mirror's sampling thought the label Perot supporter described them well - most (56%) said that label was totally wrong for them, or neither particularly wrong, nor right (30%).

In contrast, most said they were well described by the labels religious person (51%), environmentalist (43%), civil rights supporter (46%) or supporter of business interests (38%). Self-identification with these items has not changed much over the past four years. Nor has the percentage who think of themselves as liberals (19%), conservatives (30%), or union supporters (27%).

Compared to 1990, slightly more Americans say they are supporters of the gay rights movement (15%, up from 9%). The survey also found more people totally rejecting the labels NRA supporter or "pro-life/anti-abortion" movement supporter. (See Q.74)

SELECTED TABLES

SATISFACTION WITH WAY THINGS ARE GOING IN COUNTRY, COMMUNITY AND PERSONAL LIFE

<i>Total</i>	<i>Country*</i>	<i>Community**</i>	<i>Personal Life</i>	<i>(Total N)</i>
	24	68	83	(2001)
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	27	67	85	(974)
Female	21	69	82	(1027)
<i>Race</i>				
White	23	70	84	(1697)
Non-white	31	55	81	(286)
<i>Age</i>				
Under 30	28	70	85	(415)
30-49	25	68	85	(842)
50+	20	68	81	(721)
<i>Education</i>				
College Grad.	31	74	87	(594)
Some College	23	63	84	(451)
High School Grad.	23	71	83	(763)
< H.S. grad.	18	60	80	(188)
<i>Family Income</i>				
\$50,000+	29	72	89	(488)
\$30,000-\$49,999	18	73	88	(514)
\$20,000-\$29,999	29	68	84	(373)
< \$20,000	21	59	74	(384)
<i>Region</i>				
East	27	59	81	(385)
Midwest	31	73	84	(541)
South	21	69	84	(737)
West	16	67	83	(338)
<i>Community Size</i>				
Large City	24	62	83	(363)
Suburb	23	71	82	(509)
Small City/Town	27	68	84	(732)
Rural Area	21	69	85	(390)

Question: All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in (this country today?) (your local community?) (your personal life?)

* Based on Form 1 & 3 respondents (N=989)

** Based on Form 2 & 4 respondents (N=1012)

CONT.

CONT.

	<i>Country*</i>	<i>Community**</i>	<i>Personal Life</i>	<i>(Total N)</i>
<i>Party ID</i>				
Republican	15	66	86	(629)
Democrat	32	72	83	(610)
Independent	22	66	82	(689)
<i>Past Vote</i>				
Bush	14	68	88	(588)
Clinton	35	70	83	(643)
Perot	11	73	82	(235)
Other	26	63	80	(535)
<i>Political Vocalization</i>				
Regular Listener				
To Talk Radio	20	70	87	(257)
Contacted Washington				
In Past 12 Months	23	62	84	(329)
Both	31	57	90	(93)
Neither	28	67	85	(805)

* Based on Form 1 & 3 respondents (N=989)

** Based on Form 2 & 4 respondents (N=1012)

TOP 5 PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY

(Based On Form 1 & 3 Respondents - N=989)

	<i>Crime</i>	<i>Health Care</i>	<i>Jobs/ Unemp.</i>	<i>Drugs</i>	<i>Morals</i>
<i>Total</i>	32	14	13	10	10
<i>Sex</i>					
Male	29	11	11	11	6
Female	34	16	14	10	13
<i>Race</i>					
White	30	15	12	9	10
Non-white	37	9	16	17	8
<i>Age</i>					
Under 30	26	12	9	14	5
30-49	33	12	13	8	9
50+	34	18	14	10	15
<i>Education</i>					
College Grad.	31	12	13	3	10
Some College	29	14	12	9	11
High School Grad.	31	14	13	11	9
< H.S. grad.	38	18	11	19	9
<i>Family Income</i>					
\$50,000+	36	10	16	8	10
\$30,000-\$49,999	32	16	16	11	9
\$20,000-\$29,999	28	15	8	14	11
< \$20,000	31	16	12	8	11
<i>Region</i>					
East	32	16	16	10	10
Midwest	28	15	13	10	7
South	33	12	8	14	13
West	32	14	17	6	9
<i>Community Size</i>					
Large City	33	6	19	8	7
Suburb	35	15	12	10	10
Small City/Town	27	18	10	13	13
Rural Area	34	14	12	7	8

Question: What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

CONT.

CONT.

	<i>Crime</i>	<i>Health Care</i>	<i>Jobs/ Unemp.</i>	<i>Drugs</i>	<i>Morals</i>
<i>Party ID</i>					
Republican	32	14	11	9	13
Democrat	39	17	13	12	6
Independent	25	12	14	10	11
<i>Past Vote</i>					
Bush	33	13	7	6	17
Clinton	34	19	19	10	6
Perot	27	8	14	9	13
Other	30	12	11	15	7
<i>Political Vocalization</i>					
Regular Listener					
To Talk Radio	28	11	13	6	12
Contacted Washington					
In Past 12 Months	23	19	13	4	15
Both	23	21	11	5	16
Neither	32	13	12	12	7
<i>Way Things Are Going In Country Today</i>					
Satisfied	28	20	16	11	6
Dissatisfied	34	13	11	10	11

TOP 5 PROBLEMS FACING THE COMMUNITY

(Based On Form 2 & 4 Respondents - N=1012)

	<i>Crime</i>	<i>Jobs/ Unemp.</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Drugs</i>	<i>Taxes</i>
<i>Total</i>	29	12	11	9	8
<i>Sex</i>					
Male	27	13	10	6	11
Female	30	11	13	13	5
<i>Race</i>					
White	28	12	12	7	9
Non-white	35	16	6	23	2
<i>Age</i>					
Under 30	32	12	12	12	3
30-49	25	16	13	9	8
50+	31	8	9	9	11
<i>Education</i>					
College Grad.	32	13	20	5	6
Some College	33	13	12	7	6
High School Grad.	29	13	8	10	9
< H.S. grad.	20	8	5	17	9
<i>Family Income</i>					
\$50,000+	27	11	18	8	11
\$30,000-\$49,999	32	15	12	8	8
\$20,000-\$29,999	34	12	12	9	5
< \$20,000	22	13	7	16	6
<i>Region</i>					
East	17	16	11	9	22
Midwest	26	11	14	9	8
South	31	11	10	13	3
West	40	12	10	4	1
<i>Community Size</i>					
Large City	45	8	6	11	2
Suburb	39	9	14	7	7
Small City/Town	22	15	12	12	9
Rural Area	16	15	10	7	12

Question: What is the most important problem facing your local community today?

CONT.

CONT.

	<i>Crime</i>	<i>Jobs/ Unemp.</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Drugs</i>	<i>Taxes</i>
<i>Party ID</i>					
Republican	30	9	11	8	10
Democrat	30	16	11	10	6
Independent	27	14	12	10	7
<i>Past Vote</i>					
Bush	36	10	13	7	8
Clinton	28	13	14	10	8
Perot	24	14	13	5	10
Other	26	13	6	13	7
<i>Political Vocalization</i>					
Regular Listener					
To Talk Radio	39	8	10	8	8
Contacted Washington					
In Past 12 Months	32	11	17	5	12
Both	37	9	9	3	11
Neither	28	14	11	11	6
<i>Way Things Are Going In Community Today</i>					
Satisfied	27	11	13	8	7
Dissatisfied	37	15	8	14	8

PERCENT VERY CONCERNED ABOUT PROBLEMS

(Top 3 Concerns - Based on Form 1 & 2)

	<i>Victim Of Crime</i>	<i>Unable To Afford Health Care</i>	<i>Lack Of Good Job Opportunities For Kids</i>
Total	50	50	51
Sex			
Male	44	45	50
Female	55	55	52
Race			
White	45	47	48
Non-white	77	72	72
Age			
Under 30	59	56	58
30-49	45	48	57
50+	49	49	41
Education			
College Grad.	34	32	36
Some College	50	53	49
High School Grad.	53	54	57
< H.S. grad.	64	62	59
Family Income			
\$50,000+	39	33	45
\$30,000-\$49,999	47	52	48
\$20,000-\$29,999	55	59	57
< \$20,000	58	65	55
Region			
East	43	50	57
Midwest	50	49	47
South	54	53	52
West	48	47	48
Community Size			
Large City	64	49	52
Suburb	45	45	50
Small City/Town	45	53	49
Rural Area	48	52	54

Question: Now I'd like you to think about the future. As I read some different things that might affect your personal future, please tell me how concerned you are about each one happening to you. First, how concerned are you about ...: Would you say you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned?

CONT.

CONT.

	<i>Victim Of Crime</i>	<i>Unable To Afford Health Care Opportunities For Kids</i>	<i>Lack Of Good Job</i>
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republican	42	40	44
Democrat	53	58	56
Independent	53	52	53
<i>Past Vote</i>			
Bush	41	40	44
Clinton	53	55	56
Perot	36	41	54
Other	60	59	53
<i>Political Vocalization</i>			
Regular Listener			
To Talk Radio	54	43	50
Contacted Washington			
In Past 12 Months	39	46	52
Both	43	42	50
Neither	51	51	52

RATING OF PERSONAL FINANCIAL SITUATION

	<i>Percent Saying Excellent Or Good Dec. 93 (N=1479)</i>	<i>Percent Now Earning Mar. 94 (N=2001)</i>	<i>Enough Money (N=1394)*</i>
<i>Total</i>	38	46	44
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	40	47	48
Female	37	45	40
<i>Race</i>			
White	41	49	46
Non-white	24	30	32
<i>Age</i>			
Under 30	35	40	33
30-49	40	48	44
50+	40	48	57
<i>Education</i>			
College Grad.	60	60	51
Some College	43	48	39
High School Grad.	35	44	43
< H.S. grad.	15	32	40
<i>Family Income</i>			
\$50,000+	68	68	58
\$30,000-\$49,999	50	54	45
\$20,000-\$29,999	27	42	36
< \$20,000	17	20	25
<i>Region</i>			
East	34	43	40
Midwest	43	49	50
South	35	46	43
West	43	46	41
<i>Community Size</i>			
Large City	N/A	41	43
Suburb	N/A	53	42
Small City/Town	N/A	45	43
Rural Area	N/A	46	49

* Based on employed respondents.

Question: How would you rate your own personal financial situation? Excellent, Good, Only Fair or Poor?

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

CONT.

CONT.

	<i>Percent Saying Excellent Or Good Dec. 93 (N=1479)</i>	<i>Mar. 94 (N=2001)</i>	<i>Percent Now Earning Enough Money (N=1394)*</i>
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republican	46	52	44
Democrat	34	43	45
Independent	38	45	43
<i>Past Vote</i>			
Bush	52	54	48
Clinton	38	45	46
Perot	39	54	43
Other	30	38	39
<i>Political Vocalization</i>			
Regular Listener			
To Talk Radio	44	49	43
Contacted Washington			
In Past 12 Months	48	52	46
Both	52	47	42
Neither	35	45	43

* Based on employed respondents.

TOP 4 PRIORITIES FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON

	<i>Jobs</i>	<i>Crime</i>	<i>Budget Deficit</i>	<i>Health Care (N)</i>	
<i>Total</i>	26	23	20	16	(2001)
<i>Sex</i>					
Male	25	23	24	14	(974)
Female	28	23	15	17	(1027)
<i>Race</i>					
White	24	23	21	16	(1697)
Non-white	39	26	12	14	(286)
<i>Age</i>					
Under 30	31	26	19	11	(415)
30-49	27	23	21	15	(842)
50+	22	22	18	20	(721)
<i>Education</i>					
College Grad.	22	21	26	12	(594)
Some College	27	23	20	14	(451)
High School Grad.	29	24	20	15	(763)
< H.S. grad.	26	23	11	22	(188)
<i>Family Income</i>					
\$50,000+	25	21	24	12	(488)
\$30,000-\$49,999	24	26	21	14	(514)
\$20,000-\$29,999	27	22	23	16	(373)
< \$20,000	29	21	13	21	(384)
<i>Region</i>					
East	30	22	18	17	(385)
Midwest	24	23	22	15	(541)
South	25	24	18	17	(737)
West	27	24	21	12	(338)
<i>Community Size</i>					
Large City	33	24	17	11	(363)
Suburb	21	27	22	16	(509)
Small City/Town	26	22	21	16	(732)
Rural Area	26	21	19	19	(390)
<i>Party ID</i>					
Republican	21	28	23	9	(629)
Democrat	25	22	15	26	(610)
Independent	32	20	21	14	(689)

Question: In the future, which ONE of the following items should President Clinton give the highest priority to ... ?

CONT.

CONT.

	<i>Jobs</i>	<i>Crime</i>	<i>Budget Deficit</i>	<i>Health Care (N)</i>	
<i>Past Vote</i>					
Bush	20	28	25	8	(588)
Clinton	26	19	15	27	(643)
Perot	27	24	22	8	(235)
Other	32	23	19	14	(535)
<i>Political Vocalization</i>					
Regular Listener					
To Talk Radio	20	25	24	18	(257)
Contacted Washington					
In Past 12 Months	22	21	25	17	(329)
Both	11	19	32	20	(93)
Neither	27	25	18	15	(805)

HEALTH CARE REFORM

	<i>Universal Coverage A Top Priority For Health Care Reform</i>		<i>Willing To Accept A Longer Wait For Non-Emergency Care</i>	
	<i>April 93</i>	<i>March 94</i>	<i>April 93</i>	<i>March 94</i>
<i>Total</i>	60	51	56	46
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	58	42	56	47
Female	63	59	56	45
<i>Race</i>				
White	58	47	57	47
Non-white	73	75	47	36
<i>Age</i>				
Under 30	63	55	56	48
30-49	62	48	61	49
50+	57	52	50	41
<i>Education</i>				
College Grad.	54	45	62	50
Some College	61	48	63	45
High School Grad.	64	52	56	46
< H.S. grad.	61	60	38	41
<i>Family Income</i>				
\$50,000+	55	44	63	48
\$30,000-\$49,999	62	47	59	52
\$20,000-\$29,999	58	51	63	51
< \$20,000	65	67	48	39
<i>Region</i>				
East	65	58	54	53
Midwest	62	50	57	43
South	61	47	54	43
West	54	51	60	47
<i>Community Size</i>				
Large City	65	60	56	41
Suburb	60	52	57	49
Small City/Town*	56	49	54	45
Rural Area		43		49
<i>Party ID</i>				
Republican	46	35	55	42
Democrat	69	67	55	44
Independent	61	50	60	52

* April 1993 figures combine "Small City/Town" and "Rural Area" into "Non-Metro."

Note: March 1994 figures based on Form 1 & 2 respondents - N=1009. April 1993 figures based on total respondents - N=1011.

TRENDS IN PARTY AFFILIATION

	Democrats				Republicans				Independent				Number of Interviews
	87	90	94	Diff	87	90	94	Diff	87	90	94	Diff	
Total	37	33	31	-2	25	28	30	+2	38	39	39	0	(2001)
Demographics													
Sex													
Male	34	30	26	-4	26	31	33	+2	40	39	41	+2	(974)
Female	39	35	35	0	24	25	28	+3	37	40	37	-3	(1027)
Race													
White	31	28	28	0	28	31	34	+3	41	41	38	-3	(1697)
Black	70	65	54	-11	9	5	6	+1	21	30	40	+10	(172)
Age													
<25	31	25	24	-1	27	22	26	+4	42	53	50	-3	(216)
25-29	29	30	32	+2	27	26	27	+1	44	44	41	-3	(199)
30-39	32	32	25	-7	24	25	33	+8	44	43	42	-1	(430)
40-49	37	31	31	0	22	27	30	+3	41	42	39	-3	(412)
50-59	44	36	36	0	26	30	31	+1	30	34	33	-1	(284)
60+	44	40	37	-3	26	35	32	-3	30	25	31	+6	(437)
Education													
College graduate	28	30	29	-1	32	34	33	-1	40	36	38	+2	(594)
Other college	32	30	28	-2	29	30	34	+4	39	39	38	-1	(451)
High school grad.	37	31	31	0	25	29	30	+1	38	38	39	+1	(763)
Less than high school graduate	46	41	36	-5	18	18	23	+5	36	38	41	+3	(188)
Family Income													
<\$20,000	43	37	36	-1	19	24	28	+4	38	39	36	-3	(384)
\$20,000-\$29,999	34	31	35	+4	27	29	25	-4	39	40	40	0	(373)
\$30,000-\$39,999	33				27				40				
\$40,000-\$49,999*	28	31	30	-1	33	29	32	+3	39	40	38	-2	(514)
\$50,000+	28	25	25	0	36	38	38	0	36	37	37	0	(488)
Region													
East	43	35	31	-4	22	26	25	-1	35	39	44	+5	(385)
Midwest	34	30	29	-1	24	27	33	+6	42	43	38	-5	(541)
South	37	34	32	-2	29	31	30	-1	34	35	38	+3	(737)
West	30	32	30	-2	27	26	33	+7	43	42	37	-5	(338)
Ethnicity													
Hispanic	37	36	39	+3	16	13	25	+12	47	51	36	-15	(108)
White													
Protestant	29	27	26	-1	32	37	39	+2	39	36	35	-1	(1051)
White Catholic	40	32	32	0	22	25	29	+4	34	43	39	-4	(396)
Jewish	48	50	53	+3	17	17	5	-12	65	33	42	+9	(47)
Union													
Yes	48	43	39	-4	16	21	30	+9	36	36	31	-5	(183)

* For 1990 and 1994, these two income categories were combined (\$30,000-49,999).

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 2,001 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period March 16-21, 1994. 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 Forms 1 and 3 (N=989) or Forms 2 and 4 (N=1012), one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects 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 1992). 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
MOOD OF AMERICA SURVEY
March 16 - 21, 1994
N=2001

INTRODUCTION: Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling for Princeton Survey Research of Princeton, New Jersey. We're conducting a national opinion survey for leading newspapers, radio, and TV stations. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male age 18 or older, who is now at home. **(IF NO MALE AT HOME NOW:** Then, may I speak with the oldest female age 18 or older who is now at home) **(REPEAT INTRODUCTION IF RESPONDENT DID NOT ANSWER THE TELEPHONE.)**

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

		Jan <u>1994</u>	Early Jan <u>1994</u>	Dec <u>1993</u>	Oct <u>1993</u>	Early Sept <u>1993</u>	Sept <u>1993</u>	Aug <u>1993</u>	June <u>1993</u>	May <u>1993</u>	April <u>1993</u>	Feb <u>1993</u>
45	Approve	51	48	48	44	49	43	39	39	45	49	56
42	Disapprove	35	35	36	42	35	43	46	43	37	29	25
<u>13</u> 100	DK/Refused	<u>14</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>22</u> 100	<u>19</u> 100

(NO Q.2)

3. Looking ahead to the next presidential election, would you like to see Bill Clinton re-elected or would you prefer that a Republican candidate or an Independent candidate be elected?

		<u>Dec</u> <u>1993</u>
27	Clinton	28
28	Republican	22
15	Independent	12
<u>30</u> 100	DK/Refused	<u>38</u> 100

Q.4 BASED ON NATIONAL FORM RESPONDENTS [N=989]:

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

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>
24	Satisfied	22	20	22	39	28	34	41	45	56	41	39
71	Dissatisfied	73	75	71	50	68	61	54	50	40	54	55
<u>5</u> 100	No Opinion	<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

Q.5 BASED ON COMMUNITY FORM RESPONDENTS [N=1012]:

5. All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in your local community?

68 Satisfied

27 Dissatisfied

5 Don't know
100

6. All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in your personal life?

		Gallup			
		Jan <u>1992</u>	May <u>1988</u>	Sept <u>1987</u>	Sept <u>1986</u>
83	Satisfied	77	80	83	84
14	Dissatisfied	22	16	15	14
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know	<u>1</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100

Q.7 BASED ON NATIONAL FORM RESPONDENTS [N=989]:

7. What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

		Dec <u>1993</u>	Sept <u>1993</u>	June <u>1993</u>	April <u>1993</u>	Jan <u>1992</u>	May <u>1990</u>	Jan <u>1989</u>	April <u>1987</u>
32	Crime/Gangs/Justice system	25	15	7	5	3	7	8	3
14	Health Care (cost/accessibility)	14	12	11	13	3	3	1	*
13 13	Unemployment/Lack of jobs	15	23	19	18	22	7	9	
10	Morality/Ethics/ Family values	6	8	7	3	3	5	2	3
10	Drugs/Alcohol	8	5	5	4	4	37	23	6
5	Dissatisfaction with government/Politics	2	5	5	3	2	2	1	0
5	Deficit/National debt/ Balanced budget	6	9	13	17	4	11	19	12
5	Education	5	4	5	2	2	4	4	0
7. con't ...		Dec <u>1993</u>	Sept <u>1993</u>	June <u>1993</u>	April <u>1993</u>	Jan <u>1992</u>	May <u>1990</u>	Jan <u>1989</u>	April <u>1987</u>
4	Economy (general)	6	9	17	18	43	5	4	7
3	Taxes	2	3	4	4	1	3	2	0

3	Racism	1	3	2	3	1	2	0	0
3	Homeless	5	2	5	2	6	8	10	*
2	Poverty	3	2	3	3	1	3	4	6
2	Inflation/Difference between wages/Costs	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3
2	Too much foreign aid/ Spend money at home	1	*	2	2	1	3	1	0
2	Environment/Pollution	1	1	*	2	1	8	2	0
2	Welfare abuse	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
2	AIDS	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1	Issues related to elderly	1	*	2	2	1	2	2	0
1	Illegal Immigration	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	Other Social Issues	3	4	*	*	*	*	*	*
1	Other domestic	3	1	2	1	10	11	10	21
1	Other international	2	3	3	1	4	6	10	22
1	Other	*	2	4	8	1	5	9	1
4	Don't know/No answer	6	4	2	4	3	1	3	3
26	ECONOMIC (NET)	33	47	53	58	76	26	28	35
6	POVERTY/HOMELESS (NET)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
2	DEFENSE/INTER- NATIONAL (NET)	*	4	*	*	*	*	*	*
		(1479)	(2000)	(1507)	(1011)	(1220)	(3004)	(2048)	(4244)

Q.8 BASED ON COMMUNITY FORM RESPONDENTS [N=1002]:

8. What is the most important problem facing your local community today? (**RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION.**)

- 29 Crime/Gangs/Justice system/Violence
- 12 Unemployment/Lack of jobs
- 11 Education
- 9 Drug/Alcohol
- 8 Taxes
- 5 Roads/Sewers/Infrastructure
- 4 Funding availability for local services
- 4 Development/Growth/Overcrowding
- 4 Problems with children/Delinquency
- 3 Environment/Pollution
- 2 Poverty/Homeless
- 2 Health Care (cost/accessibility)
- 2 Dissatisfaction with government/politics
- 2 Morality/Ethics/Family values
- 1 Inflation/Differences between wages and costs
- 1 Racism
- * Costs/Fees for local services
- 3 Other
- 4 No problem
- 11 Don't know
- *117

25 ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL (NET)

***Total exceeds 100% due to multiple response**

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

National <u>Form</u>	Community <u>Form</u>		NATIONAL TREND ⁴					May <u>1987</u>
			June <u>1993</u>	Jan <u>1992</u> ⁵	May <u>1990</u>	May <u>1988</u>	Jan <u>1988</u>	
29	26	Republicans	28	32	29	26	30	28
29	25	Democrats	35	41	30	38	35	38
26	22	No difference (VOL)	23	12	31	22	24	24
<u>16</u> 100	<u>27</u> 100	Don't know	<u>14</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100
(N=989)	(N=1012)							

⁴ Trends reflect opinion on political party better able to handle *country's* top problem.

⁵Based on registered voters.

10. What is the biggest problem facing you and your family these days?

U.S. News & World Report

		<u>Dec 1993</u>	<u>Aug 1992</u>	<u>May 1992</u>	<u>Jan 1992</u>
28	Not enough money/Paying bills/Making ends meet	27	22	20	24
9	Unemployment/Low paying jobs	12	28	26	28
8	Family/Personal/Health problems	5	2	3	4
7	Health Care/High cost of health insurance	15	10	8	10
5	Taxes/High taxes	6	7	8	8
5	Child care/Costs of education	3	3	5	4
4	High prices/High cost of living and housing	6	7	8	10
4	Fear of Crime/Violence	6	*	*	*
3	Issues facing the elderly	3	2	*	*
2	Economy/Recession/Business (general)	4	16	30	19
2	Quality of Education/What's going on in schools	1	2	*	*
*	Social problems/Racial tension/Welfare	1	5	12	4
*	Environment	*	1	1	*
1	Government/Government corruption	1	5	4	*
1	Morality/Family values	1	2	*	*
2	Other	7	2	10	4
20	No problems	10	8	6	7
<u>8</u> *109	Don't know	<u>6</u> *109	<u>4</u> *126	<u>1</u> *142	<u>4</u> *126
45	ECONOMY/FINANCIAL (NET)	*	*	*	*

***Total exceeds 100% due to multiple response**

Q'S 11-12 BASED NATIONAL FORM RESPONDENTS [N=989]:

11. What national problems, if any, don't get enough attention from government officials in Washington?

15	Crime/Gangs/Justice system/Violence
12	Poverty/Homeless
8	Education
8	Health Care (cost/accessibility)
5	Unemployment/Lack of jobs
5	Drug/Alcohol
3	Foreign policy/Global leadership
3	Government waste/Inefficiency
3	Children/Future generation
3	Too much foreign aid
3	Deficit/National debt/Balanced budget
2	Environment/pollution
2	Illegal immigrants
2	Welfare abuse
2	Morality/Ethics/Family values
1	Racism
1	Support for small business/communities
1	Gun control
1	Taxes
1	Trade deficit
1	Roads/Bridges/Infrastructure
1	Inflation/Differences between wages and costs
1	Defense
3	Other
4	None
29	Don't know

*120

9 ECONOMIC (NET)

4 DEFENSE/INTERNATIONAL (NET)

***Total exceeds 100% due to multiple response**

12. What problems or issues, if any, get TOO MUCH attention from government officials in Washington?

13 Scandals/Personal matters/Sensationalism

12 Foreign affairs/Other nations

11 Whitewater

7 Politics/Getting elected

7 Health Care

3 Gay rights/Homosexuality

3 Economic issues

3 Porkbarrel spending/Special interests

3 Crime/Gangs/Justice system/Violence

2 Welfare abuse

2 Defense/Military

2 Space program/NASA

1 Minority rights/Racial issues

1 Government spends too much money

1 Regulation/Too many laws

* Racism/Other discriminations

* Drug/Alcohol

* Education

3 Other

2 None

29 Don't know

*104

***Total exceeds 100% due to multiple response**

Q'S 13-14 BASED ON COMMUNITY FORM RESPONDENTS [N=1012]:

13. What problems in your local community, if any, don't get enough attention from local government officials?

15	Crime/Gangs/Justice system/Violence
12	Education
9	Roads/Sewers/Infrastructure
6	Problems with children/Delinquency
5	Poverty/Homeless
5	Drug/Alcohol
3	Unemployment/Lack of jobs
2	Health Care
2	Taxes
2	Dissatisfaction with government/Politics
2	Development/Growth/Overcrowding
2	Funding availability for local services
1	Environment/Pollution
1	Morality/Ethics/Family values
1	Racism
*	Cost/Fees for local services
*	Inflation
2	Other
11	None
<u>31</u>	Don't know
*112	

7 ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL (NET)

***Total exceeds 100% due to multiple response**

14. What problems or issues, if any, get TOO MUCH attention from local government officials?

6 Minor issues that don't matter (eg. street names)

6 Interests/Problems of politicians

4 Crime/Violence

3 Other special interest groups

2 Welfare

2 Re-Election/Popularity

2 Partisanship/Political disputes

2 Education

2 Taxes/Raising taxes

2 Enforcement of petty laws

1 Sports/stadium

1 Racism/Civil rights

1 Environment/Pollution

* Conservative/Religious issues

6 Other

10 None

52 Don't know

*102

10 POLITICS (NET)

***Total exceeds 100% due to multiple response**

- 15/16. Next, as I read you some problem areas, please tell me how you think each is affecting (**NATIONAL FORMS: THIS COUNTRY TODAY. COMMUNITY FORMS: YOUR LOCAL COMMUNITY TODAY**) this country TODAY. (First,) do you think the problem of...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT) is ABOUT THE SAME as it has been, that (the country/your community) MAKING PROGRESS in this area, or that the country LOSING GROUND?
ITEMS A - K2 BASED ON NATIONAL FORM 1 [N=492] AND COMMUNITY FORM 2 [N=517]:
ITEMS L-V BASED ON NATIONAL FORM 3 [N=497] AND COMMUNITY FORM 4 [N=495]

		About The <u>Same</u>	<u>Making</u> <u>Progress</u>	<u>Losing</u> <u>Ground</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>Know</u>	<u>Total</u>
a.	Crime					
	March 1989	19	15	64	2	100
	National	15	7	77	1	100
	Community	29	14	56	1	100
b.	Drugs					
	March 1989	12	17	69	2	100
	National	22	13	62	3	100
	Community	28	16	51	5	100
c.	AIDS					
	March 1989	17	38	40	5	100
	National	22	23	49	6	100
	Community	39	15	27	19	100
d.	The way the health care system is working					
	National	31	16	49	4	100
	Community	46	16	31	7	100
e.	Environmental pollution					
	March 1989	20	32	42	6	100
	National	26	37	34	3	100
	Community	36	39	22	3	100
f.	Conflict among racial, religious or ethnic groups					
	National	32	21	41	3	100
	Community	46	19	30	5	100
g.	Political corruption					
	National	39	12	46	3	100
	Community	48	12	31	9	100
h.	Low moral and ethical standards					
	National	29	6	63	2	100
	Community	37	12	47	4	100

15/16. con't ...

		About The <u>Same</u>	Making <u>Progress</u>	Losing <u>Ground</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>	<u>Total</u>
i.	Families not staying together					
	National	22	6	69	3	100
	Community	32	6	55	7	100
j1.	International terrorism					
	March 1989	24	18	53	5	100
	National	41	20	35	4	100
j2.	Access to health care					
	Community	53	24	18	5	100
k1.	Military conflict overseas					
	National	45	23	26	6	100
k2.	The quality of health care					
	Community	50	28	18	4	100
l.	Poverty, hunger and homelessness					
	March 1989	23	22	53	2	100
	National	32	9	56	3	100
	Community	42	13	41	4	100
m.	The cost of living					
	National	32	8	59	1	100
	Community	44	9	45	2	100
n.	Unemployment					
	National	33	18	44	5	100
	Community	40	20	36	4	100
o.	The availability of good-paying jobs					
	National	23	10	63	4	100
	Community	31	14	49	6	100
p.	Lack of respect for religion					
	National	26	10	59	5	100
	Community	40	13	41	6	100

15/16. con't ...

		About The <u>Same</u>	Making <u>Progress</u>	Losing <u>Ground</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>	<u>Total</u>
q.	Discrimination against minorities					
	National	32	38	25	5	100
	Community	47	30	17	6	100
r.	The way the welfare system is working					
	National	23	11	60	6	100
	Community	32	9	49	10	100
s.	The quality of public education					
	National	19	17	61	3	100
	Community	28	23	44	5	100
t1.	The federal budget deficit					
	March 1989	27	16	56	7	100
	National	21	11	60	8	100
t2.	Loss of local business/ jobs to foreign competition					
	Community	39	14	38	9	100
u1.	Our ability to compete economically with other communities					
	National	26	24	43	7	100
u2.	The condition of local roads and bridges					
	Community	30	29	40	1	100
v.	Illegal immigration					
	National	22	9	58	11	100

17/18. In the future, which ONE of the following items should President Clinton give the highest priority to...(READ LIST)

		<u>March 1994</u>	<u>Jan 1994</u>	<u>Dec 1993</u>
a.	Improving the job situation			
	First	26	26	28
	Second	21	17	18
b.	Reforming health care			
	First	16	14	14
	Second	20	25	23
c.	Reducing Crime			
	First	23	22	20
	Second	24	23	19
d.	Reforming the welfare system, OR			
	First	12	15	11
	Second	16	18	14
e.	Reducing the budget deficit			
	First	20	20	22
	Second	14	15	16
f.	(DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused			
	First	3	3	5
	Second	2	2	*
		(N=630) (N=1479)		

Q's 19-24 BASED ON NATIONAL FORM RESPONDENTS [N=989]:

19. How closely have you have you followed recent news stories about the Whitewater case and White House handling of it? Would you say...(READ) ⁶

		Jan <u>1994</u>	Early Jan <u>1994</u>
11	Very closely	14	13
38	Fairly closely	25	29
28	Not too closely	28	31
21	OR not at all closely?	32	26
<u>2</u> 100	Don't know (DO NOT READ)	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100

20. Do you think the Clinton Administration is knowingly covering up information about Whitewater that could be damaging to the President or Hillary Clinton?

		Newsweek Poll March 11th <u>1994</u>
52	Yes, cover-up	52
28	No cover-up	29
<u>20</u> 100	Don't know	<u>19</u> 100

⁶ In previous months story was listed "Questions about Bill and Hillary Clinton's failed real estate investments in Arkansas".

21. From what you've heard or read about Bill and Hillary Clinton's involvement with the Whitewater Development Corporation and a failed Savings and Loan bank in Arkansas, do you think the Clintons are...(READ)

		Newsweek Poll	
		March 11th <u>1994</u>	Jan <u>1994</u>
13	NOT guilty of any wrongdoing	14	19
52	Guilty of only MINOR offenses	44	31
OR			
15	Guilty of SERIOUS offenses	20	14
<u>20</u> 100	Don't know (DO NOT READ)	<u>22</u> 100	<u>36</u> 100

22. What effect do you think the Whitewater case is having on the federal government's efforts in major areas such as crime, health care reform, and economic policy? Is Whitewater disrupting efforts a lot, disrupting efforts a little or not disrupting efforts?

		Newsweek Poll	
		March 11th <u>1994</u>	
44	Disrupting a lot	39	
37	Disrupting a little	34	
10	Not disrupting	17	
<u>9</u> 100	Don't know	<u>10</u> 100	

NO Q.23

24. Do you think the media is giving TOO MUCH attention to the Whitewater case and White House handling of it, TOO LITTLE attention, or about the right amount?

Newsweek Poll

March 11th

1994

55	Too much attention	44
7	Too little attention	10
33	About the right amount	36
<u>5</u> 100	Don't know	<u>10</u> 100

25. 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 you with...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT): Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not too satisfied or not at all satisfied? (NO ITEMS D, G, H or I)

	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat Satisfied</u>	<u>Not too Satisfied</u>	<u>Not at all Satisfied</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. The amount of money you earn?	23	39	15	14	8	1=100
b. Your health?	63	25	7	4	-	1=100
c. The kind of work you do?	45	25	5	5	20	*=100
e. The amount of leisure time you have?	41	32	16	10	*	1=100
f. Your family life?	72	19	4	2	2	1=100
j. Your ability to get good health insurance at a reasonable price?	35	27	15	19	3	1=100

26. Do you own or rent your home?

68 Own

27 Rent

5 Other arrangement

* Don't know

*
100 Refused

27. Now I'd like you to think about the future. As I read some different things that might affect your personal future, please tell me how concerned you are about each one happening to you. First, how concerned are you about...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT): Would you say very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned?

ITEMS D-F, G-H AND J BASED ON REPRESENTATIVE HALF-SAMPLE A [N=1009]:

ITEMS A-C, I, K AND L ALL BASED ON REPRESENTATIVE HALF-SAMPLE B [N=992]:

		<u>Very Concerned</u>	<u>Somewhat Concerned</u>	<u>Not too Concerned</u>	<u>Not at All Concerned</u>	<u>Does not Apply to Me</u>	<u>DK</u>
d.	Having to care for an aging parent or relative?	33	28	15	14	10	*=100
	May 1988	20	32	26	14	6	2=100
e.	Having a family member become involved with drugs?	43	15	16	25	1	*=100
	May 1988	36	22	23	15	2	2=100
f.	Having a family member develop an alcohol problem?	36	14	19	29	2	*=100
	May 1988	32	23	25	16	2	2=100
g.	Having you or another family member get AIDS?	42	17	18	21	1	1=100
	May 1988	36	22	23	16	1	2=100
h.	Becoming a victim of crime?	50	30	14	6	*	*=100
	May 1988	36	36	21	5	*	2=100
j.	Being unable to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick?	50	22	15	11	1	1=100

27. con't ...

		Very <u>Concerned</u>	Somewhat <u>Concerned</u>	Not too <u>Concerned</u>	Not at All <u>Concerned</u>	Does not Apply to <u>Me</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	Not having enough money for your retirement?	42	29	14	12	3	1=100
	May 1988	34	35	15	8	4	4=100
b.	Being unable to save enough money to put a child through college?	37	16	8	12	26	1=100
	May 1988	23	22	11	11	29	4=100
c.	Losing your home because you can't afford to keep it/Being able to own your own home?	31	16	20	28	4	1=100
i.	Not having adequate child care when you go to work?	21	13	9	16	40	1=100
	May 1988	17	11	10	12	47	3=100
k.	Losing your job or taking a cut in pay? ⁷	28	16	14	21	21	*=100
	May 1988	18	16	23	18	22	3=100
l.	Your children not having good job opportunities?	51	21	8	8	12	*=100

Q's 28-29 BASED ON NATIONAL FORM RESPONDENTS ONLY [N=989]:

28. How would you describe current economic conditions in this country? Would you say the economy is now recovering, OR that we are in an economic recession that will pass soon, OR that we are in an economic depression that will last a long time?

		<u>Dec 1993</u>	<u>Jan 1993</u>	<u>March 1992</u>	<u>Jan 1992</u>
40	Recovery	37	34	16	7
33	Recession -- GO TO Q.32	27	35	41	51
21	Depression -- GO TO Q.32	29	27	40	38
<u>6</u> 100	Don't know -- GO TO Q.32	<u>7</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100

⁷ In 1988 question just asked: Losing your job.

29. Would you say the economy is now surging -- or that the recovery is only modest?

2 Surging

37 Only modest recovery

1 Don't know
40%

Q's 30-31 BASED ON COMMUNITY FORM RESPONDENTS [N=1012]:

30. How would you describe current economic conditions in your local area? Would you say the local economy is now recovering, OR that it is in an economic recession that will pass soon, OR that the local economy is in an economic depression that will last a long time?

46 Recovery

27 Recession -- **GO TO Q.32**

19 Depression -- **GO TO Q.32**

8 Don't know -- **GO TO Q.32**
100

31. Would you say the local economy is now surging -- or that the recovery is only modest?

7 Surging

38 Only modest recovery

1 Don't know
46%

32. How would you rate your own personal financial situation? Would you say you are in...(READ)

		U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT					
		Dec <u>1993</u>	Jan <u>1993</u>	Oct <u>1992</u>	Aug <u>1992</u>	May <u>1992</u>	Jan <u>1992</u>
5	Excellent	5	4	6	5	4	4
41	Good	34	33	34	30	35	32
40	Only fair	45	46	40	47	45	45
13	Poor	15	16	19	17	15	18
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100

NO Q.33

34. Over the course of the next year, do you think the financial situation of you and your family will improve a lot, improve some, get little worse or get a lot worse?

		U. S. News & World Report			
		Oct <u>1992</u>	Aug <u>1992</u>	May <u>1992</u>	Jan <u>1992</u>
10	Improve a lot	9	6	8	9
57	Improve some	51	50	49	46
16	Stay the same (VOL)	15	14	13	16
11	Get a little worse	14	20	22	19
3	Get a lot worse	3	5	4	5
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know	<u>8</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100

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

53 Full-time

14 Part-time

32 Not employed

$\frac{1}{100}$ Designate

Q'S 36-37 BASED ON EMPLOYED RESPONDENTS [N=1394]:

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

		U. S. News & World Report			
		<u>Oct</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1992</u>
44	Yes	36	33	34	39
56	No	63	66	65	61
$\frac{*}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$
		(N=817)	(N=777)	(N=852)	(N=1002)

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

		U. S. News & World Report			
		<u>Oct</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1992</u>
33	Yes	35	36	34	34
20	No	23	25	28	22
$\frac{3}{56\%}$	Don't know	$\frac{5}{63\%}$	$\frac{5}{66\%}$	$\frac{3}{65\%}$	$\frac{5}{61\%}$
		(N=817)	(N=777)	(N=852)	(N=1002)

Q'S 38-58 BASED ON REPRESENTATIVE HALF-SAMPLE A [N=1009]:

38. Next I have some questions about the problem of crime. How often has this topic come up in your recent conversations with family and friends? Would you say...(READ)

45 Frequently
34 Occasionally
18 Hardly ever
3 OR never
8 Don't know
100

39. 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?

Jan
1994

29 Exaggerates 28
63 Accurate 64
8 Don't know 8
100 100

40. I'd like to ask if you, your family, or your neighborhood has been affected by crime in the past 12 months. (First,) in the past 12 months, have you or your family, or has someone else in your neighborhood...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT.)?

	Yes, Self or <u>Family</u>	Yes, Someone Else In <u>Neighborhood</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Had money or property stolen	16	22	61	1=100
b. Had a car stolen	7	12	80	1=100
c. Been physically assaulted or mugged	5	8	86	1=100
d. Had a home broken into	8	22	69	1=100

SUMMARIES

Family/Neighbor victim of any crime	53%
Family victim of any crime	24%

NO Q'S 41-42

43. In general, do you have confidence in each of the following political leaders to do or recommend the right thing to reduce crime? First, do you have confidence in...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT) on this issue, or not?

		<u>Have Confidence</u>	<u>Don't Have Confidence</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a.	President Clinton	47	46	7=100
b.	Republicans in Congress	44	44	12=100
c.	Democrats in Congress	42	45	13=100
d.	Local government officials	57	35	8=100

44. I am going to read you some things that might be done to reduce violent crime in this country. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it would reduce the amount of violent crime a lot, a little or not at all. First, would...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT) reduce the amount of violent crime a lot, a little or not at all?

		<u>A Lot</u>	<u>A Little</u>	<u>Not at All</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	Stricter gun control laws	39	28	31	2=100
	December 1993	41	32	26	1=100
b.	More police on the streets	57	36	6	1=100
	December 1993	53	38	7	2=100
c.	Jobs programs for the inner cities	56	35	6	3=100
	December 1993	55	36	6	3=100
d.	Restrictions on the amount of violence shown on TV	43	40	16	1=100
	December 1993	49	36	14	1=100
e.	Longer jail terms for those convicted of violent crimes	69	23	7	1=100
	December 1993	63	23	11	3=100
f.	More prisons and less opportunity for parole	57	27	13	3=100
g.	Legalizing drugs like marijuana and cocaine	12	19	65	4=100

NO Q'S 45-46

47. Please tell me whether you would personally be willing -- or NOT willing -- to do each of the following things that might help to reduce crime. First, would you be willing or not willing to...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT)?

		Yes, <u>Would</u>	No Would <u>Not</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
a.	Pay higher taxes for more police and law enforcement	63	34	3=100
b.	Join a neighborhood "crime watch" group	89	10	1=100
c.	Volunteer personal time to work with young people from poor families in the inner cities	73	24	3=100
d.	Give the police power to search peoples' homes and wiretap their telephones without a warrant	16	82	2=100
e.	Accept more limits on your right to own guns for sport or personal protection	52	42	6=100

48. Next I have some questions about problems with the health care system. How often has this topic come up in your recent conversations with family and friends? Would you say...(READ)

48	Frequently
29	Occasionally
18	Hardly ever
4	OR never?
<u>1</u>	Don't know
100	

49. In the past 12 months, which of the following things, if any have happened to you or your family? (First,) have you or your family...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT.)?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. Had great difficulty affording the cost of necessary medical care	29	70	1=100
b. Been dropped from a health insurance plan, or refused coverage	10	89	1=100
c. Been refused coverage by a health insurance company for specific pre-existing conditions or medical problems	14	85	1=100
d. Stayed at a job you didn't like just to keep the health insurance coverage	21	77	2=100

SUMMARY

Family affected by any problems in health care 45%

NO Q.50

51. In general, do you have confidence in each of the following people and groups to do or recommend the right thing to improve the health care system? (First,) do you have confidence in...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT) on this issue, or not?

	<u>Have Confidence</u>	<u>Don't Have Confidence</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. President Clinton	52	43	5=100
b. Republicans in Congress	43	47	10=100
c. Democrats in Congress	47	43	10=100
d. Local government officials	46	46	8=100
e. The American Medical Association (AMA)	53	36	11=100
f. Insurance companies	26	65	6=100
g. Labor unions	41	48	11=100
h. Consumer groups	57	29	14=100

NO Q.52

53. Who do you think should be held MOST responsible for making sure Americans are covered by health insurance ...**(READ)**

31 Individuals and their families

21 Their employers

35 OR the government

8 All equally **(VOL)**

5 Don't know
100

NO Q.54

55. As I read a list of ways to reform the health care system, please tell me if each should be a TOP PRIORITY for health care reform, IMPORTANT BUT not a top priority, or NOT too important. First, what about ...**(READ AND ROTATE)**

	<u>Top Priority</u>	<u>Important But Not Priority</u>	<u>Not Too Important</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Providing health insurance coverage for those who cannot afford it	51	39	8	2=100
April 1993	60	32	5	3=100
b. Making routine or non-catastrophic care more affordable	44	45	8	3=100
April 1993	51	39	8	2=100
e. Limiting the overall annual increase in health care costs	49	40	9	2=100
April 1993	58	33	7	2=100
f. Making long-term nursing home care more affordable	50	43	5	2=100
April 1993	60	35	4	1=100
h. Ensuring that health insurance is available to those with pre-existing conditions or medical problems	52	42	4	2=100
i. Protecting people from the high costs of catastrophic care	53	39	5	3=100
j. Maintaining health insurance coverage for those who lose their jobs or change jobs	45	45	7	3=100

(NO ITEMS C, D or G)

56. Please tell me which of the following things, if any, you would be willing to accept in a new health care system. (First,) would you be willing to accept...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT)?

	<u>Willing</u>	<u>Not Willing</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Slower introduction of new medical procedures and technologies into hospitals	44	50	6=100
April 1993	48	48	4=100
b. Waiting longer for non-emergency medical and hospital care	46	50	4=100
April 1993	56	43	1=100
c. More restrictions on your choice of doctors and hospitals	29	68	3=100
April 1993	39	59	2=100
d. Paying more for your own health insurance premiums, deductibles or co-payments	38	58	4=100
e. Not allowing some expensive medical procedures and technologies if they would not do much to improve or extend a patient's life	54	39	7=100

57. Are you, yourself, now covered by any form of health insurance or health plan, including Medicare or Medicaid?

79 Yes

20 No

1 Don't know
100

58. Is your health insurance an HMO or some other kind of managed care plan that limits your choice of doctors and hospitals to those that are part of the plan?

35 Yes

41 No

3 Don't know
79%

Q'S 59-73 BASED ON REPRESENTATIVE HALF-SAMPLE B [N=992]

59. Next I have some questions about the problem of unemployment and the availability of good-paying jobs. How often has this topic come up in your recent conversations with family and friends? Would you say...(READ)

37 Frequently

35 Occasionally

21 Hardly ever

6 OR never

1 Don't know
100

60. In the past 12 months, which of the following things, if any have happened to you or another member of your family? (First,) in the past 12 months have you, or has another family member...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT.)?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. Lost a job	27	72	1=100
b. Had a cut in pay, reduction in hours or loss of benefits at work	33	66	1=100
c. Had layoffs or firings at work, or co-workers asked to take early retirement	35	64	1=100

SUMMARY

Family affected by job loss/pay cut/layoffs 52%

NO Q.61

62. In general, do you have confidence in each of the following political leaders to do or recommend the right thing to reduce unemployment and increase the number of good-paying jobs? First, do you have confidence in...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT) on this issue, or not?

		<u>Have Confidence</u>	<u>Don't Have Confidence</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a.	President Clinton	47	47	6=100
b.	Republicans in Congress	48	41	11=100
c.	Democrats in Congress	42	46	12=100
d.	Local government officials	47	46	7=100

NO Q.63

64. Thinking about job opportunities in the country as a whole, please tell me how you think each of the following measures would affect the overall job situation. First, would...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE START.) help the overall job situation a lot, help it a little, HURT it a little, or hurt the job situation a lot?⁸

		Help <u>A lot</u>	Help <u>A little</u>	Hurt <u>A little</u>	Hurt <u>A lot</u>	Would Not <u>Affect</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
a.	Restricting the number of immigrants coming into the country each year	52	23	9	10	3	3=100
	May 1992	45	29	8	8	5	5=100
b.	Increasing taxes on imported products	26	33	18	13	2	8=100
	May 1992	32	30	14	13	3	8=100
c.	Spending more money on public education	51	30	5	5	6	3=100
	May 1992	59	27	5	2	3	4=100
d.	Expanding job training opportunities	61	28	4	2	3	2=100
	May 1992	65	27	3	2	1	2=100
f.	Encouraging business and government to work more closely together	53	28	8	7	1	3=100
	May 1992	50	29	7	7	1	6=100
g.	More free trade agreements with other countries, such as NAFTA	20	32	14	18	1	15=100
h.	Changing to a four-day work week, with workers' weekly pay reduced for a shorter 32-hour schedule	5	17	24	45	3	6=100
i.	Increasing the minimum wage	37	33	15	7	4	4=100

(NO ITEM E)

⁸ Trends are from U. S. News & World Report Survey.

65. Next I have some questions about problems with the welfare system that provides food stamps and other financial aid to low-income families. How often has this topic come up in your recent conversations with family and friends? Would you say...(READ)

29 Frequently

33 Occasionally

24 Hardly ever

13 OR never

1 Don't know
100

66. Have you, or has your family ever received welfare benefits? **IF YES, ASK:** Are you or your family NOW receiving welfare benefits?

8 Yes, current welfare recipient

16 Yes, past welfare recipient

76 No
100

SUMMARY

Family current/past welfare recipient 24%

67. Do you personally know someone who is NOW receiving welfare benefits?

7 Self/family current welfare recipient

49 Know other current welfare recipient

44 Don't know current welfare recipient
100

68. On balance, do you think do think the current welfare system ... Changes things for the better by helping people who are unable to support themselves OR do you think the welfare system ... Changes things for the worse by making able-bodied people too dependent on government aid?

12 Changes things for the better

75 Changes things for the worse

9 Both equally (**VOL**)

$\frac{4}{100}$ Don't know

NO Q.69

70. In general, do you have confidence in each of the following political leaders to do or recommend the right thing to reform the welfare system? First, do you have confidence in...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT) on this issue, or not?

		<u>Have Confidence</u>	<u>Don't Have Confidence</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a.	President Clinton	48	45	7=100
b.	Republicans in Congress	45	43	12=100
c.	Democrats in Congress	42	47	11=100
d.	Local government officials	41	49	10=100

NO Q.71

72. As I read you some proposals to change the welfare system, please tell me how much you think each would improve the situation. First, what about...(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE START.)? Would this improve things a lot, improve things a little or only make things worse?

	Improve Things <u>A lot</u>	Improve Things <u>A little</u>	Only Make Things <u>Worse</u>	(VOL) No <u>Effect</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
a. Requiring ALL people on welfare -- even mothers of young children -- to do some kind of work in return for their welfare checks	62	27	7	1	3=100
b. New government programs to provide job training and public service jobs for people on welfare	61	31	5	1	2=100
c. Guaranteed health insurance so poor people without health coverage don't quit their jobs or stay on welfare to get Medicaid	46	29	17	1	7=100
d. Changing policy so that a woman on welfare does NOT receive a larger welfare check when she has another child	51	23	21	1	4=100
e. Putting a two-year limit on how long someone can receive welfare benefits	50	28	15	2	5=100

73. Would you be willing -- or NOT willing -- to pay higher taxes to provide job training and public service jobs to help people get off welfare?

56 Willing

39 Not willing

5 Don't know

100

ASK ALL:

74. Next I'm going to read you some words and phrases and ask you to rate how well each describes you. Please use a scale 1 to 10, where "10" represents a description that is PERFECT for you and "1" represents a description that is TOTALLY WRONG for you. First, on this scale of 1 to 10, how well does...(READ ITEM. ROTATE STARTING POINT.) describe you?
(RE-READ SCALE DESCRIPTION AFTER EVERY 5 ITEMS: "10" represents a description that is PERFECT for you; "1" is a description that is TOTALLY WRONG for you. You can choose any number between 1 and 10.)

		Description Totally <u>Wrong</u>	Description <u>Perfect</u>		<u>DK</u>	
		1 - 3	4 - 7	8 - 10		
	a.	A religious person	14	34	51	1=100
		April 1987	11	39	49	1=100
[WOMEN]	b.	A feminist/				
[MEN]		Supporter of the				
		women's movement	26	45	25	4=100
		May 1990	21	45	30	4=100
		April 1987	22	46	29	3=100
	c.	An environmentalist	13	41	43	3=100
		May 1990	9	43	42	6=100
		April 1987	9	49	39	3=100
	d.	A Republican	38	33	25	4=100
		May 1990	42	27	25	6=100
		April 1987	48	29	19	4=100
	e.	A Democrat	37	32	27	4=100
		May 1990	34	29	31	6=100
		April 1987	33	32	31	4=100
	f.	A liberal	34	41	19	6=100
		May 1990	34	37	21	8=100
		April 1987	37	37	19	7=100
	g.	A conservative	22	44	30	4=100
		May 1990	27	38	28	7=100
		April 1987	28	39	27	6=100
	h.	A union supporter	33	37	27	3=100
		May 1990	31	36	28	5=100
		April 1987	32	39	26	3=100

74. con't ...

		Description Totally <u>Wrong</u>	Description <u>Perfect</u>		<u>DK</u>
		1 - 3	4 - 7	8 - 10	
i.	A supporter of business interests	12	45	38	5=100
	May 1990	10	43	41	6=100
	April 1987	17	50	29	4=100
j.	Pro-Israel	33	37	14	16=100
	May 1990	32	38	15	15=100
	April 1987	22	42	25	11=100
k.	A National Rifle Association supporter	45	26	26	3=100
	April 1987	37	29	27	7=100
l.	A supporter of the civil rights movement	13	37	46	4=100
	May 1990	11	38	45	6=100
	April 1987	12	38	47	3=100
m.	A supporter of the gay rights movement	56	26	15	3=100
	April 1987	66	22	9	3=100
n.	A supporter of the (pro-life) or anti- abortion movement	41	27	28	4=100
	May 1990	37	26	31	6=100
	April 1987	35	29	32	4=100
o.	A supporter of abortion rights	37	25	35	3=100
p.	A Ross Perot supporter	56	30	11	3=100

Q. 75 BASED ON THOSE INTERVIEWED MARCH 19-21:

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

		Jan <u>1994</u>
19	Regularly	18
29	Sometimes	26
27	Rarely	27
25	Never	29
<u>*</u> 100	Don't know	<u>*</u> 100

76. Have you EVER called, sent a letter, or faxed a letter to your Congressional representative or Senator to express your opinion on an issue?

76a. Have you called, sent a letter, or faxed a letter to your Congressional representative or Senator to express your opinion on an issue IN JUST THE PAST 12 MONTHS?

Jan
1994

**CONTACT WITH CONGRESSIONAL
REPRESENTATIVE/SENATOR**

45	Ever contacted	41
23	In past 12 months	22
22	Not in past 12 months	18
*	Last contact undesignated	1
55	Never contacted	58
<u>*</u> 100	Don't know	<u>1</u> 100

77. Did you happen to express your opinion on any of the following issues...(READ LIST. ENTER ALL THAT APPLY)

7 Crime

7 Health Care

5 Unemployment and jobs

5 The welfare system

9 No, none of these

1 Don't know

77 No contact in past 12 months

*111

***Total exceeds 100% due to multiple response.**