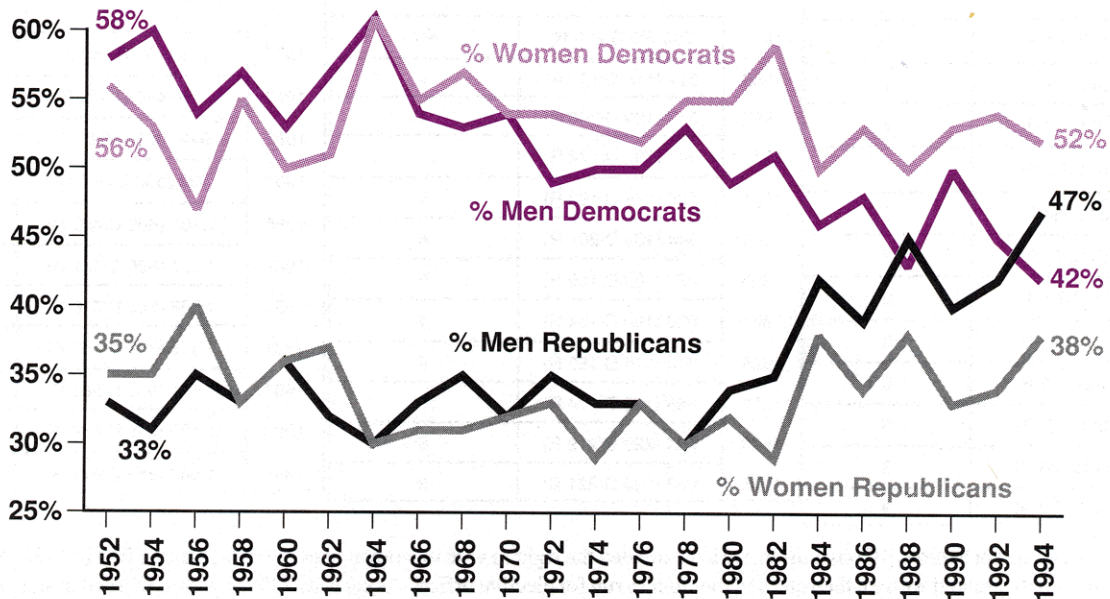


Party Identification: Men Swing Republican

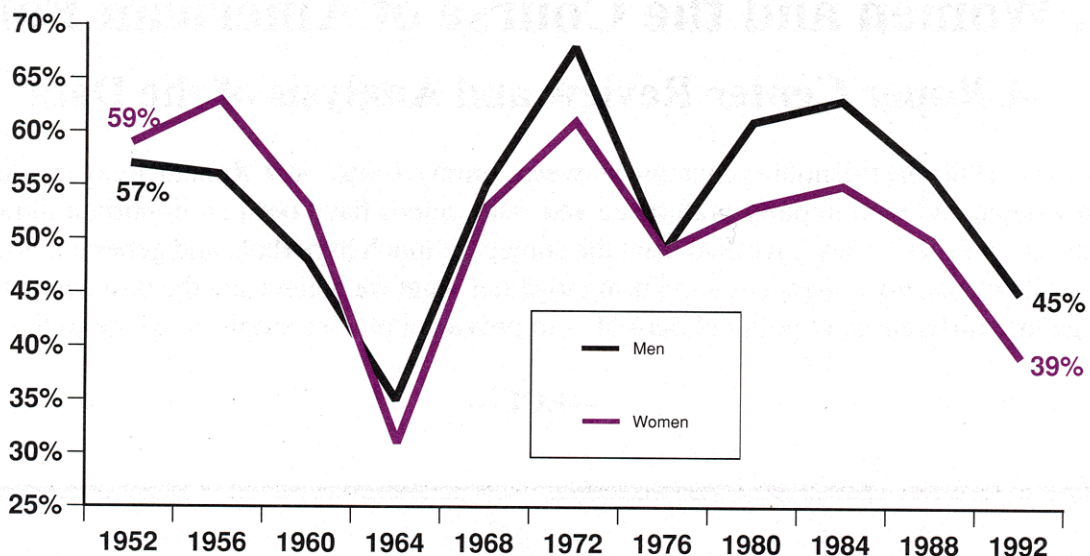


For more than four decades, the National Election Studies Series (University of Michigan) has been tracking American electoral behavior. The patterns and shifts NES has charted in women's and men's political preferences are shown here and in the next 5 pages. Note that these survey-derived estimates sometimes differ from actual vote results. In 1992, for example, just 42% of respondents who voted for one of the two major parties said they voted Republican, while in fact the Republicans got 46.5% of the two-party presidential vote.

How Men and Women Voted for President 1952-1992

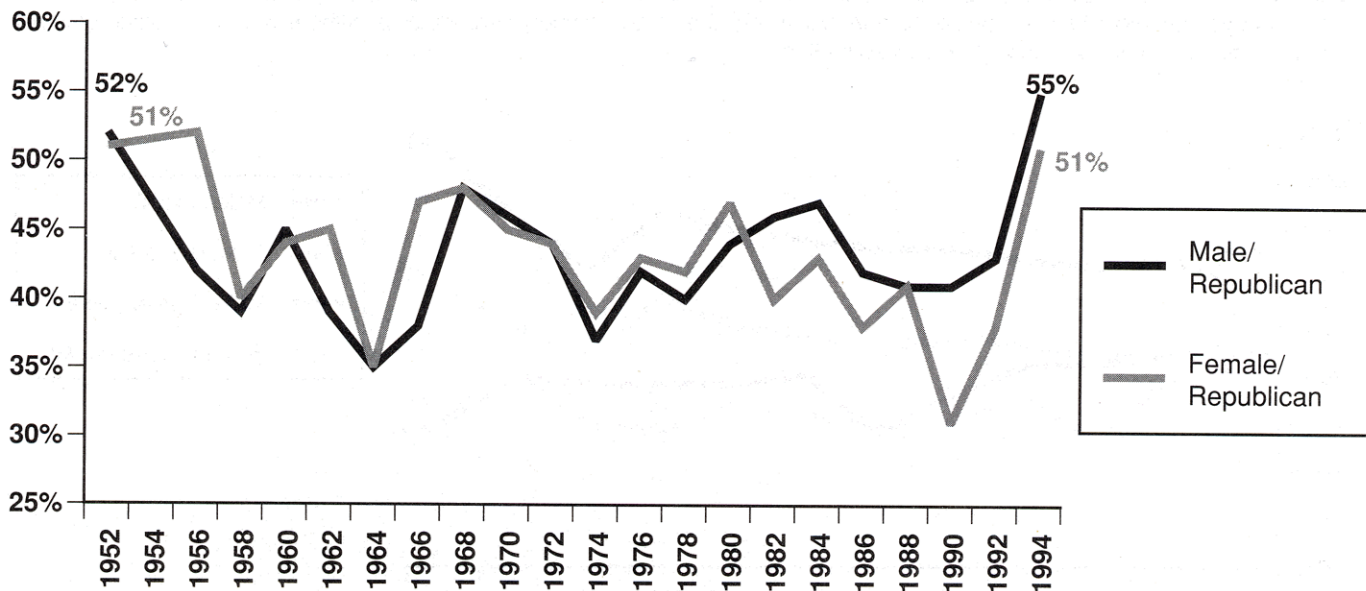
(Percent of Major Party Vote Going For the Republican Candidate)

Questions: [Asked of registered voters] 1952-1964: Who did you vote for for President?; 1968-1976: Who did you vote for in the election for President?; 1980-1992: How about the election for President? Did you vote for a candidate for President? (IF YES) Who did you vote for?



How Men and Women Voted for Congress 1952-1994

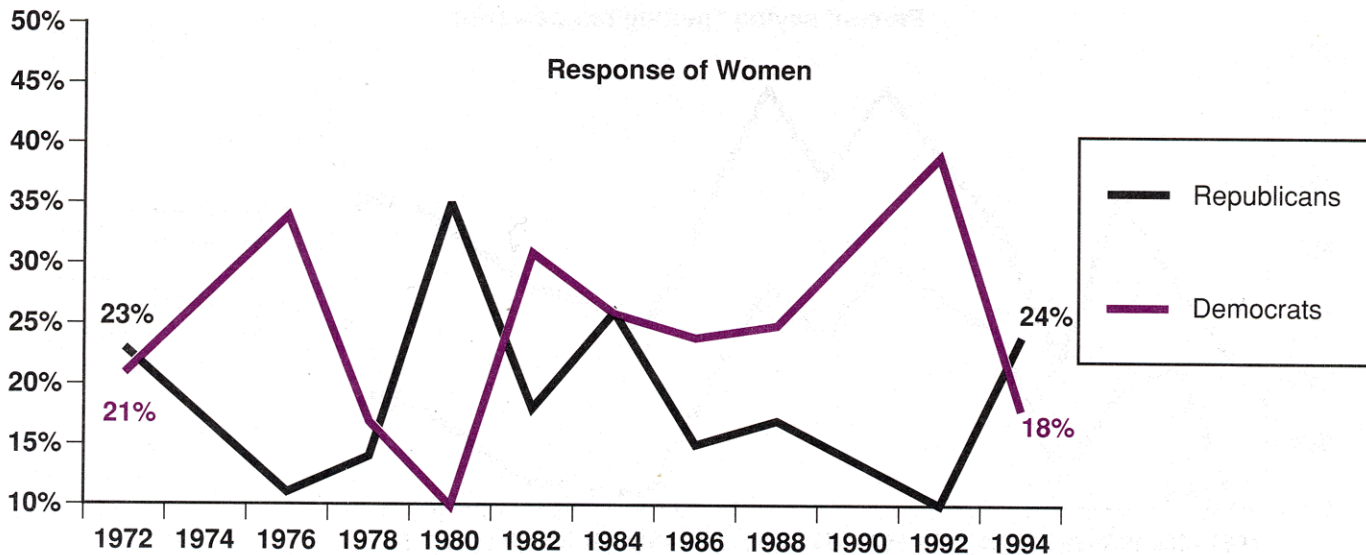
(Percent of Major Party Vote Going For the Republican Candidate)



Which Party is Best On Most Important Problem?

Women Gave the Democrats the Edge 1982-1992,
though the GOP Got it in 1994

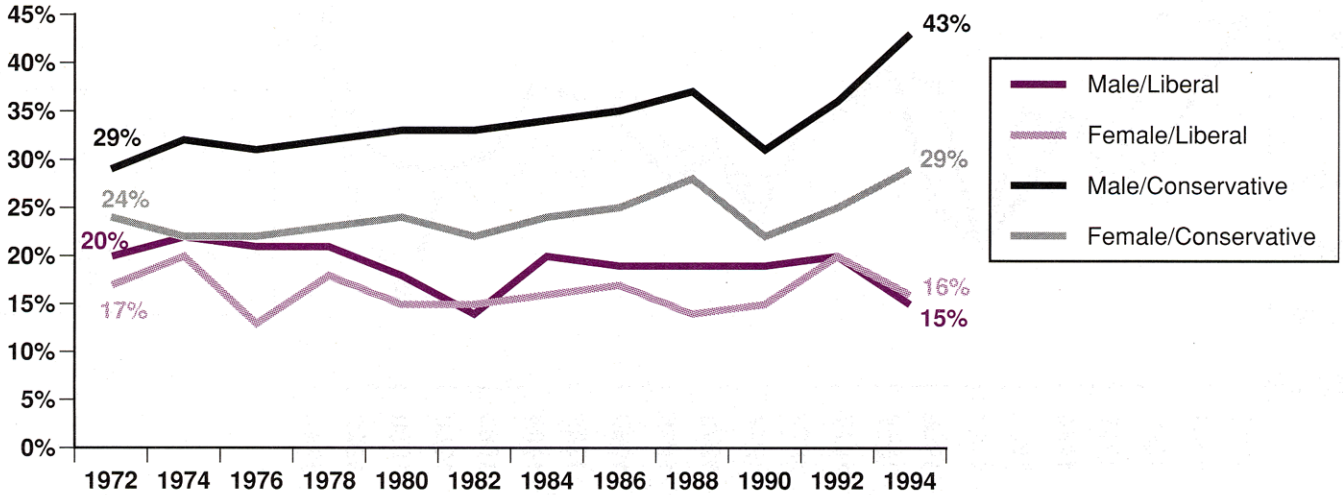
Question: Which political party do you think would be most likely to get the government to do a better job in dealing with this problem (1972: to be helpful on this problem) --the Republicans, the Democrats, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?



Campaign '96

More Men Than Women Have Called Themselves Conservative, in NES Surveys, Since 1972

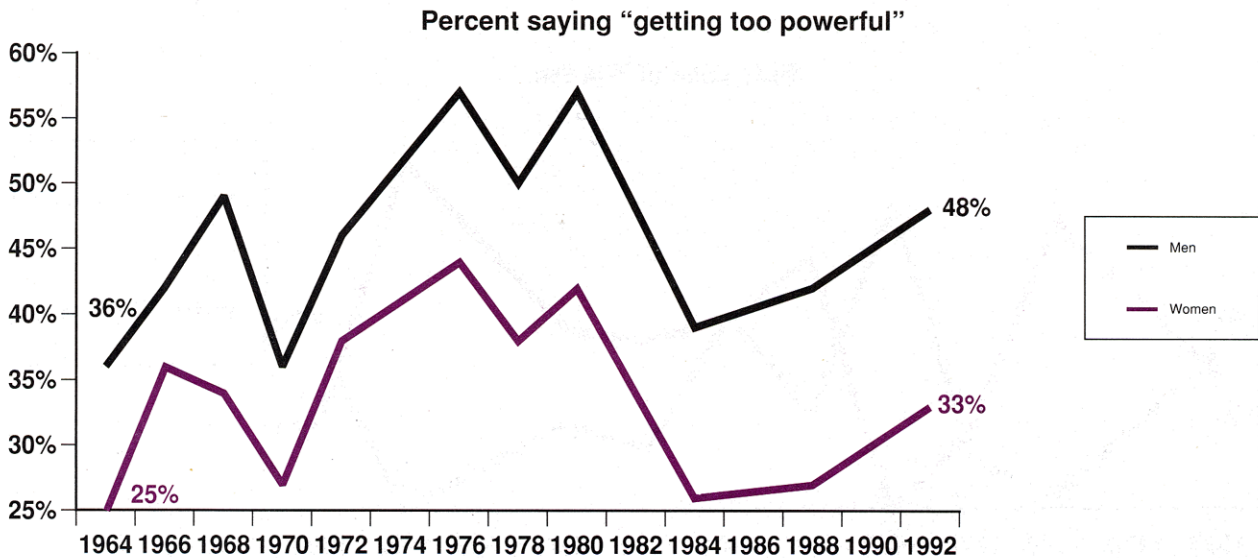
Question: We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is...a 7-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?



Note: The years shown on each N.E.S. graph are all the years for which data are available.

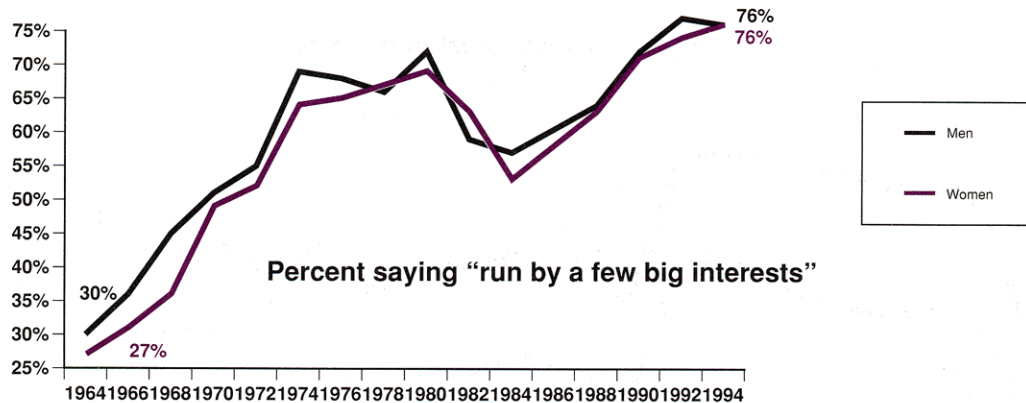
And, More Men Than Women Have Called Government Too Powerful

Question: What is your feeling, do you think the government is getting too powerful or do you think the government is not getting too strong?



Women and Men Are Equally Critical of Government Performance

Question: "Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?"

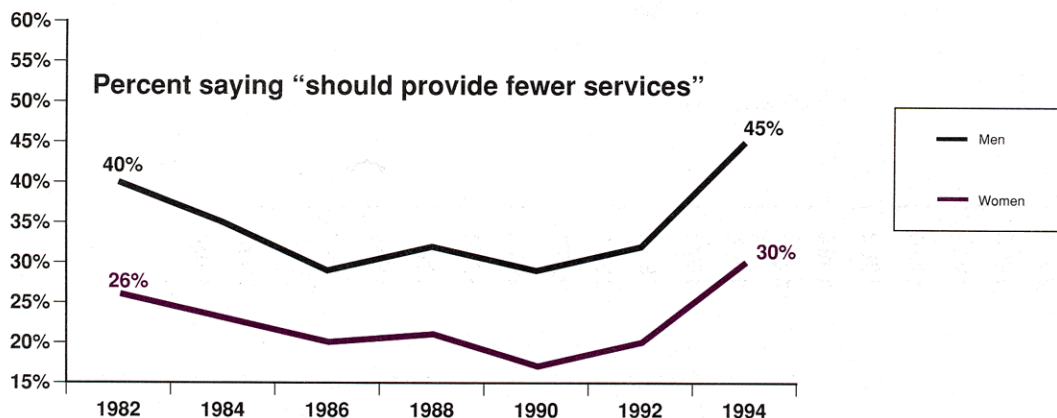


Question: Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?



But Women Give More Backing for High levels of Government Services

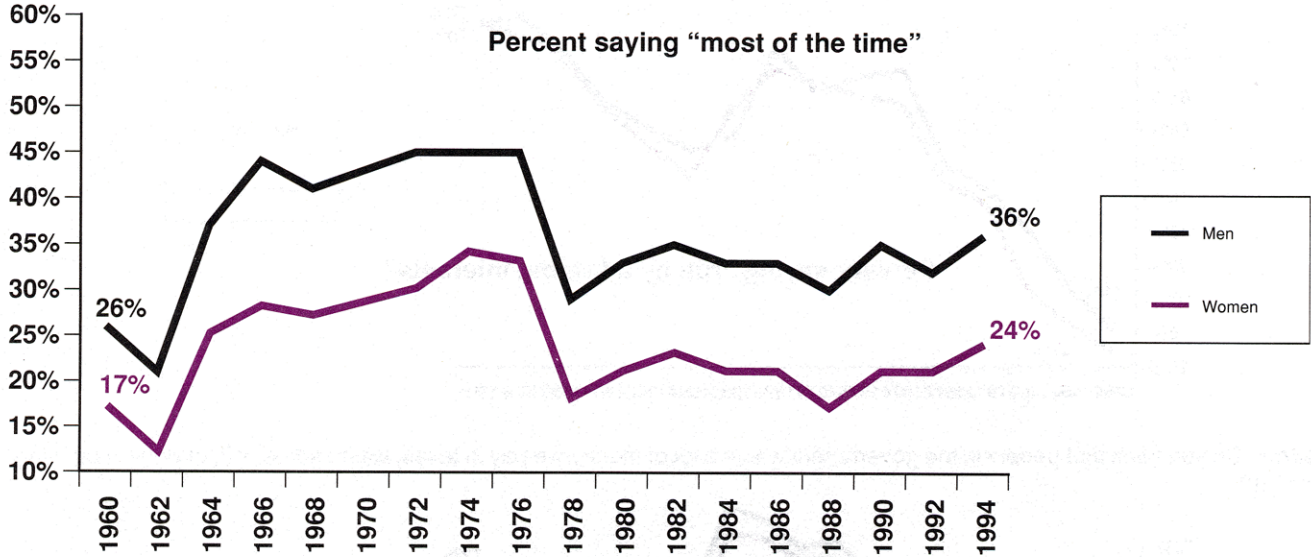
Question: Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education, in order to reduce spending. Other people feel that it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?



Campaign '96

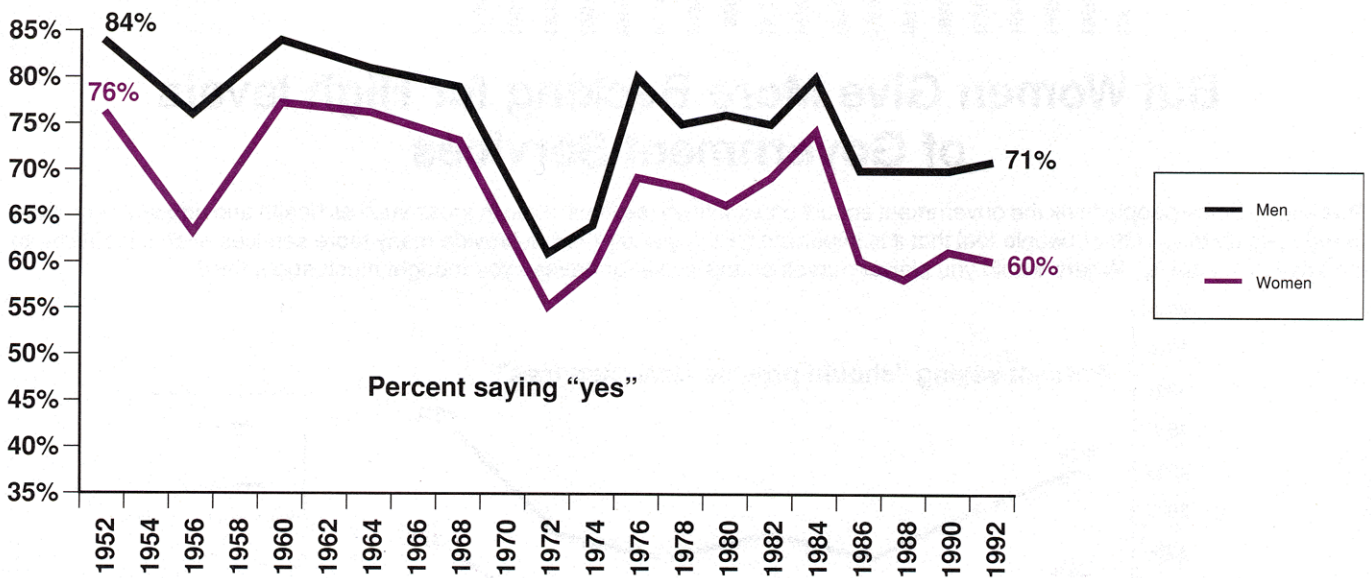
Fewer Women Than Men, Consistently, Express Interest in the Great Game of Politics

Question: Do you follow what's going on in government ?



Note: National Election Studies, Time Series, Survey Data

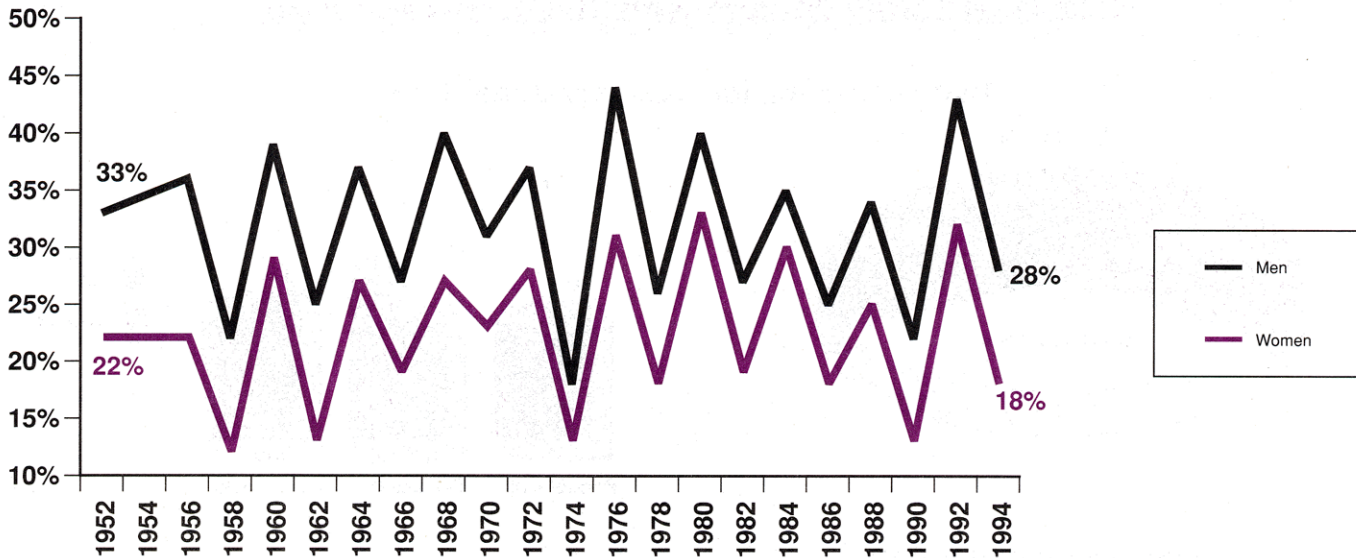
Question: Did you read about the Campaign in the newspaper?



And Fewer Say They've Tried to Play the Game

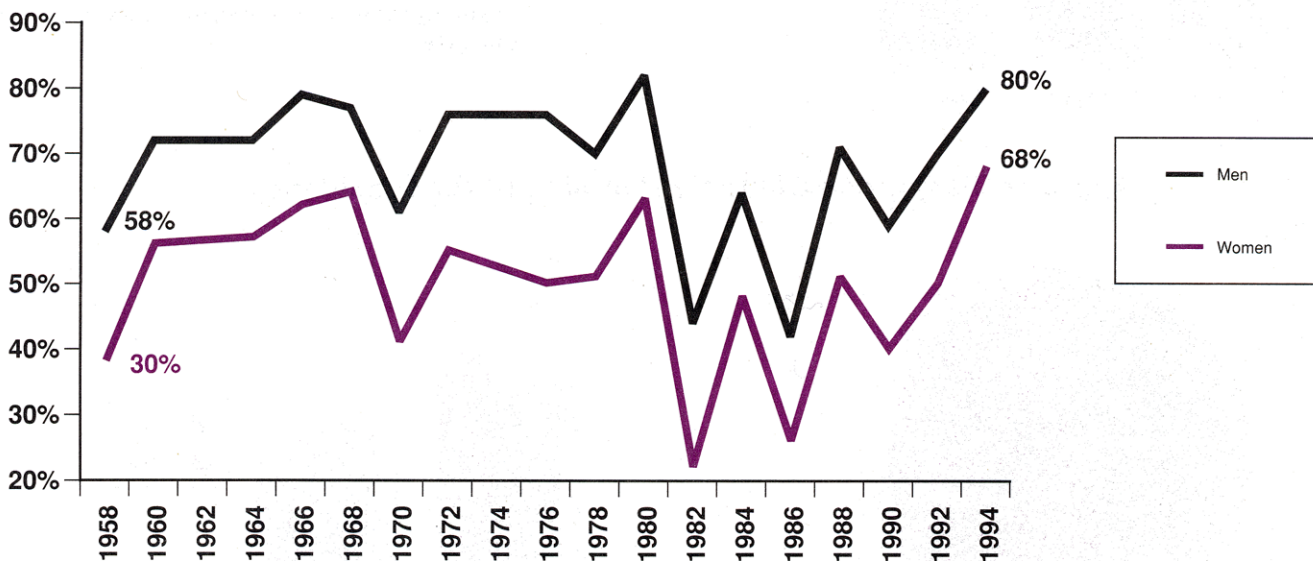
Question: During the campaign, did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for [1984 and later: "or against"] one of the parties or candidates?

Percent saying they have tried to influence others' vote



Question: Do you happen know which party had the most [1958 -1968: "Congressmen"] members in the House of Representatives in Washington before the elections [this/last] month?

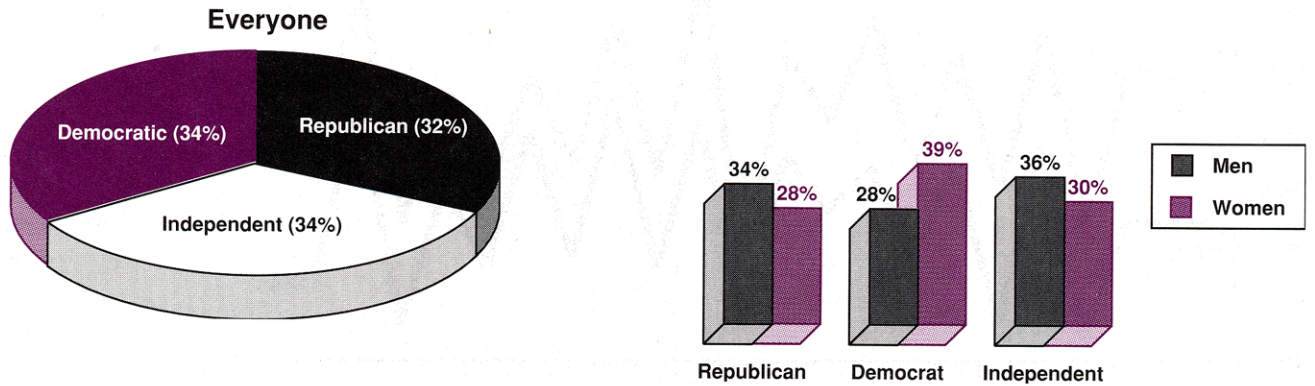
Percent giving correct answer



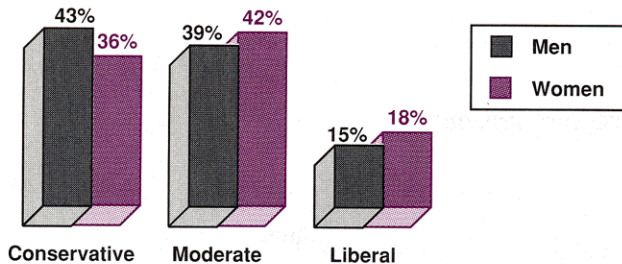
What Americans Were Saying About Their 1996 Election Plans and Judgments in the First Half of the Year

We continue our focus on women and men, looking at a special Gallup/CNN/*USA Today* dataset with 10,000 respondents.

Party Identification, January-June, 1996

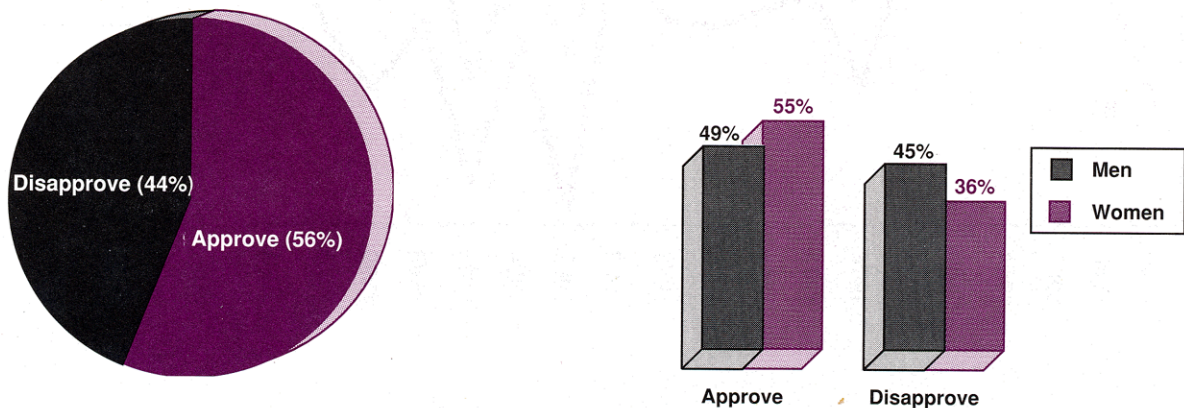


Self-Described Ideology

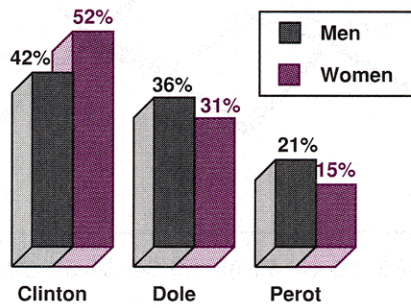
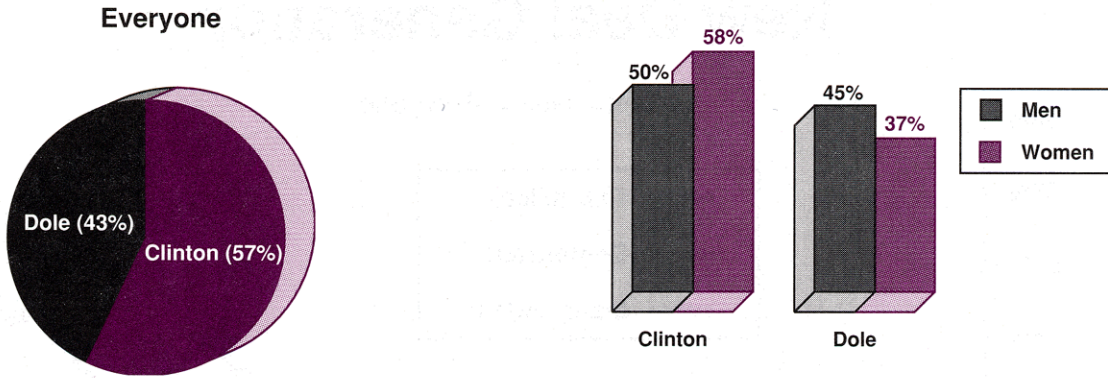


Source: Unless otherwise noted, all data on pp. 14-23 are from 10 surveys by the Gallup Organization/CNN/*USA Today*, combined to get a dataset with more than 10,000 cases. The surveys were conducted from January-June 1996.

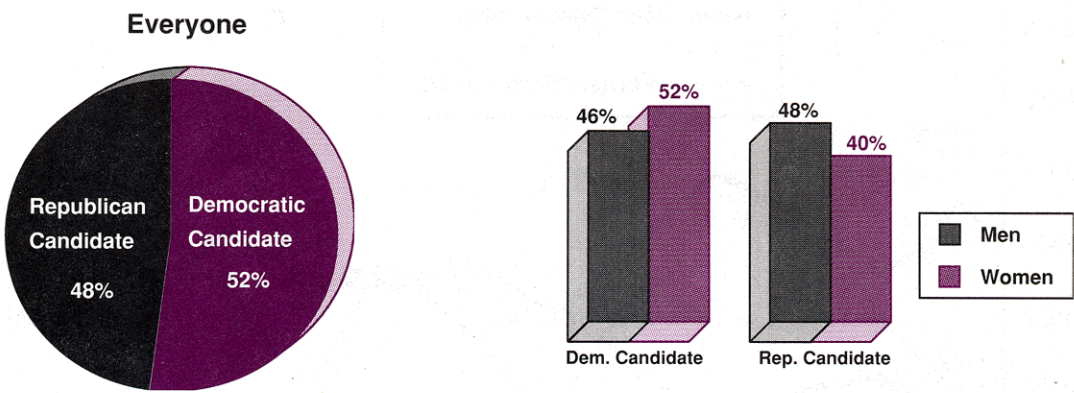
Approve/Disapprove Clinton's Handling of the Presidency



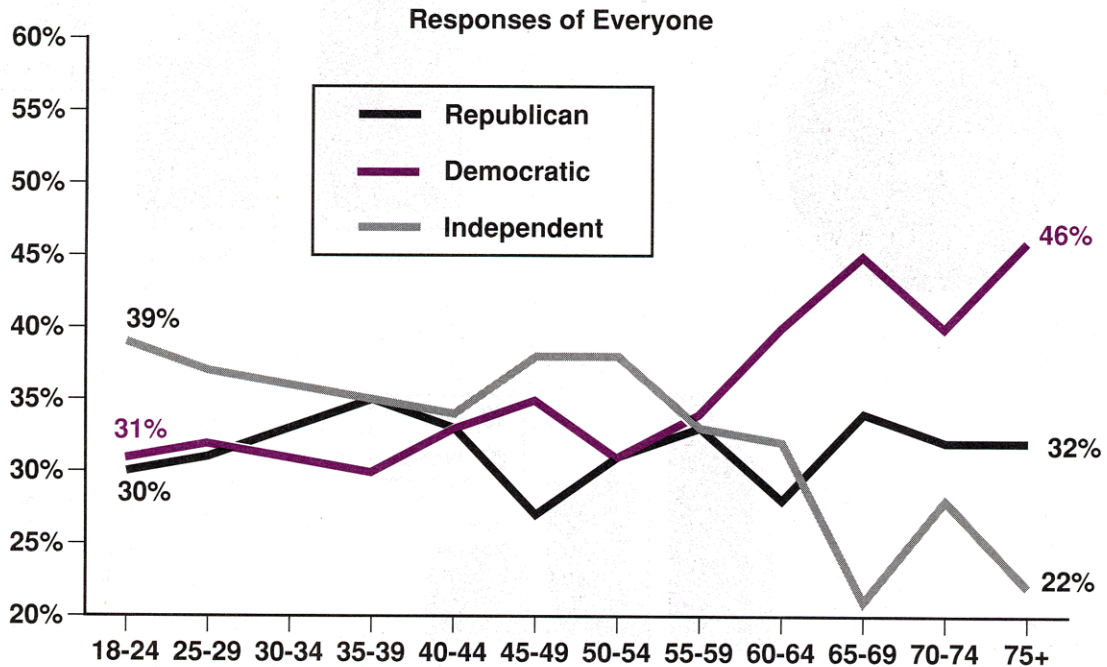
Women Have Continued to Give Bill Clinton a Bigger Edge Than Men Have Throughout the January-June Trial Heats



And More Women Said “Democrat” on the Generic Congressional Vote Intent Question, While More Men Said “Republican”

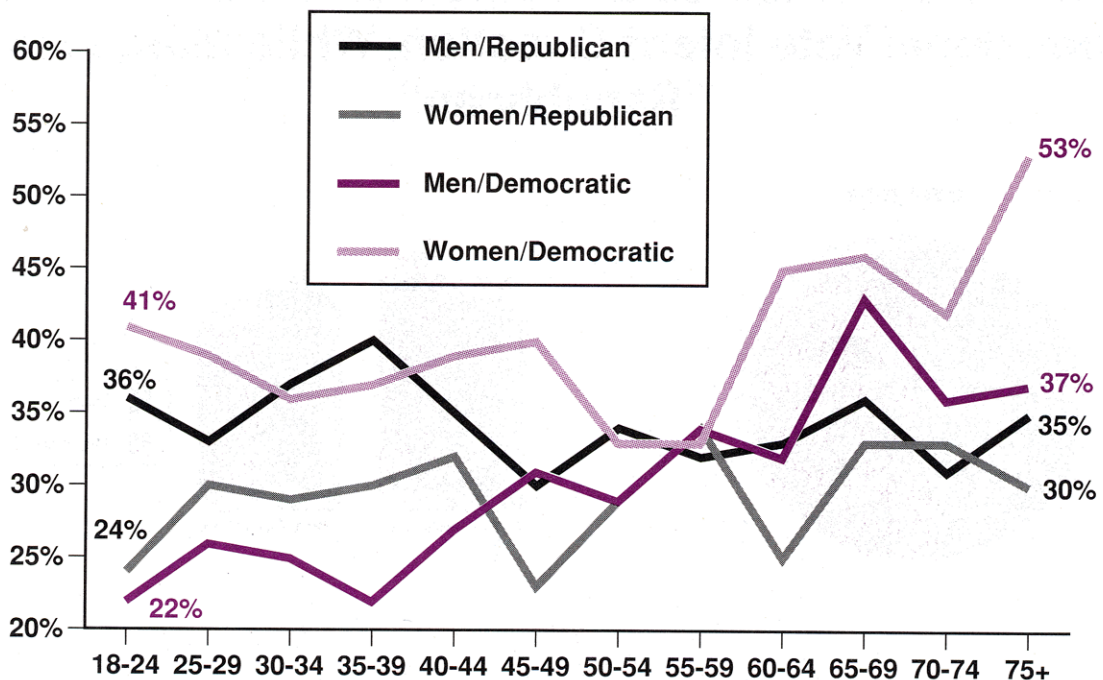


Party Identification By Age The Democrats Remain Strongest in the New Deal Generation

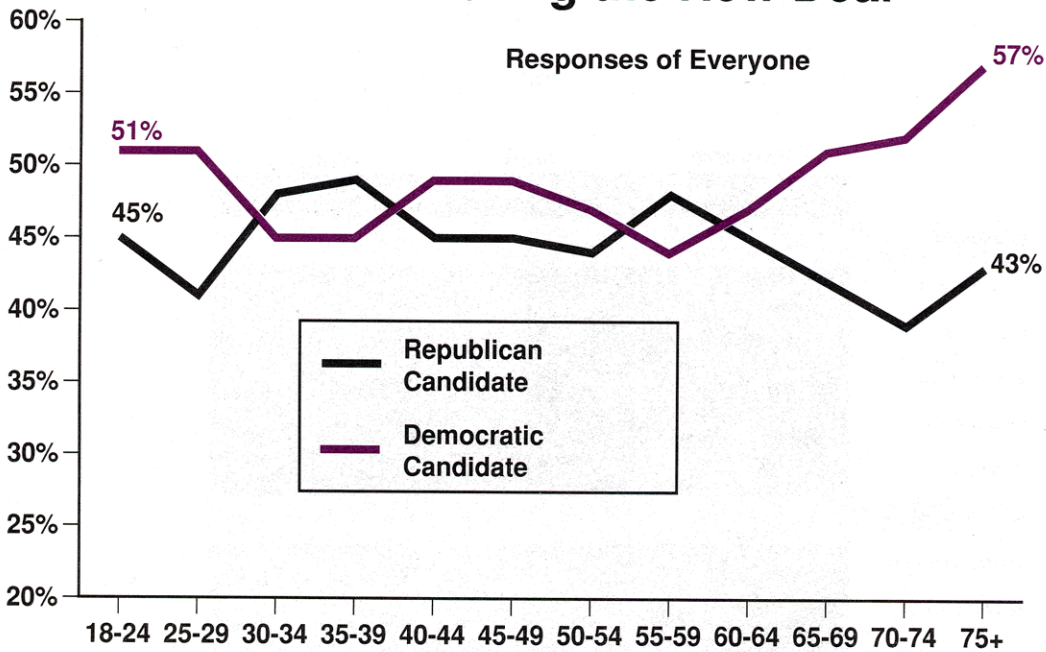


Note: Combined Gallup/CNN/USA Today Surveys of January-June 1996

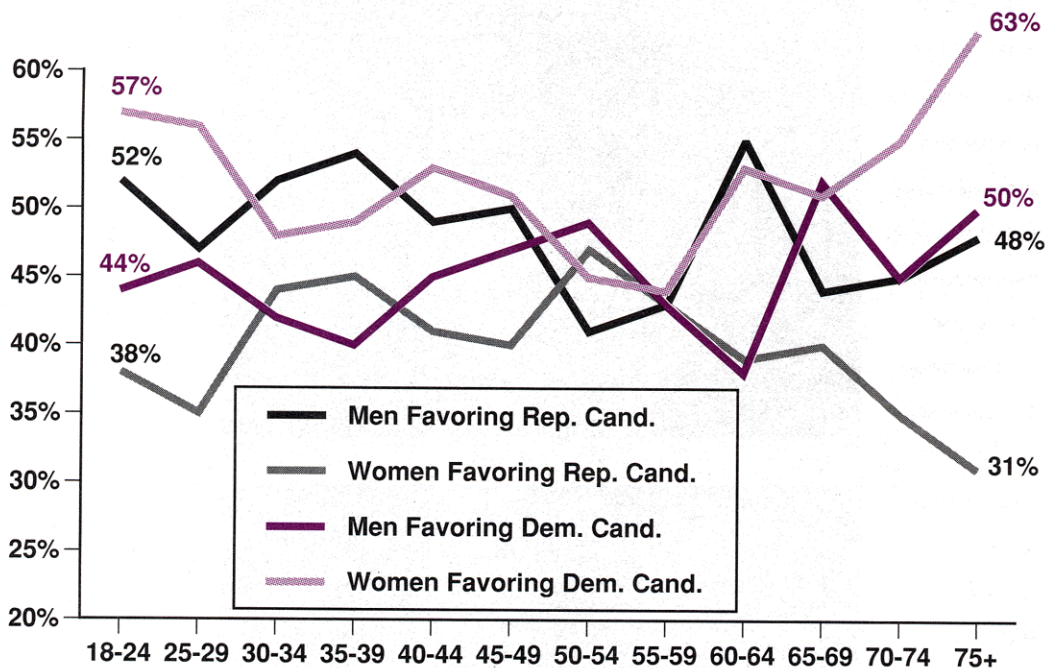
Among the Young, Women Are Democrats, Men Identify as Republicans



On the Generic Congressional Vote Question, Too, the Democrats Look Strongest Among Those Raised During the New Deal



Democratic Candidates Fare Best Among Young Women...And Older Women



Party Identification and Clinton Approval...

ID

	Everyone		Men		Women	
	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
By Education						
Less than H.S.	22%	45%	24%	40%	21%	50%
High School Grad	30%	36%	32%	31%	29%	40%
Some College	34%	31%	39%	24%	30%	37%
College Grad	39%	28%	41%	20%	37%	35%
Post Grad	33%	32%	37%	27%	27%	40%
By Age/Education						
18-34/Less than H.S.	27%	24%	28%	22%	24%	28%
18-34/H.S. Grad	28%	33%	31%	27%	26%	37%
18-34/Some College	32%	33%	38%	24%	27%	41%
18-34/College Grad	39%	28%	42%	20%	35%	37%
18-34/Post Grad	35%	32%	40%	25%	28%	40%
35-49/Less than H.S.	19%	43%	24%	34%	13%	52%
35-49/H.S. Grad	29%	34%	32%	28%	27%	39%
35-49/Some College	36%	30%	40%	24%	32%	35%
35-49/College Grad	39%	30%	40%	21%	38%	36%
35-49/Post Grad	28%	36%	33%	30%	22%	44%
50-64/Less than H.S.	22%	46%	21%	45%	23%	46%
50-64/H.S. Grad	31%	39%	30%	40%	33%	39%
50-64/Some College	32%	27%	38%	22%	28%	32%
50-64/College Grad+	37%	26%	40%	22%	33%	32%
65+/Less than H.S.	21%	58%	21%	58%	21%	59%
65+/H.S. Grad	34%	42%	38%	34%	32%	46%
65+/Some College	40%	36%	42%	30%	40%	39%
65+/College Grad+	43%	27%	42%	23%	43%	32%
By Income						
Less than \$20,000	22%	44%	24%	36%	21%	49%
\$20-29,999	29%	36%	28%	33%	30%	39%
\$30-49,999	34%	33%	37%	27%	30%	40%
\$50-74,999	38%	27%	41%	22%	35%	33%
\$75,000+	41%	25%	45%	21%	37%	30%

...The Complete Story by Gender and Social Group Status

Clinton Approval

	Everyone		Men		Women	
	Approve	Disapprove	Approve	Disapprove	Approve	Disapprove
By Education						
Less than H.S.	66%	34%	64%	36%	68%	32%
High School Grad	55%	45%	52%	48%	58%	42%
Some College	53%	47%	48%	52%	58%	42%
College Grad	53%	47%	48%	52%	58%	42%
Post Grad	58%	42%	51%	49%	66%	34%
By Age/Education						
18-34/Less than H.S.	61%	39%	60%	41%	63%	37%
18-34/H.S. Grad	55%	45%	50%	51%	60%	40%
18-34/Some College	57%	43%	52%	48%	61%	39%
18-34/College Grad	55%	45%	52%	48%	58%	42%
18-34/Post Grad	61%	39%	56%	44%	68%	32%
35-49/Less than H.S.	54%	46%	51%	49%	56%	44%
35-49/H.S. Grad	52%	48%	51%	49%	53%	47%
35-49/Some College	51%	49%	47%	53%	55%	45%
35-49/College Grad	54%	46%	49%	51%	58%	42%
35-49/Post Grad	61%	39%	53%	47%	70%	30%
50-64/Less than H.S.	69%	31%	70%	31%	69%	31%
50-64/H.S. Grad	58%	42%	57%	43%	59%	41%
50-64/Some College	52%	48%	44%	56%	58%	42%
50-64/College Grad+	52%	48%	47%	53%	60%	40%
65+/Less than H.S.	71%	29%	69%	31%	73%	27%
65+/H.S. Grad	59%	41%	53%	47%	63%	37%
65+/Some College	51%	49%	42%	59%	58%	42%
65+/College Grad+	48%	52%	43%	57%	56%	44%
By Income						
Less than \$20,000	64%	36%	61%	39%	65%	35%
\$20-29,999	57%	43%	54%	46%	60%	40%
\$30-49,999	54%	46%	48%	52%	60%	41%
\$50-74,999	51%	49%	49%	51%	54%	46%
\$75,000+	51%	49%	46%	54%	58%	42%

Republicans Continue Strongest Among College Grads, Those With higher Incomes, Non-Hispanic Whites, Southern Whites, And Married Persons

	ID					
	Everyone		Men		Women	
	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
By Whites/Income						
Less than \$10,000	22%	45%	24%	35%	22%	50%
\$10-15,000	27%	39%	30%	34%	25%	42%
\$15-20,000	28%	35%	29%	26%	28%	42%
\$20-30,000	33%	30%	31%	27%	34%	34%
\$30-50,000	38%	29%	42%	23%	34%	36%
\$50-75,000	41%	24%	44%	18%	39%	31%
\$75,000+	43%	22%	47%	18%	39%	27%
By Blacks/Income						
Less than \$15,000	8%	67%	13%	57%	5%	73%
\$15-30,000	6%	71%	8%	71%	4%	71%
\$30,000+	4%	71%	7%	70%	1%	73%
By Ethnicity						
Non-Hispanic White	36%	30%	39%	23%	33%	36%
Hispanic	18%	41%	20%	40%	17%	42%
African-American	6%	70%	8%	68%	4%	71%
By Denomination						
Protestant	36%	33%	40%	28%	32%	37%
Catholic	28%	35%	33%	28%	24%	42%
By Region						
East	29%	36%	32%	30%	27%	42%
Midwest	31%	32%	35%	26%	28%	38%
South	32%	36%	36%	30%	29%	41%
West	34%	33%	35%	28%	33%	38%
Whites (Non-Hispanic)/By Region						
East	33%	32%	36%	25%	30%	38%
Midwest	34%	28%	37%	21%	31%	33%
South	38%	29%	43%	23%	34%	35%
West	38%	31%	39%	25%	38%	37%
By Marital Status						
Married	38%	30%	41%	24%	34%	36%
Divorced	26%	38%	26%	34%	25%	41%
Widowed	28%	43%	21%	40%	29%	43%
Never Married	26%	34%	32%	28%	20%	42%

Clinton Approval

	Everyone		Men		Women	
	Approve	Disapprove	Approve	Disapprove	Approve	Disapprove
By Whites/Income						
Less than \$10,000	58%	42%	56%	44%	59%	41%
\$10-14,999	59%	41%	56%	44%	61%	39%
\$15-19,999	59%	41%	55%	45%	63%	37%
\$20-29,999	53%	47%	48%	52%	57%	43%
\$30-49,999	50%	50%	44%	56%	56%	44%
\$50-74,999	49%	51%	46%	54%	51%	49%
\$75,000+	49%	51%	44%	56%	56%	44%
By Blacks/Income						
Less than \$15,000	81%	19%	83%	27%	79%	21%
\$15-29,999	85%	15%	88%	12%	83%	17%
\$30,000+	88%	12%	88%	12%	87%	13%
By Ethnicity						
Non-Hispanic White	52%	48%	47%	53%	57%	43%
Hispanic	71%	29%	68%	32%	73%	27%
African-American	86%	14%	88%	12%	83%	17%
By Denomination						
Protestant	47%	53%	43%	57%	52%	48%
Catholic	57%	43%	52%	48%	61%	39%
By Region						
East	62%	38%	57%	43%	67%	33%
Midwest	57%	43%	53%	47%	61%	39%
South	51%	49%	48%	52%	54%	46%
West	56%	44%	51%	49%	60%	40%
Whites (Non-Hispanic)/By Region						
East	57%	43%	51%	49%	63%	37%
Midwest	54%	46%	49%	51%	58%	42%
South	45%	55%	40%	60%	48%	52%
West	53%	47%	48%	52%	58%	42%
By Marital Status						
Married	45%	55%	40%	60%	51%	49%
Divorced	61%	39%	55%	45%	62%	38%
Widowed	55%	45%	52%	48%	57%	43%
Never Married	61%	39%	57%	43%	66%	34%
By Age/Marital Status						
18-39/Married	44%	56%	39%	61%	48%	52%
40-59/Married	45%	55%	40%	60%	50%	50%
18-39/Divorced	45%	55%	41%	59%	48%	52%
40-59/Divorced	60%	40%	60%	40%	61%	39%

Another view of differences among women by social status.

Note: Survey by Greenberg Research/Lake Research for *The Women's Monitor* "Emily's List", conducted between June 12-17, 1996 with 1,000 registered voters—700 women and 300 men.

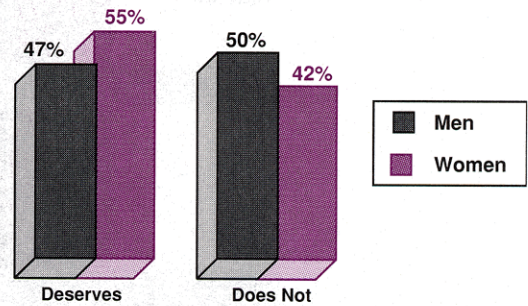
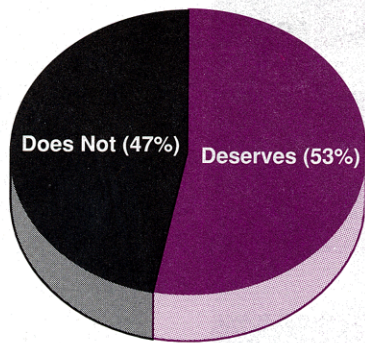
	Democratic Lead or Trail (-)	
	Generic Congressional Vote	Clinton/Dole Trial Heat
Minority Women	65	82
Single Women	26	39
Union-Household Women	21	30
Lower-Wage Women	8	23
Middle-Income Women	4	12
Southern White Women	-3	2
Married Moms	-11	3
Homemakers	-19	-11
Devout Evangelical Women	-32	-31

Note: Combined January -June 1996 Gallup/CNN/USA Today Data Continue

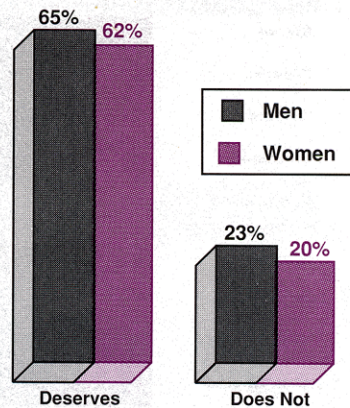
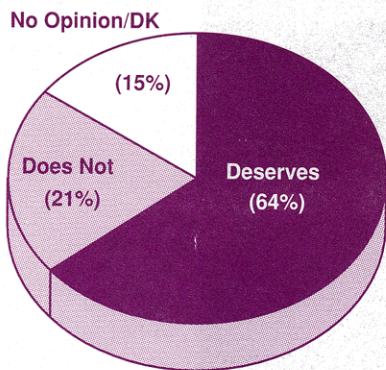
Does Clinton Deserve Re-election?

Question: ... (Do) you think each of the following political officeholders deserves to be re-elected, or not...

President (Bill) Clinton



Does Your U.S. Representative Deserve Re-election?

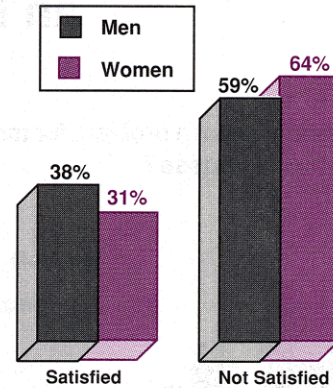
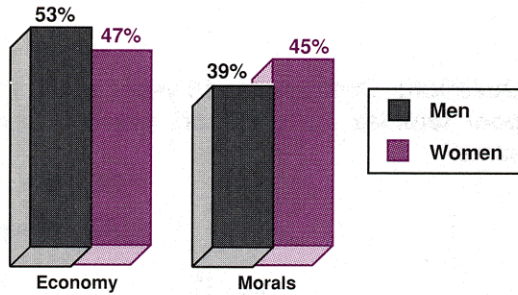


Women More Likely To Say Moral Problems Most Important

Higher Proportion of Women Call Themselves Dissatisfied

Question: Which is more important to you in this year's presidential election...the country's economic problems or the country's moral problems?

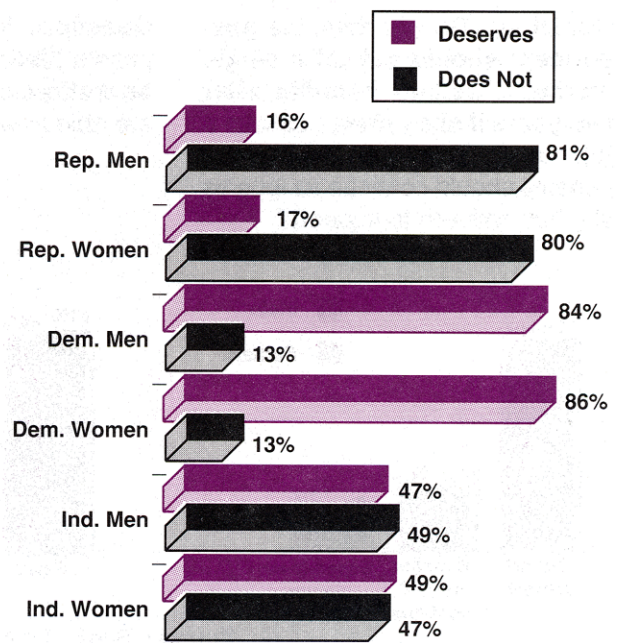
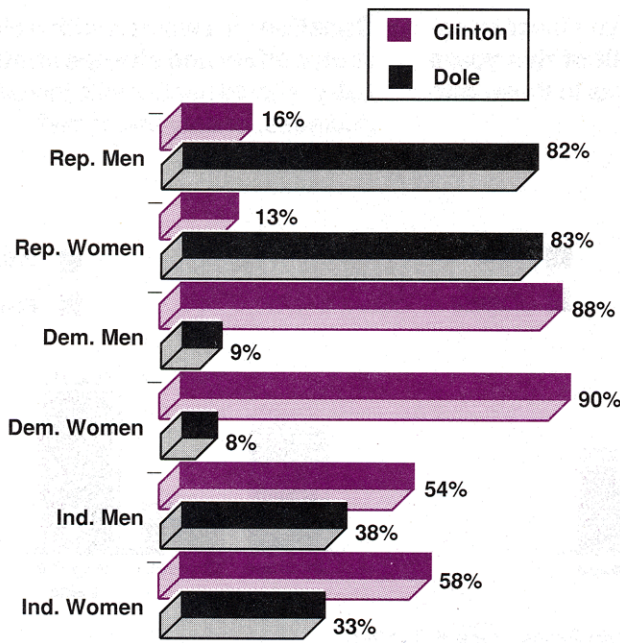
Question: ...Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the United States at this time?



Today Women Are Notably More Likely to Be Democratic Identifiers Than Men Are. But Controlling for Party, Men and Women Don't Differ in Electoral Preferences

Combined Presidential Trial Heats

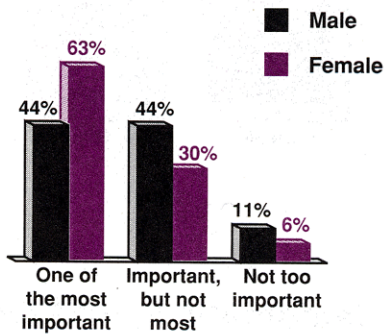
Does Clinton Deserve Re-Election?



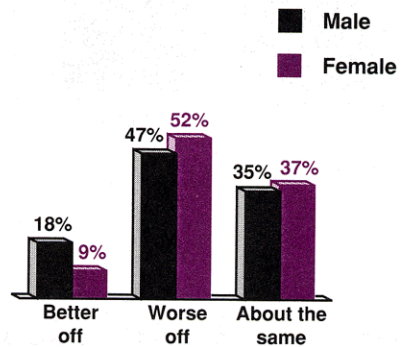
Men's and Women's Views on the Issues Show Differences, Yet Striking Similarities, Too

Women are More Likely than Men to Regard Poverty as an Important Problem

Question: How important a problem for the country is... **poverty and homelessness?**



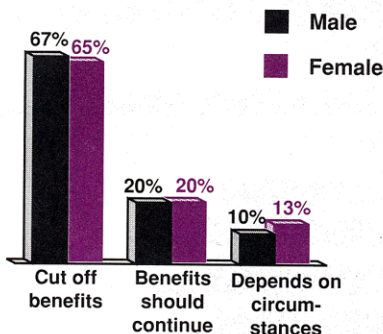
Question: Compared to 10 years ago... Do you think **poor families** are better off, worse off, or about the same?



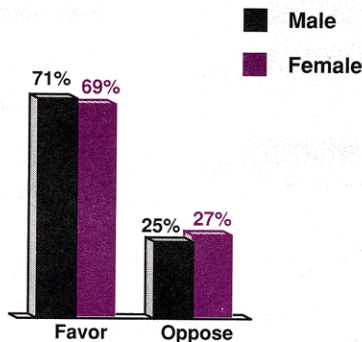
Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates for Knight-Ridder, January 5-15, 1996.

Yet, Both Sexes Show Equal Support for Welfare Reform Proposals

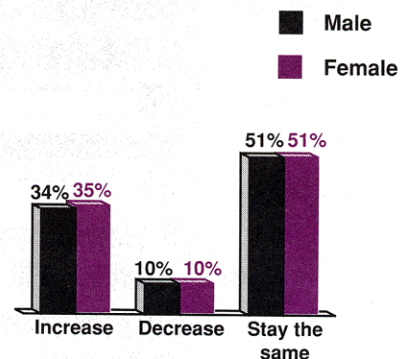
Question: Do you think the **government should cut off a single mother's welfare benefits after two years if she refuses to take a job**, or do you think the welfare benefits should continue as long as she has children to support?



Question: Would you favor or oppose a **lifetime limit of five years on welfare** payments to those who are able to work?



Question: If a **woman with a child is on welfare and she has another baby**, should her benefits increase, decrease, or stay the same?

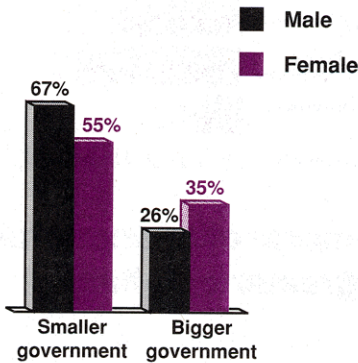


Source: Survey by Associated Press, June 5-9, 1996.

Role of Government

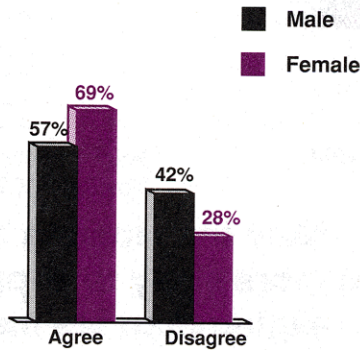
As We Saw in the NES Data on pp. 10 - 11, More Women Than Men Support Government Activism

Question: If you had to choose, would you rather have a **smaller government providing fewer services, or a bigger government providing more services?**



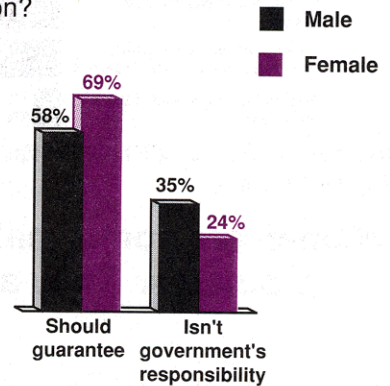
Source: Survey by CBS News/New York Times, February 22-24, 1996.

Question: Do you agree or disagree that the federal government should see to it that every person who wants to work has a job?



Source: Survey by CBS News/New York Times, February 22-24, 1996.

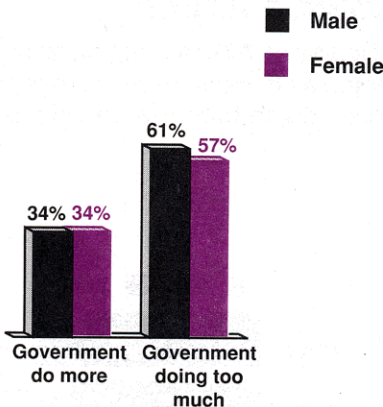
Question: Do you think the government in Washington should guarantee medical care for all people who don't have health insurance, or isn't that the responsibility of the government in Washington?



Source: Survey by CBS News/New York Times, February 22-24, 1996.

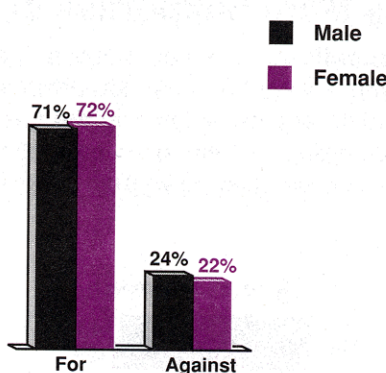
But Both Sexes Call Government Too Big and Untrustworthy

Question: Which comes closer to your view: **Government should do more to solve national problems, or government is doing too many things** better left to businesses and individuals?



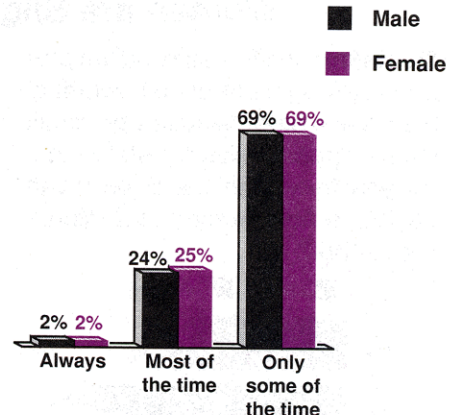
Source: Survey by CBS News/New York Times, March 31-April 2, 1996.

Question: ... Please tell me whether you would vote for or against each of the following propositions... **A reduction in the size and budget of all government agencies.**



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 23-25, 1996.

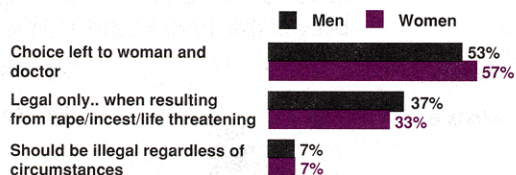
Question: How much of the time do you think you can **trust government in Washington to do what is right:** just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for CNN/USA Today, May 9-12, 1996.

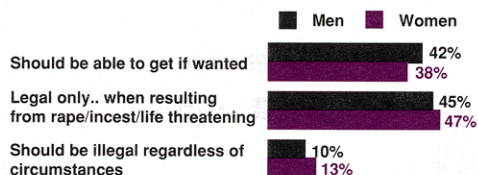
As Has Been True Since *Roe*, Men and Women Hold Similar Views on Abortion

Question: Which of the following best represents your views about abortion? 1) The choice on abortion should be left up to the woman and her doctor; 2) Abortion should be legal only in cases where pregnancy results from rape or incest, or when the life of the woman is at risk; 3) Abortion should be illegal in all circumstances.



Source: Survey by NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, May 10-14, 1996.

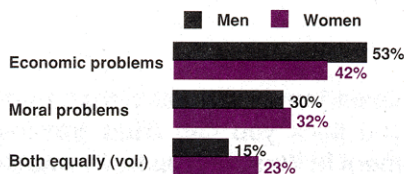
Question: Which of these positions best represents your views about abortion? 1) A woman should be able to get an abortion if she wants one no matter what the reason; 2) Abortion should be legal in certain circumstances, such as when a woman's health is endangered or when the pregnancy results from rape or incest; 3) Abortion should be illegal in all circumstances.



Source: Survey by Yankelovich Partners for *Time/CNN*, May 8 - 9, 1996.

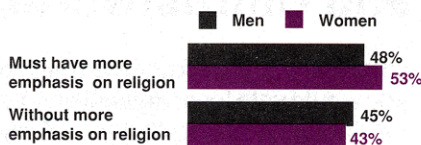
Women are somewhat more likely than men to stress moral over economic problems. They are also more likely to support a greater emphasis on religion than are men.

Question: Which is more important to you in deciding who to vote for as President in 1996—the country's economic problems or the country's moral problems?



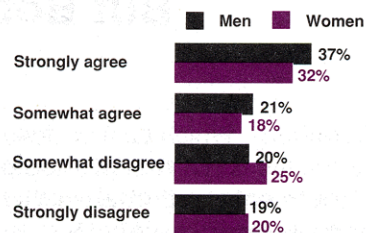
Source: Survey by Yankelovich Partners for *Time/CNN*, February 21-22, 1996.

Question: In order to improve the moral climate in this country, do you think we must put more emphasis on religion, or can we improve the moral climate without necessarily placing more emphasis on religion?



Source: Survey by the *Los Angeles Times*, October 27-30, 1995.

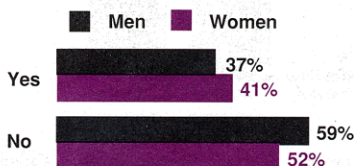
Question: Do you strongly [agree/disagree] or somewhat [agree/disagree]?... We have to keep church and state completely separate.



Source: Survey by the Tarrence Group, Mellman, Lazarus & Lake, March 5-7, 1994.

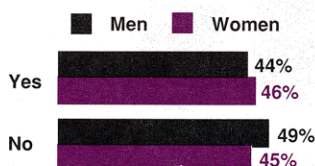
Women are Slightly More Supportive of Affirmative Action

Question: If affirmative action programs giving preference to women, blacks and other minorities do result in less opportunities for white men, do you think that's a price worth paying to help women and minorities, or not?



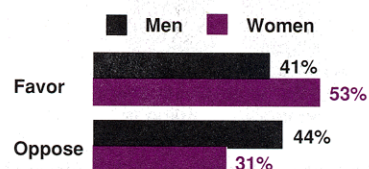
Source: Survey by ABC News/*Washington Post*, March 16-19, 1995.

Question: Do you believe that where there has been job discrimination against women in the past, preference in hiring or promotion should be given to women today?



Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, October 22-24, 1995.

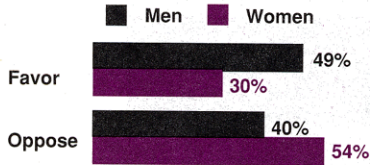
Question: All in all, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs for blacks and other minority groups?



Source: Survey by NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, September 16-19, 1995.

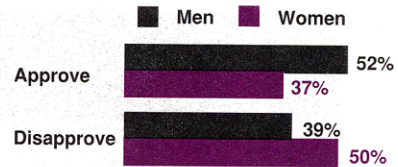
Women are much more hesitant to use troops abroad than men. Over a third of women prefer that the US remain aloof from world affairs, compared to only a quarter of men

Question: Would you favor or oppose the use of US troops... if North Korea invades South Korea?



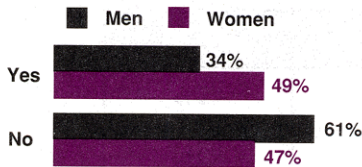
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, October 7-25, 1994.

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the presence of US troops in Bosnia?



Source: Survey by Yankelovich Partners for Time/CNN, June 12-13, 1996.

Question: Do you expect the United States to fight in another world war within the next ten years?



Source: Survey by National Opinion Research Center, January 27-May 31, 1994.

Question: Do you think it will be best for the future of this country if we take an active part in world affairs, or if we stay out of world affairs?

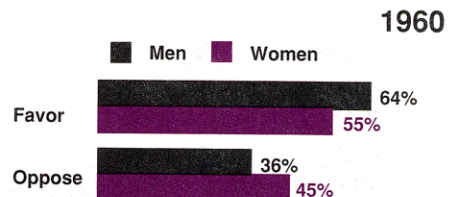
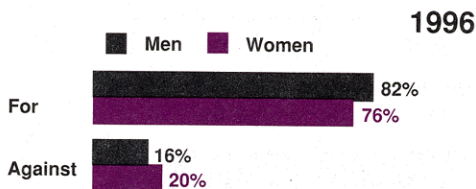


Source: Survey by National Opinion Research Center, January 27-May 31, 1994.

There is now little difference between the sexes on the death penalty. Both show overwhelming support. It was different in the past, when men generally gave higher backing.

Question: ... Please tell me whether you would vote for or against each one of the following propositions... The death penalty for persons convicted of murder.

Question: Are you in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 23-25, 1996.

Note: "No opinion" calculated out for comparison purposes. **Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, March 2-7, 1960.

Politics Isn't Everything

Women, As a Group Less Interested Than Men in Politics, Participate Actively in Civic Affairs

Selected Types of Civic Participation
(percent participating in the last five years)

Responses of Women	Church Volunteer	Community Volunteer	Political Contribution
By Age			
Under 30 yrs.	45%	40%	8%
30-39 yrs.	49%	52%	14%
40-49 yrs.	58%	54%	20%
50-64 yrs.	61%	54%	23%
65 yrs. and older	41%	44%	19%
By Income			
Less than \$20,000	40%	35%	13%
\$20,000-\$35,000	54%	42%	13%
\$35,000-\$50,000	44%	49%	20%
More than \$50,000	55%	50%	25%
By Education			
High School or less	58%	51%	19%
Some college	61%	62%	18%
College graduate	71%	77%	31%
By age of children			
Children under 6 yrs.	50%	45%	8%
Children 6-10 yrs.	51%	52%	11%
Children 11-18 yrs.	56%	50%	14%
Children over 18 yrs.	54%	41%	21%
No children	37%	36%	15%

Note: A national survey of 1,000 women was conducted January 24-29, 1996, jointly by Lake Research and American Viewpoint for *The Ladies' Home Journal*.

Contradicting Much Speculation, a New Study Finds Women and Men Expressing the Same Levels of Worry in Every Dimension of Life Measured

Question: Now I would like to read you a list of issues that some people say they worry about today. [T]ell me, for each one, how often you worry about that particular issues—very often, often, from time to time, or almost never....

	Very Often/Often	Almost Never		Very Often/Often	Almost Never
Being able to make ends meet.			Someone in your family losing a job.		
Men	43%	29%	Men	27%	44%
Women	49%	22%	Women	28%	38%
Being the victim of a crime.			Not being respected at work, or by sales and service people you encounter.		
Men	26%	43%	Men	15%	58%
Women	31%	36%	Women	17%	55%
Finding affordable child care you can trust.			Not being paid fairly for the work you do.		
Men	12%	59%	Men	28%	45%
Women	16%	49%	Women	30%	38%
Having a secure retirement.			Moving ahead in your job or career.		
Men	47%	25%	Men	32%	37%
Women	46%	24%	Women	29%	38%
Being able to afford health care for you and your family in a crisis.			Having enough time and energy to get everything done that you need to do.		
Men	39%	32%	Men	53%	25%
Women	47%	28%	Women	59%	21%

Source: Survey by Lake Research and the Tarrance Group for *U.S. News* of 1,000 registered voters and an additional 45 African Americans, July 25-27, 1995.