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Gender Gaps on the Candidates, Guns, China and Missile Defense
VOTER PREFERENCES VACILLATE

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**Gender Gaps on the Candidates, Guns, China and Missile Defense
VOTER PREFERENCES VACILLATE**

George W. Bush has repaired some of the damage he endured during the Republican primaries, and is now running dead-even with Al Gore. Since mid-March, Bush has regained substantial support among men and recovered modestly among independents. More voters now than six weeks ago support the Texas governor because of his stand on issues. The vice president continues to get support, albeit diminished, from women, as well as seniors and lower-income voters.

Both candidates get mixed personal image ratings, although Bush fares somewhat better than Gore and decidedly better than Bill Clinton. The Pew Research Center survey finds fewer *personal* criticisms of Bush than just after the GOP primaries. Men find Bush much more personally appealing than Gore. Favorability ratings also show that Americans apparently are not experiencing “Clinton nostalgia.” Indeed, the president’s favorability scores are near an all-time low. Hillary Clinton’s ratings are down as well, especially among men.

These are the findings of two separate Pew Research Center surveys of 2,186 adults, conducted April 24-May 4 and May 2-6, 2000. After trailing Gore by six percentage points in March (43%-49%), Bush has drawn into a statistical tie with the vice president (46%-45%). And while gender is playing a key role in this year’s political campaigns, it also is an important factor in many of the current policy debates. Fueled by differences of opinion between men and women, the public is divided over the wisdom of developing a national missile defense system, and gender also plays a role in opinions about the pending China trade debate. There is even a growing division of opinion over gun control that is underscored, again, by a widening gender gap.

He Said, She Said		
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
	%	%
<i>Presidential trial heat ...</i>		
Gore/Lean Gore	43	48
Bush/Lean Bush	50	43
Undecided	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100
<i>Opinion of Hillary Clinton ...</i>		
Favorable	44	54
Unfavorable	48	37
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100
<i>More important to ...</i>		
Control guns	46	67
Protect owners' rights	49	28
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100
<i>Develop missile defense system even if it jeopardizes nuclear arms negotiations with Russia ...</i>		
Go ahead	45	27
Hold off	49	62
Neither/Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100
<i>Most important China trade consideration ...</i>		
Human rights	40	44
U.S. economic interests	48	38
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100

With hundreds of thousands of mothers poised to march in favor of gun control in Washington, D.C. and cities around the nation on Mother's Day, support for gun restrictions has declined since March, when the public by better than a two-to-one margin (66%-29%) said such restrictions were more important than the rights of gun owners. That margin has narrowed, and now 57% support gun restrictions while 38% back the rights of gun owners.

While Americans are opposed to granting China permanent normal trade status and support development of a missile defense system, there is considerable fluidity in polling numbers on both of these issues. Men and women disagree here as well. Men are more likely to favor building a missile defense system, even if it imperils nuclear arms talks with Russia. Men also think the United States should put economic interests over human rights in determining policies toward China, while women hold the opposite view. (See table.)

More Men Favor Gun Owners' Rights

Since March, most of the movement on gun control has come among men, who now narrowly favor owners' rights over gun control (49%-46%). Men over age 50, in particular, are much more supportive of the rights of gun owners. Fully 55% say those rights are more important than gun control, up from 37% just two months ago. Women of all age groups remain strong supporters of gun control.

The partisan gap on this issue is also substantial. Republicans narrowly choose protecting gun owners' rights over controlling gun ownership (50%-46%). In March, GOP adherents opted for gun control by a 55%-40% margin. Democrats continue to strongly endorse gun control. Two-thirds say (67%) it's more important than protecting owners' rights. Independents come down on the side of gun control, but the percentage supporting owners' rights has increased significantly (41% now, up from 28% in March).

	-- March 2000 --		-- May 2000 --	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
<i>What's more important?</i>	%	%	%	%
Gun owners' rights	36	22	49	28
Gun control	59	73	46	67
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100

Regardless of where they stand on the gun issue, Americans are somewhat dubious about the prospects of major gun legislation this year. Only 14% say it is very likely Congress will pass major new gun control laws this year, another 34% say it is somewhat likely. Nearly half (46%) say it is not too likely or not at all likely that legislation will be enacted.

Supporters of gun control are slightly less optimistic than opponents about the passage of new gun laws. Among those who say gun control is more important than gun owners' rights, 47% believe it is likely there will be new laws this year, while 48% say this is unlikely. Among those who favor gun owners' rights over gun control, 50% say there will likely be new laws, and 43% expect no new laws.

The public has not yet heard much about the Million Mom March. Only 10% have heard a lot, 42% have heard a little, and nearly half (48%) have heard nothing at all. Even among mothers, only 11% have heard a good deal about the march; half have heard at least a little. Roughly one-in-five women (21%) and slightly more mothers (28%) say they would be interested in attending the march. Not surprisingly, those "interested" women overwhelmingly support gun control. Eight-in-ten (81%) say controlling gun ownership is more important than protecting gun owners' rights, this compares with 73% of all moms.

Bush Bounces Back

In the presidential race, key voting groups continue to shift back and forth between Bush and Gore, as the public is clearly having difficulty making up its mind about this contest. Some of the gains Gore made in the immediate aftermath of the primary season have since been reversed. Senior citizens rallied to Gore in March, preferring him over Bush by 62%-to-30%. Now this group divides much more evenly (49% Gore, 40% Bush). Similarly, those at the bottom of the income scale moved sharply away from Bush after the primaries, favoring Gore 64%-29%. Now that group prefers Gore by a narrower margin 50%-42% margin.

While Democrats and Republicans have remained steadfast in their support for their parties' standard-bearers in recent months, independents have vacillated. In February, independents narrowly preferred Bush over Gore (45%-40%). At that time the two were in a statistical dead heat. In March, when Gore led Bush overall, independents swung to the vice president, choosing him over Bush

	-- March 2000 --			-- May 2000 --		
	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Undec</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Undec</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
White women	48	42	9=100	43	47	10=100
50-64 year olds	49	41	10=100	40	51	9=100
Men 50 and older	52	42	6=100	41	51	8=100
Independents	47	39	14=100	41	46	13=100
Southerners	48	45	7=100	39	54	7=100
Suburbanites	50	46	4=100	42	50	8=100

47%-39%. This month, independents' have shifted their allegiances back to Bush and he narrowly leads Gore among this crucial swing group (46%-41%).

The poll identified several other important swing groups, who also preferred Gore in March but now opt for Bush. Among them are white women, older men, Southerners, and suburbanites.

With the general election less than six months away, it is clear that many of these important demographic groups are still up for grabs. It is impossible to predict what may move them, but if Bush were to pair up with John McCain (who has emphatically denied interest in the vice-presidential nomination), he would be in a much stronger position. In a hypothetical match-up pitting Bush and McCain against a Gore-Bradley ticket, the Republicans win by a ten-point margin (49%-39%). With McCain on board, women, senior citizens and those on the West Coast shift their allegiances. They prefer Gore in a head-to-head match-up, but opt for Bush when McCain is part of the package. The shift among seniors is especially striking: They choose Gore over Bush (49%-40%), but opt for Bush/McCain over Gore/Bradley 48%-37%.

Independents break narrowly for Bush under either scenario. However, Gore loses some Democrats with McCain on the GOP ticket: 79% of Democrats remain loyal to the vice president, vs. 90% of Republicans who would vote for Bush and McCain.

Bush Gains on Issues

The poll suggests that Bush’s comeback is linked to support for his positions on issues. Fully 51% of Bush supporters say what they like *most* about the Texas governor is his stand on the issues, up from 42% in March. Roughly one-in-five (22%) say they like Bush’s leadership ability (virtually unchanged from March), 12% like his personality and 8% like his experience.

Bush’s personality is less of a liability now than was the case right after his bruising primary battle with McCain. In March, fully one-third of Bush opponents cited his personality when asked what they liked *least* about him. This month 25% point to this factor. Women are more likely than men to be turned off by Bush’s personality. Among Bush opponents, 29% of women vs. 20% of men say this is what they like least about the GOP candidate.

	--- Gore ---		--- Bush ---	
	March	May	March	May
	%	%	%	%
<i>Like Most ...</i>				
Personality	10	10	14	12
Leadership	14	13	24	22
Experience	28	30	10	8
Stand on issues	40	40	42	51
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Like Least ...</i>				
Personality	22	22	33	25
Leadership	20	22	8	13
Experience	5	6	13	13
Stand on issues	43	41	35	35
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100	100

Gore's strongest selling points remain his policy positions and experience. Four-in-ten Gore voters cite issues and another 30% cite experience when asked what they like most about the vice president. Young women are most in tune with Gore's policy positions. More than half of women under age 50 (53%) value this factor above others, compared to only 30% of women age 50 and over. Gore's male supporters are much more drawn to his experience than are his female supporters: 37% say this is what they like best about the vice president, vs. 24% of women.

Bush More Charismatic, Gore More Caring

Bush's overall image remains stronger than Gore's. Fully 58% of the public has a favorable opinion of Bush, while 31% view him unfavorably. These numbers are largely unchanged from March of 1999, when 61% of the public had a positive opinion. The public expresses a somewhat more divided view on Gore: 50% favorable vs. 38% unfavorable.

Bush is more popular with Republicans (88%) than Gore is with Democrats (73%). And Gore has lost some ground over the last year among older Democrats. In March of last year, 82% of Democrats age 65 and older had a favorable view of the vice president. That number has fallen to 61% in the current survey. Half of independents give Gore a favorable rating compared to 59% who have a favorable opinion of Bush.

Bush's better image is tied to positive evaluations of him on a personal level. Bush out-polls Gore on a series of personal qualities. He's seen as more charismatic, funnier and more interesting. Gore's strongest point is his caring image. Overall Bush trumps Gore on five of the 11 qualities tested. Bush's strongest points are on the most human of qualities. Voters choose him over Gore as the candidate with the most charisma (47%-31%) and the one with the better sense of humor (48% vs. 34%). He is also seen as having led an interesting life (43% vs. 31% for Gore). In addition, more voters see Bush as personally inspiring, though on this measure, many volunteered that neither candidate fits that description.

Gore has a clear edge in two categories: Compared to Bush, more voters view him as attractive (42% vs. 29%) and caring (44% vs. 34%). He is also seen as being slightly more mature and down to earth when compared to Bush. Neither candidate is seen as being more level-headed than the other.

When it comes to these personal qualities, men and women have starkly different perceptions of the candidates. Overall, men give Bush the edge over Gore on seven of the 11 qualities, while women choose Bush on only two. Men see Bush as level-headed, while women say Gore better meets that description. Men give Bush a clear edge on being more interesting, inspiring, telegenic, and honest.

Women divide equally between Bush and Gore on each of these qualities. Men are much more likely than women to view Bush as the candidate with charisma (55% vs. 40%).

Bush Bests Gore on Personal Qualities*

	<i>Phrase better describes ...</i>		
	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Neither/ Both/DK</u>
	%	%	%
Charismatic	31	47	22=100
Good sense of humor	34	48	18=100
Led an interesting life	31	43	26=100
Inspiring	33	42	25=100
Straight talker	37	43	20=100
Telegenic	40	43	17=100
Level-headed	43	42	15=100
Mature	44	41	15=100
Down to earth	46	41	13=100
Caring	44	34	22=100
Attractive	42	29	29=100

* Based on registered voters.

What Clinton Nostalgia?

Despite talk that the public is longing for an extended Clinton era, the president's favorability ratings have dropped significantly since last year. Less than half of the public (48%) now rates Clinton very or mostly favorable compared to 55% in March, 1999. These are among the lowest ratings the president has received since he took office in 1992.

Clintons' Favorability Dips

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Dems</u>	<u>Reps</u>	<u>Ind</u>
<i>Percent favorable</i>	%	%	%	%
Bill Clinton				
May, 2000	48	73	20	48
March, 1999	55	84	26	53
Hillary Clinton				
May, 2000	49	72	24	50
December, 1998	66	84	44	64

Clinton has lost some ground among most major demographic groups. Most notable, perhaps, is Clinton's loss among core Democrats. One year ago, 85% of Democrats said their overall opinion of Clinton was very favorable or mostly favorable. Today, that number is 73%.

Young men and African-Americans view Clinton more favorably than members of other demographic groups. Almost six-in-ten men age 18-29 (59%) give Clinton a favorable rating, compared to only 46% of men over age 50. A strong majority of blacks (84%) also continue to view Clinton in a positive light.

Hillary's Ratings also Slide

Hillary Clinton doesn't fare any better than her husband in the public's view. The first lady's favorability ratings have slipped dramatically across nearly all demographic groups since the impeachment crisis in December 1998. At that time, nearly two-thirds (66%) of the public had a favorable opinion of Hillary Clinton. Since then, her ratings have dropped 17 percentage points to 49%, virtually the same as her husband's current ratings. Her ratings were lower, however, in early 1996, when she was under the shadow of the Whitewater investigations. (See questionnaire.)

With the first lady locked in a tough race for the Senate against New York Mayor Rudy Guiliani, there are deeper partisan divisions over her public image. Only one-quarter (24%) of Republicans now have a favorable opinion of Hillary Clinton, compared to 44% in December 1998. The drop is particularly apparent among Republican *women*. Two-and-a-half years ago, slightly more than half (51%) of GOP women looked favorably on her. Today, that number stands at one-quarter.

Giuliani, Clinton's opponent, remains unknown to about half of the American public. Among those who can identify the New York mayor, 67% have a favorable opinion of him. Not surprisingly, Republicans are among Giuliani's strongest supporters, 81% view him favorably. Yet even among Democrats, Guiliani still gets a 59% favorability rating.

McCain Still Popular

Sen. McCain gets positive favorability ratings from 73% of those able to rate him. McCain's popularity cuts across party lines: Republicans (75%), Democrats (70%) and independents (74%) all have a favorable view of McCain. But his numbers were even higher in December 1999, when a CNN/USA Today poll found 84% looking on McCain favorably.

The candidates' wives still remain unknown to many people. More can identify Gore's wife, Tipper than Bush's wife, Laura. However, among those who can rate, Laura Bush gets a slightly higher favorability rating (77%) than Tipper Gore (73%). Women hold equally high opinions of Tipper Gore and Laura Bush, 81% and 78%, while men favor Bush by a margin of 77% to 64%.

In the wake of the Elian Gonzalez affair, Attorney General Janet Reno is in a virtual tie with Hillary Clinton for last among the public figures tested. Slightly more than half (55%) have a favorable opinion of the first female attorney general. That is a decline from 66% who had a favorable opinion of her in a December 1998 Gallup poll.

Americans continue to rate Secretary of State Madeleine Albright favorably. Among the public who could identify Albright, nearly three quarters (72%) have a favorable opinion of her. This is down from 82% in April 1997, but not a significant change from the 74% who gave her a positive rating in March 1999.

Gates, Greenspan Liked

Despite the recent court ruling against Microsoft, Bill Gates' ratings are higher now than before the anti-trust verdict against his company. Among those who can rate him, Gates gets the highest favorability ratings out of the newsmakers tested in this survey. Fully eight-in-ten Americans who knew of Gates rated him favorably.

Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan also remains popular, in spite of the continuing turmoil in the stock market. More than three-quarters (76%) of those able to rate Greenspan give him a favorable rating. The wealthiest and best-educated Americans give Greenspan the most positive ratings: 87% of those making more than \$75,000 and 88% of those with at least a college degree say they have a favorable opinion of the Fed chairman.

People In The News			
	<i>Based on Those Who Could Rate ...</i>		
	<u>Fav- orable</u> %	<u>Unfav- orable</u> %	<u>Can't Rate</u> %
Bill Gates	80	20=100	(21)
March, 1998	75	25=100	(27)
Laura Bush	77	23=100	(48)
Alan Greenspan	76	24=100	(36)
John McCain	73	27=100	(26)
Tipper Gore	73	27=100	(29)
Madeleine Albright	72	28=100	(34)
March, 1999	74	26=100	(15)
April, 1997	82	18=100	(21)
January, 1997	78	22=100	(27)
Rudy Giuliani	67	33=100	(45)
Janet Reno	55	45=100	(15)
Hillary Clinton	53	47=100	(9)
December, 1998	69	31=100	(3)
January, 1997	59	41=100	(3)
June, 1996	55	45=100	(4)
December, 1994	53	47=100	(5)

Jobs Top Priority in China Trade

With Congress about to vote on granting China permanent trade benefits, the public remains equivocal on this issue. But clearly, the factor *driving* opinion is its expected impact on the job situation in the United States. Attitudes on whether or not the deal will boost commerce with China or advance democracy there are less important than opinions on whether jobs will be created, or lost, in this country.

Overall, the public remains wary of granting China permanent normal trade relations; only 30% favor that step, against 49% who are opposed. The gap has narrowed slightly since February, when 28% supported granting China permanent trade benefits and 56% were opposed. Yet when people are informed of details of the U.S.-China agreement — that Beijing has agreed to lower trade barriers to enter the World Trade

Organization and gain permanent normal trade relations from the U.S. — a plurality comes down in favor of the deal (39% believe it would be good for the country, against 21% who disagree and 25% who say it would make no difference). Support for the deal has grown slightly since February, when 34% said it would be beneficial for the United States, 20% disagreed, and 32% said it would make no difference.

While many people (50%) have not yet heard of the trade agreement, there is widespread concern that it will result in a loss of jobs from the United States. A majority (52%) believes jobs will be lost, against only 24% who say jobs will be created. Feelings about jobs, more than human rights or future sales to China, influence Americans' attitudes toward the question of permanent trade relations with China, and the agreement generally.

Jobs Shape Opinions on China Trade		
	<i>For U.S., Deal Will Lead To ...</i>	
	<u>More Jobs</u>	<u>Fewer Jobs</u>
<i>Trade deal with China...</i>	%	%
Good	74	23
Bad	7	35
No difference	16	33
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100
	<u>More Sales</u>	<u>Fewer Sales</u>
<i>Trade deal with China...</i>	%	%
Good	59	23
Bad	11	45
No difference	26	26
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100
	<i>For China, Trade Leads To</i>	
	<u>Democracy</u>	<u>Does Not</u>
<i>Trade deal with China...</i>	%	%
Good	67	31
Bad	13	30
No difference	15	32
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100

On the question of whether the trade deal will be good or bad for the United States, there is a 51 percentage point gap between those who believe China's entry into the World Trade Organization will create jobs in the United States (74%) versus those who say it will cost jobs (23%). The differences are sizable, but not as large, between those who believe the WTO agreement will lead to more or less U.S. sales to China (36 points), and those who say trade does or does not foster democracy in China (also 36 points).

In general, Americans are skeptical that trade will lead to greater democracy in China. Just one-third (32%) believe trade will foster democracy, while 47% disagree. And Americans are evenly split over just how strongly the United States should emphasize human rights in its trade relationship with China, with 43% saying advancing economic interests should take priority, while 42% believe human rights are most important.

But when the 42% who favor human rights are pressed on the tradeoff between rights in China and jobs at home, by better than a two-to-one margin they say that improving human rights is not worth losing U.S. jobs. On the other hand, more than half of the 43% who cite economic interests believe the United States should make some effort at advancing human rights, while roughly one-third believe human rights should not be a concern.

A strong majority (60%) of those who support permanent trade benefits, believes that economic interests should take precedence over improving China's human rights. Opponents of permanent normal trade status for China, by a 50%-43% margin, say human rights should take priority. Members of union households, by a 52%-39% margin, advocate placing U.S. economic interests over human rights.

Men place economic interests over human rights in China (by 48%-40%), while women believe human rights is a more important consideration (by 44%-38%). Americans over age 65 and those under 30 believe economic interests should take priority; middle-aged Americans (age 30-64) come down on the side of human rights.

Divisions over China Trade			
	<i>What's more important?</i>		
	Improve Human <u>Rights</u> %	Advance Economic <u>Interests</u> %	Don't <u>Know</u> %
<i>Total</i>	42	43	15=100
<i>Age</i>			
18-29	35	51	14=100
30-49	49	39	12=100
50-64	48	43	9=100
65+	30	40	30=100
<i>Education</i>			
College Grad.	52	39	9=100
Some College	48	41	11=100
High School	41	42	17=100
< H.S.	22	53	25=100

Split Verdict on Missile Defense

Americans are supportive of plans to develop a national missile defense system, but they *don't* want that program to undercut negotiations aimed at reducing nuclear stockpiles in the United States and Russia. Overall, a slim majority (52%) favors development of a ground- and space-based missile defense system, against 37% who oppose building such a system.

Support for missile defense is greater than it was in 1987, when former President Ronald Reagan championed the “Star Wars” system to defend the United States from a nuclear attack. In May of that year, the public, when asked a slightly different form of the question, was evenly split with 44% in favor and 42% opposed.

But Americans also strongly endorse ongoing efforts to reduce the size of U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals. More than six-in-ten (63%) back those negotiations, against 32% who believe no further reductions are necessary. Consequently, a strong majority (55%) says the United States should hold off developing a missile defense system and focus on negotiating deeper arms reductions with the Russians. Slightly more than one-third (36%) believe the United States should press ahead with a missile defense program even if that jeopardizes bilateral arms control efforts.

Perhaps not surprising, given Reagan’s strong advocacy of “Star Wars,” Republicans are much more supportive of missile defense than Democrats. Fully six-in-ten (62%) Republicans favor that program, with just 28% opposed. Democrats are fairly evenly split, as 46% support development of a system and 45% are opposed.

But when asked about the possibility that building the system could jeopardize nuclear reduction efforts, support among members of *both* parties falls considerably. Republicans are split on this question, with 46% backing deployment and 49% who want to hold off; just 33% of Democrats favor going ahead under those circumstances and 60% are opposed.

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
<i>Develop missile defense?</i>	%	%	%	%
Support development	52	62	46	50
Oppose development	37	28	45	40
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Continue arms control efforts?</i>				
More nuclear reductions	63	64	61	68
Maintain current levels	32	31	35	29
Increase	*	1	*	1
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>If missile defense jeopardizes talks with Russia, U.S. should...</i>				
Develop system anyway	36	46	33	34
Hold off	55	49	60	59
Neither	2	1	1	2
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100

Independents favor developing a missile defense system (by a margin of 50%-40%), but like Democrats, they strongly oppose going ahead if that step jeopardizes progress in arms control talks with Russia. Indeed nearly six-in-ten (59%) favor delaying development under those circumstances, about the same percentage of Democrats supporting that position.

The public is paying relatively little attention to this issue. Just 10% say they have heard a lot about the debate, while another 43% say they have heard a little. The gender gap is evident here as well: More than half of men (54%) who have heard something about the debate favor going ahead with the system, even if that imperils arms talks with Russia. Most women (61%) support the opposite approach, saying the United States should delay development.

TREND IN PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEAT*

(Based on Registered Voters)

	--- March 2000 ---			--- May 2000 ---			Change in Gore	(N)
	<u>Gore</u> %	<u>Bush</u> %	<u>Undec.</u> %	<u>Gore</u> %	<u>Bush</u> %	<u>Undec.</u> %		
Total	49	43	8=100	45	46	9=100	-4	(940)
Sex								
Male	46	47	7	43	50	7	-3	(438)
Female	52	39	9	48	43	9	-4	(502)
Race								
White	45	47	8	41	51	8	-4	(778)
Non-white	78	17	5	69	23	8	-9	(151)
Black	82	14	4	76	16	8	-6	(94)
Race and Sex								
White Men	40	53	7	39	54	7	-1	(359)
White Women	48	42	9	43	47	10	-5	(419)
Age								
Under 30	44	49	7	48	48	4	+4	(149)
30-49	46	47	7	45	47	8	-1	(379)
50-64	49	41	10	40	51	9	-9	(208)
65+	62	30	8	49	40	11	-13	(193)
Sex and Age								
Men under 50	43	50	8	43	50	7	0	(243)
Women under 50	45	7	48	44	8	0	(285)	
Men 50+	52	42	6	41	51	8	-11	(190)
Women 50+	58	30	12	47	41	12	-11	(211)
Education								
College Grad.	48	47	5	46	48	6	-2	(354)
Some College	48	43	9	42	48	10	-6	(241)
H.S. Grad & Less	51	40	9	46	45	9	-5	(344)

* Includes leaners.

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

Continued ...

	--- March 2000 ---			--- May 2000 ---			Change in Gore	(N)
	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Undec.</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Undec.</u>		
	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Total	49	43	8=100	45	46	9=100	-4	(940)
Family Income								
\$75,000+	43	52	5	43	49	8	0	(169)
\$50,000-\$74,999	38	54	8	43	50	7	+5	(127)
\$30,000-\$49,999	50	45	5	45	48	7	-5	(238)
\$20,000-\$29,999	52	37	11	53	41	6	+1	(115)
<\$20,000	64	29	7	50	42	8	-14	(137)
Region								
East	61	30	9	51	37	12	-10	(188)
Midwest	46	46	8	47	44	9	+1	(238)
South	48	45	7	39	54	7	-9	(328)
West	44	46	10	49	45	6	+5	(186)
Religious Affiliation								
Total White Protestant	36	54	10	34	58	8	-2	(423)
White Protestant Evangelical	31	61	8	27	66	7	-4	(216)
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	43	46	11	41	50	9	-2	(207)
White Catholic	50	45	5	43	44	13	-7	(187)
Community Size								
Large City	61	32	7	55	37	8	-6	(168)
Suburb	50	46	4	42	50	8	-8	(232)
Small City/Town	44	45	11	44	48	8	0	(343)
Rural Area	45	45	10	43	49	8	-2	(187)
Party ID								
Republican	8	88	4	7	87	6	-1	(292)
Democrat	85	10	5	86	10	4	+1	(292)
Independent	47	39	14	41	46	13	-6	(306)
Clinton Approval								
Approve	74	20	6	68	25	7	-6	(531)
Disapprove	13	79	8	12	82	6	-1	(340)
Labor Union								
Union Household	59	36	5	55	37	8	-4	(152)
Non-Union Household	48	44	8	43	49	8	-5	(781)

GORE-BRADLEY vs. BUSH-McCAIN TRIAL HEAT*

(Based on Registered Voters)

	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Undec.</u>	<u>Gore/ Bradley</u>	<u>Bush/ McCain</u>	<u>Undec.</u>	<u>Difference For Gore</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	45	46	9=100	39	49	12=100	-6
Sex							
Male	43	50	7	36	52	12	-7
Female	48	43	9	42	46	12	-6
Race							
White	41	51	8	35	54	11	-6
Non-white	69	23	8	69	15	16	0
Black	76	16	8	75	13	12	-1
Race and Sex							
White Men	39	54	7	33	57	10	-6
White Women	43	47	10	36	51	13	-7
Age							
Under 30	48	48	4	46	47	7	-2
30-49	45	47	8	39	49	12	-6
50-64	40	51	9	40	49	11	0
65+	49	40	11	37	48	15	-12
Sex and Age							
Men under 50	43	50	7	36	51	13	-7
Women under 50	44	8	45	46	9	-3	
Men 50+	41	51	8	36	54	10	-5
Women 50+	47	41	12	40	44	16	-7
Education							
College Grad.	46	48	6	41	50	9	-5
Some College	42	48	10	38	52	10	-4
H.S. Grad & Less	46	45	9	40	45	15	-6

* Includes leaners.

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

Suppose the 2000 presidential election were being held today and the *Democratic ticket* was Al Gore for President and Bill Bradley for Vice President, and the *Republican ticket* was George W. Bush for president and John McCain for Vice President. Who would you vote for?
As of today, do you lean more to the Democratic ticket of Gore and Bradley, or the Republican ticket of Bush and McCain?

Continued ...

	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Undec.</u>	<u>Gore/</u>	<u>Bush/</u>		<u>Difference</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Bradley</u>	<u>McCain</u>	<u>Undec.</u>	<u>For Gore</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<i>Total</i>	45	46	9=100	39	49	12=100	-6
<i>Family Income</i>							
\$50,000+	43	50	7	35	59	6	-8
\$30,000-\$49,999	45	48	7	41	50	9	-4
\$20,000-\$29,999	53	41	6	56	36	8	+3
<\$20,000	50	42	8	47	40	13	-3
<i>Region</i>							
East	51	37	12	44	44	12	-7
Midwest	47	44	9	36	48	16	-11
South	39	54	7	40	51	9	+1
West	49	45	6	38	49	13	-11
<i>Party ID</i>							
Republican	7	87	6	8	90	2	+1
Democrat	86	10	4	79	16	5	-7
Independent	41	46	13	38	43	19	-3
<i>Labor Union</i>							
Union Household	55	37	8	45	45	10	-10
Non-Union Household	43	49	8	39	49	12	-4

TREND IN SUPPORT FOR GUN CONTROL

	-- March 2000 --			-- May 2000 --			Change in Protect <u>Rights</u>
	Protect	Control	Don't	Protect	Control	Don't	
	<u>Rights</u>	<u>Guns</u>	<u>Know</u>	<u>Rights</u>	<u>Guns</u>	<u>Know</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	29	66	5=100	38	57	5=100	+9
Sex							
Male	36	59	5	49	46	5	+13
Female	22	73	5	28	67	5	+6
Race							
White	31	64	5	41	53	6	+10
Non-white	17	79	4	24	74	2	+7
Black	16	80	4	23	76	1	+7
Hispanic*	19	81	0	30	67	3	+11
Race and Sex							
White Men	39	56	5	53	42	5	+14
White Women	24	71	4	30	64	6	+6
Age							
Under 30	21	77	2	33	65	2	+12
30-49	33	63	4	39	57	4	+6
50-64	33	61	6	46	49	5	+13
65+	25	68	7	35	53	12	+10
Sex and Age							
Men							
18-29	26	72	2	40	59	1	+14
30-49	41	54	5	49	45	6	+8
50+	37	56	7	55	38	7	+18
Women							
18-29	16	81	3	27	71	2	+11
30-49	25	71	4	27	70	3	+2
50+	23	71	6	30	61	9	+7
Education							
College Grad.	27	68	5	34	61	5	+7
Some College	30	66	4	38	57	5	+8
High School Grad.	32	63	5	40	55	5	+8
<H.S. Grad.	24	72	4	42	53	5	+18

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

Question: What do you think is more important — to protect the right of Americans to own guns, OR to control gun ownership?

Continued ...

	-- March 2000 --			-- May 2000 --			Change in Protect Rights
	Protect	Control	Don't	Protect	Control	Don't	
	<u>Rights</u>	<u>Guns</u>	<u>Know</u>	<u>Rights</u>	<u>Guns</u>	<u>Know</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	29	66	5=100	38	57	5=100	+9
Family Income							
\$75,000+	27	69	4	38	58	4	+11
\$50,000-\$74,999	32	64	4	38	60	2	+6
\$30,000-\$49,999	34	61	5	42	54	4	+8
\$20,000-\$29,999	27	70	3	42	53	5	+15
<\$20,000	25	71	4	35	59	6	+10
Region							
East	18	78	4	31	66	3	+13
Midwest	33	63	4	43	52	5	+10
South	32	62	6	41	55	4	+9
West	27	69	4	36	56	8	+9
Religious Affiliation							
Total White Protestant	36	58	6	46	48	6	+10
White Protestant Evangelical	41	52	7	51	45	4	+10
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	32	63	5	41	51	8	+9
White Catholic	26	71	3	33	63	4	+7
Community Size							
Large City	19	78	3	32	65	3	+13
Suburb	24	71	5	31	62	7	+7
Small City/Town	33	64	3	41	55	4	+8
Rural Area	39	54	7	50	46	4	+11
Party ID							
Republican	40	55	5	50	46	4	+10
Democrat	19	77	4	28	67	5	+9
Independent	28	67	5	41	56	3	+13
Clinton Approval							
Approve	22	74	4	29	66	5	+7
Disapprove	42	53	5	55	41	4	+13

HILLARY CLINTON FAVORABILITY

December 1998 vs. May 2000

	-----December 1998 -----		----- May 2000 -----		Change in	
	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	%		
Total	66	31	49	42	-17	(883)
Sex						
Male	63	33	44	48	-19	(396)
Female	69	27	54	38	-15	(487)
Race						
White	63	34	45	47	-18	(701)
Non-white	82	12	75	17	-7	(171)
Black	85	9	83	14	-2	(114)
Race and Sex						
White Men	60	37	39	53	-21	(306)
White Women	66	30	50	42	-16	(395)
Age						
Under 30	68	29	58	37	-10	(202)
30-49	64	33	49	44	-15	(366)
50-64	67	30	43	49	-24	(167)
65+	68	27	45	39	-23	(135)
Education						
College Grad.	67	30	48	49	-19	(244)
Some College	66	32	50	43	-16	(236)
High School Grad.	64	32	49	42	-15	(305)
<H.S. Grad	70	24	50	34	-20	(93)
Family Income						
\$75,000+	65	32	41	55	-24	(150)
\$50,000-\$74,999	63	36	47	47	-16	(135)
\$30,000-\$49,999	64	35	54	39	-10	(216)
\$20,000-\$29,999	72	26	55	36	-17	(113)
<\$20,000	71	24	51	41	-20	(134)
Region						
East	72	27	54	38	-18	(171)
Midwest	62	32	45	44	-17	(210)
South	66	30	51	41	-15	(358)
West	66	32	46	48	-20	(144)
Party ID						
Republican	44	52	24	71	-20	(249)
Democrat	84	13	72	21	-12	(293)
Independent	64	32	50	44	-14	(270)

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

SUPPORT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM

	Should Develop <u>Missile Defense System</u>	Should Not Develop <u>Missile Defense System</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Total</i>	52	37	11=100
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	57	35	8
Female	46	39	15
<i>Race</i>			
White	53	35	12
Non-white	43	47	10
Black	39	52	9
Hispanic*	58	32	10
<i>Race and Sex</i>			
White Men	59	33	8
White Women	47	38	15
<i>Age</i>			
Under 30	52	40	8
30-49	50	40	10
50-64	54	35	11
65+	52	29	19
<i>Sex and Age</i>			
Men			
18-29	57	37	6
30-49	54	39	7
50+	60	30	10
Women			
18-29	47	43	10
30-49	45	41	14
50+	48	34	18
<i>Education</i>			
College Grad.	52	40	8
Some College	51	38	11
High School Grad.	53	35	12
<H.S. Grad.	51	34	15

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

Question: Some people feel the U.S. should try to develop a ground- and space-based missile defense system to protect the U.S. from missile attack. Others oppose such an effort because they say it would be too costly and might interfere with existing arms treaties with the Russians. Which position comes closer to your view?

Continued ...

	<u>Should Develop Missile Defense System</u>	<u>Should Not Develop Missile Defense System</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Total</i>	52	37	11=100
<i>Family Income</i>			
\$75,000+	55	38	7
\$50,000-\$74,999	50	41	9
\$30,000-\$49,999	57	36	7
\$20,000-\$29,999	51	41	8
<\$20,000	43	40	17
<i>Region</i>			
East	49	41	10
Midwest	48	39	13
South	53	35	12
West	55	34	11
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>			
Total White Protestant	55	31	14
White Protestant Evangelical	62	27	11
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	49	35	16
White Catholic	56	36	8
<i>Community Size</i>			
Large City	49	40	11
Suburb	52	39	9
Small City/Town	52	35	13
Rural Area	54	37	9
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republican	62	28	10
Democrat	46	45	9
Independent	50	40	10
<i>Clinton Approval</i>			
Approve	46	44	10
Disapprove	63	26	11

**DEVELOP MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM, EVEN IF IT JEOPARDIZES
NUCLEAR ARMS NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA?**

	<u>Go Ahead</u>	<u>Hold Off</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
	%	%	%	%
Total	36	55	2	7=100
Sex				
Male	45	49	2	4
Female	27	62	1	10
Race				
White	37	54	2	7
Non-white	31	61	*	8
Black	30	64	*	6
Hispanic*	35	53	2	10
Race and Sex				
White Men	46	48	2	4
White Women	27	61	2	10
Age				
Under 30	26	68	1	5
30-49	37	55	2	6
50-64	39	54	1	6
65+	43	38	3	16
Sex and Age				
Men				
18-29	32	62	1	5
30-49	45	50	3	2
50+	55	38	2	5
Women				
18-29	21	74	*	5
30-49	28	61	2	9
50+	30	54	1	15
Education				
College Grad.	37	54	2	7
Some College	35	59	2	4
High School Grad.	38	55	1	6
<H.S. Grad.	31	54	2	13

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

Question: Should the U.S. go ahead with developing a missile defense system, even if that jeopardizes negotiations with the Russians aimed at further reducing the nuclear arsenals in both countries, OR should the U.S. hold off on developing a missile defense system and focus on negotiating further arms reductions with the Russians?

Continued ...

	<u>Go Ahead</u>	<u>Hold Off</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
	%	%	%	%
Total	36	55	2	7=100
Family Income				
\$75,000+	42	52	3	3
\$50,000-\$74,999	34	60	2	4
\$30,000-\$49,999	38	58	1	3
\$20,000-\$29,999	33	60	1	6
<\$20,000	30	59	1	10
Region				
East	33	59	1	7
Midwest	32	59	2	7
South	39	51	2	8
West	38	53	2	7
Religious Affiliation				
Total White Protestant	39	52	1	8
White Protestant Evangelical	42	52	*	6
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	37	52	1	9
White Catholic	39	57	1	4
Community Size				
Large City	38	54	1	7
Suburb	37	55	2	6
Small City/Town	34	55	1	0
Rural Area	37	58	2	3
Party ID				
Republican	46	49	1	4
Democrat	33	60	1	6
Independent	34	59	2	5
Clinton Approval				
Approve	30	63	1	6
Disapprove	50	43	2	5

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for the *May Political Survey* survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,303 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period May 2-6, 2000. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=654) or Form 2 (N=649), the sampling error is plus or minus 5 percentage points. For results based on registered voters (N=940), the sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

Results for the *Favorability, China and Trade* survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 883 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period April 24 - May 4, 2000. 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 4 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=441) or Form 2 (N=442), the sampling error is plus or minus 5 percentage points. Questions P.1 through P.3 were asked during the period April 27 - May 7, 2000 (N=795). For results based on the 603 registered voters asked questions P.2 and P.3, the sampling error is plus or minus 5 percentage points.

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

SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

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

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone numbers in the U.S. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample. The use of replicates also insures that the regional distribution of numbers called is appropriate. Again, this works to increase the representativeness of the sample.

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

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

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1999). 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.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
MAY 2000 POLITICAL SURVEY
—FINAL TOPLINE—
May 2-6, 2000
N=1,303

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
May, 2000	57	33	10=100
April, 2000	57	31	12=100
March, 2000	57	35	8=100
February, 2000	58	33	9=100
January, 2000	56	35	9=100
December, 1999	55	35	10=100
October, 1999	59	34	7=100
Late September, 1999	59	33	8=100
September, 1999	56	36	8=100
August, 1999	60	32	8=100
July, 1999	58	31	11=100
June, 1999	55	35	10=100
May, 1999	56	34	10=100
April, 1999	56	38	6=100
March, 1999	62	31	7=100
February, 1999	64	30	6=100
Mid-January, 1999	66	29	5=100
January, 1999	63	30	7=100
Late December, 1998	71	27	2=100
Early December, 1998	61	32	7=100
November, 1998	65	29	6=100
September 21-22, 1998	62	33	5=100
September 19-20, 1998	55	36	9=100
Early September, 1998	61	33	6=100
Late August, 1998	62	32	6=100
Early August, 1998	63	28	9=100
June, 1998	59	32	9=100
May, 1998	62	28	10=100
April, 1998	62	28	10=100
March, 1998	65	26	9=100
Early February, 1998	71	26	3=100
January, 1998	61	30	9=100
November, 1997	58	31	11=100
September, 1997	58	29	13=100
August, 1997	59	32	9=100
June, 1997	54	34	12=100
May, 1997	57	34	9=100
April, 1997	55	34	11=100
February, 1997	60	32	8=100
Early February, 1997	57	30	13=100
January, 1997	59	31	10=100
November, 1996	57	34	9=100
July, 1996	54	38	8=100

Q.1 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
June, 1996	54	38	8=100
April, 1996	53	39	8=100
March, 1996	55	38	7=100
February, 1996	51	39	10=100
January, 1996	50	43	7=100
October, 1995	48	42	10=100
September, 1995	45	42	13=100
August, 1995	44	44	12=100
June, 1995	50	40	10=100
April, 1995	47	43	10=100
March, 1995	44	44	12=100
February, 1995	44	44	12=100
December, 1994	41	47	12=100
November, 1994	48	40	12=100
October, 1994	41	47	12=100
Early October, 1994	38	47	15=100
September, 1994	41	52	7=100
July, 1994	45	46	9=100
June, 1994	42	44	14=100
May, 1994	46	42	12=100
March, 1994	45	42	13=100
January, 1994	51	35	14=100
Early January, 1994	48	35	17=100
December, 1993	48	36	16=100
October, 1993	44	42	14=100
September, 1993	49	35	16=100
Early September, 1993	43	43	14=100
August, 1993	39	46	15=100
May, 1993	39	43	18=100
Early May, 1993	45	37	18=100
April, 1993	49	29	22=100
February, 1993	56	25	19=100

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

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
May, 2000	40	42	18=100
March, 2000	38	43	19=100
February, 2000	40	43	17=100
January, 2000	39	41	20=100
December, 1999	38	42	20=100
October, 1999	34	50	16=100
Late September, 1999	34	46	20=100
September, 1999	35	48	17=100
August, 1999	40	44	16=100
July, 1999	36	45	19=100
June, 1999	37	46	17=100
May, 1999	38	44	18=100
March, 1999	38	47	15=100

Q.2 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
February, 1999	37	51	12=100
Mid-January, 1999	36	51	13=100
January, 1999	38	50	12=100
Late December, 1998	39	56	5=100
Early December, 1998	38	49	13=100
November, 1998	41	48	11=100
September 21-22, 1998	44	44	12=100
September 19-20, 1998	46	41	13=100
Early September, 1998	44	37	19=100
Late August, 1998	48	36	16=100
Early August, 1998	43	37	20=100
June, 1998	42	38	20=100
May, 1998	40	41	19=100
April, 1998	41	40	19=100
March, 1998	43	39	18=100
January, 1998	43	41	16=100
November, 1997	41	43	16=100
August, 1997	42	44	14=100
June, 1997	33	50	17=100
May, 1997	40	44	16=100
April, 1997	40	44	16=100
February, 1997	44	42	14=100
January, 1997	38	47	15=100
November, 1996	40	43	17=100
July, 1996	38	48	14=100
June, 1996	36	50	14=100
April, 1996	39	46	15=100
March, 1996	35	51	14=100
February, 1996	33	53	14=100
January, 1996	36	54	10=100
October, 1995	36	51	13=100
September, 1995	36	50	14=100
August, 1995	38	45	17=100
June, 1995	41	45	14=100
April, 1995	44	43	13=100
March 1995	43	39	18=100
December, 1994	52	28	20=100

Q.3 How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election, quite a lot, or only a little?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=940]:

		Late Early										----- Gallup -----			
		Nov	Oct	Sept	Sept	July	June	Oct	Sept	Aug	June	Nov	Oct	Aug	Sept
		1996	1996	1996	1996	1996	1996	1992	1992	1992	1992	1988	1988	1988	1988
48	Quite a lot	67	65	61	56	55	50	77	69	72	63	73	69	61	57
4	Some (VOL.)	8	7	7	3	3	5	5	3	4	6	8	9	10	18
42	Only a little	22	26	29	36	41	41	16	26	23	29	17	20	27	23
5	None (VOL.)	3	1	2	4	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
<u>1</u>	DK/Refused	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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

IF '3' OTHER OR '9' DON'T KNOW/REFUSED in Q.4, ASK:

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=940]:

		March 2000	Feb 2000	Dec 1999	Oct 1999 ¹	Sept 1999	July 1999	March 1999 ²	Jan 1999	Sept 1998
45	Gore/Lean Gore	49	45	40	39	39	42	41	44	40
46	Bush/Lean Bush	43	46	55	54	54	53	54	50	53
<u>9</u>	Undecided/Other/Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.5 What do you like most about (INSERT FROM Q.4 OR Q.4a), his personality, his leadership ability, his experience or his stand on issues?

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

		<u>Personality</u>	<u>Leadership</u>	<u>Experience</u>	<u>Stand on issues</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	
Al Gore		10	13	30	40	7=100	(N=415)
	March, 2000	10	14	28	40	8=100	
	October, 1999 ¹	8	11	32	43	6=100	
George W. Bush		12	22	8	51	7=100	(N=447)
	March, 2000	14	24	10	42	10=100	
	October, 1999 ¹	13	25	11	42	9=100	

Q.6 What do you like LEAST about (INSERT NAME NOT CHOSEN IN Q.4 OR Q.4a), his personality, his leadership ability, his experience or his stand on issues?

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

		<u>Personality</u>	<u>Leadership</u>	<u>Experience</u>	<u>Stand on Issues</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	
Al Gore		22	22	6	41	9=100	(N=447)
	March, 2000	22	20	5	43	10=100	
	October, 1999 ¹	24	22	5	39	10=100	
George W. Bush		25	13	13	35	14=100	(N=415)
	March, 2000	33	8	13	35	11=100	
	October, 1999 ¹	19	11	13	41	16=100	

NO QUESTION 7

¹ October 1999 results taken from the Typology re-interview survey.

² In previous months, the question asked: "Suppose the 2000 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were Al Gore, the Democrat and Texas Governor George W. Bush, the Republican..."

ASK ALL:

On another subject...

Q.8 What do you think is more important — to protect the right of Americans to own guns, OR to control gun ownership?

		March	June	May	Dec
		<u>2000</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1993</u>
38	Protect right of Americans to own guns	29	33	30	34
57	Control gun ownership	66	62	65	57
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100

Q.9 In your opinion, how likely is it that the president and Congress will pass significant new gun control laws this year — is it very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely or not at all likely?

14	Very likely
34	Somewhat likely
25	Not too likely
21	Not at all likely
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.10 How much, if anything, have you heard about the Million Mom March, a rally to be held in Washington, DC on Mother's Day in support of gun control — have you heard a lot about this, a little or nothing at all?

10	A lot
42	A little
48	Nothing at all
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK WOMEN ONLY [N=678]:

Q.10a Would you, yourself, be interested in attending the Million Mom March, or not?

21	Yes, would be interested
77	No, would not be interested
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Now a few more questions about the presidential campaign...

Q.11 As I read a list of phrases, tell me if you think each phrase better describes George W. Bush or Al Gore.
(READ AND ROTATE; OBSERVE FORM DIFFERENCES)

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS FORM 1 [N=468]; FORM 2 [N=472]:

					(VOL.)	
		<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>DK</u>
					<u>Equally</u>	
a.F1	Has led an interesting life	31	43	5	8	13=100
b.F2	Has a good sense of humor	34	48	4	5	9=100
c.F1	Is mature	44	41	4	6	5=100
d.F2	Is an attractive person	42	29	7	11	11=100
e.F1	Is down to earth	46	41	5	2	6=100
f.F2	Comes across well on television	40	43	3	6	8=100
g.F1	Is personally inspiring	33	42	17	2	6=100
h.F2	Has a lot of charisma	31	47	10	3	9=100
i.F1	Is a caring person	44	34	5	10	7=100
j.F2	Is a straight talker	37	43	10	3	7=100
k.F1	Is level-headed	43	42	3	6	6=100

On a different subject...

Q.12 How much, if anything, have you heard about the recent debate over whether the U.S. should develop a national missile defense system to protect against missile attacks — a lot, a little or nothing at all?

10	A lot
43	A little
47	Nothing at all
*	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.13 Some people feel the U.S. should try to develop a ground- and space-based missile defense system to protect the U.S. from missile attack. Others oppose such an effort because they say it would be too costly and might interfere with existing arms treaties with the Russians. Which position comes closer to your view?

		-- Gallup --		
		May	Dec	Aug
		<u>1987³</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1985</u>
52	Should develop a ground- and space-based missile defense system	44	52	45
37	Oppose developing such a system	42	40	47
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused	14	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.14 Over the course of the past two decades, the U.S. and Russia have been gradually reducing the size of their nuclear arsenals. Do you think the U.S. and Russia should continue working toward reducing the number of nuclear weapons, or do you think they should maintain them at their current levels?

63	Continue working toward reductions
32	Maintain current levels
*	Increase (VOL.)
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.15 Should the U.S. go ahead with developing a missile defense system, even if that jeopardizes negotiations with the Russians aimed at further reducing the nuclear arsenals in both countries, OR should the U.S. hold off on developing a missile defense system and focus on negotiating further arms reductions with the Russians?

36	U.S. should go ahead with developing missile defense system
55	U.S. should hold off on developing a missile defense system
2	Neither (VOL.)
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

³

In May 1987, December 1986, and August 1985, question was worded: "Some people feel the U.S. should try to develop a space-based "Star Wars" system to protect the U.S. from nuclear attack. Others oppose such an effort because they say it would be too costly and further escalate the arms race. Which position comes closer to your view?"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
FAVORABILITY, CHINA AND TRADE
—FINAL TOPLINE—
April 24 - May 4, 2000
N=883

P.1 and P.2 ASKED APRIL 27 - MAY 7, 2000 [N=795]:

P.1 How much thought have you given to the coming November election, quite a lot, or only a little?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=603]:

	Quite <u>A lot</u>	(VOL) <u>Some</u>	Only a <u>Little</u>	None/DK/ <u>Refused</u>
May, 2000	45	7	41	7=100

P.2 Suppose the 2000 presidential election were being held today and the Democratic ticket was Al Gore for President and Bill Bradley for Vice President, and the Republican ticket was George W. Bush for president and John McCain for Vice President. Who would you vote for?

IF '3' OTHER OR '9' DON'T KNOW/REFUSED IN P.2, ASK:

P.3 As of today, do you lean more to the Democratic ticket of Gore and Bradley, or the Republican ticket of Bush and McCain?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=603]:

39	Gore/Bradley
49	Bush/McCain
2	Other (VOL.)
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

P.4 Now I'd like your views on some people in the news. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who I name. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of...(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS) is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? (INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
a.	Bill Clinton	17	31	19	28	*	5=100
	March, 1999	21	34	19	23	*	3=100
	December, 1998	23	32	19	24	0	2=100
	October, 1998 ⁴	15	37	20	24	0	4=100
	Early September, 1998	18	39	18	23	0	2=100
	Late August, 1998	18	36	20	24	0	2=100
	March, 1998	22	40	19	16	*	3=100
	November, 1997	19	44	21	14	0	2=100
	October, 1997	15	47	20	16	*	2=100
	September, 1997	18	44	21	14	0	3=100
	August, 1997	16	45	21	17	0	1=100
	April, 1997	17	44	21	16	*	2=100
	January, 1997	17	49	18	14	*	2=100
	October, 1996 ⁵	12	45	22	19	0	2=100
	June, 1996	16	45	23	14	*	2=100
	April, 1996	16	41	24	16	0	3=100
	February, 1996	20	35	22	21	0	2=100
	January, 1996	13	43	27	15	0	2=100
	August, 1995	13	36	29	20	0	2=100
	February, 1995	14	41	25	17	0	3=100
	December, 1994	17	34	24	22	0	3=100
	July, 1994	15	43	25	16	*	1=100
	May, 1993	18	42	23	12	0	5=100
	July, 1992	17	42	25	9	0	7=100
	June, 1992	10	36	33	14	1	6=100
	May, 1992	11	42	32	10	*	5=100
	March, 1992	10	43	29	11	1	6=100
	February, 1992	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
	January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
	November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
b.	Al Gore	13	37	23	15	1	11=100
	March, 1999	12	35	26	17	2	8=100
	December, 1998	18	40	22	11	1	8=100
	October, 1998 ⁶	16	37	25	13	1	8=100
	Early September, 1998	13	44	22	13	1	7=100
	Late August, 1998	11	44	23	14	1	7=100
	March, 1998	17	42	19	11	2	9=100

⁴ October 1998 based on registered voters.

⁵ October 1996 based on registered voters.

⁶ October 1998 based on registered voters.

Q.P4 CONTINUED ...

		<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never Heard of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>
(Al Gore con't)							
	November, 1997	12	43	26	12	1	6=100
	September, 1997	11	35	28	15	1	10=100
	August, 1997	15	39	22	15	1	8=100
	April, 1997	12	45	24	12	1	6=100
	January, 1997	18	47	21	8	1	5=100
	July, 1994	18	49	19	7	2	5=100
	August, 1992	22	44	15	5	2	12=100
	July, 1992 ⁷	15	32	14	5	6	28=100
	September, 1987	6	23	11	3	23	34=100
c.	George W. Bush	18	40	19	12	1	10=100
	March, 1999 ⁸	21	40	14	7	4	14=100
	November, 1997	13	41	12	6	9	19=100
d.	Madeleine Albright	12	36	11	7	16	18=100
	March, 1999 ⁹	20	43	14	8	6	9=100
	April, 1997	16	49	10	4	6	15=100
	January, 1997	13	44	12	4	9	18=100
	February, 1995	2	16	11	5	47	19=100
e.	Hillary Clinton	15	34	20	22	1	8=100
	Early December, 1998	32	34	16	15	*	3=100
	October, 1998 ¹⁰	24	34	18	18	*	6=100
	Early September, 1998	24	40	18	13	0	5=100
	Late August, 1998	25	38	21	13	*	3=100
	March, 1998	26	39	17	14	*	4=100
	January, 1997	17	40	23	17	*	3=100
	June, 1996	13	40	26	17	*	4=100
	April, 1996	12	37	27	19	0	5=100
	February, 1996	14	28	27	27	0	4=100
	January, 1996	10	32	28	26	0	4=100
	October, 1995	14	44	24	14	—	4=100
	August, 1995	16	33	25	22	*	4=100
	December, 1994	17	33	25	20	1	4=100
	July, 1994	19	38	22	18	1	2=100
	May, 1993	19	41	18	11	1	10=100

⁷ July 1992 trend based on 461 respondents asked on July 9, 1992 only.

⁸ In March 1999 and November 1997 the category was listed: "Texas Governor George W. Bush."

⁹ In March 1999 and April 1997, the category was listed: "Secretary of State Madeleine Albright." In January 1997 the category was listed: "Secretary of State designate, Madeleine Albright."

¹⁰ October 1998 based on registered voters.

Q.P4 CONTINUED ...

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
f.	Bill Gates	19	45	10	5	6	15=100
	March, 1998	15	40	13	5	10	17=100
	ABC/WP: January, 1998		49		16		35=100
g.	Janet Reno	13	33	21	18	6	9=100
	Gallup: December, 1998		57		29		14=100
h.	John McCain	14	40	15	5	11	15=100
	ABC/WP: February, 2000		60		21		19=100
	CNN/USA Today/ Gallup: December, 1999 ¹¹		57		11	14	18=100
i.	Rudy Giuliani	9	28	12	6	26	19=100
j.	Al Gore's wife, Tipper Gore	12	40	11	8	8	21=100
k.	George W. Bush's wife, Laura Bush	10	31	7	4	16	32=100
l.	Alan Greenspan	17	32	10	5	20	16=100
	CNN/USA Today/ Gallup: August, 1999 ¹²		50		13	21	16=100

Now, on another subject ...

P.5 Do you think U.S. participation in the World Trade Organization is good or bad for the United States?

		Feb 2000
62	Good	62
20	Bad	22
<u>18</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>16</u>
100		100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=441]:

P.6F1 As you may know, the United States grants a trade status to most nations it trades with known as normal trade relations. In your opinion, should the U.S. permanently grant this same status to China, or not?

		Feb 2000	June 1999 ¹³
30	Yes		28
49	No	56	54
<u>21</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>16</u>	<u>14</u>
100		100	100

¹¹ In December 1999, the category was listed: "Arizona Senator John McCain."

¹² In August 1999, the category was listed: "Federal Reserve Chairman, Alan Greenspan."

¹³ Question wording: "As you may know, the United States grants a trade status to most nations it trades with known as normal trade relations treatment. In your opinion, should the U.S. grant this same status to China, or not?"

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=442]:

P.7F2 The U.S. and China reached an agreement that requires China to lower some of its trade barriers in return for membership in the World Trade Organization. Have you heard about this trade agreement, or not?

		<u>Feb 2000</u>
46	Yes, have heard about agreement	37
50	No, have not heard about agreement	62
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>
100		100

P.8F2 What is your impression, do you think it will be good for the U.S. or bad for the U.S. if China becomes a member of the World Trade Organization and gains permanent normal trade relations status with the U.S., or won't it make much difference?

		<u>Feb 2000</u>
39	Good	34
21	Bad	20
25	No difference	32
<u>15</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>14</u>
100		100

ASK ALL:

P.9 What's your impression, if China enters the World Trade Organization, in the long run, would it lead to more jobs being created in the U.S. OR would it lead to more jobs leaving the U.S.?

24	Job Creation
52	Job Loss
4	Same (VOL.)
<u>20</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

P.10 What 's your impression, if China enters the World Trade Organization, in the long run, would it lead to the U.S. selling more goods to China OR would it lead to the U.S. selling fewer goods to China?

43	Selling more goods
34	Selling fewer goods
3	Wouldn't make a difference (VOL.)
<u>20</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

P.11 Do you think that trade between China and Western nations will lead to China becoming more democratic, or don't you think so?

		<u>June 1999</u>	
32	Yes		39
47	No	47	
<u>21</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>14</u>	
100		100	

P.12 Which should be a more important consideration in determining U.S. trade policy, improving the human rights situation in China, or advancing the economic interests of the United States?

IF ANSWERED "1" IMPROVING HUMAN RIGHTS ASK:

P.13 Should we try to influence the human rights situation in China — even if it means agreeing to trade policies that might lead to a loss of U.S. jobs — or shouldn't we go that far?

IF ANSWERED "2" ADVANCING ECONOMIC INTERESTS ASK:

P.14 Do you think we should make some effort to influence China's human rights policies or don't you think it's our concern?

42	Improving human rights	
12	Even at cost of U.S. jobs	
26	Shouldn't go that far if it means loss of U.S. jobs	
4	Don't know/Refused	
43	Advancing economic interests	
15	But should make some effort toward human rights	
26	Human rights not our concern at all	
2	Don't know/Refused	
<u>15</u>	Don't know/Refused	
100		