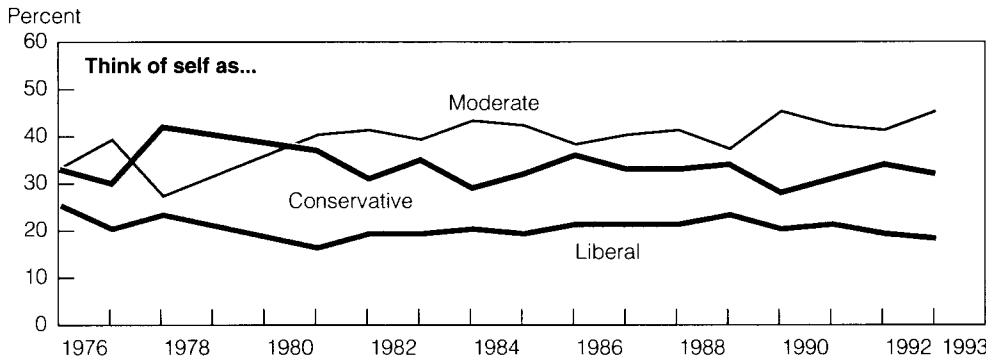


IDEOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION

Ideological self-identification has remained remarkably stable over the years. The wording of individual questions clearly influences results. Moderates are often the largest group in the polls, and conservatives generally outnumber liberals.

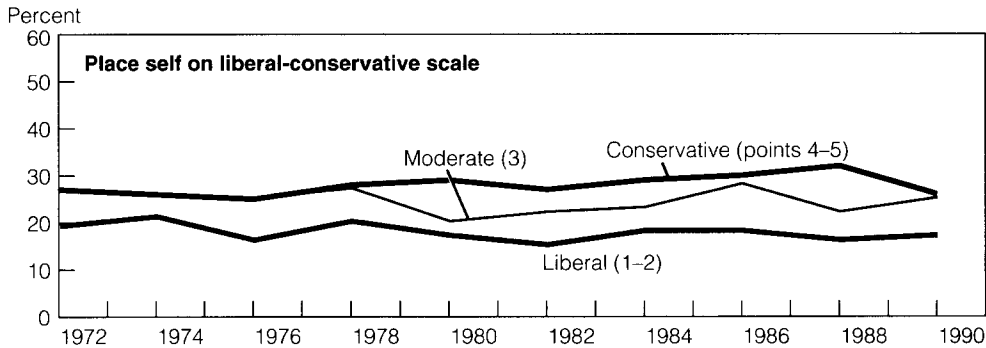
Question: **How would you describe your views on most political matters? Generally, do you think of yourself as liberal, moderate, or conservative?**



Note: First asking of each year shown.
Source: Surveys by CBS News/New York Times, latest that of January 12-14, 1993.

	Lib.	Mod.	Con.
1976	25%	33%	33%
1977	20	39	30
1978	23	27	42
1981	16	40	37
1982	19	41	31
1983	19	39	35
1984	20	43	29
1985	19	42	32
1986	21	38	36
1987	21	40	33
1988	21	41	33
1989	23	37	34
1990	20	45	28
1991	21	42	31
1992	19	41	34
1993	18	45	32

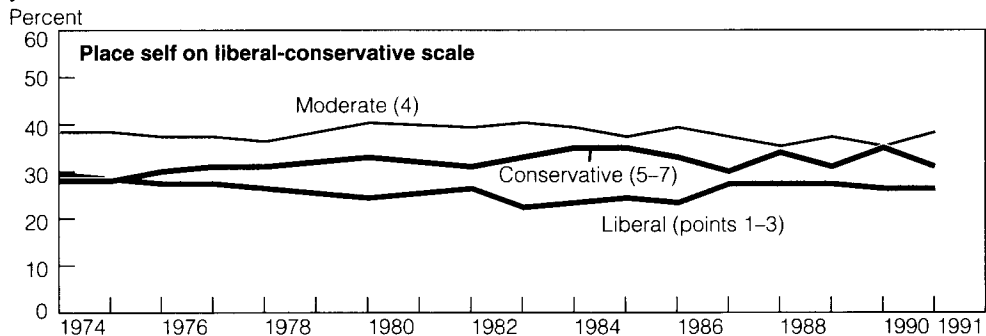
Question: **We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you a seven-point* scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?**



Note: *The original 7-point scale was collapsed into a 5-point scale.
Source: American National Election Studies, Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan.

	Lib.	Mod.	Con.
1972	19%	27%	27%
1974	21	26	26
1976	16	25	25
1978	20	27	28
1980	17	20	29
1982	15	22	27
1984	18	23	29
1986	18	28	30
1988	16	22	32
1990	17	25	26

Question: **We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal—point one—to extremely conservative—point seven. Where would you place yourself on this scale?**



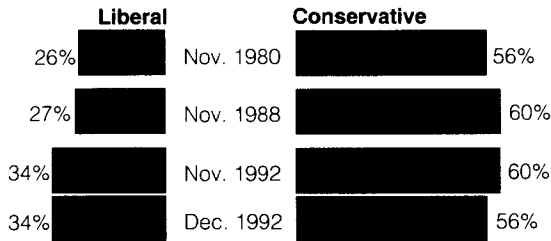
Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, latest that of February-April, 1991.

	Lib.	Mod.	Con.
1974	29%	38%	28%
1975	28	38	28
1976	27	37	30
1977	27	37	31
1978	26	36	31
1980	24	40	33
1982	26	39	31
1983	22	40	33
1984	23	39	35
1985	24	37	35
1986	23	39	33
1987	27	37	30
1988	27	35	34
1989	27	37	31
1990	26	35	35
1991	26	38	31

Wirthlin Group surveys, which do not offer respondents a “middle-of-the-road” category, find more conservatives than liberals. When Roper asks people to think “socially and politically,” conservatives outnumber moderates and liberals. Most college freshmen identify as moderates, but liberals outnumber conservatives on college campuses.

Question: **In politics today, do you consider yourself to be a liberal or a conservative on most issues?**

Consider self to be a...

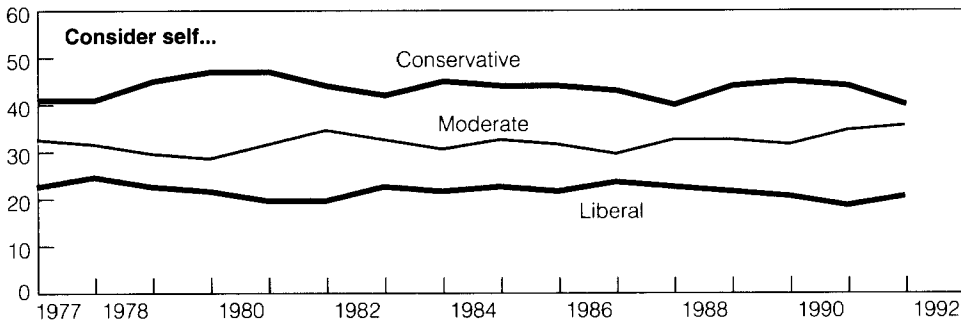


When people are asked to describe their ideological leanings, they give answers, we know, that are based on a wide variety of different considerations. One element involves attitudes toward government and its proper role—a subject we examine in the next section. It's evident that, while Americans aren't either pro- or antigovernment, attitudes toward government have grown markedly more negative over the last quarter century.

Source: Surveys by the Wirthlin Group, latest that of December 1-4, 1992.

Question: **Now, thinking politically and socially, how would you describe your general outlook—as being very conservative, moderately conservative, middle-of-the-road, moderately liberal, or very liberal?**

Percent



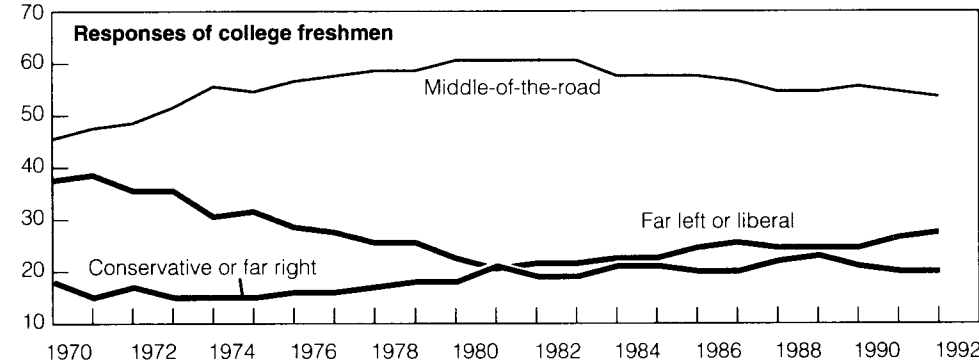
Note: Results are from surveys taken mid-year.

Source: Surveys by the Roper Organization, latest that of May 9-16, 1992.

	Lib.	Mod.	Con.
1977	22%	32%	41%
1978	24	31	41
1979	22	29	45
1980	21	28	47
1981	19	31	47
1982	19	34	44
1983	22	32	42
1984	21	30	45
1985	22	32	44
1986	21	31	44
1987	23	29	43
1988	22	32	40
1989	21	32	44
1990	20	31	45
1991	18	34	44
1992	20	35	40

Question: **How would you characterize your political views?**

Percent



Source: *The American Freshman* (1970-92), American Council on Education, University of California, Los Angeles.

	Lib.	Mod.	Con.
1970	37%	45%	18%
1971	38	47	15
1972	35	48	17
1973	35	51	15
1974	30	55	15
1975	31	54	15
1976	28	56	16
1977	27	57	16
1978	25	58	17
1979	25	58	18
1980	22	60	18
1981	20	60	21
1982	21	60	19
1983	21	60	19
1984	22	57	21
1985	22	57	21
1986	24	56	20
1987	25	56	20
1988	24	54	22
1989	24	54	23
1990	24	55	21
1991	26	54	20
1992	27	53	20

On election day in 1992, more voters described themselves as moderate (49%) than conservative (30%) or liberal (22%). Most Americans said Reagan's views and proposed programs were just about right when he took office; they feel the same way about Clinton's views.

Voters in 1980

Question: **Regardless of the party you may favor, do you lean more toward the liberal side or the conservative side politically?**

Legend: Liberal (white), Moderate (black), Conservative (grey)

Demographic	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative
Men	24%	33%	43%
Women	24%	40%	36%
18-24 years	28%	43%	29%
25-29	31%	35%	34%
30-39	26%	34%	40%
40-49	19%	36%	45%
50-59	18%	36%	47%
60+	20%	38%	42%
Less than H.S.	18%	50%	33%
H.S. grad.	16%	45%	39%
Some coll.	26%	35%	39%
Coll. grad.	27%	30%	43%
Postgrad.	36%	23%	41%
White	22%	36%	41%
Black	40%	37%	23%
Hispanic	na	na	na
Married	na	na	na
Never-married	na	na	na

Note: Na=not asked. Sample=9,341 voters as they left voting booths. Source: Survey by ABC News, November 4, 1980.

Voters in 1992

Question: **On most political matters, do you consider yourself liberal, moderate, or conservative?**

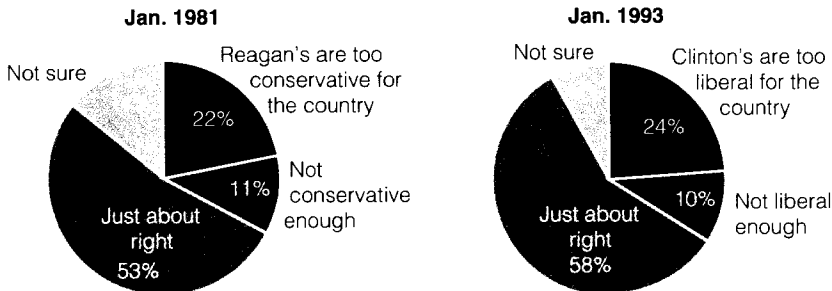
Legend: Liberal (white), Moderate (black), Conservative (grey)

Demographic	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative
Men	20%	47%	33%
Women	23%	50%	27%
18-24 years	34%	41%	25%
25-29	24%	52%	25%
30-39	22%	48%	30%
40-49	21%	48%	31%
50-59	16%	52%	32%
60+	17%	53%	30%
Less than H.S.	20%	49%	31%
H.S. grad.	20%	48%	32%
Some coll.	22%	49%	30%
Coll. grad.	19%	51%	30%
Postgrad.	27%	48%	25%
White	20%	49%	31%
Black	31%	51%	18%
Hispanic	27%	51%	22%
Married	18%	49%	33%
Never-married	32%	45%	23%

Note: Sample=7,000+ voters as they left voting booths. Source: Survey conducted November 3, 1992, by Voter Research & Surveys, a consortium of ABC News, CBS News, CNN, and NBC News.

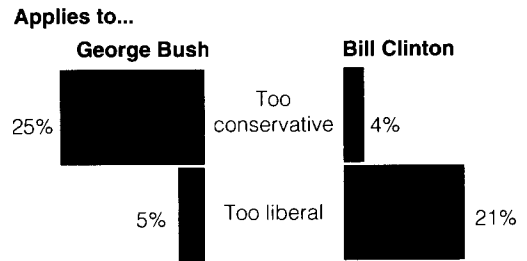
Question: **In general, would you say that President-elect (Reagan's/Clinton's) views and proposed programs for the country are too (conservative/liberal), not (conservative/liberal) enough, or just about right for the country?**

Views and proposed programs



Source: Surveys by Yankelevich Partners, Inc., for Time and CNN, latest that of January 13-14, 1993.

Question: **Here is a list of words and phrases. Would you read down that list and call off each one you think applies to Bill Clinton? Now would you call off each one you think applies to George Bush?**



Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 92-9), September 9-16, 1992.