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Front Loading and Frontrunners Notwithstanding
IT'S STILL TOO EARLY FOR THE VOTERS

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Front Loading and Frontrunners Notwithstanding
IT'S STILL TOO EARLY FOR THE VOTERS

The early presidential primary season may have front-loaded candidate announcements, political advertising and the media roadshow, but it's all background noise to the average American voter. Nearly two-thirds of the public is paying little or no attention to the 2000 election, and knowledge of the presidential candidates and opinions about them are little changed since February.

Texas Governor George W. Bush and former Red Cross President Elizabeth Dole continue to stand out from the Republican pack because nearly all voters have heard of them and at least half say they will consider voting for each. But despite this frontrunner status and resulting press attention, only one-in-five identify either candidate with any issue or policy position.

Beltway boomlets for Democratic challenger and former New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley and GOP Senator John McCain also failed to attract the attention of voters, many of whom have not even heard of them. While McCain is slightly better known than he was in February, neither he nor Bradley show any increase in support since May.

Al Gore, meanwhile, faces different challenges. One-third of voters can identify the vice president with policy issues, and there has been a slight increase since May in the number who say they will consider voting for Gore. But it is still barely half, and the share of Americans who say they want the next president to continue the policies and programs of the Clinton administration tumbled 11 percentage points to just 43% over the past four months.

If Americans seem to be leaning toward the Republican candidates for president, however, they are also tilting toward the Democrats on issues broadly and for Congress specifically. Half of registered voters now say they plan to vote Democratic for Congress.

Political Background Noise	
	Registered <u>Voters</u>
<i>Following news about</i>	
<i>2000 presidential election</i>	%
Very closely	13
Fairly closely	29
Not closely	57
Don't know	<u>1</u>
	100
<i>Following news about</i>	
<i>Hillary Clinton's Senate run</i>	
Very closely	15
Fairly closely	35
Not closely	49
Don't know	<u>1</u>
	100
<i>Can identify a policy or issue for ...</i>	
Al Gore	32%
George W. Bush	20%
Elizabeth Dole	16%
Bill Bradley	10%
<i>Top policy or issue position</i>	
<i>associated with...</i>	
Gore - <i>Environment</i>	17%
Bradley - <i>Guns</i>	5%
Bush - <i>Guns</i>	3%
Dole - <i>Guns</i>	3%

Moreover, on 12 issues tested, ranging from education to foreign policy and Social Security, Americans say Democrats would do a better job than Republicans on six issues, and the two parties come out even on four. Republicans are favored only on their ability to deal with China and promoting moral responsibility.

At the same time, Americans do not see any single issue as an overwhelming problem facing the country today. Unlike years past, when large numbers cited jobs or crime, no issue is listed today by more than one-in-five Americans. Even the broad category of economic concerns — near the top of the list for years — is mentioned by only 8% of the public, down from 16% just a year ago and 58% six years ago. Concern about foreign affairs stands at just 11% — even after nearly three months of NATO airstrikes in Kosovo.

Instead, Americans say the top problems facing the country are crime, morality, teen violence, guns, and education. And all have a common thread — the shooting deaths at Columbine High School in Colorado. In that connection, 55% of the public holds unfavorable views of video game manufacturers, more than the 45% who feel this way about the National Rifle Association and the 38% who are critical of Hollywood.

Even interest in Hillary Clinton's likely Senate campaign is scant. Fewer than one-in-five are paying very close attention to her campaign. Only a plurality says they hope to see her run.

These are the principal findings of a June 9-13, 1999, Pew Research Center poll of 1,153 adults. A more detailed analysis follows.

Boost for Bush, But Not GOP

The public preference for GOP presidential candidates does not automatically translate into good news for the Republican Party as a whole, which continues to show signs of weakness in other areas. The Democratic Party is seen as stronger than the GOP across a number of issues, and the Democrats continue to hold a slight lead in a generic ballot looking ahead to the next congressional elections.

The Republican leadership in Congress continues to get poor grades, with 37% of Americans approving and 46% disapproving of their performance. And with the 2000 congressional elections still more than a year away, voters give Democrats an edge over the Republicans. Today, 50% of voters say they would vote for a Democrat, while 40% say they would support a Republican for Congress.

What's more, Republican congressional chances are not boosted by the early support for George W. Bush's candidacy. More than one-third (37%) of voters who say they will consider casting a ballot for Bush for president are nonetheless inclined to vote for a Democratic candidate for Congress in 2000.

<i>Congressional preferences...</i>	Divided Preferences			
	<i>Would consider voting for..</i>			
	<i>Bush</i>		<i>Gore</i>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
	%	%	%	%
Republican/Lean Rep	53	12	21	66
Democrat/Lean Dem	37	81	71	22
Undecided	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100

Based on registered voters.

Equally important, Americans see the Republican Party as better than the Democrats in only two of 12 issues asked about in the poll — morality and dealing with China. Some 40% of Americans say the GOP is the best party for promoting morality and personal responsibility, while 33% say the Democrats are better suited for the job. Similarly, 37% favor the Republicans when it comes to dealing with China, while just 30% say the Democrats would be better.

But Republicans have lost ground on several other key issues. Notably, the two parties are dead even on reducing crime — an issue that tops the public's list of the most important problems facing the country. The parties are also even when it comes to making wise decisions about foreign policy, an area where the Republican Party enjoyed a nine percentage point advantage as recently as March 1998. The GOP does enjoy more of an edge on foreign policy among Americans who disapprove of the recent air strikes against Serbia, while the Democrats are viewed more favorably by those who approve of the air campaign.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party continues to be seen as stronger than the Republican Party in most issue areas, including education, the environment, and regulating HMOs and managed health care. Fully *half* of Americans (52%) say the Democrats could do a better job improving the educational system, for example, compared to just 29% who see the Republicans as better.

<i>Party that could do a better job on...</i>	Democrats Lead on the Issues			
	<u>Rep Party</u>	<u>Dem Party</u>	<u>Both/ Neither</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
	%	%	%	%
Morality	40	33	18	9=100
China	37	30	12	21=100
Foreign policy	37	36	13	14=100
Taxes	38	38	12	12=100
Reducing crime	35	35	18	12=100
Balanced budget	37	41	13	9=100
Prosperity	37	43	11	9=100
Gun control	34	42	12	12=100
Social Security	33	41	13	13=100
HMOs	30	40	13	17=100
Environment	27	45	12	16=100
Education	29	52	12	7=100

Although the Democrats also enjoy a slight edge over Republicans when it comes to "reflecting your views about gun control" (42% vs. 34%, respectively), the party images on this issue are closely linked to public attitudes about restricting gun ownership. Among the majority of Americans who say it is more important to control gun ownership, 55% say the Democratic party is better on this issue. But among those who say it is more important to protect the right of Americans to own guns, 56% favor the Republican Party.

Presidential Politics

For all the support Democrats get on the issues, interest in continuing the policies and programs of the Clinton administration has begun to ebb. As the Clinton administration enters its final 18 months, Americans express less enthusiasm for a continuation of the Clinton policy agenda than they did four months ago.

Just 43% want the next president to offer policies and programs similar to those of the Clinton administration; half say they want someone to offer different policies. This support for new programs is a change from February, when the public favored a continuation of Clinton policies by a 54%-41% margin.

Although the growing public desire for change is evident among all demographic groups, it is especially large among many of the Democrats' core constituencies. Support for the Clinton agenda has fallen 14 percentage points among women, 19 percentage points among senior citizens and 21 percentage points among the less well-educated. Support has even slumped among rank and file Democrats — dropping to 65% now from 83% in February. (See table, page 12.)

More Clinton Fatigue		
	Feb 1999	June 1999
<i>Next president should have...</i>	%	%
Policies similar to Clinton admin.	54	43
Different policies & programs	41	50
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100
Personal qualities similar to Clinton	17	12
Different personal qualities	78	83
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100

Americans are looking for an even bigger break from Clinton's personal qualities. More than eight-in-ten want the next president to have different personal strengths and weaknesses than those held by the current president; just 12% say they would like to see the next president have similar traits. Rejection of Clinton personally is also up somewhat since February, when the public favored different personal qualities by a margin of 78%-17%.

Voters Unmoved

Desire for a change in the White House, however, has not translated into increased support for any of the leading candidates. Voters are no more likely to consider casting their ballots for Bill Bradley, George W. Bush or Elizabeth Dole than they were one month ago.

Bush continues to lead the pack of Republican candidates, with 34% of registered voters saying there is a good chance they would vote for the Texas governor and another 35% saying there is some chance they'll vote for him. Yet, despite a flurry of media attention at the beginning of his campaign, this endorsement of Bush shows no signs of movement over the past month. In May, 34% of voters said there was a good chance they would vote for him; 34% said there was some chance.

The story hasn't changed for Dole, either. Now, 61% of voters would consider voting for her; in May, 63% said so. Dole's support remains weaker than Bush's, with about one-in-five voters saying there is a good chance they will back her at the polls, compared to 34% who say the same of Bush.

The former Red Cross president draws more support from Republicans who favor gun control than those who oppose regulation, however. About one-third (31%) of Republicans who support gun control say there is a good chance they will vote for her, compared to 22% of Republican opponents to gun control.

Other well known candidates — Steve Forbes, Patrick Buchanan, and Dan Quayle — continue to flounder. Over half of voters say there is no chance they will vote for Forbes, 61% reject a vote for Quayle and two-thirds (65%) oppose Buchanan.

Stalled Opinions of the Presidential Contenders (Based on Registered Voters)

	Have Heard	Chance of Voting Among Those Who Have Heard..			
		Good	Some	No	DK
	%	%	%	%	%
Al Gore	98	22	32	43	3=100
February, 1999	98	22	30	45	3=100
Dan Quayle	95	9	28	61	2=100
February, 1999	97	9	33	54	4=100
George W. Bush	96	34	35	27	4=100
February, 1999	94	32	36	27	5=100
Elizabeth Dole	92	19	42	36	3=100
February, 1999	91	26	38	33	3=100
Patrick Buchanan	84	4	25	65	6=100
February, 1999	83	6	26	63	5=100
Steve Forbes	75	9	31	53	7=100
February, 1999	71	8	35	52	5=100
Bill Bradley	61	15	38	37	10=100
February, 1999	55	14	41	39	6=100
Lamar Alexander	52	3	26	63	8=100
February, 1999	42	6	27	60	7=100
John McCain	43	15	40	36	9=100
February, 1999	32	16	42	35	7=100
John Kasich	21	11	22	56	11=100
February, 1999	21	16	31	45	8=100
Gary Bauer	20	9	25	55	10=100
February, 1999	18	12	26	51	11=100

Among the lesser-known Republicans, only John McCain has gained name recognition: 43% of voters have heard of the Arizona senator, up from 36% in May. Just over half of those who know him say they would consider voting for McCain, a number that has held steady as he has become better known.

Al Gore is the one exception to this pattern of stability. About half (54%) of voters say they would consider voting for the vice president, up somewhat from 47% who said so in May. But even this movement is slight: Gore now stands where he did in February when 52% of voters said there was at least some chance they would vote for him. However, at this point, Gore falls just behind Clinton's October 1995 standing, in which 56% of voters said they might vote for him.

And, despite attention to Bradley's campaign, the former New Jersey senator has gained neither name recognition nor potential support. Six-in-ten voters have heard of the NBA star, the same number that knew of him in May. And, just about half (53%) say they would consider voting for Bradley, a figure also unchanged over the past month.

Voter Apathy

Stalled candidate ratings are not surprising given public inattention to news about the 2000 presidential campaign. Just one-in-ten Americans are following election stories very closely. Fully one-third are totally tuning campaign news out.

The disinterest is widespread, equally evident among men and women, blacks and whites, the college educated and those whose education ended with high school. Interest is somewhat above average among Republicans, who will be selecting a nominee from a crowded field of potential candidates. Almost one-in-five (18%) Republicans are following election news stories very closely, compared to 10% of Democrats and just 7% of Independents.

Accordingly, only one-in-ten voters can name an issue or policy that they associate with Bradley; 16% identify an issue with Dole and just 20% can provide a substantive policy for Bush. Gore's agenda is somewhat more familiar, but even he draws policy responses from only one-third of voters.

When voters think of Gore's policies, they think of the environment — 17% volunteered this issue. The top issue for the other three candidates is the one in the news lately: guns. Five percent of the public associates this issue with Bradley, 3% for Bush and 3% for Dole.

GOP Behind Bush

Despite the differences in knowledge about the two frontrunners, Republican Bush draws considerably stronger support — and more partisan loyalty — than his chief Democratic rival. Over 90% of Republican voters say they would consider voting for Bush; 78% of Democrats are as open to Gore. And, while two-thirds of GOP voters say there is a *good* chance they will vote for the Texas governor, about one-third (36%) of Democratic voters are as enthusiastic about their leading man.

Dole runs a distant second among Republicans, 27% of whom say there is a good chance they will vote for her.

Bush is also much more appealing to registered voters outside of his party than is Gore. Over half (52%) of Democratic voters say there is at least some chance they would vote for Bush, while almost three-quarters (73%) of Republicans say there is *no* chance they will cast a ballot for the vice president.

Bush does better than Gore with Independent voters, as well. Two-thirds would consider voting for him, compared to 52% who say there’s some chance of voting for Gore.

Similarly, among those who favor Republicans for Congress in 2000, fully 63% say there is a *good* chance they will vote for Bush. But, among those who favor Democrats, only one-third (35%) give this strong an endorsement to their party’s frontrunner.

The Man of This Hour

When asked to choose what leading candidate they would most like to see featured in an in-depth news magazine program, 30% of Americans say Bush. The Texas governor draws three times the interest given Bradley, and twice the number who would like to watch a show on Dole, Gore or Hillary Clinton. A program about McCain garners top interest from only 5% of the public.

Bush Pulls Partisans			
<i>Chances of voting for</i>	<i>Party Identification</i>		
	<u>Reps</u>	<u>Dems</u>	<u>Inds</u>
	%	%	%
George W. Bush			
Good	66	15	26
Some	27	37	40
No chance	5	46	28
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
Al Gore			
Good	8	36	17
Some	17	42	35
No chance	73	18	45
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100
Elizabeth Dole			
Good	27	12	20
Some	46	38	43
No chance	24	49	33
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100

Based on registered voters who know each.

Men are decidedly more inclined than are women to express interest in a news magazine show about Bush. Over one-third (36%) of men say they would like to see a program about him, compared to 26% of women. Instead, women are more interested in programs about the two women candidates. A television show on Hillary Clinton is the top pick for 21% of women, but just 10% of men. Similarly, a feature on Dole would draw 19% of women but only 8% of men.

The Texas governor is also the clear favorite among rank and file Republicans. Over half (54%) of Republicans say they would choose a program about him, compared to just 16% who express interest in Dole. Democrats are more divided. About one-quarter expresses interest in a show about Gore — the same number who would like to see a television program about the first lady. Indeed, Bush is almost as interesting to Democrats as is the vice president: 18% of Democrats opt for a program about the Republican.

Hillary’s New York Race

Overall, the public isn’t paying much attention to Hillary Clinton’s possible run for a Senate seat from New York, either. Only a plurality would like to see her be a candidate, and those most interested include minorities, women under age 30 and people from lower income households.

The first lady’s political ambitions are being followed very closely by only 14% of the public, roughly the same number who are following the 2000 presidential election (11%). In comparison, gun control is drawing the very close attention of 28% of the public; the Chinese spying scandal, 21%.

See Hillary Run?			
	<u>All</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
<i>Should She?</i>	%	%	%
Yes	48	41	53
No	34	39	30
Don't Care	16	18	14
Don't Know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100

Just 48% of the public wants Mrs. Clinton to run for the Senate, while one-third (34%) says they would rather she didn’t run. Interest in a Clinton candidacy comes mostly from younger women and minority groups. A clear majority (66%) of women ages 18 to 29 want the first lady to run and, while 43% of whites favor a Clinton candidacy, seven-in-ten non-whites do so. Support among those with a family income of more than \$75,000 is 37% compared to 55% in households with incomes less than \$30,000.

Littleton Lingers

In the aftermath of the high school shootings in Littleton, Colorado, social issues take center stage today. When asked to name the most important problem facing the nation, the public most frequently chooses crime, gangs, the justice system (11%) as well as morality, ethics or family values (11%) and education (7%).

Neither traditional pocketbook matters nor international issues are in the forefront of American minds. Only 5% mention the war in Kosovo as the most important problem today and just 3% specifically volunteer the economy. Even when looking at economic issues collectively, only 8% of the public volunteers an issue such as the economy or jobs that fits this category, down from 16% a year ago and 28% four years ago.

From a list of 13 groups and organizations, video game manufacturers were judged most harshly: Only 33% view game makers favorably; 55% unfavorably. The public is evenly divided (46%-45%) about the National Rifle Association, though opinion varies little from previous years. Hollywood gets a more positive rating: 60% view the motion picture industry favorably, while 38% consider it unfavorably.

Women are more negative about video game makers than are men. Less than half (48%) of men view those manufacturers as unfavorable while a solid majority of women (63%) see that group unfavorably. Additionally, 57% of younger people — those between ages 18 and 30 — view video game makers positively, compared to only 14% of those ages 65 and older. Partisan differences are few in evaluations of video game manufacturers. More than half (52%) of Republicans and 62% of Democrats dislike them.

Almost eight-in-ten (79%) Americans under age 30 rate the entertainment industry as favorable — a number that decreases as age increases. Half of the 50-64 age group give the industry a favorable rating while 35% of seniors level that judgment. Clinton supporters have a more positive opinion about the entertainment industry, with 67% of this group giving that industry a favorable rating. Again, however, there are only minor partisan differences, with 58% of Republicans and 62% of Democrats giving Hollywood a favorable judgment.

	<u>Favor- able</u> %	<u>Unfavor- able</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %
The Military	83	13	4=100
Daily Newspaper ⁷⁹	17	4=100	
Local TV News	74	22	4=100
FBI	71	20	9=100
United Nations	70	23	7=100
Network TV News	68	28	4=100
NATO	67	25	8=100
Entertainment Industry	60	38	2=100
Congress	56	39	5=100
CIA	49	33	18=100
National Rifle Assoc.	46	45	9=100
HMOs	38	52	10=100
Video Game Makers	33	55	12=100

NATO Image Improves

The public's view of NATO has improved substantially in the wake of the conflict with Serbia. Two-thirds of Americans (67%) have a favorable opinion of NATO today, up from 53% in September 1998. While support for NATO is strongest among those who believe the U.S. and its allies achieved their goals with the air attacks against Serbia (77% favorable), fully 60% of even those who think the goals were not achieved have a favorable opinion of NATO.

The military continues to draw high marks, as well. Fully 83% of Americans have a favorable opinion of the military, about the same as a year ago. Some 70% view the United Nations favorably.

China Worries

As the 2000 elections approach, China looms as a potential issue. Amid growing awareness of the charges that China stole nuclear secrets from the U.S. and increased concern about U.S.-China relations, a majority of Americans now express dissatisfaction with the way the Clinton administration has handled China.

China is increasingly on the minds of Americans: a remarkable 67% now volunteer China as the country accused of stealing nuclear secrets from the United States, up from 46% in March 1999. Similarly, 55% of the public says they are following news of the charges at least fairly closely, compared to 42% in May 1999.

Among those following news of the spying charges against China, 45% say that the secrets China stole from the U.S. represent a major threat to U.S. national security; 44% say a minor threat; and 6% say no threat at all. More generally, a slim 53% majority of Americans now say that China is a serious problem, although just 18% consider China an outright adversary.

More than one-third of the public (35%) now says that relations between the U.S. and China are getting worse, up sharply from 19% in March of this year. Half say that relations are staying about the same and less than one-in-ten people (7%) say relations between the two countries are getting better.

Get Tougher

Dissatisfaction with the Clinton administration's handling of China has grown over the past several months. A 51% majority now says the administration has not been tough enough in dealing with China, compared to 44% who felt this way in March. Republicans are particularly critical of the administration's China policy: 62% of them say the administration has not been tough enough. Almost as many Independents — 57% — share this view, compared to only 39% of Democrats.

Dealing with China				
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
<i>Clinton Administration</i>	%	%	%	%
<i>has been...</i>				
Not tough enough	51	62	39	57
Too tough	1	2	1	1
About right	35	24	46	33
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100	100

To a lesser extent, the public says that the U.S. should favor a firm stance on human rights in China (49%) over cooperation with the Asian giant to maintain peace and prevent the spread of nuclear weapons in the region (37%). The public was divided 45%-44% on this question in March.

On trade, public opinion is less clear. Opinion splits over whether the U.S. should maintain normal trade relations with China (43%) or contain China's growth as a military power (44%). At the same time, a clear majority says that the U.S. should *not* grant China normal trade relations treatment (57% say no; 29% say yes).

Among the 39% minority who think that trade between China and Western nations will lead to China becoming more democratic, support for normal trade relations treatment is stronger — nearly half of this group (48%) favor granting China normal trade relations treatment, compared to only 20% among those who do not make this link.

TREND IN SUPPORT FOR CONTINUING CLINTON POLICIES

February 1999 vs. June 1999

	---- February 1999 ----		---- June 1999 ----		Change in Similar Policies	(N)
	Similar Policies %	Different Policies %	Similar Policies %	Different Policies %		
Total	54	41	43	50	-11	(1,153)
Sex						
Male	51	45	43	52	-8	(557)
Female	57	37	43	49	-14	(596)
Race						
White	50	45	39	54	-11	(951)
Non-white	78	19	67	30	-11	(186)
Black	83	14	77	23	-6	(105)
Race and Sex						
White Men	46	50	39	56	-7	(460)
White Women	54	40	38	53	-16	(491)
Age						
Under 30	59	38	46	52	-13	(264)
30-49	52	43	45	50	-7	(490)
50-64	55	43	42	52	-13	(226)
65+	52	37	33	49	-19	(153)
Education						
College Grad.	53	43	47	49	-6	(384)
Some College	53	42	41	53	-12	(314)
High School Grad.	53	41	43	50	-10	(370)
<H.S. Grad.	59	37	38	51	-21	(77)
Family Income						
\$75,000+	55	44	41	55	-14	(187)
\$50,000-\$74,999	53	45	48	50	-5	(209)
\$30,000-\$49,999	53	43	43	53	-10	(273)
\$20,000-\$29,999	60	35	50	41	-10	(149)
<\$20,000	52	41	42	48	-10	(193)

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

Continued ...

	---- February 1999 ----		---- June 1999 ----		Change in	
	Similar	Different	Similar	Different	Similar	(N)
	<u>Policies</u>	<u>Policies</u>	<u>Policies</u>	<u>Policies</u>	<u>Policies</u>	
	%	%	%	%		
Total	54	41	43	50	-11	(1,153)
Region						
East	56	41	48	43	-8	(235)
Midwest	49	42	41	51	-8	(274)
South	56	40	41	54	-15	(414)
West	55	41	43	50	-12	(230)
Religious Affiliation						
Total White Protestant	45	49	33	58	-12	(516)
White Prot. Evangelical	43	50	30	62	-13	(258)
White Prot. Non-Evangel.	46	49	36	54	-10	(258)
White Catholic	54	43	44	50	-10	(222)
Community Size						
Large City	63	31	53	42	-10	(234)
Suburb	53	43	42	56	-11	(276)
Small City/Town	53	42	40	52	-13	(406)
Rural Area	47	49	39	51	-8	(224)
Party ID						
Republican	22	73	20	75	-2	(311)
Democrat	83	14	65	30	-18	(391)
Independent	48	46	40	52	-8	(389)
Clinton Approval						
Approve	74	22	62	31	-12	(642)
Disapprove	16	80	13	83	-3	(398)
GOP Congressional Approval						
Approve	38	58	35	60	-3	(437)
Disapprove	67	30	49	46	-18	(529)

CHANCE OF VOTING FOR GORE OR BUSH

(Based on Registered Voters Who Could Rate Each)

	----- Al Gore -----				----- George W. Bush -----			
	Good	Some	No	Don't	Good	Some	No	Don't
	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Know</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Know</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	22	32	43	3=100	34	35	27	4=100
Sex								
Male	23	28	46	3	39	34	24	3
Female	20	35	41	4	30	36	30	4
Race								
White	19	32	46	3	36	37	24	3
Non-white	38	33	26	3	19	22	54	5
Black	40	33	23	4	15	22	58	5
Race and Sex								
White Men	20	28	49	3	41	34	22	3
White Women	17	36	43	4	32	39	25	4
Age								
Under 30	21	37	35	7	32	33	29	6
30-49	18	38	42	2	33	39	25	3
50-64	27	27	42	4	31	35	32	2
65+	22	22	53	3	43	30	23	4
Education								
College Grad.	25	27	46	2	37	36	25	2
Some College	13	36	46	5	33	33	29	5
High School Grad.	22	35	40	3	31	36	28	5
<H.S. Grad.	30	27	39	4	41	35	24	0
Family Income								
\$75,000+	20	19	59	2	44	35	17	4
\$50,000-\$74,999	24	29	43	4	35	29	32	4
\$30,000-\$49,999	21	40	38	1	30	40	29	1
\$20,000-\$29,999	26	35	30	9	22	35	34	9
<\$20,000	23	38	36	3	34	35	28	3

Question: Next, I'm going to read you a list of some people who have been in the news lately. Not everyone will have heard of them. For each one that I name, please tell me whether or not you have heard of this person.

How much of a chance is there that you would vote for (Al Gore/George W. Bush) if he is a candidate for president in 2000 — is there a good chance, some chance, or no chance?

Continued ...

	----- Al Gore -----				----- George W. Bush -----			
	Good	Some	No	Don't	Good	Some	No	Don't
	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Know</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Know</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	22	32	43	3=100	34	35	27	4=100
Region								
East	25	33	37	5	31	36	28	5
Midwest	23	35	38	4	31	31	35	3
South	18	28	50	4	45	32	19	4
West	20	34	45	1	22	45	31	2
Religious Affiliation								
Total White Protestant	15	30	51	4	44	35	18	3
White Prot. Evangelical	13	28	55	4	45	33	20	2
White Prot. Non-Evangel.	17	31	47	5	43	36	16	5
White Catholic	25	34	38	3	27	38	31	4
Community Size								
Large City	29	28	40	3	33	28	38	1
Suburb	24	32	43	1	31	34	30	5
Small City/Town	20	35	41	4	32	38	26	4
Rural Area	14	31	51	4	43	38	17	2
Party ID								
Republican	8	17	73	2	66	27	5	2
Democrat	36	42	18	4	15	37	46	2
Independent	17	35	45	3	26	40	28	6
Clinton Approval								
Approve	35	38	23	4	19	37	41	3
Disapprove	3	23	74	*	57	30	10	3
GOP Congressional Approval								
Approve	17	24	57	2	54	31	12	3
Disapprove	28	34	35	3	22	36	39	3

FAVORABILITY RATINGS FOR ORGANIZATIONS IN THE NEWS

	<i>Health Maintenance Organizations</i>		<i>NATO</i>		<i>Video Game Manufactures</i>		<i>Motion Picture & Entertainment TV Industry</i>	
	<u>Favor-able</u>	<u>Unfavor-able</u>	<u>Favor-able</u>	<u>Unfavor-able</u>	<u>Favor-able</u>	<u>Unfavor-able</u>	<u>Favor-able</u>	<u>Unfavor-able</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	38	52	67	25	33	55	60	38
Sex								
Male	40	51	68	28	40	48	63	36
Female	37	53	67	23	25	63	56	41
Race								
White	37	53	69	25	30	57	60	38
Non-white	46	48	57	29	46	49	60	38
Race and Sex								
White Men	38	53	67	29	37	50	63	36
White Women	36	53	70	21	23	64	57	40
Age								
Under 30	48	45	60	31	57	38	79	18
30-49	36	58	69	22	32	58	64	35
50-64	31	54	69	29	22	62	50	49
65+	38	45	70	20	14	66	35	60
Education								
College Grad.	35	60	80	17	28	55	61	37
Some College	36	61	68	27	33	56	60	39
High School Grad.	39	49	65	27	35	55	61	37
<H.S. Grad.	45	30	49	32	31	59	53	42
Family Income								
\$75,000+	39	60	81	18	32	51	62	37
\$50,000-\$74,999	34	62	78	18	32	60	62	36
\$30,000-\$49,999	33	61	68	28	29	58	63	36
\$20,000-\$29,999	50	41	55	34	38	50	56	40
<\$20,000	41	43	61	28	34	60	60	40

Question: Now I'd like your opinion of some groups and organizations. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of (Health maintenance organizations, HMOs/NATO/Video game manufacturers/The motion picture and entertainment television industry) is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?

Continued ...

	<i>Health Maintenance Organizations</i>		<i>NATO</i>		<i>Video Game Manufactures</i>		<i>Motion Picture & Entertainment TV Industry</i>	
	<u>Favor-able</u>	<u>Unfavor-able</u>	<u>Favor-able</u>	<u>Unfavor-able</u>	<u>Favor-able</u>	<u>Unfavor-able</u>	<u>Favor-able</u>	<u>Unfavor-able</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Total</i>	38	52	67	25	33	55	60	38
<i>Region</i>								
East	41	52	67	23	32	57	63	34
Midwest	39	49	74	20	30	59	64	33
South	37	52	63	28	35	54	56	43
West	37	55	68	28	32	54	56	43
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>								
Total White Protestant	36	52	68	25	29	60	61	38
White Prot. Evangelical	45	40	63	25	27	64	57	43
White Prot. Non-Evangel.	25	66	75	24	31	56	65	33
White Catholic	39	51	77	18	31	56	55	40
<i>Community Size</i>								
Large City	44	51	69	25	34	51	56	41
Suburb	41	56	78	18	33	57	60	36
Small City/Town	36	51	61	30	35	53	57	41
Rural Area	34	51	66	24	26	63	68	31
<i>Party ID</i>								
Republican	41	51	69	26	34	52	58	42
Democrat	40	53	76	18	28	62	62	34
Independent	35	53	58	33	37	51	60	38
<i>Clinton Approval</i>								
Approve	40	53	76	17	36	52	67	29
Disapprove	35	54	58	36	26	62	48	52
<i>GOP Congressional Approval</i>								
Approve	44	49	71	23	37	54	66	32
Disapprove	35	55	65	29	30	56	55	44
<i>Clinton Foreign Policy Approval</i>								
Approve	39	53	78	17	33	56	65	32
Disapprove	36	53	53	40	33	56	49	51

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for the main survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,153 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period June 9-13, 1999. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=582) or Form 2 (N=571), 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 1998). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
JUNE 1999 NEWS INTEREST INDEX
FINAL TOPLINE
June 9 - 13, 1999
N=1,153

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>
June, 1999	55	35	10=100
May, 1999	56	34	10=100
April, 1999	56	38	6=100
March, 1999	62	31	7=100
February, 1999	64	30	6=100
Mid-January, 1999	66	29	5=100
January, 1999	63	30	7=100
Late December, 1998	71	27	2=100
Early December, 1998	61	32	7=100
November, 1998	65	29	6=100
September 21-22, 1998	62	33	5=100
September 19-20, 1998	55	36	9=100
Early September, 1998	61	33	6=100
Late August, 1998	62	32	6=100
Early August, 1998	63	28	9=100
June, 1998	59	32	9=100
May, 1998	62	28	10=100
April, 1998	62	28	10=100
March, 1998	65	26	9=100
Early February, 1998	71	26	3=100
January, 1998	61	30	9=100
November, 1997	58	31	11=100
September, 1997	58	29	13=100
August, 1997	59	32	9=100
June, 1997	54	34	12=100
May, 1997	57	34	9=100
April, 1997	55	34	11=100
February, 1997	60	32	8=100
Early February, 1997	57	30	13=100
January, 1997	59	31	10=100
November, 1996	57	34	9=100
July, 1996	54	38	8=100
June, 1996	54	38	8=100
April, 1996	53	39	8=100
March, 1996	55	38	7=100
February, 1996	51	39	10=100
January, 1996	50	43	7=100
October, 1995	48	42	10=100
September, 1995	45	42	13=100
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

Q.1 CONTINUED ...

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

Q.2 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
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.4 What do you think is the most important problem facing the country today? **(PROBE FOR CLARITY. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION)**

	<u>May 1998</u>	<u>Nov 1997</u>	<u>July 1996</u>	<u>June 1995</u>	<u>April 1995</u>	<u>Oct 1994</u>	<u>July 1994</u>	<u>June 1994</u>	<u>Mar 1994</u>	<u>Dec 1993</u>	<u>Sept 1993</u>	<u>June 1993</u>	<u>April 1993</u>
11 Crime/Gangs/ Justice system	13	12	19	22	23	28	26	22	31	25	15	7	5
11 Morality/Ethics/ Family values	10	9	13	12	10	8	9	10	10	6	8	7	3
7 Teen violence/Violence in schools	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
7 Education	9	5	6	6	7	2	3	4	5	5	4	5	2
6 Too many guns/Gun control	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5 Drugs/Alcohol	7	7	8	5	9	2	3	6	10	8	5	5	4
5 War in Kosovo/ Yugoslavia/The Balkans/Serbia	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4 Other internat'l issues	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4 Unemployment/ Lack of jobs	6	6	7	10	9	9	12	12	12	15	23	19	18
4 Too much foreign aid/ Spend money at home	2	1	5	2	3	2	2	1	2	1	*	2	2
4 Other social issues	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4 Homeless	2	3	2	4	3	4	4	2	3	5	2	5	2
3 Dissatisfaction with government/politics	5	4	8	6	6	5	4	5	5	2	5	5	3
3 Youth/Teenage kids not acting responsible	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Q.4 CONTINUED ...

		May 1998	Nov 1997	July 1996	June 1995	April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994	June 1994	Mar 1994	Dec 1993	Sept 1993	June 1993	April 1993
3	Health care/Cost, availability of care	4	5	4	7	5	10	14	20	14	14	12	11	13
3	Poverty	3	3	3	4	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	3
3	Economy (general)	4	4	4	5	5	7	5	4	4	6	9	17	18
3	Issues related to elderly	3	1	2	*	1	*	*	*	1	1	*	2	2
2	Scandal/Corruption in government	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2	Taxes	4	3	3	3	4	2	2	1	3	2	3	4	4
2	China/Relations with China/Stolen secrets/ China spy	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1	Racism	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	3	2	3
1	Deficit/National debt/ Balanced budget	6	5	7	9	13	8	5	4	5	6	9	13	17
1	Other domestic issues	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1	Welfare abuse	3	1	7	5	9	1	2	4	2	*	*	*	*
*	Inflation/Difference between wages/Costs	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2
*	Environment/Pollution	2	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	2	1	1	*	2
*	Defense issues	1	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
*	AIDS	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
*	Terrorism	*	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
6	Other	5	6	2	2	3	4	6	2	2	*	2	4	8
1	None	*	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
11	Don't know/No answer	12	7	6	3	3	5	3	5	4	6	4	2	4
8	ECONOMIC (NET)	16	18	18	28	30	27	26	22	26	33	47	53	58
6	POVERTY/ HOMELESS (NET)	6	6	5	8	6	7	7	4	6	*	*	*	*
11	DEFENSE/INTER- NATIONAL (NET)	5	10	1	9	2	5	7	4	2	*	4	*	*
		(981)	(599)	(1216)	(1500)	(1800)	(2052)	(3800)	(511)	(989)	(1479)	(2000)	(1507)	(1011)

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.5 Do you happen to know which country was recently accused of spying on the U.S. and stealing nuclear secrets?
(IF YES, ASK: Which country?)

		March 1999 ¹
67	China	46
5	Other answers	11
25	No	33
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>10</u>
100		100

Q.6 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?
[INSERT ITEM; ALWAYS ASK "b1" and "b2" IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING "a"; ALWAYS ASK "g" LAST; ROTATE REMAINING ITEMS]

		Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK (VOL.)
a.	NATO air strikes against Serbian forces	32	42	15	10	1=100
	May, 1999	32	38	19	10	1=100
	Late April, 1999	41	39	13	7	*=100
	April, 1999	41	37	16	6	0=100
	March, 1999 ²	43	32	15	9	1=100
	February, 1999 ³	11	30	28	30	1=100
	Mid-January, 1999 ⁴	9	21	24	44	2=100
	March, 1998 ⁵	5	12	26	55	2=100

**ALWAYS ASK "b1" and "b2" IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING "a":
ASKED WEDNESDAY ONLY [N=324]:**

b1. Efforts to reach a peace agreement with Serbia 30 35 23 12 0=100

ASKED THURSDAY - SUNDAY ONLY [N=830]:

b2. The peace agreement between NATO and Serbia 28 39 20 12 1=100

c. Debates about gun control legislation
in Congress and state legislatures 28 37 22 12 1=100

d. Reports that Hillary Clinton might
run for the U.S. Senate 14 32 31 22 1=100
 February, 1999 19 35 24 21 1=100

¹ In March 1999, the question was worded as: "Do you happen to know which country was recently accused of stealing nuclear technology from the United States?"

² In March 1999, the story was listed as "NATO air strikes against Serbian forces in Kosovo."

³ In February 1999, the story was listed as "NATO efforts to end ethnic conflict in Kosovo, Serbia."

⁴ In Mid-January, 1999, the story was listed as "The massacre of 45 people in Kosovo, Serbia."

⁵ In March 1998, the story was listed as "Ethnic conflict in Kosovo, Serbia."

Q.6 CONTINUED ...

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	DK (VOL.)
e. The crash of an American Airlines flight in Arkansas	19	38	25	17	1=100
f. News about candidates for the 2000 presidential election	11	25	29	34	1=100

ALWAYS ASK “g” LAST:

g. Accusations that China stole nuclear technology from U.S. laboratories	21	34	22	21	2=100
May, 1999	18	24	24	31	3=100
March, 1999	19	24	24	32	1=100

ASK ALL:

NOW A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT POLITICS...

Q.7 Suppose the 2000 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

IF ‘3’ OTHER, ‘8’ DON’T KNOW, OR ‘9’ REFUSED IN Q.7, ASK:

Q.8 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=851]:

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

6

Early November 1996 trend based on likely voters.

- Q.9 Next, I'm going to read you a list of some people who have been in the news lately. Not everyone will have heard of them. For each one that I name, please tell me whether or not you have heard of this person. (First, **(INSERT NAME; ROTATE ITEMS)**, have you heard of this person or not? **(IF YES, ASK Q.10; IF NO, DK, SKIP TO NEXT ITEM.)** **[NOTE: ASK ITEMS A-I AND ITEMS J-K IN BLOCKS; ROTATE BLOCKS, AND ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS WITHIN BLOCKS]**)
- Q.10 How much of a chance is there that you would vote for **(INSERT NAME)** if (he/she) is a candidate for president in 2000 — is there a good chance, some chance, or no chance?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=851]:

					<i>Based on Those Who Have Heard</i>				
		Have	Have not	DK/	Good	Some	No	DK/	(N)
		Heard	Heard	Ref.	Chance	Chance	Chance	Ref.	
a.	Dan Quayle	95	5	*=100	9	28	61	2=100	(815)
	May, 1999	97	3	0=100	9	29	58	4=100	
	February, 1999	97	3	0=100	9	33	54	4=100	
b.	George W. Bush	96	4	*=100	34	35	27	4=100	(819)
	May, 1999	95	4	1=100	34	34	28	4=100	
	February, 1999	95	5	*=100	32	36	27	5=100	
c.	Elizabeth Dole	92	8	*=100	19	42	36	3=100	(787)
	May, 1999	93	7	*=100	20	43	33	4=100	
	February, 1999	91	9	*=100	26	38	33	3=100	
d.	Steve Forbes	75	25	*=100	9	31	53	7=100	(664)
	May, 1999	70	29	1=100	9	34	51	6=100	
	February, 1999	71	29	*=100	8	35	52	5=100	
e.	Patrick Buchanan	84	15	1=100	4	25	65	6=100	(732)
	May, 1999	85	15	*=100	5	29	60	6=100	
	February, 1999	83	15	2=100	6	26	63	5=100	
f.	John McCain	43	56	1=100	15	40	36	9=100	(382)
	May, 1999	36	63	1=100	16	37	39	8=100	
	February, 1999	32	67	1=100	16	42	35	7=100	
g.	John Kasich	21	78	1=100	11	22	56	11=100	(197)
	May, 1999	22	77	1=100	11	26	52	11=100	
	February, 1999	21	78	1=100	16	31	45	8=100	
h.	Gary Bauer	20	79	1=100	9	25	55	11=100	(187)
	May, 1999	19	80	1=100	10	17	60	13=100	
	February, 1999	18	81	1=100	12	26	51	11=100	
i.	Lamar Alexander	52	47	1=100	3	26	63	8=100	(475)
	May, 1999	48	51	1=100	6	27	59	8=100	
	February, 1999	42	57	1=100	6	27	60	7=100	
j.	Al Gore	98	2	*=100	22	32	43	3=100	(832)
	May, 1999	97	3	0=100	20	27	49	4=100	
	February, 1999	98	2	0=100	22	30	45	3=100	

Q.9/Q.10 CONTINUED ...

		<i>Based on Those Who Have Heard</i>						
		Have	Have not	DK/	Good	Some	No	DK/
		<u>Heard</u>	<u>Heard</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
								<u>(N)</u>
k.	Bill Bradley	61	38	1=100	15	38	37	10=100 (531)
	May, 1999	60	38	2=100	12	39	40	9=100
	February, 1999	55	44	1=100	14	41	39	6=100

Q.11 When you think about **(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE)**... what issues or policies come to mind? What about...
(OPEN-END, RECORD VERBATIM, PROBE FOR CLARITY ONLY. ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR THEM. ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES)

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS: [FORM 1 N=438; FORM 2 N=413]

	George W. <u>Bush</u>	Elizabeth <u>Dole</u>	Al <u>Gore</u>	Bill <u>Bradley</u>
Listed an issue or policy	20	16	32	10
Other answer	23	25	19	13
Don't know/Refused	<u>57</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>77</u>
	100	100	100	100
	(Form 1)	(Form 2)	(Form 1)	(Form 2)

ASK ALL:

Q.12 Still thinking about the elections next year, how important is it to you which party wins control of the U.S. Congress? Is it ...

34	Very important
36	Fairly important
19	Not too important
9	Not at all important
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.13 Now I'd like your opinion of some groups and organizations. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... **(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE)** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? **(INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")**

ITEMS "a" THRU "g" ASKED FORM 1 ONLY [N=582]:

ITEMS "h" THRU "m" ASKED FORM 2 ONLY [N=571]:

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard Of	Can't Rate
a.F1	Congress	9	47	30	9	*	5=100
	February, 1999	4	48	36	8	0	4=100
	January, 1999	7	41	30	15	0	7=100
	Early December, 1998	11	41	29	12	0	7=100
	October, 1998	7	55	25	8	0	5=100
	Early September, 1998	7	59	22	5	0	7=100
	October, 1997	5	48	33	11	0	3=100
	August 1997	6	44	33	11	0	6=100
	June, 1997	4	48	34	8	0	6=100
	May, 1997	5	44	32	10	*	9=100
	February, 1997	6	46	31	9	*	8=100
	January, 1997	6	50	32	8	*	4=100
	June, 1996	6	39	38	12	*	5=100
	April, 1996	6	39	37	13	0	5=100
	January, 1996	4	38	38	16	*	4=100
	October, 1995	4	38	42	13	0	3=100
	August, 1995	5	40	34	13	*	7=100
	June, 1995	8	45	31	11	*	5=100
	February, 1995	10	44	27	10	0	9=100
	July, 1994	7	46	34	9	*	4=100
	May, 1993	8	35	35	13	0	9=100
	November, 1991	7	44	34	9	0	6=100
	March, 1991	16	50	19	7	0	8=100
	May, 1990	6	53	25	9	1	6=100
	May, 1988	8	56	23	5	0	8=100
	January, 1988	6	58	25	4	0	7=100
	May, 1987	10	64	16	4	*	6=100
	January, 1987	7	52	23	8	0	10=100
	June, 1985	9	58	21	5	*	7=100

Q.13 CONTINUED ...

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard Of	Can't Rate
b.F1	The military	36	47	11	2	0	4=100
	September, 1998	29	57	7	3	0	4=100
	October, 1997	22	56	13	5	0	4=100
	May, 1997	23	57	11	5	0	4=100
	February, 1996	33	49	12	4	*	2=100
	July, 1994	30	57	8	3	*	2=100
	May, 1993	32	53	8	2	0	5=100
	March, 1991	60	34	2	2	0	2=100
	May, 1990	18	55	15	6	*	6=100
	January, 1988	20	57	14	3	*	6=100
	April, 1987	17	63	12	4	0	4=100
	January, 1987	19	54	11	5	*	11=100
	July, 1986	32	53	7	3	0	5=100
	June, 1985	24	53	13	5	*	5=100
c.F1	The National Rifle Association	17	29	24	21	1	8=100
	September, 1998	16	32	22	18	2	10=100
	August, 1995	16	28	24	21	1	10=100
	June, 1995	16	28	24	24	2	6=100
	July, 1994	19	36	21	16	1	7=100
d.F1	The United Nations	19	51	16	7	0	7=100
	September, 1998	14	55	16	7	*	8=100
	September, 1997	11	53	19	9	*	8=100
	February, 1996	19	46	20	9	1	5=100
	June, 1995	14	53	20	8	*	5=100
	February, 1995	13	49	18	8	*	12=100
	July, 1994	21	55	14	5	1	4=100
	May, 1993	21	52	13	4	0	10=100
	May, 1990	15	55	13	6	1	10=100
e.F1	The Federal Bureau of Investigation, the FBI	17	54	13	7	*	9=100
	October, 1997	13	54	17	8	*	8=100
	May, 1997	12	48	21	7	0	12=100
	August, 1995	16	48	19	9	*	8=100
	ABC/W.Post, May 1995	34	48	3	6	*	9=100
	Roper, August 1987	28	50	14	3		5=100
	Roper, August 1986	25	50	13	4		8=100
	Roper, August 1985	24	48	15	5		8=100
	Roper, August 1984	30	47	14	5		4=100
	Roper, August 1983	29	46	14	5		6=100

Q.13 CONTINUED ...

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard Of	Can't Rate
f. F1	Network television news	20	48	22	6	*	4=100
	February, 1998	16	60	17	5	*	2=100
	February, 1997	15	58	18	5	*	4=100
	April, 1996	21	58	13	4	0	4=100
	January, 1996	25	58	11	4	*	2=100
	June, 1995	16	51	21	9	*	3=100
	July, 1994	17	52	22	7	*	2=100
	May, 1993	23	58	12	3	0	4=100
	January, 1992	27	55	11	2	0	5=100
	November, 1991	24	51	16	5	0	4=100
	March, 1991	40	51	5	2	0	2=100
	May, 1990	22	60	12	3	*	3=100
	August, 1989	28	54	11	3		4=100
	February, 1989	21	61	12	3		3=100
	August, 1988 ⁷	29	52	9	5		5=100
	May, 1988	20	58	14	4		4=100
	January 27, 1988	12	69	13	3		3=100
	January 7-18, 1988	18	60	14	4		4=100
	October, 1987	19	62	10	3		6=100
	May, 1987	21	63	11	3		2=100
	January, 1987	19	55	16	6		4=100
	July, 1986	30	53	10	4		3=100
	August, 1985	30	51	8	2		7=100
	June, 1985	25	59	8	2		6=100
g.F1	Local television news	25	49	15	7	*	4=100
	February, 1998	19	62	12	4	0	3=100
	February, 1997	25	56	12	3	0	4=100
	April, 1996	26	58	10	3	*	3=100
	January, 1996	28	56	10	4	*	2=100
	March, 1991	37	52	6	2	*	3=100
	August, 1989	27	53	11	4		5=100
	July, 1985	27	57	9	2		5=100
h.F2	Health maintenance organizations, HMOs	11	27	30	22	1	9=100
	September, 1998	6	30	35	21	*	8=100
i.F2	NATO	17	50	17	8	2	6=100
	September, 1997	9	44	19	9	4	15=100
	June, 1995	8	53	18	7	4	10=100

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Based on Registered voters.

Q.13 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>
j.F2	The daily newspaper you are most familiar with	24	55	11	6	*	4=100
	February, 1998	18	56	13	5	*	8=100
	February, 1997	21	53	15	4	0	7=100
	April, 1996	24	56	12	4	0	4=100
	January, 1996	27	52	11	5	*	5=100
	June, 1995	22	52	14	7	1	4=100
	July, 1994	23	57	13	5	*	2=100
	May, 1993	26	55	10	4	0	5=100
	January, 1992	27	51	13	5	0	4=100
	November, 1991	24	56	11	5	0	4=100
	March, 1991	30	55	7	3	*	5=100
	May, 1990	22	56	12	5	*	5=100
	August, 1989	25	52	12	5	6=100	
	February, 1989	22	56	13	4	5=100	
	August ⁸ , 1988	30	48	10	5	7=100	
	May, 1988	19	59	13	4	5=100	
	January 27, 1988	19	62	11	3	5=100	
	January 7-18, 1988	21	59	12	4	4=100	
	October, 1987	21	58	9	4	8=100	
	May, 1987	22	59	12	3	4=100	
	January, 1987	19	57	13	6	5=100	
	July, 1986	28	51	11	6	4=100	
	August, 1985	25	52	10	5	8=100	
	June, 1985	25	56	8	3	8=100	
k.F2	The Central Intelligence Agency	9	40	23	10	1	17=100
	February, 1998	7	44	25	7	1	16=100
	<i>Roper</i> , 1987	12	40	29	9	10=100	
	<i>Roper</i> , 1986	14	47	20	6	13=100	
	<i>Roper</i> , 1985	15	38	22	11	15=100	
	<i>Roper</i> , 1984	17	41	22	8	11=100	
l.F2	Video game manufacturers	8	25	34	21	1	11=100
m.F2	The motion picture and entertainment television industry	12	48	26	12	0	2=100

8

Based on Registered Voters.

NOW A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POLITICAL PARTIES...

Q.14 Please tell me if you think the REPUBLICAN Party or the DEMOCRATIC Party could do a better job in each of the following areas... (First,) which party could do a better job of...(READ AND ROTATE)

		Repub. <u>Party</u>	Democ. <u>Party</u>	Both Equally <u>(VOL.)</u>	Neither <u>(VOL.)</u>	Don't Know
ASK ALL:						
a.	Making wise decisions about foreign policy	37	36	7	6	14=100
	March, 1999	42	37	6	4	11=100
	September, 1998	40	31	11	5	13=100
	March, 1998	41	33	12	4	10=100
	October, 1994	47	30	7	5	11=100
	July, 1994 ⁹	51	31	4	6	8=100
	December, 1993	49	23	n/a	10	18=100
	May, 1990	39	28	n/a	17	16=100
ASK ITEMS "b" THRU "f" FORM 1 ONLY [N=582]:						
b.F1	Keeping the country prosperous	37	43	8	3	9=100
	March, 1999	39	44	5	3	9=100
	September, 1998	40	38	8	4	10=100
	March, 1998	40	40	12	3	5=100
	October, 1994	45	33	5	7	10=100
	October, 1992 ¹⁰	36	45	10	0	9=100
	October, 1990 ¹¹	37	35	0	0	28=100
c.F1	Reducing crime	35	35	12	6	12=100
	September, 1998	39	32	10	7	12=100
	March, 1998	35	34	11	10	10=100
	October, 1994	38	34	7	10	11=100
	December, 1993	29	35	n/a	17	19=100
	January, 1992	32	32	n/a	18	18=100
d.F1	Improving our educational system	29	52	7	5	7=100
	March, 1999	33	46	6	5	10=100
	September, 1998	34	42	10	4	10=100
	March, 1998	29	49	10	5	7=100
	July, 1994	37	46	4	5	8=100
	January, 1992	28	48	n/a	10	14=100
	May, 1990	30	42	n/a	14	14=100

⁹ In July 1994 and May 1990, question was worded "Making wise decisions about the country's defense policies."

¹⁰ Gallup poll conducted Oct. 23-25, 1992 based on registered voters.

¹¹ Gallup poll Oct 25-28, 1990.

Q.14 CONTINUED ...

		Repub. <u>Party</u>	Democ. <u>Party</u>	Both Equally <u>(VOL.)</u>	Neither <u>(VOL.)</u>	Don't Know
e.F1	Promoting morality and personal responsibility	40	33	7	11	9=100
	September, 1998	45	27	8	9	11=100
	March, 1998	43	29	9	11	8=100
	October, 1994	40	35	6	8	11=100
	July, 1994	46	34	4	8	8=100
f.F1	Keeping the federal budget balanced ¹²	37	41	5	8	9=100
	July, 1994	42	36	2	13	7=100
ASK ITEMS "g" THRU "I" FORM 2 ONLY [N=571]:						
g.F2	Protecting the environment	27	45	7	5	16=100
	September, 1998	25	51	8	4	12=100
	March, 1998	22	56	8	5	9=100
	July, 1994	28	56	4	4	8=100
	December, 1993	22	46	n/a	12	20=100
	May, 1990	24	40	n/a	19	17=100
h.F2	Doing the right thing about regulating HMOs and managed care	30	40	6	7	17=100
	August 1998 ¹³	29	39	--	--	32=100
i.F2	Reflecting your views about gun control	34	42	4	8	12=100
	December, 1993	32	42	--	8	18=100
j.F2	Keeping Social Security financially sound	33	41	4	9	13=100
	September, 1998	37	42	7	5	9=100
	May, 1990	28	41	n/a	16	15=100
k.F2	Dealing with taxes	38	38	5	7	12=100
	September, 1998	41	37	7	5	10=100
	March, 1998	39	40	6	7	8=100
	October, 1994	43	34	5	9	9=100
ALWAYS ASK ITEM "I" LAST						
l.F2	Dealing with China	37	30	6	6	21=100

¹² In July 1994, the item was listed as: "Reducing the federal budget deficit."

¹³ In August 1998, question was worded: "Who do you have the most confidence in to do the right thing regarding the regulation of HMOs and managed care plans — the Republicans in Congress or the Democrats in Congress?"

ASK ALL:

Q.15 There has been some talk that Hillary Clinton might run for the U.S. Senate in New York. Would you like to see her do this or not?

		Dec <u>1998</u> ¹⁴
48	Yes	38
34	No	57
16	(VOL.-DO NOT READ) Don't Care	--
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>
100		100

NOW THINKING ABOUT SOME POLICY AREAS...

Q.16 Do you think that we should increase our defense spending, keep it about the same, or cut it back?

		<u>Sept</u> <u>1997</u> ¹⁵	<u>Feb</u> <u>1995</u> ¹⁶	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u> *	<u>Sept</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Oct-Nov</u> <u>1990</u> *	<u>Oct-Nov</u> <u>1986</u> *	<u>Oct-Nov</u> <u>1982</u> *	<u>Nov</u> <u>1978</u> *	<u>Dec</u> <u>1974</u> *
31	Increase	17	19	18	10	12	21	22	32	13
47	Keep same	57	56	53	52	53	55	52	45	47
19	Cut back	24	24	26	36	32	23	24	16	33
<u>3</u>	DK/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Gallup trend.

Q.17 What do you think is more important — to protect the right of Americans to own guns, OR to control gun ownership?

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

¹⁴ In December 1998, the question was worded: "Would you like to see Hillary Clinton run for high political office someday or not?"

¹⁵ In September 1997, the question was worded: "Do you think that we should increase our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?"

¹⁶ In February 1995 and in previous months, the question was worded: "Do you think that we should expand our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?"

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.18 If a television news magazine such as 60 Minutes or 20/20 was doing an in-depth program about a candidate running in the next election, who would you MOST want to watch a program about... **(READ RESPONSE CATEGORIES; ROTATE RESPONSE CATEGORIES)?**

10	Bill Bradley
30	George W. Bush
16	Hillary Clinton
14	Elizabeth Dole
15	Al Gore
5	John McCain
5	None of the above (VOL. — DO NOT READ)
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. — DO NOT READ)
100	

Q.19 Looking ahead to the next presidential election, would you like to see a president who offers policies and programs similar to those of the Clinton administration, OR would you like to see a president who offers different policies and programs?

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

Q.20 Now thinking about both the strengths and weaknesses of Bill Clinton as a person, would you like to see the next president have personal qualities similar to Bill Clinton, OR would you like to see a president who has different personal qualities?

		February
		<u>1999</u>
12	Similar personal qualities	17
83	Different personal qualities	78
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>
100		100

ASK ALL:

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.31 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of China today. . . Do you think China is **(READ)**:

		March	Sept
		<u>1999</u>	<u>1997</u>
18	An adversary	20	14
53	A serious problem, but not an adversary	48	46
22	OR, Not much of a problem	25	32
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=582]:

Q.32F1 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?

32	Yes
54	No
<u>14</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=571]:

Q.33F2 As you may know, the United States grants a trade status to most nations it trades with known as Most Favored Nation status. In your opinion, should the U.S. grant this same status to China, or not?

		July <u>1998</u>	May <u>1998</u>
29	Yes	35	36
57	No	55	53
<u>14</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.34 What is your impression... These days are relations between the U.S. and China improving, getting worse, or staying about the same?

		March <u>1999</u>	August <u>1995</u>
7	Improving	13	16
35	Getting worse	19	22
50	Staying about the same	60	53
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100

Q.35 From what you know or have read, do you think that China's government is becoming more democratic and is allowing more freedoms for Chinese citizens, or do you think this is not happening?

		March <u>1999</u>	Early Aug <u>1998</u>	<i>Gallup</i> <u>Oct 1997</u>
26	Becoming more democratic	23	35	26
60	Not happening	65	51	64
<u>14</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.36 Do you think that trade between China and Western nations will lead to China becoming more democratic, or don't you think so?

39 Yes
47 No
14 Don't know/Refused
100

Q.37 In your opinion, has the Clinton administration been too tough, not tough enough, or about right in its dealings with China?

		March <u>1999</u>
1	Too tough	2
51	Not tough enough	44
35	About right	43
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>
100		100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=582]:

Q.38F1 In your opinion, which is more important — to contain China's growth as a military power, OR to maintain normal relations with China as a trading partner, even if it means overlooking some of their military developments?

		March <u>1999</u>
44	Contain China as military power	47
43	Maintain normal relations	42
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>
100		100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=571]:

Q.39F2 In your opinion, which is more important — to cooperate with China in order to help maintain peace and prevent the spread of nuclear weapons in Asia, OR to take a firm stand with China against human rights abuses there, even if it increases tensions between the U.S. and China?

		March <u>1999</u>
37	Cooperate with China to maintain peace	45
49	Take a firm stand with China	44
<u>14</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>
100		100

IF FOLLOWING CHINA STORY (1, 2 OR 3 IN Q.6g), ASK [N=915]:

Q.40 From what you have read or heard, do you think that the nuclear secrets China stole from the United States represent a major threat to U.S. national security, a minor threat, or no threat at all?

45 Major threat
44 Minor threat
6 No threat at all
5 Don't know/Refused
100