

Third Force

Why Independents Turned Against Democrats
and How to Win Them Back

November 1994
The Revolt Against Politics
Stanley B. Greenberg
President, Greenberg Research, Inc.

New Democrats and the 1994 Election
Al From
President, Democratic Leadership Council
Will Marshall
President, Progressive Policy Institute

A Talk with Independent Votes
Tom Mirga
Editor, The New Democrat

About the Authors

Stanley B. Greenberg is president of Greenberg Research, Inc., a national survey and polling firm. He was pollster and senior adviser to President Clinton's campaign and now serves as the pollster to the President and advisor to the Democratic National Committee.

Al From is president and a founder of the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC). A veteran Capitol Hill and White House aide, From was head of domestic policy for President Clinton's transition. During 1992, he served as then-Governor Clinton's personal representative on the Democratic platform drafting committee.

Will Marshall is president and a founder of the Progressive Policy Institute (PPI). Marshall is co-editor of Mandate for Change (Berkley Books 1993), PPI's bestselling book calling for fundamental changes in national policy. He is also director of the Progressive Foundation, an independent center for public policy research.

Tom Mirga is editor of The New Democrat, the magazine of the Democratic Leadership Council. He formally was news editor of Education Week, the nation's leading education trade journal.

New Democrats and the 1994 Elections

Al From and Will Marshall

In the 1994 midterm election, the voters delivered an emphatic and unequivocal rebuke to Democrats as America's governing party and as the party of government. For the first time in nearly half a century, Republicans won a majority of the popular vote for the House of Representatives.

In 1992, the voters sought fundamental change by electing a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress. Last week they rendered their verdict: The Democrats delivered politics as usual, not fundamental change.

That is a principal conclusion of the Democratic Leadership Council's (DLC) post-election study of

independent voters, the crucial swing bloc that holds the balance of power in U.S. politics. According to the study, conducted by pollster Stanley B. Greenberg, independents in the past two years have come to identify the Democratic Party with what they dislike the most: big government and the political status quo in Washington.

But rather than denying the depth of their defeat, Democrats should view the 1994 election as liberating. This election ended any illusion that the old New Deal coalition, which cracked three decades ago in Presidential elections, could somehow be put back together. Democrats, beginning with President Clinton, are now free to pursue a new course.

The DLC/Greenberg study shows where that course lies. While independents were emphatic in their rejection of the old liberal solutions, they strongly identify with the New Democrat approach to governing. For instance, they want to end welfare dependency, but not public support for people struggling to be self-sufficient. They want more job training, but not more government bureaucracy. They want government action to control health care costs and ensure universal coverage, but not more government control over their health care decisions. The evidence is conclusive that Democrats must embrace a new substantive and political strategy to win these swing voters.

For now, the trend is heading in the wrong direction. Based on a nationwide survey of 1,250 voters, including 750 independents, on November 8 and 9 as well as focus groups in Michigan and California, the DLC/Greenberg study amplifies election results that show both President Clinton and congressional Democrats losing ground among independents since 1992.

In last week's election a majority of independents 56 to 44 voted for the Republican candidate for the House. That's a 20 point swing from the 1992 vote for the House, when independents voted 54 to 46 for the Democrat.

In 1992, President Clinton won a plurality of independents (38 percent), compared to 32 percent for President Bush and 30 percent for Ross Perot. But according to the new study, 54 percent of independents are disappointed in President Clinton. What's more, Democrats have lost ground among Perot voters, who make up about a third of the independent voters today. A DLC\Greenberg survey taken 18 months ago showed that Perot voters would have split their votes evenly between President Clinton and President Bush had Perot not been on the ballot. Last week, Perot voters by two-to-one supported Republican candidates for the House.

Why has Clinton lost ground? Independents are still willing to label Clinton as a New Democrat, but they don't think he has governed as one. Despite his efforts to reinvent government, the independents associate Clinton with big government, exemplified by his abortive health care plan. Instead of viewing him as the champion of the forgotten middle class, these voters now identify the President with an agenda for cultural liberalism, typified by his support for gays in the military.

On the other hand, most independents (outside of the

South) have not made a final judgment on Bill Clinton's presidency. And by two-to-one they think he is trying to move the country in the right direction. But they question whether he's getting the job done. In fact, just half of these voters think he is moving the country in the right direction.

While independents voted decisively against the Democrats, there is little evidence that they have embraced a Republican agenda. On the contrary, they seem resolutely non-ideological in their political judgments. Their fickle attachment to either party suggests we are in for a long period of volatility in national politics. In 1994, independents swung against Clinton and the Democrats just as they deserted Bush and the GOP in 1992. If Newt Gingrich and the new Republican majority in Congress don't deliver what they want, the swing bloc is just as liable to turn on them. Moreover, this pattern suggests the Republicans don't have much time. Bush's ratings fell from the stratosphere (more than 90 percent approval after the Gulf War) to the cellar in just 16 months; things have gone sour for the Democrats in less than two years. What this means is that the Republicans simply don't have the luxury to engage in the usual partisan gamesmanship, obstruction, and ideological posturing.

The independents motto is, just do it. They are anti-establishment: They mistrust big business as well as big government and want to see the special interest stranglehold on Washington broken. Their anger fastens on the political class in general: on lobbyists and influence peddlers; on arrogant and unresponsive bureaucrats; on public policy experts who fail to consult the people on what they want; and, on politicians who sharpen ideological differences to mobilize their respective constituencies rather than bridging the partisan divide to find common solutions to the nation's problems.

They are deeply skeptical of big, bureaucratic government and want to see its size and cost reduced. At the same time, however, they do not favor a shrunken, passive government. What they are looking for is a new kind of government that helps them solve their problems without overtaxing and overregulating them.

The independents are economically insecure. Despite a growing economy, their confidence in the Democrats ability to make America prosperous has fallen by 20 points in the last two years. Especially in the focus groups, independent voters express deep concern about the breakdown of family and community. On questions of values, personal responsibility, social order, and discipline, the GOP holds a significant advantage.

The good news in the DLC study is that independents strongly identify with a New Democrat agenda. While they want to cut government bureaucracy, they also want government's help in solving their problems. They strongly favor welfare reform, but their goal is work and self-sufficiency, not punitive measures that deny our most vulnerable families any public assistance. They continue to back public efforts to control health care costs and assure universal coverage. Their anti-establishment sentiment and economic populism mean that they favor policies that empower workers and entrepreneurs rather than the GOP's traditional

bias toward big business.

How should New Democrats react to the midterm election? By acting boldly to occupy the vital center of the U.S. political debate across a spectrum of key national issues. Such a strategy will create opportunities to exploit fissures in the GOP coalition and nudge conservatives to the hard right.

There is no alternative strategy. If the 1994 midterm election signalled anything, it was the death of the New Deal majority and the governing views on which it was based. For Democrats to be successful in a new political era, we must offer the nation a progressive governing philosophy that defines a new center in American politics.

Today's electorate is so alienated from politics as usual that, given a choice between the status quo of special interest liberalism and conservative attempts to dismantle that status quo, it will invariably choose the latter. It's up to New Democrats to offer the American people a better choice a progressive alternative to the brain dead politics of the left and the right.

This third choice should focus on three overriding imperatives:

- * Restore the American dream for average working families. This means ruthlessly cutting unproductive federal spending that benefits special interests and investing the savings in further deficit reduction and in new initiatives designed to lift the prospects of working middle class families. Only by cutting existing programs can New Democrats find the resources necessary to invest in America's future. Such investments include substantial tax relief for middle class families with children and a new G.I. bill for American workers intended to enable U.S. workers to prosper in the information economy by continuously upgrading their education and skills.
- * Repair the nation's tattered social fabric. It is critical that New Democrats reinvent America's social agenda. The old liberal approaches have failed but we cannot trust the new Republican majority in Congress to tackle the problems of poverty, welfare dependency, illegitimacy, and crime in a creative and humane way. New Democrats offer a new approach that both expands opportunities and demands responsibility; one that reinforces mainstream values of work, family, personal responsibility, and community. We believe, for example, not in reforming welfare but in replacing it with a work-based system that combines serious work requirements with new public supports for people struggling to find and keep private sector jobs. We oppose Republican proposals to cut off public supports for children of minor mothers as destructive of both family and opportunity.
- * Radically change governing. New Democrats should redouble efforts to reinvent the federal bureaucracy, cut the public workforce and inject choice, competition, and market incentives into the public sector. However, we also intend to push the debate in a more radical direction: toward a dramatic transfer of

power away from Washington to states, localities, communities, and citizens across America. The most profound and lasting way to change the political culture in Washington is to devolve power and responsibility to more accountable levels of government and to the mediating structures of civil society.

The 1994 midterm election closed the book on the New Deal coalition's long and honorable role in setting America on a progressive course. Instead of trying to recreate the old magic, New Democrats must create a new American agenda that is responsive to the realities and challenges of our time. The new agenda should combine progressive ideas, mainstream values, and innovative, non bureaucratic ways of governing. If Democrats can forge this new agenda, they can also win the vital center of American politics.

- * The good news in the DLC study is that independents strongly identify with a New Democrat agenda.
- * For Democrats to be successful in a new political era, we must offer the nation a progressive governing philosophy that defines a new center in American politics.

The Revolt Against Politics
Stanley B. Greenberg

I. Introduction

Voters this year revolted against Democratic-dominated national politics that seemed corrupt, divisive, and slow to address the needs of ordinary citizens. In doing so, they were voting their disappointment with the spectacle of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress who promised change but seemed unable to produce it. Many voted to change a government that spends too much and accomplishes too little and to shift public discourse away from big-government solutions.

The result was a political upheaval: Republicans picked up 52 House seats and eight Senate seats, taking control of both bodies. No Republican incumbent candidate for governor, the House, or Senate lost. Voter rage in 1994 was reserved for the Democrats.

Little wonder, then, that the new Republican leaders and many pundits have rushed to dramatic conclusions about America's future political course. Representative Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., the speaker in waiting, called it a historical tide, not just a partisan election. Senator Bob Dole, R-Kan., the next majority leader, told a reporter that the election represented a vote of no-confidence in the Clinton agenda, which means we need to develop a whole new one. I think it has the potential to be a permanent realignment, said Senator Phil Gramm, R-Texas, I think that realignment can make us the permanent majority party in the Congress.

The findings of this survey provide a healthy reality check in the midst of these apocalyptic interpretations. Republicans took just over half the votes cast 50.5 percent, to be exact on November 8, and the Republican majorities in Congress are narrow. To be sure, the Democratic losses were dramatic, but the breathtaking quality of the losses should not dominate interpretation of the meaning and consequences

of the election. Our research shows that voters in this election did not express confidence in the Republican Party, its agenda, or even its view of government. They did not close the door on the Clinton Presidency or its mission. They did not vote to eviscerate government; they voted to reform it.

Amidst the Democratic rubble of 1994, one can see a New Democrat approach that aims to reform government to empower people. The results of this study suggest that such an approach would have a powerful appeal and could form a new center in the Democratic Party and in the country's political thinking. Whether Democrats can regain their advantage in 1996, or whether Republicans can turn this election into something more enduring, depends on their understanding of the real lessons in this voter revolt against politics.

This study is based on a national survey of 1,250 voters conducted November 8-9, immediately after the election. Its core is an oversample of 750 independent voters: They constitute the main focus of the project. These voters are detached from the two national parties, and their mood and volatility will determine the future course of our politics.

The survey examined people's ballot choices, future agenda, and underlying attitudes about government, politics, and society. Much of this replicates the DLC-sponsored study of Perot voters in April 1993. To enrich the analysis, we conducted focus groups with independent voters in Macomb County, Michigan on November 9 and in Riverside, California on November 10. The Macomb groups included older and more downscale voters (aged 40 to 64, with only two college graduates), while the Riverside groups were younger and more upscale (aged 30 to 50, all with post-secondary education).

The main findings of this national survey of independent voters are as follows:

- * Voters this year were determined to send a message about the state of the country and the state of their politics both of which were seen to be under Democratic control. An extraordinary majority of 56 percent said their vote was a message about their dissatisfaction. They were intent on holding the current political class accountable for the failure of politics. Asked what their protest message was about, 45 percent said it was about politics as usual, 15 percent said about Congress, and another 15 percent said about Bill Clinton.
- * In the focus groups, one hears an electorate acutely conscious that the Democrats came to power promising change. Voters understood that Democrats were in charge of both Congress and the Presidency, but rather than addressing the country's problems they had produced only political turmoil. They believe the country is still in trouble and little has been done to improve the situation.
- * An important element of their disappointment and the outcome of this election was a feeling that

government spends too much and wastes taxpayers dollars: Nineteen percent said the mess in Washington is big government and spending. For the majority of independents who felt disappointed about Clinton, the biggest reason cited was his dependence on big-government solutions, particularly in health care. The concern about Clinton and big-government solutions was particularly marked among key swing groups, such as Perot voters and those who shifted toward the Republicans this year.

- * The electorate, particularly independent voters, wants to support a national party that uses government to empower people, not one that is indifferent to their struggles and not one that substitutes its judgment and will for the people's. By 66 to 19 percent, the electorate prefers a New Democrat who believes government should help people equip themselves to solve their own problems to a Traditional Democrat who believes government can solve problems and protect people from adversity. The New Democrat approach also dominates a Republican approach that believes government should leave people alone to solve their own problems (by 52 to 38 percent overall).
- * Only a minority of independent voters went to the polls specifically to make a statement about Bill Clinton and his Presidency. This election was not about the 1996 Presidential race. Only 8 percent said the mess in Washington is about Bill Clinton, and only 15 percent said their message was about Bill Clinton.
- * At least as striking as the disappointment are people's respect and hope for the President: By 64 to 32 percent, they say he has tried to move the country in the right direction, not in the wrong direction ; by 73 to 22 percent, they reject the idea that he is a failed President, instead saying, it is too early to tell ; by 68 to 30 percent, they are still hopeful that Clinton can succeed, rejecting the notion that they have given up on Clinton.
- * While Bill Clinton was not personally the dominant issue in the election, feelings about him had an important impact on segments of the electorate that shifted sharply Republican:
 - Perot voters contributed powerfully to the Republican gains by turning their revolt against politics into a revolt against Democrats and government and to some extent Clinton.
 - The voters who stayed home were mostly younger and non-college educated; they leaned strongly Democratic but remained disengaged largely because of their ambivalence about the President.
 - The intense polarization of Republicans against Clinton and the Democrats likely produced a more uniform Republican vote at the congressional level than in previous years.
 - Southern voters, and particularly Southern independents, turned against the Democratic Party

and the President: By two-to-one, these independents thought Clinton was taking the country in the wrong direction.

- * The results of the 1994 election were produced by a collapse of confidence in the Democratic Party matching the Republican collapse of 1988-92. But in fact both national parties are in trouble. Feelings about the Republican Party are virtually unchanged since its 1992 defeat. The 1994 election was not a vote of confidence.
- * People are deeply torn over the proper role and nature of government. Only 24 percent of the independents say they are looking for a government that is smaller, costs less, and does less. Instead, they want a government that belongs to the people rather than to special interests (54 percent) and that delivers services more efficiently and less expensively (50 percent).

II. Politics As Usual: 1994

Voters were determined to send a message about the state of the country and the state of politics both of which were seen to be under Democratic control. More than two-thirds of the independent voters said they believed the country was on the wrong track, and an extraordinary majority of 56 percent said their vote sent a message of dissatisfaction. That was particularly true of voters who defected this year from the Democrats (based on their voting history) and from Ross Perot to vote Republican for Congress this year: More than 70 percent of these voters said they were sending such a message.

The protest message centered, above all, on the nature of our politics. People believe that the national political world under Democratic leadership has become tangled in partisan bickering, and that gridlock blocks action on behalf of the country. Voters see an arrogant political system with entrenched, prosperous politicians who respond to special interests rather than to the people who elected them. When asked to describe the mess in Washington, nearly a majority of the independent voters (48 percent) mention this corrupt political world. When asked what their protest message was about, 45 percent said it was about politics as usual ; another 15 percent said Congress ; another 15 percent said Bill Clinton. (See Tables 1 and 2 on the next page.)

In the focus groups, voters describe a political scene in which politicians are all out there for the dollar and not to help us. They are all out for themselves. Politicians aren't for people anymore, they are in it for the money-making. A California woman remarked: They are living the high life and playing with all these numbers and most everybody is living paycheck to paycheck and trying to clothe their kids and these are the issues. They are up there playing and partying and all this other crap. In Washington, DC one man observed: The lobbyist with the most money gets the answer take the lobbyists out, then your Senate and your Congress is going to listen to who elected them.

In the focus groups, one hears an electorate acutely

conscious that the Democrats came to power promising change. Voters understood that Democrats were in charge of both Congress and the Presidency and that, rather than addressing the country's problems, they produced only political turmoil. They believe the country is still in trouble and few steps have been taken to improve the situation. People believe their families are still just holding on. The voters as illustrated in the following quotes that were taken from focus group participants were intent on sending a message about politics and the Democrats. They were intent on using their vote to hold the current political class accountable for the failure of politics.

Focus group of women in Warren, Michigan:

I don't even know what to change but we need something changed.

No, we're not getting anywhere. We're at a standstill or it's getting worse. It's not getting any better.

The Democrats have been in there for a long time. They've had the majority rule. They haven't gotten anything done. Give somebody else a chance and see how they do. And if they don't, then we can throw them out and put the Democrats back in.

They've had the majority vote and they haven't done enough. Give the Republicans a chance.

Well, change because they're just unhappy with present conditions. I don't know what's worse, gridlock or the mixture because then they fight against each other so you don't get anything done anyway.

They can't pass anything. Look at this health bill that's been going on for two years. That's all you hear about. It's like a stalemate.

Focus group of men in Warren, Michigan:

They don't listen to the people and then they wonder why they're thrown out. I think that this last election is a perfect example of it, yesterday, where masses were thrown out of office because they're not listening to what the people are telling them. The message is, wait a minute, start listening to people. Listen or leave. Listen to the public.

I don't know if there was a message as much as there's just a deep sense of anger. People are just upset, they don't know how to change things and so they're going to do it in the only way that they know how, and that's to remove some people. I think essentially that what they're saying is, listen to our interests and be accountable to us.

To me, I was just tired of what there was and need a change. It was the only legitimate change we have.

Focus group of women in Riverside, California:

Clinton had a Democratic Congress and still couldn't get anything done. If things don't get done that the public wants, you will not be re-elected.

We want a change and we want results, and we will elect the people that we think will get it done, and the Democrats aren't getting it done so we didn't elect them.

We want change, and we expect more from our rulers.

Focus group of men in Riverside, California:

It was like a Nike commercial. Just do it. Do it now, do it quickly, just do it. Enough is enough, just do it. I've been so disgusted with things, I haven't really tried to be a part of the whole thing. I think the people want to be heard. And they want the government to take us seriously about what we want.

I put down disenchantment, desire for change, mad as hell, quiet desperation.

I put down that we just don't like the way things are, and the direction of the country or the state is headed. And I think the vote wasn't a vote of confidence in any way for anyone. It was just, well, maybe somebody different can do a better job.

I'm seeing the partisan government that you're always saying, the Democratic President and the Republican Congress, they can't get together. Well, we had a Democrat with a Democrat, and nothing happened. So I say, it's gone. It doesn't work. I don't even think a Republican President with a Republican Congress can do anything.

I guess there's a lot more people that went, Well, this isn't going to work. Let's just throw all the Republicans in there and give that a shot.

I don't know if it said anything positive about the Republican Party. But it's definitely a disenchantment with the status quo.

For the most part, these responses lacked any greater specificity. This was a revolt against a politics that failed to meet people's hopes. Close to the surface, however, is a subtext about a government that spends too much and wastes taxpayers dollars: Nineteen percent said the mess in Washington is big government and spending (compared with 48 percent who said corrupt politics). Indeed, we shall see later that voters placed a high priority on the new Congress cutting spending. For many of these voters, spending has become pork driven more by politics than by genuine public need. In the focus group discussions, voters showed they were upset with a government indifferent to the meaning of money in tough times.

Warren, Michigan, women:

I think that the bill-makers are making bills with too much, they'll say that this bill should be this way but they tack on so much. If you want this subject, but you have to take so much with it that you don't want.

Warren, Michigan, men:

We don't want the government to tell us what's good for us. We don't want to drift into socialism, and I think that's the way that the current Administration appeared yesterday, was trying to push us into a socialistic country I think we're an independent spirit and we don't want to be part of a big group.

I think they want to reduce the spending and stop giving it all away. Every time they're in another country, face it, put millions of dollars over there but they're not doing anything to repair a city or assist with the inner structure of the city or anything like that. But they'll drop \$200 million over in Haiti or Israel or Hungary or Czechoslovakia when people down here, I think they're tired of that.

Riverside, California, women:

I think that people are fed up with the deficit and thinking that we are spending more and more and not seeing any results.

Riverside, California, men:

Primarily, I agree with what a lot of the people say the message was, that we re going too far left and becoming socialists, I think. And that we re being taxed into the ground. I think that is the case. But I think the people that are in Washington are there to, I mean, if you look at the way things happen, it's I'll go along with your program if you go along with mine. And everybody can go home happy and bring home the pork.

The Democrats in 1994 were associated with government, as one can see in the perceptual map, which illustrates how people think about various institutions and individuals. Government is on the Democratic side of the map, taking on a more Democratic character: This reflects a considerable change in the last year and a half. (See Figure 1, Perceptual Map, on page 19.)

The voters protest took its toll on Democrats and President Clinton because they were associated with unreformed national politics that most people believed had failed to move our country forward. However, only a minority of independent voters went to the polls specifically to make a statement about Bill Clinton and his Presidency. This election was not about the 1996 Presidential election. Only 8 percent said the mess in Washington is about Bill Clinton, while 15 percent said their vote was sending a message about Clinton.

We asked those independent voters who actually voted November 8 to describe characteristics of the candidates they supported for Congress.

- * Voters who supported a Democratic candidate were more likely to say that the candidate would do a good job (46 percent) and represent the ordinary person (43 percent). Only one in five (22 percent) described their candidate as supportive of Bill Clinton.
- * Voters who supported a Republican candidate were much more likely to say that the candidate supported big change in Washington (33 percent). They were also focused on candidates who would cut the deficit (29 percent) and taxes (27 percent). Only 19 percent said they voted for a candidate who opposes the President.
- * Voters who shifted to support a Republican candidate were more likely to say that the candidate supports big change in Washington (35 percent) and favors tax cuts (28 percent). Just 14 percent of these shifters said they voted for a candidate opposed to Clinton. (Shifters were voters with a Democratic voting history or 1992 Perot voters who supported Republicans for Congress in 1994.)

Overall, an equal number of independents described their congressional choice as for or against the President (14 to 12 percent, respectively).

In the focus groups, independent voters revolting against politics declined the easy connection with Bill Clinton. One bloc said the election was a vote of no-confidence. Clinton came in with some big ideas, sort of like what everybody's labeled now as the New Democrat and basically did an about-face. The election would stop some of his ideas from going through. Another faction thought there was a message for Clinton, though conditional. One of the California independents remarked, I think it says that the vast majority of the people do not agree with what he is attempting to do, but then immediately qualified the conclusion: He has attempted to reduce the budget so there have been some positive measures to slow down government, but I don't think whoever would be in there would be getting a positive nod because it's not going to happen fast enough. Another voter observed, I think they gave him a reality check. Probably the largest bloc separated this protest from Clinton. Many simply insisted that Clinton was not running and that this was not about him. Some went further: I am personally quite satisfied with Clinton. I was too. I didn't vote straight Democratic, but it's not because I didn't like Bill Clinton. I don't think it was a big message.

III. Bill Clinton: Unfinished Judgment

The bleak election results are not matched by equally clear judgments about the President. These key independent voters have mixed feelings about Bill Clinton, though, at the same time, they are clearly open to a successful Clinton Presidency. Overall, 52 percent of the independents and the total electorate say they approve of how Bill Clinton is handling his job as President. There are clearly two sides to the Clinton story.

A majority of these independents (55 percent) say they have felt disappointed about Bill Clinton since he took office in 1993; more than one-third of Democrats expressed such disappointment. The sense of disappointment among independents centers on two principal areas of doubt:

1. Clinton has proposed big-government solutions, particularly health care (48 percent of those with doubts).
2. Clinton has pursued a liberal agenda, like gays in the military (46 percent).

The association with big-government solutions and cultural liberalism form the first tier of doubts expressed by about half of the doubters and about a quarter of all independents. In the focus groups, voters thought of Clinton as leaning towards government, which in all the groups was immediately associated with his attempt to change the health care system. (For some of the men who did not attend college, the issue was also associated with gun control.) The second tier of disappointments include these responses: Clinton always being in trouble (38 percent of those with doubts), and Clinton not being strong enough to break gridlock (37 percent). Less important were concerns about a liberal agenda focused on taxes (29 percent), too

many foreign policy problems (29 percent), and insufficient attention to the economy (29 percent) or ordinary workers (28 percent).

The concern about Clinton and big-government solutions was particularly marked for all groups that helped turn this election for the Republicans: independents in the Midwest (52 percent) and the South (51 percent); independents who voted (51 percent, compared with 36 percent for those who did not); those who voted Republican for Congress (55 percent); Perot voters (51 percent); those sending a message (52 percent); and shifters (56 percent). In almost every case, the anti-government sentiment was almost 10 points higher than the next highest doubt.

Openness to Bill Clinton

But at least as striking as the disappointments are people's hopes for the President. Though these independent voters gave a plurality to Republican candidates in 1994 (48 to 42 percent), they give Bill Clinton a lot of credit for what he is trying to accomplish. (See Figure 2, Impression of Clinton, on page 20.) Commentators may be in the middle of burying Bill Clinton, but independent voters remain open:

- * By 46 to 45 percent, they say Bill Clinton is moving the country in the right direction, not in the wrong direction.
- * By 64 to 32 percent, they say he has tried to move the country in the right direction, not in the wrong direction.
- * By 59 to 35 percent, they say he is trying to change the Washington establishment, and is not part of it.
- * By 73 to 22 percent, they reject the idea that he is a failed President, instead saying, it is too early to tell.
- * By 68 to 30 percent, they are still hopeful that Clinton can succeed, rejecting the notion that they have given up on Clinton.

While many of the men in the focus groups doubted that he can do it saying there are too many people pulling his strings most of the participants were sticking with him: They think he's trying hard. I want him to succeed. Two years isn't a lot of time. If you give up on him, you give up on the United States. In California, the exchanges were mixed but with the same positive tilt:

I haven't given up on him any more than I gave up on the rest of them.
I am still hopeful.
I don't know. I am sort of hopeful.
I've given up.
I just think it's a lost cause just think he's going to slam up against the wall big time.
I'm still hopeful. He has his work cut out for him.

The President's Impact on the Election

While Bill Clinton was not the dominant issue in the

election, feelings about him had an important impact on segments of the electorate that shifted sharply Republican.

First, there are the Perot voters. They constitute 16 percent of the total electorate and 26 percent of the independents. They contributed powerfully to the Republican gains by turning their revolt against politics into a revolt against Democrats and government and to some extent Clinton. Since the DLC/Greenberg study of Perot voters in April 1993, this critical swing segment of the electorate has turned decidedly more negative. Negative assessments of Clinton's job performance have climbed 16 points to a disapproval rating of 56 percent. Clinton's personal favorability or thermometer score has declined from 49 to 38 degrees. Perot voters, already deeply skeptical about government, have become more intent in their belief that government always manages to mess things up : Eighty-one percent now hold that view, a rise of nine points in a year and a half.

Consequently, Perot voters this year turned sharply away from the Democrats. In April, the Democrats had a slightly more positive image (by 2 degrees) than the Republicans. Now the Republicans are favored by 6 degrees over the Democrats. And Perot voters voted by two-to-one for the Republican candidates for Congress, 59 to 33 percent.

Second, Democrats lost ground because of the composition of those who went to the polls in this off-year election. In this survey, voters said they cast their lot with the Republicans by 10 points (note that this figure is higher than the actual vote), but the non-voting electorate (people who participate in Presidential elections but stayed home this year) would have supported the Democrats by 12 points. Among independents, a six-point Republican advantage slipped to just one point among non-voters.

So there is some truth to the notion that Democratically inclined voters were more apt to stay home, but these voters are not so much a part of what's generally considered the party's base as they are part of the broader, demoralized, downscale segments of the Democratic coalition. Just 14 percent of the non-voters were African-American, and just 15 percent were from a union household. But more than half (56 percent) were younger than 50 and non-college graduates, compared with 31 percent of those who had voted. These non-voters lean strongly Democratic by 22 points in their 1992 Presidential vote preference and by 10 points in their local voting yet this year they seemed ambivalent about Bill Clinton. Just 48 percent of the non-voters gave Clinton positive marks, compared to 53 percent of the voters. Doubts about Clinton's success in moving the country forward may well have kept many Democratically inclined, downscale voters from taking part in the off-year elections. (The CNN/USA Today/Gallup Survey confirmed the same pattern for the whole electorate. Non-voters were substantially more downscale particularly non-college educated women, who were more Democratic by five points in their congressional voting intention yet somewhat less approving of the President.)

Third, the intense polarization of the Republican electorate against Clinton and the Democrats probably produced a more uniform Republican vote at the congressional level than in previous years. Republican voters were almost

uniformly disapproving of Clinton (70 percent job disapproval), and 51 percent strongly disapproved of him. This may explain why Republicans cast only 6 percent of their votes for Democratic congressional candidates this year. (In contrast, 18 percent of Democrats voted for the Republican candidate this year.) In conventional off-year elections since 1986, 20 to 23 percent of Republicans have voted for Democratic candidates.

Finally, there is the South. The changes and mood there are of a different order. Here, 62 percent of the independents said they felt disappointed about the President. And by two-to-one, these Southern independents said Clinton was taking the country in the wrong direction and toward big-government solutions. The anti-Democratic vote in the South may reflect a stronger judgment about the Democratic Party and Bill Clinton.

IV. Parties in Trouble

A collapse of confidence in the Democratic Party produced the 1994 election results matching the Republican collapse of 1988-92. The mean thermometer score for the Democratic Party fell from 58.5 in 1992 to 52.5 today with 100 degrees meaning a very warm feeling, zero degrees meaning very cold, and 50 degrees being neither a warm nor cold feeling. But one should not lose sight of the character of the current partisan reality. Both national parties are in trouble. After the election, the public in this survey gave the Republican Party a mean temperature score of 53.1 degrees. That places the Republicans only a half-degree above the Democrats. But feelings about the Republican Party are virtually unchanged from the time of its 1992 defeat, when its mean temperature was 51.7 degrees. Indeed, the two parties stand at a kind of disreputable parity, compared to their historic positions.

In the focus groups, these swing independents could barely muster anything positive to say about the Republican Party, despite the recent gains. Some of the men volunteered that the Republicans were conservative, but that was overwhelmed by other images that suggest a largely unreconstructed party:

For the rich
Big money, big business
Conservative, money, greed
Reagan, peace
Richer
Big time business and investments
For the rich
More military-minded, unemployment
For big businesses
Big business
Cut government size, benefits, and taxes and take care of
the big business
It depends on where you are on the economic ladder
They save for the wealthy in Washington
Favors the wealthy, large business-owners
More conservative, listen better to the people
Less government involved
High-tech spending programs
Favors big business, caters to the wealthy who have the
power
Military spending, rich get richer

Conservative
Reagan, promises, kill your pocketbook
Big money, deficit
Aggressive, conservative
Crime-fighters, sometimes too conservative
Status quo, tax cuts (but not unless you belong to corporate
America)

The open-ended comments about the Democrats were even more scathing and the compliments even more back-handed:

Money, spending, Clinton
Clinton, working-class
Working people, blue-collar, small business
Clinton spending our tax dollars unwisely
Take care of the less fortunate, liberal, health care,
Social Security
For the little people, haven't been that successful
Working to help the little people, but sometimes go too far
Losing clout
They don't have the power
Taxes, benefits
Clinton, disappointed idealists
Kennedy, liberal, spenders
Liberal, for the minority, give away money
Liberal, wasteful, unaccountable
Big spenders, supposedly for the people
They re out of touch with us
Clinton, Kennedys
Traditionally for the working class
Not in touch with the country
Goodbye
Wasteful
Power is not used wisely
Kennedy, left wing, liberal
Good intentions, no fire power
Kennedys, taxes
Too slow, no action
Liberal, hot air, immoral

The Democrats still maintain advantages over the Republicans in a number of important areas, including understanding the financial pressures on people and families (18-point advantage, 39 to 21 percent) and trying to make things better for people (16-point advantage) but those may be just remembrances of better times. (See Figure 3, Perceptions of Democrats, on page 21.) The Democrats have faltered on honoring middle-class values (8-point advantage for the Republicans, 36 to 28 percent), which one presumes is central to any Democratic Party renewal. Indeed, the party is in trouble on the two pressing concerns of our time: how to make the country prosperous, and how to rebuild the family and community.

The Republicans now hold a 20-point advantage on making America prosperous (39 to 19 percent). The Republicans dominate the values debate, from an 18-point advantage on moral standards, to a 25-point advantage on having people take greater responsibility, to a 30-point lead on insisting on more discipline (45 to 15 percent). This Democratic collapse on core concerns is probably exaggerated by the flush of Republican victory, but the sense that Democrats are out of touch at such a fundamental level portends problems for the future.

This election was not decided on the values debate, as almost nobody mentioned it as a message of the election and few people focused on it when discussing their choice of the Republicans. Voters instead focused on politics and big government and on an economy that has failed to generalize its bounty. But make no mistake: The country is preoccupied with the breakdown of family and community; this issue dominates any discussion of the direction in which the United States is heading. People see a country, in the words of one California woman, in which there is a lot of lawlessness going on. There are people with guns. There used to be but, you know, if somebody robbed you they didn't just turn around and kill you just for the hell of it. For no reason. A California man observed, Now with the way crime is and just people, it seems like they're doing more stranger and stranger things I guess there's not enough things for kids to do. And so many kids are just, the family units are breaking down. And the kids are all doing the gang thing and hanging together, because that becomes kind of like their families. That only 15 to 20 percent of the electorate turns to Democrats on such concerns leaves the party detached from the real America at its point of greatest vulnerability.

V. Government and the New Democrat Future

The Role of Government

People turned away from politics and government in 1994, but what are the lessons for the future about the role of government? The simple conclusion is that people want less government and perhaps that is what the Republicans will advance. Voters, however, don't see the issue in such simple terms; they are deeply torn about the proper role and nature of government. In this survey, we asked these independent voters who had just revolted against politics how they would change government. It became apparent very quickly that these voters are not looking simply for a government that is smaller, that costs less, and does less. Only 24 percent of the independents say that is what they mean by changing government. Instead, voters are looking for a government that belongs to the people and delivers services more efficiently and for less money. (See Table 3.)

The center of public thinking on the role of government is not in gutting government, but in reclaiming it for ordinary people and making sure it does the right things, with less bureaucracy and waste.

Though the public clearly wants to cut spending, it has not resolved to slow down government investment in education, training, and infrastructure. The anti-government mood does not mean less government per se. It means spending money efficiently and on the right things. When asked what should be done with the money saved from cutting waste and outdated government spending,

voters opt for a balanced approach:

Reduce the deficit	33
percent	
Cut taxes	9

percent
Invest in education, training, and infrastructure 30
percent
All of these (volunteered) 20
percent

In fact, half of those who said cut the deficit or cut taxes also said, when asked, that savings should also be used for investing. That suggests that about 70 percent of this rebellious, independent electorate is open to an investment agenda, as long as it is part of a balanced approach that is also reducing the deficit and perhaps cutting taxes as well.

New Democrats: Empowerment

The disillusionment with Democrats and turn toward Republicans in 1994 should not obscure where the center of the country is: nor, indeed, where the center of the Democratic Party is. There is little interest in the country in a Traditional Democrat who believes government can solve problems and protect people from adversity. By 66 to 19 percent, the electorate prefers a New Democrat who believes government should help people equip themselves to solve their own problems. Among the swing independents, the New Democrat approach wins by 71 to 16 percent; even among Democrats, the New Democrat approach wins out by 75 to 20 percent. (See Figure 4, New Democrats, on page 22.)

But the New Democrat approach also dominates a Republican approach that believes government should leave people alone to solve their own problems (by 52 to 38 percent overall, and by an even larger 52 to 34 percent among independents). One-quarter of Republicans and nearly half of Perot voters are prepared to break with their own party to support New Democrats who want to help people solve their own problems. Voters clearly want a national party that uses government to empower people not one that is indifferent to their struggles and not one that substitutes its judgment and will for that of the people.

Overall, 56 percent of the electorate described Bill Clinton as a New Democrat ; 37 percent thought of him as a traditional Democrat. That suggests a certain openness to Clinton as he faces the new political situation, even as many are disappointed that he has opted for big-government solutions to the country's problems. In the focus groups, voters were clearly more tentative about where the President stood, suggesting that he was still on an incomplete journey

or in the midst of an unresolved battle somewhere between the two approaches:

I think he's more of a New Democrat. But now, if you ask me why I see him as a traditional Democrat who, when elected, promised people that he would be a New Democrat, that he would lean toward the center, that he would be more responsive to the needs of the people, that he would be basically more middle-of-the-road, more conservative. Then, he broke his promise.

Yes, a new kind of Democrat.

I think he is trying to speak for the people, for everybody.

I see him as a wanna-be.

I'm sort of ambivalent about that question. I don't see him as one or the other. I think he's a good-intentioned man that just hasn't been able to put together a coalition of government to be able to implement anything.

VI. The Contradictory Agenda

This national survey was conducted over two nights starting on Election Day. The same voters who gave Republicans control of the Congress and revolted against corrupt politics and too much government sent mixed signals about what this new government should do. The independent voters said the new Congress should make protecting Medicare and Social Security their top priority (64 percent ranked it as their single highest priority, or among their top few priorities), followed by cutting government spending (60 percent) two goals that are potentially in conflict. The next tier of priorities included, on the one hand, cutting the size of the federal bureaucracy (54 percent) and passing a balanced budget amendment (48 percent) while, on the other, controlling health care costs (52 percent) and ensuring that everyone has health insurance (49 percent) again, priorities that could easily collide. The meaning of 1994 has yet to be resolved amid competing priorities in 1995. (See Figure 5, Priorities, on page 23.)

The next tier includes a range from across the political and policy spectrum: tax cuts for the middle class (46 percent), expanded job training to raise skills and productivity (45 percent), welfare reform (44 percent), term limits (44 percent), and limits on lobbyists (43 percent). (Limits on campaign spending scored somewhat higher, but this response was probably exaggerated by the immediacy of the election campaign.)

As it was casting its votes, the public was putting a low priority on policy initiatives important to various segments of the conventional political discourse:

- * First, voters placed a very low priority on critical elements of the Republicans so-called Contract with America. A cut in taxes for capital gains was important for only 25 percent of the independents; the line-item veto for only 27 percent; and increased defense spending for a meager 15 percent.
- * Second, voters attached somewhat less importance to conventional ways of raising incomes, such as increasing the minimum wage (32 percent) well

above many of the Contract proposals, but well below empowerment proposals such as job training.

- * Third, entitlement reform of the Kerry commission or Concord coalition type found little support. People were open to the idea in the abstract (46 percent), but when it was spelled out as limits on Medicare, Social Security, and food stamps, just 28 percent said it should be the highest or among the top few priorities.

Proposals by the DLC to cut tax subsidies currently used to underwrite U.S. industries such as agriculture, mining, timber, and aerospace, get a mixed response. A plurality of 47 percent supports cutting them an impressive number given that the debate is so new but hardly a mandate for taking on such entrenched elements of the federal budget. Indeed, after arguments for and against these subsidies are presented, support rises to only 49 percent (53 percent among independents). The arguments we used are presented below.

Government gives tax breaks and subsidies to a number of industries, like agriculture to support farming and the energy industry to support U.S. oil production. But these tax subsidies keep government spending high and give taxpayer money to big businesses who use political influence to protect their position. Eliminating tax subsidies would cut government spending and make American industry and the American economy more competitive. Supporters of these tax and budget provisions argue that they keep the family farm alive and allow America to maintain its own domestic oil resources.

With barely half the electorate supportive of such major cuts, this new Congress and the Administration will clearly face difficult choices when trying to cut outdated spending that the public in principle supports.

VII. Facing the Independents

The swing independent electorate helped fuel the voter revolt of 1994 and thus represents the principal bloc of voters that Clinton and the Democrats must reach if the country is to choose a different course in 1996. These voters, as we have seen, are angry with politics and upset with government, but they also remain open to Bill Clinton. These voters still view Clinton as an outsider who is trying to move the country in the right direction. They refuse to close the door on his success, even as they remain glum about the state of the country.

But Democrats and Clinton have a major challenge ahead if they are to make inroads into the independent electorate. These independent voters are much closer to the Republicans than the Democrats on skepticism about government. (See Figure 6, Partisan Values Comparison, on page 24.) In the partisan values chart, the independents are on the Republican side on issues such as whether public officials care what people like me think and whether government always messes things up. On the attitudinal dimensions chart, the independents fall exactly in between the two parties on the anti-government dimension, but that is deceptive: The anti-government dimension includes middle-class grievances that take the independents much

closer to the Democrats. On the anti-government questions alone, the independents look very much like Republicans. (See Figure 7, Dimensions of Voters Consciousness by Party Identification, on page 25.)

The independents are closer to the Democrats on the secular dimension on issues of tolerance, abortion, and homosexuality. They are also very close to the Democrats on the broad anti-establishment, populist dimension including distrust of both corporate and government leaders. But Democrats will run better here only when they have a more credible position on government.

The Perot bloc constitutes an especially perplexing problem for all those interested in any future race for the Presidency. There is some evidence of their becoming more Republican, as discussed earlier, and indeed Perot voters are now much less enamored of Ross Perot. His mean thermometer score among Perot voters has dropped from 76 to 54 degrees down 22 degrees, exactly double the decline for Bill Clinton. That suggests the possibility of the dissolution of the Perot bloc in favor of the Republicans, but that misses the distinctive consciousness of Perot voters. These voters are even more anti-government than the Bush voters and Republicans creating the current shift to the right. (See Figure 8, Dimensions of Voters Consciousness by Respondents Vote, on page 26.) But the Perot voters are, at the same time, intensely anti-establishment, indeed, even more anti-establishment and populist than the Clinton voters and Democrats. And on the secular dimension, they are closer to the Democrats than the Republicans, just as the Republicans are highlighting their strong bonds with the religious right. Perot voters are not Republicans and remain largely unassimilable in the current party world.

But Perot also gets in the way of a yet more vital independent bloc. Among the independents, support for a third, independent political party receives a thermometer score of 57 degrees 7 degrees above the major parties. But by two-to-one, independent voters hold negative views of Ross Perot (52 to 25 percent). Among the non-Perot independents, Perot is viewed negatively by 61 percent and positively by only 17 percent. So while Ross Perot opened the way for a non-party movement, he is, ironically, the very person who could well limit the ability of independent voters to galvanize into a yet more powerful political force in the future.

The good news in the DLC study is that independents strongly identify with a New Democrat agenda. For Democrats to be successful in a new political era, we must offer the nation a progressive governing philosophy that defines a new center in American politics.

Figure 1. Perceptual Map

Respondents were asked to give a temperature score (ranging between 0 and 100) to a list of individuals and institutions with zero meaning very cold and unfavorable and 100 meaning very hot and favorable. The relationship between those responses (i.e., the extent of dissimilarity) can be seen graphically on the matrix (statistically, a series of coordinates) that forms a perceptual map in effect, a map of the independent voters political world.

Figure 2. Impressions of Clinton

Which statement seems more true to you?

Figure 3. Perceptions of Democrats
Would the Democrats or Republicans do a better job with
[Net Democratic Advantage]

Figure 4. New Democrats

Figure 5. Priorities

Figure 6. Partisan Values Comparison
Independents in relation to Democrats and Republicans

Figure 7. Dimensions of Voters Political Consciousness by
Party Identification

Figure 8. Dimensions of Voters Political Consciousness by
Respondents Vote in 1992

A Talk with Independent Voters
Tom Mirga

If the message of November 8 wasn't Hurray for Newt!
what was it?

According to a group of 17 middle-aged independent
voters who met here for a wide-ranging political discussion
the day after midterm elections, it was simply this: Listen
to us or leave.

Unfortunately for politicians, these residents of
Macomb County, Michigan the former United Auto
Workers-Democratic Party bastion where the term Reagan
Democrat was coined get vague when pressed for specifics.
Their message to Washington is: get things done, be more
honest, end waste, be less partisan, cut taxes, make me
happy or else. They have a good idea of what they
don't want (the status quo) but an indistinct notion of
where they want to go. There's no good map to this
minefield.

If President Clinton and his party fail to chart a
course through this electoral no-man s-land in the next two
years, they re toast. The President's job-disapproval rating
in Michigan, where he took 44 percent of the vote in 1992,
has skyrocketed to 51 percent; further, 56 percent of
Midwesterners voted for Republicans this year.

The anger, disappointment, and deep cynicism that this
group of suburban Detroit voters expressed over the course
of four hours indicated how tough the party's climb back to
respectability will be.

The Michigan focus group was one of two assembled for
the Democratic Leadership Council by White House pollster
Stanley Greenberg as part of a broader study of independents
voting behavior in the November election. The other focus
group was held in Riverside, California. The Michigan
participants (nine women and eight men, who met separately)
are all white and range in age from 41 to 64; all voted on
November 8. Most haven't completed college. Seven voted for
Clinton, five for George Bush, and five for Ross Perot in
1992.

Election Was Just Big Anger

According to Don, a 46-year-old economist who works for local government, the election was just big anger. "The voters don't know how to change things but they just want government to listen," he said.

"We don't want government telling us what's good for us," added Herb, a 56-year-old salesman. "The Administration was trying to push socialism down our throats and we don't want that."

"We're at a standstill," said Margaret, a 56-year-old hairdresser. "People want things done differently. I don't know what we need, but we need change."

"The Democrats have been in there for a long time and they haven't gotten anything done," said Pat, a 50-year-old homemaker. "Give someone else a chance, and if they don't do it throw them out."

Who are the Democrats in the minds of these independents? Stitch the men's responses together and you get this unflattering portrait: Democrats are disappointed idealists, big-spending liberals who champion the minority but never address the needs of the majority. They are the defenders of Social Security and labor unions. John Kennedy is their patron saint.

The women's assessments are somewhat kinder. "Democrats stand for blue-collar, working-class people," said Rita, 53, a divorced and unemployed mother of four. But Joan, a 62-year-old widow, said "they do too much for the poor." Pat thinks the party seems to be treading water, "they're slower than the Republicans to react." Carol, a 52-year-old homemaker, said the party hasn't been as successful as the Republicans for years. To Maryann, 45, a married mother of two who works for a temp service, "Democrats get us into wars."

The good news for Democrats is that Republicans offer precious little to these independents. For a majority of these men and women, the GOP stereotype boils down to two dirty words: Big Business. Moreover, these Michiganders overwhelmingly agreed that the election was not a vote of confidence in Republicanism. None of the participants cited GOP ideas as a cause for the election outcome.

Joan: It was good turnout, nothing more.

Rita: It just shows they're more powerful.

Gary, a 51-year-old computer instructor: If the person up was an incumbent, then they're not voting for them.

Gordon, a 42-year-old ex-autoworker who now owns a construction business: It says that they're not as bad as the Democrats.

Are these voters ready for a third party in American politics? Probably not.

The women are more open to the idea than the men, saying it would bring new ideas and a better balance to Washington and break the Democratic-GOP deadlock. None, however, seems truly energized about the prospect. The men are far more skeptical. Don said nothing would change because people would continue to ascend to the presidency on the basis of popularity rather than merit. Leonard, a

59-year-old retiree, noted that a third party would open the way for a succession of weak presidents who, like Clinton, don't command a majority of voters.

Most of the women said they hoped Clinton would turn his fortunes around, but none expressed confidence that he would. Some were more concerned about preserving the stature of the presidency than salvaging this particular President. Leonard was the only man to give Clinton a chance. The key, he said, is to move hard to the right and govern as a southern Democrat. This is how Herb assessed the President's chances: He has no hope at all. He doesn't represent a single man sitting in this room. He doesn't represent our values. This is someone who voted for Clinton two years ago. Rob, a 46-year-old autoworker, assistant church pastor, and Bush voter, said he hopes Clinton will fail.

According to Gordon, the President came in with big ideas the New Democrats, he belonged to that party but then he did an about-face. Clinton, he added, got beat up in the back rooms and came across as a wimp in his post-election press conference. Gordon wasn't the only one who felt let down. He promised he would lean more toward the center and he broke his promise, said Don. That was part of the election. It wasn't pro-Republican as much as it was anti-Clinton.

The participants were nearly unanimous in their belief that the President and the party's only hope is to move toward the political center. They're not sure it's going to happen. The party is trying to go from traditional to new but they're not making much progress, Margaret observed.

I really want badly to say that Clinton is a New Democrat but he really hasn't made it, added Rose, a 41-year-old draftsman.

Washington: Fat, Lazy, and Unaccountable

These middle-aged independents are decidedly pessimistic about the direction in which the country is heading. The women are concerned about crime, unemployment, and, above all else, moral decline. The men have no faith whatsoever that the election will change things for the better.

Rose, who is married, said of her five children: You try to teach them certain values, but in the society we live in it's like they don't have anything to believe in. Gordon said the country is more or less stagnant. Republican rhetoric sounds good, he said, but nothing big is going to happen.

The biggest problem with Washington is that they're all crooks, said Margaret. Added Pat: They're mindless, it's too much loyalty to party and not enough to the people.

Ralph, 41, a single real estate appraiser, observed that in Washington, it's all about What is it going to cost us in trades to get our bill through? It's made a mess because the important issues don't get addressed. The economy goes from hot to cold, but no one is in control.

The women don't think much of either Perot or

conservative talk-show host Rush Limbaugh; the former is a kooky demagogue and the latter merited only an ugh! The men look more kindly on Perot but still think he's too far out there. They love Rush. Hillary, socialism, and Democrats come to mind when they hear the word liberal ; they associate conservative with the South, the mainstream, less government, and Republicans.

Most of the participants are pretty sour on all levels of government. Washington conjures up images of lobbyists, red tape, \$400 hammers, and control freaks (even so, in the group members minds the United States is still the world's best). When Laurie, a 41-year-old benefits analyst, hears the word Washington, she envisions a little man standing in front of the Capitol and he's always whining. Added Gary, whose small business recently went under: It's fat, lazy, and unaccountable.

Congress is a big club that works maybe three times a year ; Ted Kennedy is its poster boy. Republican Governor John Engler is synonymous with state government, which the women view as benign but which the men agree is almost as bad and lazy as Washington. Most of the women and about half of the men look favorably on local government; the rest of the men think it's full of political wanna be's clawing their way up the electoral food chain.

Social Security is a Religion

Practically all 17 participants listed spending cuts and making the bureaucracy do more for less among their top three goals for government (other popular choices included tax cuts, term limits, campaign-finance reform, limits on lobbying, and the creation of a national referendum process). Their unshakable belief in the sanctity of Social Security, however, makes plain that, absent a sea change in public opinion, any politician who proposes to grant their wish by trimming benefits isn't going to be in politics for long.

Anything I paid for is mine and you don't mess with what's mine, said Leonard. I've got veteran's benefits I can live without, but Social Security is a religion and you don't mess with religion. You cut that and you re out of office.

The participants could envision only one good reason for cutting anyone's entitlements if a beneficiary failed to take advantage of government education, training, or similar services designed to lead to self-sufficiency.

Education is the answer, said Herb. If they don't go to school, they don't get a check. Entitlements, Rob added, have made the nation lazy. There's no other country like it.

While all of these voters favor making welfare a transitional program that leads to work, only two (both of them men) back Republican proposals to scrimp on spending for training, job placement, and child care and to deny benefits to teenage mothers.

You re going to give them the opportunity to work but no skills to work with, said Rose, who obtained her drafting skills through a state retraining program after

being laid off from a job she had held for 13 years. So you can go get a job at McDonald's at \$4 an hour, and in two years it's all caught up with you. In contrast, she estimated that the state recouped its job-retraining investment in her after about three years.

At the end of the session, participants were asked to react to this scenario. It's 1996, and President Clinton has achieved the following major goals: He's made the bureaucracy smaller and more efficient; cut pork-barrel spending; reformed welfare and reduced the number of recipients; limited lobbying; cut congressional staffs; trimmed the deficit; worked for a resurgence of trade; and invested in programs that raise the skills, competitiveness, and incomes of all Americans. So, what did they think?

If he did it all, he just got all eight votes in this room, said Leonard, speaking for the men's group. Unfortunately for the President, neither group thought that scenario likely.

He's a changed man. He walks on water.

Imagining this, it's a totally complete turnaround.

I have trouble believing he did any of it. It sounds like Camelot.

Survey Methodology

Survey of Voters

Greenberg Research Inc. for the Democratic Leadership Council November 8-9, 1994

This is a telephone survey as it was conducted on November 8-9. The sample included 1250 total voters; 750 Independents (weighted to 225 to represent share of national sample), 270 Democrats, and 255 Republicans.

FREQUENCY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. First of all, are you registered to vote at this address? [IF YES, CONTINUE] [IF NO] I'm sorry. Is there a registered voter at home I can speak to?
[REPEAT INTRODUCTION OR TERMINATE]

2. Many people weren't able to vote 2 years ago in the national election for president between George Bush, Bill Clinton, and Ross Perot. How about you? Were you able to vote, or for some other reason were you unable to vote?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Voted	98	97	99	99
Ineligible/too young	2	3	1	1
Did not vote			[TERMINATE]	
Can't remember/Don't know			[TERMINATE]	
Refused			[TERMINATE]	

3. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat or what?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Strong Democrat	17	0	47	0

Weak Democrat	19	0	53	0
Ind - Lean Democrat	9	29	0	0
Independent	9	31	0	0
Ind - Lean Republican	11	36	0	0
Weak Republican	14	0	0	41
Strong Republican	20	0	0	59
(Other)			[TERMINATE]	
(Don't know / Refused)	2	5	0	0

COMBINED				
Democrat	45	29	100	0
Independent	9	31	0	0
Republican	45	36	0	100

4. Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Right direction	27	21	40	18
Wrong track	64	68	50	76
(Don't know)	9	11	10	6

5. Some people say there is a mess in Washington. What is the biggest problem with Washington?
[PROBE FOR SPECIFICS. WRITE DOWN RESPONSE VERBATIM.]

IND	
Politicians/ Too much partisan politics/ Parties don't work together/ no cooperation	18
Washington/ Insulated/ out of touch/ don't listen to the people	12
Too much spending/ overspending	8
Clinton/ Clinton lacks direction/ Clinton leadership/ White House	8
Too much money/ corruption/ crooked politicians	5
Dishonest/ No honesty	5
Too much bureaucracy/ too much red tape	5
Lobbyists/ special interests/ too much money	3
National debt/ budget	2
Worried about themselves, not the people	2
Gridlock	2
Too much government	2
Too much focus on foreign policy/ spend too much on other countries	2
Need Health care/ health care reforms (positive)	1
Government waste/ wasted money/ wasteful spending/ waste	1
Republicans/ Republican gridlock	1
Not run like a business	1
(General bad)	3
(Other)	10
(No mess)	0
(Don't know)	7

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person or organization.
WRITE IN NUMBER
[NO OPINION/DK = 101]

[NEVER HEARD = 102]
[READ FIRST]

6. Bill Clinton. Give Bill Clinton a rating,
with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling;
zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling;
and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	___ 48__	41	40
Independents	___ 48__	40	37
Democrats	___ 66__	67	14
Republicans	___ 29__	15	70

[ROTATE]

7. Ross Perot

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	___ 33__	18	62
Independents	___ 39__	25	52
Democrats	___ 29__	15	66
Republicans	___ 30__	13	67

8. George Bush

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	___ 53__	49	32
Independents	___ 52__	45	32
Democrats	___ 41__	31	47
Republicans	___ 66__	71	16

9. Ronald Reagan

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	___ 53__	50	34
Independents	___ 51__	45	37
Democrats	___ 39__	28	52
Republicans	___ 71__	78	13

10. Jimmy Carter

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	___ 55__	50	30
Independents	___ 55__	48	30
Democrats	___ 64__	67	18
Republicans	___ 45__	35	44

11. Harry Truman

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	___ 68__	56	10
Independents	___ 68__	54	9
Democrats	___ 72__	62	9
Republicans	___ 64__	50	12

12. Big Business

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	___ 51__	36	31
Independents	___ 48__	32	35
Democrats	___ 50__	35	35
Republicans	___ 54__	42	23

13. Labor Unions

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	___ 45__	30	45
Independents	___ 46__	30	45
Democrats	___ 53__	42	32
Republicans	___ 37__	18	58

14. Jesse Jackson

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	— 44__	32	45
Independents	— 44__	32	43
Democrats	— 52__	43	32
Republicans	— 34__	20	61

15. The Republican Party

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	— 53__	43	29
Independents	— 50__	36	30
Democrats	— 40__	20	45
Republicans	— 69__	74	11

16. The United States

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	— 86__	88	5
Independents	— 84__	86	5
Democrats	— 86__	89	4
Republicans	— 87__	88	6

17. Rush Limbaugh

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	— 37__	26	49
Independents	— 34__	21	51
Democrats	— 23__	12	67
Republicans	— 55__	45	29

18. The Democratic Party

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	— 52__	39	33
Independents	— 49__	31	34
Democrats	— 68__	68	9
Republicans	— 38__	14	57

19. The federal government

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	— 48__	35	41
Independents	— 46__	31	42
Democrats	— 54__	45	32
Republicans	— 43__	29	49

20. Small Business

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	— 75__	80	7
Independents	— 74__	79	6
Democrats	— 73__	78	7
Republicans	— 77__	85	8

21. Conservatives

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	— 57__	47	25
Independents	— 55__	43	25
Democrats	— 48__	30	35
Republicans	— 68__	68	15

22. Liberals

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	— 41__	23	47
Independents	— 44__	25	44
Democrats	— 49__	32	30
Republicans	— 30__	11	67

22a. An independent, third political party

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
--	-------------	--------	--------

Total	___ 47___	31	36
Independents	___ 57___	45	22
Democrats	___ 43___	27	44
Republicans	___ 44___	24	41

[READ LAST] [ROTATE]

23. The government

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	___ 51___	40	35
Independents	___ 50___	35	33
Democrats	___ 56___	49	29
Republicans	___ 48___	34	43

24. Congress

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	___ 45___	29	47
Independents	___ 43___	25	52
Democrats	___ 49___	34	40
Republicans	___ 42___	27	51

25. State government

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	___ 54___	47	32
Independents	___ 51___	43	35
Democrats	___ 56___	51	27
Republicans	___ 53___	47	35

26. Local government

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	___ 57___	54	25
Independents	___ 55___	49	28
Democrats	___ 59___	57	22
Republicans	___ 58___	55	24

27. Neighborhood

	Thermometer	% Warm	% Cool
Total	___ 74___	76	11
Independents	___ 72___	74	12
Democrats	___ 74___	74	11
Republicans	___ 75___	79	9

28. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton
is handling his job as president? [FOLLOW UP] Do you
strongly or somewhat (approve/disapprove) of the way Bill Clinton
is handling his job?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Strongly approve	19	14	31	9
Somewhat approve	33	38	43	18
Somewhat disapprove	17	20	14	19
Strongly disapprove	28	24	9	51
(Don't know)	3	4	3	3

COMBINED

Approve	52	52	75	27
Disapprove	45	45	22	70

29. As you know, there was an election (today/yesterday)
for the Congress and other offices. Many people weren't
able

to vote. How about you? Were you able to vote, or for some other reason were you unable to vote?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Voted [GO TO Q30]	83	78	84	86
Ineligible [GO TO Q34]	1	1	1	1
Did not vote [GO TO Q34]	16	21	15	13
Can't remember/Don't know [GO TO Q34]	0	0	0	0
Refused [GO TO Q34]	0	0	0	0

[ASK ONLY IF VOTED: Q29 = 1]

30. In the election for the U.S. Congress, did you vote for the [ROTATE ORDER] Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Republican candidate	53	48	18	93
Democratic candidate	43	42	79	6
(Independent/3rd party candidate)	4	10	3	1
(Don't know)	0	0	0	0

[ASK ONLY IF VOTED: Q29 = 1]

31. Think about your vote for a minute. Were you trying to send a message about how dissatisfied you were with things in Washington or weren't you trying to send a message?

IND

Sending a message about being dissatisfied [GO TO Q32]	56
Not sending a message [GO TO Q33]	41
(Don't know)[GO TO Q33]	3

[ASK ONLY IF SENDING A MESSAGE: Q31 = 1]

32. Which of the following were you trying to send a message about

	IND
[ROTATE] Politics as usual	45
Bill Clinton	15
Congress	15
Liberals	6
Special interests	5
The Republicans	5
The Democrats	5
Conservatives	1

[IF MORE THAN ONE] Well which one were you mainly trying to send a message about?
(Don't know) 4

33. Let me read you a list of phrases. Tell me which ones describe the candidate you voted for [today/yesterday]. You can choose any number that describe that candidate.

[PROBE FOR 3 RESPONSES] [ROTATE]

(Ranked by Independents)	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Will do a good job	43	43	48	39
Represents the ordinary person	41	39	46	39
Will work for jobs and a good economy	38	35	39	41
Seems honest	30	27	29	34
For big change in Washington	29	25	21	39
Committed to getting deficit under control	25	24	23	27

Supports tax cuts	27	24	20	37
Against the big special interests	19	21	17	20
Expresses my anger with politics	19	19	14	25
For helping the seniors	23	19	25	25
Will bring more morality to Washington	21	19	14	29
Will help end Democratic control of Congress	20	19	14	27
Against big government	21	18	16	28
For government that will do more for less	17	18	10	23
For term limits and reforming Congress	17	17	14	21
Supports the President	17	14	29	8
Opposes the President	15	12	6	26
(Don't know)	4	6	6	2

[GO TO Q38 OR Q39]

[ASK ONLY IF DID NOT VOTE: Q29 = 2, 3, 4, OR 5]

34. If you had been able to vote in the election for Congress, would you have supported [ROTATE ORDER] the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Republican candidate	33	32	14	65
Democratic candidate	45	31	78	12
(Independent/3rd party candidate)	6	14	0	4
(Don't know)	16	23	8	19

[ASK ONLY IF DID NOT VOTE: Q29 = 2, 3, 4, OR 5]

35. Think about how you would have voted for a minute. Were you trying to send a message about how dissatisfied you were with things in Washington or weren't you trying to send a message?

IND

Sending a message about being dissatisfied [GO TO Q36]	63
Not sending a message [GO TO Q37]	29
(Don't know)[GO TO Q37]	8

[ASK ONLY IF SENDING A MESSAGE: Q35 = 1]

36. Which of the following were you trying to send a message about

[ROTATE] IND	
Politics as usual	50
Bill Clinton	13
Congress	13
Special interests	10
The Republicans	5
The Democrats	2
Liberals	1
Conservatives	0

[IF MORE THAN ONE] Well which one were you mainly trying to send a message about?

(Don't know) 6

[ASK ONLY IF DID NOT VOTE: Q29=2, 3, 4 or 5]

37. Let me read you a list of phrases. Tell me which ones describe the candidate you would have voted for. You can choose any number that describe that candidate. [PROBE

FOR

3 RESPONSES]

[ROTATE]

(Ranked by Independents)	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Represents the ordinary person	36	33	34	45
Will work for jobs and a good economy	40	32	38	54
Will do a good job	38	32	40	42
Seems honest	26	24	18	39
For helping the seniors	30	22	33	38
For big change in Washington	22	21	22	26
Expresses my anger with politics	16	20	8	21
Will bring more morality to Washington	16	19	12	15
Supports tax cuts	25	19	29	30
Committed to getting deficit under control	25	17	24	35
Against big government	14	16	10	18
For term limits and reforming Congress	14	14	13	15
Against the big special interests	15	14	13	18
For government that will do more for less	16	13	13	24
Supports the President	16	12	28	6
Will help end Democratic control of Congress	10	8	9	15
Opposes the President	6	6	0	12
(Don't know)	10	11	8	12

[SPLIT SAMPLE A]

38. Now, think back on Bill Clinton's first 2 years as President. I'm going to read you pairs of statements. Please tell me which statement seems more true to you. Here is the first pair.

[ROTATE] IND

* Bill Clinton is moving the country
in the right direction. 46

or

* Bill Clinton is moving the country
in the wrong direction 45

(Don't know) 9

[END OF SPLIT SAMPLE A GO TO Q40]

[SPLIT SAMPLE B]

39. Now, think back on Bill Clinton's first 2 years as President. I'm going to read you pairs of statements. Please tell me which statement seems more true to you.

Here

is the first pair.

[ROTATE] IND

* Bill Clinton has tried to move the
country in the right direction. 64

or

* Bill Clinton has tried to move the
country in the wrong direction 32

(Don't know) 4

[END OF SPLIT SAMPLE B GO TO Q40]

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

40. Now the next pair. [FOLLOW UP] Please tell me which statement seems more true to you.

[ROTATE]

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
* Clinton is a traditional liberal Democrat	37	36	22	55
or				
* Clinton is a new kind of Democrat	56	54	72	41

(Don't know) 7 10 6 4

[SPLIT SAMPLE A]

41. Okay, next. [FOLLOW UP] Please tell me which statement seems more true to you. [DO NOT ROTATE]

IND

* Clinton is a failed President 22
or
* It is too early to tell 73
(Don't know) 4

[END OF SPLIT SAMPLE A GO TO Q43]

[SPLIT SAMPLE B]

42. Okay, next. [FOLLOW UP] Please tell me which statement seems more true to you.

[ROTATE]

IND

* I'm still hopeful that Clinton can succeed 68
or
* I've given up on Clinton 30
(Don't know) 2

[END OF SPLIT SAMPLE B GO TO Q43]

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

43. Okay, next. [FOLLOW UP] Please tell me which statement seems more true to you.

[ROTATE]

TOT IND DEM REP
* He is part of the Washington establishment 35 38 22 46
or
* He is trying to change the Washington establishment 59 55 70 50
(Don't know) 6 7 8 4

44. Okay, next. [FOLLOW UP] Please tell me which statement seems more true to you.

[ROTATE]

TOT IND DEM REP
.. He favors big government solutions 53 53 34 71
or
.. He favors less bureaucratic government solutions 36 33 53 21
(Don't know) 11 13 13 8

45. Some people say there are two kinds of Democrats

* Traditional Democrats who believe government can solve problems and protect people from adversity

or

* New Democrats who believe government should help people equip themselves to solve their own problems

Do you find yourself thinking more like a traditional Democrat or more like a new Democrat?

TOT IND DEM REP
Traditional Democrat 19 16 20 20

New Democrat	66	71	75	52
(Never identify with Democrats)	10	7	2	21
(Don't know)	5	6	4	6

46. Do you think of Bill Clinton as a traditional Democrat or as a new Democrat?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Traditional Democrat	37	36	20	55
New Democrat	56	55	74	37
(Neither)	4	3	3	5
(Don't know)	4	5	4	3

47. Who do you tend to agree with more:

* New Democrats who believe government should help people equip themselves to solve their own problems.

or

* Republicans who believe government should leave people alone to solve their own problems.

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
New Democrat	52	52	79	24
Republicans	38	34	15	67
(Neither)	5	8	2	6
(Don't know)	4	6	4	3

48. Have you felt disappointed or not felt disappointed about Bill Clinton as President since he took office in 1993?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Yes--disappointed [GO TO Q49 OR 50]	54	55	35	73
No--not disappointed [GO TO Q51 OR 68]	41	39	61	24
(always negative about Clinton)				
[GO TO Q51 OR 68]	1	1	0	1
(don't know)[GO TO Q51 OR 68]	3	5	4	2
[IF DISAPPOINTED: Q48 = 1]				

49./ 50. Tell me which of the following best reflects your own feelings of disappointment

[ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSES]

(Ranked by Independents)	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Clinton proposed big government solutions, like health care reform	49	48	31	58
Clinton pursued a liberal agenda, like gays in the military				
[Split Sample A]	51	46	30	65
Clinton always seemed to be in trouble	45	38	33	56
Clinton was not strong enough	39	37	36	41
Clinton failed to get things done and break gridlock	34	34	34	35
Clinton had too many foreign policy problems	36	29	28	45
Clinton didn't do enough for the economy	30	29	26	33
Clinton pursued a liberal agenda, like raising taxes [Split Sample B]	38	29	25	51
Clinton allied too much with the corporate powers instead of ordinary workers	26	28	24	26
(Don't know)	4	5	5	3

Now I'm going to mention a few issues facing the country, and I'd like to find out how high a priority you think each one should receive from the new Congress and the President. For each issue I mention, tell me if you think it should be (a) the single

highest priority, (b) one of the top few priorities, but not the highest, (c) near the top of the list, (d) in the middle of the list, or (e) toward the bottom of the list of priorities for the new Congress and the President?

[READ EACH ITEM AND ASK]: Where would you rank [READ ITEM]

The single highest priority, one of the top few priorities, near the top of the list, in the middle of the list, or toward the bottom of the list of priorities?

	Single Highest	Top Few	Near Top	Mid List	Toward Bottom	(Don't know)	Single/Top Few
51./68. Give the President the line item veto.							
Total	6	24	20	25	17	8	30
Independents	5	22	18	26	20	9	27
Democrats	5	23	19	27	18	7	28
Republicans	6	27	23	23	13	8	33

52./69. Cut taxes.							
Total	10	35	20	24	10	1	45
Independents	11	33	19	25	11	1	43
Democrats	9	33	18	27	12	1	42
Republicans	10	40	22	20	6	1	50

53./70. Increase the minimum wage.							
Total	5	28	21	26	18	1	33
Independents	4	29	21	28	17	2	32
Democrats	7	36	24	21	10	2	43
Republicans	5	19	18	29	28	0	24

54./71. Expand job training for every worker to raise skills and productivity.							
Total	5	35	24	20	15	2	40
Independents	6	39	22	19	12	2	45
Democrats	7	42	30	12	7	2	49
Republicans	3	23	18	29	25	2	26

	Single Highest	Top Few	Near Top	Mid List	Toward Bottom	(Don't know)	Single/Top Few
[SPLIT SAMPLE A]							
55. Control health care costs.							
Total	12	41	19	17	9	2	53
Independents	9	43	19	15	13	2	52
Democrats	18	49	15	13	3	2	67
Republicans	9	30	24	24	12	1	39

[SPLIT SAMPLE B]							
72. Ensure that everyone has health insurance.							
Total	12	34	18	19	15	1	46
Independents	14	35	16	19	14	2	49
Democrats	18	45	20	12	5	0	63
Republicans	4	22	19	26	28	1	26

[ALL RESPONDENTS]							
56./73 Increase defense spending.							
Total	1	15	15	33	34	2	16
Independents	1	15	13	28	41	2	15
Democrats	1	13	10	33	41	1	14
Republicans	2	18	21	36	20	2	20

57./74. Create a new world trade agreement.							
Total	1	20	20	33	21	5	21
Independents	1	21	18	33	21	5	22
Democrats	2	22	21	30	19	6	24

Republicans	1	16	20	35	24	5	18
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[SPLIT SAMPLE A]

58. Cut taxes for the middle class.

Total	8	38	22	22	9	2	46
Independents	9	37	18	23	11	2	46
Democrats	7	40	22	22	9	1	46
Republicans	8	36	25	21	8	2	44

[SPLIT SAMPLE B]

75. Cut taxes for families with children.

Total	4	31	24	27	13	2	35
Independents	5	28	21	29	15	2	32
Democrats	4	32	23	25	13	3	36
Republicans	5	32	26	26	10	1	37

[SPLIT SAMPLE A]

59. Limit government spending on entitlements.

Total	6	38	20	19	9	8	44
Independents	4	43	17	17	8	11	46
Democrats	6	33	23	19	11	7	39
Republicans	8	40	19	19	9	5	48

[SPLIT SAMPLE B]

76. Limit government spending on Medicare, Social security, and food stamps.

Total	3	24	16	28	25	4	27
Independents	3	25	16	25	28	3	28
Democrats	1	20	18	26	30	5	21
Republicans	6	26	13	33	18	4	33

[Single Top Near Mid Toward (Don't Single/
 Highest Few Top List Bottom know) Top Few

ALL RESPONDENTS]

60./77. Pass a constitutional amendment to balance the budget.

Total	10	35	21	17	14	2	45
Independents	11	38	18	18	13	3	48
Democrats	7	34	19	20	18	2	41
Republicans	13	34	25	15	13	1	47

[SPLIT SAMPLE A]

61. Limit campaign spending.

Total	4	44	19	18	13	2	48
Independents	3	48	18	16	12	3	51
Democrats	7	44	17	19	11	2	51
Republicans	3	39	21	18	17	1	43

[SPLIT SAMPLE B]

78. Limit lobbyists.

Total	5	38	19	18	17	3	43
Independents	4	38	23	21	11	3	43
Democrats	4	41	16	13	22	3	46
Republicans	6	36	19	21	16	2	42

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

62./79. Protect Medicare and social security.

Total	13	49	21	12	4	1	62
Independents	12	52	19	12	4	1	64
Democrats	15	55	19	6	3	2	70
Republicans	12	39	26	17	6	0	51

63./80. Impose a two year limit on welfare.

Total	6	40	25	17	9	3	45
Independents	4	40	22	19	11	4	44

Democrats	4	38	28	17	11	3	41
Republicans	9	42	26	15	6	2	51

64./81. Limit the number of terms for Members of Congress.

Total	4	37	18	20	19	3	41
Independents	4	40	16	22	15	3	44
Democrats	4	37	16	19	22	2	41
Republicans	3	35	20	21	18	3	38

65./82. Cut taxes for capital gains.

Total	1	25	20	32	17	5	26
Independents	0	25	18	32	19	6	25
Democrats	0	21	19	35	18	6	21
Republicans	2	29	22	29	14	3	32

66./83. Cut government spending.

Total	9	51	22	13	4	2	60
Independents	9	51	21	13	3	3	60
Democrats	7	48	22	15	6	2	55
Republicans	13	53	23	10	1	1	65

[Single Top Near Mid Toward (Don't Single/
Highest Few Top List Bottom know) Top Few]

[SPLIT SAMPLE A]

67. Cut the size of the federal bureaucracy.

Total	7	46	20	15	6	5	53
Independents	6	48	18	16	5	7	54
Democrats	4	41	27	15	8	6	45
Republicans	12	48	16	15	6	3	61

[SPLIT SAMPLE B]

84. Abolish federal programs and agencies.

Total	1	17	16	27	32	7	18
Independents	1	20	12	31	30	6	21
Democrats	1	11	11	26	44	6	13
Republicans	1	19	25	25	22	7	20

68. 69. 70. 71. 72.

73. 74. 75. 76. 77.

78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84.

85./86. Some people say the federal government has to be changed. Which of the following changes are most important?

[PROBE FOR MULTIPLE RESPONSES]

(Ranked by Independents)	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
The government should be given back to the people by reducing the influence of special interests and lobbyists	54	54	55	53
The government should be made more efficient so it delivers more services for less money.	51	50	52	51
The government should be made more responsive by creating a national referendum so the people can decide on major issues [Split Sample B]	39	37	39	39
The government should be changed so that it is more innovative, flexible and so it gives people more choices	35	34	40	30
The government should get out of whole areas of activity and turn responsibility over to state and				

local government	35	32	24	50
The government should be made more responsive by limiting the terms of elected officials [Split Sample A]	31	31	29	33
The government should be made smaller so it will cost and do less.	25	24	16	34
(Don't know)	3	3	2	2

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

87. Do you favor or oppose cutting tax subsidies that are used to underwrite American industries, like agriculture, mining, oil, timber and aerospace?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Favor	47	49	42	51
Oppose	41	37	44	41
(Don't know)	12	14	14	8

88. Government gives tax breaks and subsidies to a number of industries, like agriculture to support farming and the energy industry to support U.S. oil production. But these tax subsidies keep government spending high and give taxpayer money to big business who use political influence to protect their position. Eliminating tax subsidies would cut government spending and make American industry and the American economy more competitive. Supporters of these tax and budget provisions argue that they keep the family farm alive and allow America to maintain its own domestic oil resources. Do you favor or oppose cutting tax subsidies that are used to underwrite American industries?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Favor	49	53	43	53
Oppose	37	33	45	34
(Don't know)	13	14	13	13

89. If wasteful and outdated government spending is cut, should the money be used [ROTATE]

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
To reduce the deficit [GO TO Q90]	33	29	31	38
To cut taxes [GO TO Q91]	9	9	6	12
To invest in education, training and infrastructure [GO TO Q92 OR 93]	30	32	38	21
(All of the above) [GO TO Q92 OR 93]	20	22	16	20
(Reduce deficit and invest) [GO TO Q92 OR 93]	2	2	2	2
(Reduce deficit and cut taxes)[GO TO Q90]	3	2	2	4
(Cut taxes and invest)[GO TO Q92 OR 93]	2	1	2	1
(Don't know)[GO TO Q92 OR 93]	2	2	2	2

[ASK ONLY IF REDUCE THE DEFICIT: Q89 = 1 OR 6]

90. Should the money saved from cutting government spending only be used for reducing the deficit or should some of it be used for investing in education, training and infrastructure?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Only reducing the deficit [GO TO Q92]	45	42	37	53
Deficit and investing [GO TO Q92]	52	53	63	43
(Don't know) [GO TO Q92]	3	5	0	5

[ASK ONLY IF CUT TAXES: Q89 = 2]

91. Should the money saved from cutting government spending only be used for cutting taxes or should some of it be

used for investing in education, training and infrastructure?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Only cutting taxes	40	40	17	52
Deficit and investing	48	55	59	38
(Don't know)	13	4	24	10

[SPLIT SAMPLE A]

92. On another topic, let me describe two approaches being

considered in Congress to address the welfare problem in America. Please tell me which approach you tend to favor.

[ROTATE STATEMENTS]

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
[The first/The second] approach would limit welfare to two years, then people would be required to work. This approach would spend more money for job placement and child care, but only to change the system to make sure that recipients have the opportunity to work and get off welfare	52	50	57	49
	TOT	IND	DEM	REP

[The first/The second] approach would limit welfare to two years, provide some training and child care, then people would be required to work. It would not spend new dollars on job training or child care	35	34	31	40
(Both)	6	8	4	7
(Neither)	3	6	3	1
(Don't know)	3	2	5	2

[END OF SPLIT SAMPLE A GO TO Q94]

[SPLIT SAMPLE B]

93. On another topic, let me describe two approaches being considered in Congress to address the welfare problem in America.

Please tell me which approach you tend to favor.

[ROTATE STATEMENTS]

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
[The first/The second] approach would limit welfare to two years, then people would be required to work. This approach would spend more money for job placement and child care, but only change the system to make sure that recipients have the opportunity to work and get off welfare	55	54	66	45
	TOT	IND	DEM	REP

[The first/The second] approach would limit welfare to two years, provide some training and child care, then people would be required to work. It would not spend new dollars on job placement or child care. In addition, it would deny all benefits to teenage unwed mothers and their children.	32	33	20	42
(Both)	5	5	5	3
(Neither)	6	7	6	6
(Don't know)	3	2	3	3

[END OF SPLIT SAMPLE B GO TO Q94]

Now, I will read you a series of statements. For each one, tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

[PROMPT] Do you agree or disagree with the statement?
 [FOLLOW UP] Is that strongly or somewhat (agree/disagree)?

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	(Don't know)	Total Agree	Total Disagree
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[ROTATE]

94. Too many of the poor are trying to get something for nothing.

Total	31	33	20	15	2	63	35
Independents	29	32	21	15	3	61	36
Democrats	27	28	24	20	1	55	44
Republicans	36	39	15	10	1	75	25

95. Public officials usually care what people like me think.

Total	7	28	33	31	1	35	64
Independents	6	29	28	34	2	36	62
Democrats	9	25	32	34	1	34	66
Republicans	6	30	37	26	1	36	63

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	(Don't know)	Total Agree	Total Disagree
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96. Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public.

Total	8	34	29	25	3	43	54
Independents	8	29	33	26	5	37	58
Democrats	7	29	30	31	3	35	62
Republicans	9	46	25	17	3	55	42

97. It's the middle class, not the poor, who really get a raw deal today.

Total	50	25	14	9	2	75	23
Independents	48	25	13	10	4	73	23
Democrats	47	24	16	10	2	71	26
Republicans	54	26	12	7	1	80	19

98. Government always manages to mess things up.

Total	32	34	23	8	2	66	31
Independents	33	35	22	7	2	68	30
Democrats	29	30	28	10	2	59	39
Republicans	35	38	19	7	2	73	25

99. You really can't trust the government to do the right thing.

Total	21	34	30	12	3	55	42
Independents	23	33	31	9	3	57	40
Democrats	17	25	37	19	3	41	56
Republicans	24	43	22	8	3	67	30

100. Abortion should be legal and generally available and subject to only limited regulation.

Total	33	24	10	27	6	57	37
Independents	34	25	10	23	8	58	33
Democrats	40	23	10	21	6	63	31
Republicans	26	24	10	37	4	49	47

101. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet.

Total	28	27	25	19	1	55	44
Independents	27	26	23	22	2	53	45

Democrats	29	28	27	16	1	57	42
Republicans	27	27	25	21	0	54	46

102. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.

Total	24	25	23	27	2	49	49
Independents	24	22	24	27	3	47	50
Democrats	20	20	24	35	1	40	59
Republicans	29	32	21	17	2	60	38

Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	(Don't know)	Total Agree	Total Disagree
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103. It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves.

Total	20	37	22	19	3	57	41
Independents	20	37	23	15	4	57	39
Democrats	24	39	20	16	2	63	35
Republicans	15	34	22	26	3	49	48

104. Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society.

Total	18	26	15	35	6	44	50
Independents	18	29	15	31	8	47	46
Democrats	26	27	15	28	4	53	43
Republicans	10	23	14	46	6	33	61

105. We have important problems that the government must play a bigger role to help solve.

Total	32	37	15	13	4	69	27
Independents	33	36	14	12	4	69	26
Democrats	39	42	11	5	3	81	16
REPUBLICANS	23	34	19	22	3	56	41

[SPLIT SAMPLE A]

Now, I am going to read you a list of areas and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job supporting this and if you do not know just tell me and we will move on to the next item.

[PROMPT] Would the Democrats or the Republicans do a better job with that?

[FOLLOW UP] Is that much better or somewhat better?

Dem	Dem	Rep	Rep			(Don't	Total
much	some	some	much			know)	Dem
better	better	better	better	(Both)	(Neither)		Rep

[ROTATE]

106. Having people take greater responsibility.

Independents	8	11	27	17	8	12	17	19	44
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107. Making America prosperous.

Independents	10	10	24	15	12	11	18	19	39
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108. Insisting on moral standards, that people know right from wrong.

Independents	8	9	19	15	14	17	18	16	34
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109. Strengthening families.

Independents	12	9	16	15	15	18	16	20	31
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110. Respecting the ordinary person.

Independents	15	20	11	9	15	15	16	35	19
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111. Insisting on more discipline.

Independents	6	9	26	19	11	13	16	15	45
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[END OF SPLIT SAMPLE A GO TO Q117]

[SPLIT SAMPLE B]

Now, I am going to read you a list of areas and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job supporting this and if you do not know just tell me and we will move on to the next item.

[PROMPT] Would the Democrats or the Republicans do a better job with that?

[FOLLOW UP] Is that much better or somewhat better?

	Dem	Dem	Rep	Rep				(Don't	Total
	much	some	some	much	(Both)	(Neither)	know)	Dem	Rep
	better	better	better	better					

[ROTATE]

112. Openness to change and innovation.

Independents	14	25	18	7	7	10	20	38	25
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113. Respecting people's individual freedom.

Independents	16	20	16	13	13	8	13	37	29
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114. Trying to make things better for people.

Independents	15	22	12	10	19	9	13	37	21
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115. Honoring middle class values.

Independents	13	15	21	15	14	8	14	28	36
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116. Understanding the financial pressures on people and families.

Independents	19	20	13	9	13	15	12	39	21
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[END OF SPLIT SAMPLE B GO TO Q117]

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes.

117. What is the last year of schooling that you have completed?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
1 - 11th grade	7	7	9	5
High school graduate	28	24	32	26
Non-college post H.S. [E.G. TECH]	3	2	3	3
Some college [JR. COLLEGE]	27	28	26	27
College graduate	21	22	17	23
Post-graduate school	15	17	13	16
(Don't know)	0	0	0	0

118. Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative or conservative?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Liberal	11	10	15	6
Somewhat liberal	12	14	18	3
Moderate	25	30	31	16
Somewhat conservative	25	26	20	29
Conservative	23	16	11	43
(Don't know)	4	4	5	2

Let me ask you about some past elections. I know it may be difficult to remember, and many people weren't able to get to the polls to vote.

119. In local elections in your area, do you mostly vote for the Democratic candidate or mostly for the Republicans? [IF SPLIT EVENLY] Is that a little more Democratic or a little more Republican?

IND	
Mostly Democrat	26
Little more Democrat	8
Little more Republican	12

Mostly Republican	19
(Split evenly)	27
(Don't know)	8

120. Did you vote for Ronald Reagan one time, both times, or neither time he ran for President?

IND	
Once	26
Both	30
Neither	33
(Didn't vote)	7
(Don't remember/know)	3
(Refuse)	2

121. Did you vote for George Bush one time, both times, or neither time he ran for President?

IND	
Once	35
Both	24
Neither	32
(Didn't vote)	4
(Don't remember/know)	2
(Refuse)	2

122. In the election for President 2 years ago, did you vote for [ROTATE NAMES] Republican George Bush, Independent Ross Perot or Democrat Bill Clinton?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Republican Bush	36	29	10	69
Democrat Clinton	41	36	72	13
Independent Perot	16	26	11	13
(Don't know/Refused)	7	9	7	6

123. In what year were you born?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
18-24	6	8	5	5
25-29	7	8	6	8
30-34	19	19	20	19
35-39	3	2	3	3
40-44	11	12	12	10
45-49	12	12	12	12
50-54	9	9	8	9
55-59	8	6	8	9
60-64	6	5	7	5
Over 64	18	16	18	20
(Don't Know/Refused)	1	2	0	0

124. What is your religion? Are you Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, something else or nothing in particular?

IND	
Protestant	42
Catholic	25
Jewish	2
Something else	15
Nothing in particular	10
(Other/none/refused)	6

125. How often do you attend church every week, once or twice a month, several times a year, or hardly ever?

IND	
Every week	33
Once or twice a month	17
Several times a year	18
Hardly ever	24
(Never)	6

(Don't know) 2

126. Are you a member of a labor union? [IF NO] Is any member of your household a union member?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Yes: Respondent belongs	12	14	15	7
Household member	8	7	11	5
No member belongs	79	78	73	86
(Don't know/refused)	1	1	1	2

127. What is your race?

	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
White	84	84	78	91
Black	9	8	14	4
Hispanic [PUERTO RICAN, MEXICAN-AMERICAN, ETC.]	4	4	5	3
(Other)	2	3	3	2
(Don't know/refused)	1	1	0	0

Gender	TOT	IND	DEM	REP
Male	48	50	44	51
Female	52	50	56	49

128. And what is your zip code?

And finally, strictly for verification purposes, can I have just your first name?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME [TERMINATE]

APPENDIX

Total Sample

(Priorities Ranked by Combined Single/Top Few)

	Single Highest	Top Few	Near Top	Mid List	Toward Bottom	(Don't know)	Single/Top Few	
62./79. Protect Medicare and social security.	13	49	21	12	4	1	62	
66./83. Cut government spending.	9	51	22	13	4	2	60	
55. Control health care costs.	12	41	19	17	9	2	53	
67. Cut the size of the federal bureaucracy.	7	46	20	15	6	5	53	
61. Limit campaign spending.	4	44	19	18	13	2	48	
58. Cut taxes for the middle class.	8	38	22	22	9	2	46	
72. Ensure that everyone has health insurance.	12	34	18	19	15	1	46	
52./69. Cut taxes.	10	35	20	24	10	1	45	
60./77. Pass a constitutional amendment to balance the budget.	10	35	21	17	14	2	45	
63./80. Impose a two year limit on welfare.	6	40	25	17	9	3	45	
59. Limit government spending on entitlements.	6	38	20	19	9	8	44	
78. Limit lobbyists.	5	38	19	18	17	3	43	
64./81. Limit the number of terms for Members of Congress.	4	37	18	20	19	3	41	
54./71. Expand job training for every worker to raise skills and productivity.	5	35	24	20	15	2	40	
75. Cut taxes for families with children.	4	31	24	27	13	2	35	
53./70. Increase the minimum								

wage.	5	28	21	26	18	1	33
51./68. Give the President the line item veto.	6	24	20	25	17	8	30
76. Limit government spending on Medicare, Social security, and food stamps.	3	24	16	28	25	4	27
65./82. Cut taxes for capital gains.	1	25	20	32	17	5	26
57./74. Create a new world trade agreement.	1	20	20	33	21	5	21
84. Abolish federal programs and agencies.	1	17	16	27	32	7	18
56./73 Increase defense spending.	1	15	15	33	34	2	16

Independent Sample
(Priorities Ranked by Combined Single/Top Few)

	Single Highest	Top Few	Near Top	Mid List	Toward Bottom	(Don't know)	Single/Top Few	
62./79. Protect Medicare and social security.	12	52	19	12	4	1	64	
66./83. Cut government spending.	9	51	21	13	3	3	60	
67. Cut the size of the federal bureaucracy.	6	48	18	16	5	7	54	
55. Control health care costs.	9	43	19	15	13	2	52	
61. Limit campaign spending.	3	48	18	16	12	3	51	
72. Ensure that everyone has health insurance.	14	35	16	19	14	2	49	
60./77. Pass a constitutional amendment to balance the budget.	11	38	18	18	13	3	48	
58. Cut taxes for the middle class.	9	37	18	23	11	2	46	
59. Limit government spending on entitlements.	4	43	17	17	8	11	46	

	Single Highest	Top Few	Near Top	Mid List	Toward Bottom	(Don't know)	Single/Top Few	
54./71. Expand job training for every worker to raise skills and productivity.	6	39	22	19	12	2	45	
63./80. Impose a two year limit on welfare.	4	40	22	19	11	4	44	
64./81. Limit the number of terms for Members of Congress.	4	40	16	22	15	3	44	
52./69. Cut taxes.	11	33	19	25	11	1	43	
78. Limit lobbyists.	4	38	23	21	11	3	43	
51./68. Give the President the line item veto.	5	22	18	26	20	9	27	
75. Cut taxes for families with children.	5	28	21	29	15	2	32	
53./70. Increase the minimum wage.	4	29	21	28	17	2	32	
76. Limit government spending on Medicare, Social security, and food stamps	3	25	16	25	28	3	28	
65./82. Cut taxes for capital gains.	0	25	18	32	19	6	25	
57./74. Create a new world trade agreement.	1	21	18	33	21	5	22	
84. Abolish federal programs and agencies.	1	20	12	31	30	6	21	
56./73 Increase defense spending.	1	15	13	28	41	2	15	

Democratic Sample
(Priorities Ranked by Combined Single/Top Few)

	Single Highest	Top Few	Near Top	Mid List	Toward Bottom	(Don't know)	Single/ Top Few		
62./79. Protect Medicare and social Security.	15	55	19	6	3	2	70		
55. Control health care cost.	18	49	15	13	3	2	67		
72. Ensure that everyone has health insurance.	18	45	20	12	5	0	63		
66./83. Cut government spending.	7	48	22	15	6	2	55		
61. Limit campaign spending.	7	44	17	19	11	2	51		
54./71. Expand job training for every worker to raise skills and productivity.	7	42	30	12	7	2	49		
58. Cut taxes for the middle class.	7	40	22	22	9	1	46		
78. Limit lobbyists.	4	41	16	13	22	3	46		
67. Cut the size of the federal bureaucracy.	4	41	27	15	8	6	45		
53./70. Increase the minimum wage.	7	36	24	21	10	2	43		
52./69. Cut taxes.	9	33	18	27	12	1	42		
60./77. Pass a constitutional amendment to balance the budget.	7	34	19	20	18	2	41		
63./80. Impose a two year limit on welfare.	4	38	28	17	11	3	41		
64./81. Limit the number of terms for Members of Congress.	4	37	16	19	22	2	41		
59. Limit government spending on entitlements.	6	33	23	19	11	7	39		
75. Cut taxes for families with children.	4	32	23	25	13	3	36		
51./68. Give the President the line item veto.	5	23	19	27	18	7	28		
57./74. Create a new world trade agreement.	2	22	21	30	19	6	24		
76. Limit government spending on Medicare, Social security, and food stamps.	1	20	18	26	30	5	21		
65./82. Cut taxes for capital gains.	0	21	19	35	18	6	21		
56./73 Increase defense spending.	1	13	10	33	41	1	14		
84. Abolish federal programs and agencies.	1	11	11	26	44	6	13		

Republican Sample
(Priorities Ranked by Combined Single/Top Few)

	Single Single/ Highest Top Few	Top Few	Near Top	Mid List	Toward Bottom	(Don't know)			
66./83. Cut government spending.	13	53	23	10	1	1	65		
67. Cut the size of the federal bureaucracy.	12	48	16	15	6	3	61		
62./79. Protect Medicare and social security.	12	39	26	17	6	0	51		
63./80. Impose a two year limit on welfare.	9	42	26	15	6	2	51		
52./69. Cut taxes	10	40	22	20	6	1	50		
59. Limit government spending on entitlements.	8	40	19	19	9	5	48		

60./77. Pass a constitutional amendment to balance the budget.	13	34	25	15	13	1	47
58. Cut taxes for the middle class.	8	36	25	21	8	2	44
61. Limit campaign spending.	3	39	21	18	17	1	43
78. Limit lobbyists	6	36	19	21	16	2	42
55. Control health care costs.	9	30	24	24	12	1	39
64./81. Limit the number of terms for Members of Congress.	3	35	20	21	18	3	38
75. Cut taxes for families with children.	5	32	26	26	10	1	37
51./68. Give the President the line item veto	6	27	23	23	13	8	33
76. Limit government spending on Medicare, Social security, and food stamps.	6	26	13	33	18	4	33
65./82. Cut taxes for capital gains.	2	29	22	29	14	3	32
72. Ensure that everyone has health insurance	4	22	19	26	28	1	26
54./71. Expand job training for every worker to raise skills and productivity.	3	23	18	29	25	2	26
53./70. Increase the minimum wage.	5	19	18	29	28	0	24
56./73 Increase defense spending.	2	18	21	36	20	2	20
84. Abolish federal programs and agencies	1	19	25	25	22	7	20
57./74. Create a new world trade agreement	1	16	20	35	24	5	18

November 1994 = 121 Perot voters
April 1993 = 1,200 Perot voters

Time Series Perot Voters

This series of poll questions compares the answers of Perot voters taken from the DLC's April 1993 survey, The Road to Realignment to the answers of Perot voters in our November 1994 post-election poll.

3. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or what?

	4/93	11/94
Strong Democrat	8	3
Weak Democrat	16	22
Ind.-Lean Democrat	15	11
Independent	11	14
Ind.-Lean Republican	18	19
Weak Republican	20	15
Strong Republican	8	12
(Other)	2	0
(Don't know)	2	4

COMBINED

Democrat	39	36
Independent	11	14
Republican	46	45

4. Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

4/93	11/94
------	-------

Right direction	18	17
Wrong track	67	77
(Don't know)	14	6

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with 100 meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to 100, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person or organization.

	Mean	% Warm	% Cool
6. Bill Clinton			
April 1993	49	37	34
November 1994	38	29	52
7. Ross Perot			
April 1993	76	84	4
November 1994	54	45	30
8. George Bush			
April 1993	45	32	42
November 1994	50	42	32
	Mean	% Warm	% Cool
9. Ronald Reagan			
April 1993	42	31	49
November 1994	52	46	34
10. Jimmy Carter			
April 1993	42	28	48
November 1994	51	43	36
11. Harry Truman			
April 1993	64	49	11
November 1994	71	59	9
12. Big Business			
April 1993	48	34	36
November 1994	46	30	42
13. Labor Unions			
April 1993	43	28	46
November 1994	44	29	48
14. Jesse Jackson			
April 1993	39	27	50
November 1994	40	29	46
15. The Republican Party			
April 1993	47	31	37
November 1994	52	34	26
16. The United States			
April 1993	84	87	5
November 1994	84	88	4
18. The Democratic Party			
April 1993	49	34	35
November 1994	46	22	41
20. Small Business			
April 1993	77	84	5
November 1994	76	84	7

21. Conservatives			
April 1993	55	41	25
November 1994	58	46	18

22. Liberals			
April 1993	43	23	42
November 1994	42	20	47

23. The government			
April 1993	40	23	54
November 1994	45	30	44

24. Congress			
April 1993	35	16	61
November 1994	40	20	59

28. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?
 [FOLLOW UP] Do you strongly or somewhat (approve/disapprove) of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job?

	4/93	11/94
Strongly approve	12	11
Somewhat approve	35	32
Somewhat disapprove	19	19
Strongly disapprove	21	37
(Don't know)	13	2
COMBINED		
Approve	47	42
Disapprove	40	56

Now I will read you a series of statements. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	(Don't know)
94. Too many of the poor are trying to get something for nothing.					
April 1993	34	35	21	9	2
November 1994	37	31	18	12	2

95. Public officials usually care what people like me think.					
April 1993	7	25	31	36	2
November 1994	4	24	32	39	1

96. Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public.					
April 1993	9	35	27	26	3
November 1994	5	31	31	31	2

97. It's the middle class, not the poor, who really get a raw deal today.					
April 1993	49	27	15	8	2
November 1994	59	19	12	7	2

98. Government always manages to mess things up.					
April 1993	30	42	23	4	2
November 1994	39	42	12	6	1

99. You really can't trust the government to do the right thing.					
April 1993	24	42	26	5	3

November 1994	31	38	21	8	2
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100. Abortion should be legal and generally available and subject to only limited regulation.

April 1993	42	26	10	17	4
November 1994	37	23	12	20	8

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	(Don't know)
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101. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet.

April 1993	26	32	26	14	1
November 1994	29	33	22	16	0

102. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights for different groups in this country.

April 1993	35	29	22	12	3
November 1994	31	25	20	22	2