

1998

National Opinion Poll

POLITICS

By David A. Bositis



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The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies' 1999 National Opinion Poll reveals an interesting mix of continuity and change from last year's survey. The black population and the largely white general population of the United States continue to be similar in their views on a number of subjects, although they diverge significantly on others.

The Joint Center's 1999 survey was fielded shortly after the mass killing at Columbine High School in Colorado, and those events undoubtedly colored some of the findings in the survey. In rating what is the country's most important national problem, the respondents in the survey, both black and white, gave responses touching on issues relating to Columbine: education, juvenile crime and justice, violence and gun control, and moral decline.¹

The 1999 Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies' National Opinion Poll is a national survey of 1,678 adults. Conducted between May 5 and May 29, 1999, the survey's questions cover a broad range of topics including politics, education, crime, criminal justice, immigration, race relations, and the 2000 Census. The survey has two components: a national general population sample of 850 adults (including 683 white adults) and a national sample of 900 African American adults, including 72 respondents who are also in the general population sample. In total, 1,678 adults, 18 years of age or older, are included in the study.

This report, which represents the first release of the survey findings, covers politics. In the following months, the Joint Center will release findings on the other topics identified above. The survey methodology is described in an accompanying appendix.

The responses to several questions in the survey show that the political environment in 1999 has clear racial and ideological divides. For example, African Americans, liberals, and moderates view the current presidential administration and its policies favorably; while conservatives do not. Despite continued favorable economic trends, conservatives tend to think that things in the country are on the wrong track, as do African Americans (though to a lesser degree). By contrast, liberals and moderates think the country is headed in the right direction. This negative feeling among African Americans might be related to the Columbine shooting, but also to matters regarding racism that have received renewed attention in the past year. African Americans who think the country is on the wrong track want crime and violence to be dealt with better (especially in the schools), with gun control as part of the solution, but they also want the problems of racism addressed. The (mostly white) conservatives who believe the country is on the wrong track dislike the Clinton administration, show no awareness of racism, and believe the country's most serious problem are at root moral problems.

1. The Survey respondents volunteered a variety of answers to the "important problem" question; the relationship to the Columbine episode was not explicit in respondents' answers but surmised in the survey's interpretation.

The Joint Center’s 1999 National Opinion Poll shows continued strong African American support for President Clinton both personally and with regard to his job performance. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is also very favorably viewed by black Americans.

Vice President Al Gore also continues to be viewed favorably by African Americans, and although he is not viewed as favorably as the President, he has a significant advantage among blacks over his sole rival for the 2000 Democratic presidential nomination, former senator Bill Bradley. Gore’s principal Republican rival, Texas Governor George W. Bush, is not viewed as favorably by blacks as is Gore, although Bush shows strong potential support among whites.

Table A. Rating Presidential Candidates

	Black Population				General Population			
	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Al Gore	69	7	17	8	49	8	37	6
Bill Bradley	41	6	11	42	39	7	9	45
George W. Bush	43	9	34	14	63	8	19	11

Our poll also shows that since 1996, self-identification with the Democratic party has continued to decline among African Americans. However, the partisan shift among blacks is toward political independence and not toward the Republican party (Republican support was down from 1998).

Finally, for the second year in a row, proportionally more African Americans than whites reported that they were financially better off than they had been a year earlier. Last year represented the first time in a Joint Center National Opinion Poll that a higher proportion of African Americans than whites reported feeling this way about their financial progress.

MOST IMPORTANT NATIONAL PROBLEM (Table 1)

Blacks and whites continue to differ in what they view as the most important national problem. Among African Americans, the highest-rated problems were crime, violence, and drugs (26 percent), followed by education. Education-related responses, which totaled 25 percent, were of two types: general problems of education (10 percent) and specific problems of education that one can relate to the Columbine episode, e.g., violence in schools (15 percent).

Following education in ranking were economic issues, which black respondents ranked this year substantially lower than last year. Among these respondents, employment was identified as the most important national problem by 11 percent, and the economy in general was so ranked by another 3 percent (for a total of 14 percent); in 1998, the corresponding percentages for employment and the economy, taken together, added to 25 percent among black respondents. Two other noteworthy problems were identified by blacks as being the most important: 9 percent cited racism (up from 4 percent in 1998) and, for the first time in any recent Joint Center survey, gun control was identified by 5 percent.

The most frequently mentioned national problem among whites was education. Education-related responses were cited by 23 percent of whites, including 11 percent citing general problems of education and another 12 percent citing specific problems that may be tied to the Columbine school tragedy, e.g., violence in schools. Among whites, education was followed in frequency by the ‘moral crisis’ (18 percent), and this was followed in turn by the conflict in the Balkans (8 percent) and gun control (5 percent). This year marked the first time in any recent Joint Center survey that a significant number of whites mentioned gun control as the most important national problem. Despite the conflict in the Balkans and the Cox report on Chinese espionage at U.S. national labs, there were fewer mentions of foreign policy problems by whites in the 1999 survey than in the 1998 survey.

PRESIDENTIAL AND CONGRESSIONAL JOB RATINGS (Tables 2 & 3)

President Clinton’s job approval ratings were considerably better than Congress’s among both blacks and whites though both were lower than in the Joint Center’s 1998 poll. Among blacks, 77 percent rated Clinton’s job performance excellent or good, while 23 percent rated it as fair or poor; in 1998 Clinton’s comparable rating among blacks was 85 vs. 13 percent. Among whites, 43 percent gave the President an excellent or good job rating while 56 percent gave him fair or poor marks; in 1998, the white rating was 48 percent excellent/good vs. 50 percent fair/poor.

Table B. Job Approval: Clinton vs. Congress

	Black Population			White Population		
	Excellent/Good	Fair/Poor	D/K	Excellent/Good	Fair/Poor	D/K
	%	%	%	%	%	%
President Clinton	77	23	1	43	56	2
Congress	27	67	5	24	71	5

Among blacks, the elderly rated Clinton’s job performance most highly (89 percent excellent/good), followed by liberals (84 percent); indeed, every black subgroup rated Clinton’s job performance very favorably. Among the general population, Clinton fared best with liberals (68 percent excellent/good), moderates (54 percent), young persons (53 percent), and those without a high school degree (55 percent). He fared poorest with conservatives, both secular (71 percent fair/poor) and Christian (75 percent fair/poor).

Congress’s job ratings were poorer than Clinton’s with all groups, and, like Clinton’s, declined from last year’s levels. Blacks and whites gave Congress similar job approval ratings. Among blacks, 27 percent gave Congress an excellent/good rating, and 67 percent rated their work as fair or poor. Among whites, the comparable ratings were 24 percent excellent/good and 71 percent fair/poor.

Among the subgroups of the black population, the only significant subgroup difference was between men (20 percent excellent/good vs. 77 percent fair/poor) who rated Congress more negatively than women (33 vs. 60 percent). In the general population, men and women differed somewhat though not to the same degree as in the black population. There were no noteworthy subgroup differences in the general population.

FEELINGS TOWARD PUBLIC FIGURES (Tables 4-11)

The respondents in the survey were asked to rate their feelings toward eight public figures, three of whom were black and five of whom were white. The Joint Center has included these ratings since 1992, with certain prominent national leaders included in each survey (Bill Clinton, Jesse Jackson, and Colin Powell), and with others rotated in (Bill Bradley and Hillary Rodham Clinton this year) or out (Dick Gephardt) over time.²

Included in these questions was an explicit determination of the public figures' name recognition. Before reviewing how the public feels about these figures, it is worth noting their level of name recognition. In the black population: Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton, Jesse Jackson, and Al Gore are universally known, George W. Bush is unknown to 2.6 percent, Colin Powell is unknown to only 4.0 percent, Bill Bradley is unknown to 24.1 percent, and J.C. Watts is unknown to 34.6 percent. In the general population: both Bill and Hillary Clinton, as well as Jackson, Gore, and Bush, are universally known, Powell is unknown to 5.1 percent, and Watts is unknown to 45.1 percent.

BILL CLINTON (Table 4)

In addition to his high job-approval ratings, Bill Clinton continues to be rated very favorably as a public figure by African Americans, who are 87 percent favorable vs. 9 percent unfavorable. These ratings are indistinguishable from his ratings in the 1998 survey. All subgroups of the black population rate Clinton very favorably. In contrast, among whites, while Clinton's ratings were slightly higher than in last year's survey, they remain in negative territory. Whites rated Clinton 47 percent favorable vs. 48 percent unfavorable. In the overall general population, Clinton's favorables were 52 percent and his unfavorables were 43 percent.

In the black population sample, there were no significant subgroup differences in feelings toward Clinton except among black seniors, who viewed Clinton extraordinarily favorably (96 percent favorable vs. 3 percent unfavorable). In the general population, those who had the most favorable feelings toward Clinton included women (55 percent favorable), persons under age 35 (68 percent favorable for those ages 18-25 and 58 percent favorable for those ages 26-35), liberals (72 percent), moderates (63 percent), those without a high school degree (66 percent), and lower-income persons (55-57 percent).

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON (Table 5).

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is contemplating a Senate run in New York State next year, is viewed as favorably as her husband among African Americans, and more favorably than the President among whites. Among blacks, 87 percent said they had favorable feelings toward Mrs. Clinton, while only 7 percent expressed unfavorable feelings. Large majorities expressed strong favorable feelings toward Mrs. Clinton among all subgroups of the black population.

Among whites, Mrs. Clinton's ratings were 51 percent favorable vs. 39 percent unfavorable. In the general population, she was most favorably viewed by women (62 percent), young adults (69 percent), and liberals (77 percent). She was least favorably viewed by conservatives, both secular (60 percent unfavorable) and Christian (54 percent).

2. In the tables, the three columns (Favorable/Unfavorable/Neutral) are based on interpretation of the actual volunteered answers, which did not always match the wording of the survey questions.

AL GORE (Table 6)

Vice President Al Gore was rated somewhat less favorably than President Clinton among blacks: 69 percent rated him favorably, while 17 percent rated him unfavorably, essentially unchanged since 1997. However, among whites, Gore's favorable-to-unfavorable ratio was 46 vs. 40 percent, better than Clinton's. Gore's unfavorable rating of 40 percent among whites was nevertheless higher than in 1998 (when it was 33 percent).

Among the black subgroups, Gore was most favorably viewed by those over age 50 (76-77 percent favorable) and by Southerners (74 percent favorable). In the general population, he was viewed most favorably by women (54 percent favorable), liberals (63 percent), moderates (52 percent), and persons from low-income households (55 percent).

BILL BRADLEY (Table 7)

Gore's main challenger for the Democratic presidential nomination next year, former Senator Bill Bradley, is viewed more favorably than not by both blacks and whites (black and white ratings of Bradley are remarkably similar). However, Bradley remains an unknown to more than four in 10 blacks (42 percent) and whites (43 percent). Among blacks, 41 percent express favorable feelings about Bradley, while only 11 percent have unfavorable feelings; white ratings were similar, 39 percent favorable vs. 10 percent unfavorable. Among blacks, men (48 percent favorable), persons over age 50 (48-49 percent), northeasterners (49 percent), westerners (48 percent), liberals (48 percent), and those with at least some college (47-48 percent) were the most favorable toward Bradley. In the general population, men (47 percent) and persons from upper-income households (53 percent) were the most favorable. In neither the black nor the general population were any subgroups notably negative toward the candidate, in part because he still remains unknown to so many respondents.

GEORGE W. BUSH (Table 8)

Texas Governor George W. Bush received somewhat favorable ratings from African Americans, but strong positive ratings from whites (higher than for any other public figure except retired General Colin Powell). Among African Americans, 43 percent rated Bush favorably (up from 35 percent in 1998) and 34 percent rated him unfavorably. His most supportive subgroups among blacks were Christian conservatives (52 percent favorable) and persons from upper-middle-income (\$60,000-\$90,000) households (56 percent favorable).

Whites rated Bush almost 4-to-1 favorable vs. unfavorable (65 vs. 17 percent). In the general population, Bush fared best with conservatives (over 70 percent favorable, including 81 percent favorable among Christian conservatives) and worst with liberals (48 percent favorable vs. 35 percent unfavorable).

JESSE JACKSON (Table 9)

For the first time since 1996, the Rev. Jesse Jackson was rated more favorably than President Clinton among both blacks and whites. Further, Jackson's ratings were on balance very positive, and while only slightly improved among blacks (his ratings were already quite impressive), they improved substantially among whites. Given that the Joint Center's 1999 National Opinion Poll survey was fielded shortly after Jackson obtained the release of three U.S. servicemen being held by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (during the Kosovo conflict), this undertaking by Jackson may be related to his substantially higher ratings. Among African

Americans, Jackson's favorable-vs.-unfavorable ratings were 88 vs. 8 percent; among whites (not shown in Table C), they were 57 vs. 29 percent. (By comparison, in the Joint Center's 1996 survey, Jackson's ratings among whites were 34 percent favorable vs. 50 percent unfavorable).

Table C. Rating Jesse Jackson

	Black Population		General Population	
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Favorable	Unfavorable
	%	%	%	%
Total	88	8	62	25
White	-	-	57	29
Liberal	89	9	76	16
Moderate	91	6	65	22
Secular Conservative	83	12	44	38
Christian Conservative	88	7	52	35

Given Jackson's high ratings among blacks, there were no subgroup differences to speak of. Among the general population, young people under age 35 (73 percent favorable), women (66 percent), northerners (68 percent), liberals (76 percent), people with less than a high school education (75 percent), and lower-income persons (65-66 percent) rated Jackson most favorably. Among the general population, conservatives rated Jackson least favorably but, for the first time in a Joint Center National Opinion Poll, conservatives rated Jackson more favorably than unfavorably.

COLIN POWELL (Table 10)

Retired General Colin Powell continues to be rated very favorably by every subgroup of the black and the general populations. On balance, Powell was the most favorably viewed figure in the survey; this was also the case in the Joint Center's 1998 survey. His ratings were virtually identical among both blacks and whites (78 to 79 percent favorable vs. 7 to 8 percent unfavorable). Powell's favorable ratings were so uniformly high that there are no subgroup analyses worth making.

J.C. WATTS (Table 11)

Although U.S. Rep. J.C. Watts (R-OK) has been chairman of the House Republican Conference since 1998, he remains a largely unknown figure on the national stage. More than half (55 percent) of African Americans and two-thirds of whites indicated that they did not know enough about him to rate their feelings toward him at all. As noted above, more than one-third of blacks and 45 percent of whites did not know his name. Among those who did, his favorable-to-unfavorable ratings were proportionally quite similar among blacks and whites (although he is better known to African Americans): blacks rated him 26 vs. 13 percent favorable vs. unfavorable, whites 19 vs. 8 percent. Watts' ratings by blacks and whites were an identical 16 vs. 8 percent favorable to unfavorable in the 1997 Joint Center National Opinion Poll; since that time, he has become somewhat better known among blacks, but not among whites. No substantial subgroup differences are evident in African Americans' rating of Watts. Among the general population, he was rated most

favorably by conservatives, both secular (31 percent vs. 7 percent favorable vs. unfavorable) and Christian (27 vs. 5 percent), and by persons from upper-income households (more than \$90,000) (27 vs. 8 percent).

FINANCIAL STATUS (Table 12)

In 1998, for the first time in a Joint Center survey, blacks responded more favorably than whites when asked whether they were financially better or worse off than in the previous year. In this year's survey, they again responded more favorably than whites to this question, although the differences between blacks and whites are not nearly as great. Among blacks, 39 percent indicated that they were financially better off, while 11 percent indicated that they were worse off. In contrast, among whites the comparable figures were 33 percent better off and 13 percent worse off.

In this year's survey, the percentage who indicated they were financially better off exceeded the percentage who felt they were worse off in every subgroup of the black population. This was also true in 1998 with one important exception: more low-income blacks (less than \$15,000 per household) said then that they were financially worse off than said that they were better off.

In the general population, this year's low-income persons were the only subgroup where worse-off responses outnumbered better-off responses (22 vs. 12 percent). Adults under age 35 had the highest proportional gains (compared with 1998) of any subgroup, with 18-to-25-year-olds responding 50 percent vs. 8 percent better vs. worse, and 26-to-35-year-olds responding 49 vs. 12 percent better vs. worse. Respondents from the highest-income households also indicated that they were improving financially, with 47 percent indicating that they were financially better off and only 6 percent that they were worse off than in the previous year.

GENERAL POLITICAL CLIMATE (Table 13)

Despite the generally favorable economic situation, when asked if the country is going in the right direction, whites and blacks both responded negatively. A majority of African Americans (55 percent) and whites (51 percent) believe that things in the country have "pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track."

As noted earlier, the Joint Center's 1999 National Opinion Poll was fielded shortly after the mass murder episode at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, which likely contributed somewhat to the negative views expressed in the survey. In the 1998 Joint Center survey, while a plurality of whites (49 percent) gave the wrong-track assessment, a majority of blacks (51 percent) indicated that they thought the country was going in the right direction.

Among blacks, young adults were the most likely to believe that things in the country had pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track; 60 percent of those ages 18 to 25 and 63 percent of those ages 26 to 35 gave the wrong-track response. In contrast, only 42 percent of black senior citizens believed the country was off on the wrong track.

In the general population, both secular and Christian conservatives are those most likely to believe that things in the country are off on the wrong track. Among this group, 66 percent of secular conservatives and 64 percent of Christian conservatives feel this way; only a quarter of conservatives think the country is going in the right direction. In contrast, liberals (50 vs. 40 percent right-direction vs. wrong-track) and moderates (47 vs. 40 percent) were relatively sanguine about the direction the country is heading.

BLACK PARTISANSHIP (Table 14)

There was some modest change in black partisan identification since the Joint Center's 1998 National Opinion Poll. In 1999, 68 percent of African Americans were self-identified Democrats (down from 72 percent in 1998), 23 percent were self-identified Independents (up from 15 percent in 1998), and 5 percent were self-identified Republicans (down from 13 percent in 1998). Over the past few years, African Americans have undergone a noticeable shift away from identifying with the Democratic party; however, this year, there is also a decline in the (already quite small) percentage of black self-identified Republicans. In short, the change among African Americans has been toward independence and away from both major national parties.

Table D. Black Partisanship

	Democratic	Independent	Republican	D/K	(N)
	%	%	%	%	
18-25	58	30	7	5	123
26-35	67	26	4	3	149
36-50	66	26	4	4	248
51-64	69	20	5	5	234
65+	80	13	4	4	140

Among all subgroups of the black population, the most independent is the 18-to-25-year-old age cohort, among whom 30 percent identify themselves as independent. African Americans of retirement age remain Democratic stalwarts, with 80 percent identifying themselves as Democrats and only four percent as Republicans.

Appendix

METHODOLOGY

The survey was designed and the questionnaire developed at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. The overall study design consisted of two groups: a national general population sample of 850 and a national sample of African Americans of 900. There are 72 African American respondents in the general population sample who are also part of the national sample of African Americans. Thus, in total, there are 1,678 adults, 18 years of age or older, who are included in this study.

The survey results are based upon (random-digit dialing) telephone interviews with 1,678 adults that were conducted between May 3, 1999 and May 28, 1999. The fieldwork was done by Research America of Philadelphia, PA. Randomized procedures were used to select respondents within each household reached by telephone and after the initial call, there were at least three ‘callbacks’ if no interview was completed.

The results of this survey for both the general population sample and the black population sample should be interpreted with a statistical margin of error of plus-or-minus 3.5 percentage points. That is, one can say with 95 percent confidence that the statements made based upon the procedures employed have a random error (sampling error, random measurement error, etc.) component of 3.5 percentage points. Actually, this ‘survey’ like all surveys does not have a margin of error. The individual items in the survey have margins of error; the margin of error for a question is based upon its sample variance, the level of confidence desired (e.g., 95 percent), and sample size.¹ The 3.5 percentage points is a conservative estimate of margin of error; i.e., many items, especially those where large majorities of either sample hold similar positions, have a margin of error much smaller than 3.5 percentage points.

In addition to the random error component in surveys, there are potentially nonrandom errors that may be present. While this survey is based upon random digit dialing techniques that effectively deal with potential problems in telephone surveys such as unlisted numbers, new numbers, etc., nonresponse in telephone surveys produces a variety of known (and probably some unknown) biases. Further, a telephone survey by definition defines its population as those individuals with some reasonable expectation of being reached by telephone. Such a definition, of course, eliminates certain populations; for example, most homeless people and others living in poverty, who are unreachable by phone, are not part of the sample population. Thus, the statements made based upon this survey are most likely not generalizable to homeless people, black or white.

During the fieldwork phase of the survey, an effort was made to maximize the use of same-race interviewers, and a majority of the interviews were conducted with same-race interviewers (i.e., black interviewers for black respondents and white interviewers for white respondents).

1. A random sample is a random subset of a population. One makes observations on suitable units of a random sample in order to make statements about the population and to estimate the error associated with such statements. A common misconception regarding surveys and associated statistical theory is that ‘population size’ is a factor in margin of error. This is not true. Population does not appear in the statistical formulation for margin of error.

The sample data from the overall survey are weighted in the analyses to population parameters for a variety of demographic factors.² The parameters used in this weighting are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1996 Current Population Survey, and prior Joint Center surveys.

2. In the tables attached to this report, the black population sample size is reported as 925 rather than 900. The difference is attributable to the weighting of the black sample to achieve desired population distributions.

Table 1
 What do you think is the single most important problem facing the country today?

	Populations					
	Black		White		General	
	1998	1999	1998	1999	1998	1999
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Crime, Violence, Drugs	22	26	10	13	12	14
Employment (Jobs, Poverty, Homelessness, Hunger)	17	11	6	2	8	4
Education	16	10	17	11	16	11
Columbine (Violence in School, Youth Violence/Crime, Violence on TV, Juvenile Justice System, Kids and Weapons, Children's Lack of Respect, Religion and Prayer, Bad Parenting)	-	15	-	12	-	13
Gun Control	-	5	-	5	-	5
Moral Crisis (Morals, Family Values, Political Corruption/Scandals, Clinton Scandal)	10	4	21	18	19	14
Economy	8	3	10	2	12	2
Healthcare	8	1	6	3	6	2
World Affairs (Foreign Policy, Terrorism, World Economy, Lack of Leadership)	5	1	17	2	16	2
War/Kosovo	-	5	-	8	-	8
Race Relations/Racism	4	9	1	1	1	2
Other/None/Don't Know	10	15	12	23	10	23
(N=)	850	925	709	644	850	850

Table 2
 How would you rate the job that President Clinton is doing? Is it excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

	Black Population			General Population				
	Excellent/ Good	Fair/ Poor	D/K	(N)	Excellent/ Good	Fair/ Poor	D/K	(N)
	%	%	%		%	%	%	
Total	77	23	1	925	47	52	2	850
White	-	-	-	-	43	56	2	683
Men	73	26	1	415	42	56	2	399
Women	80	19	1	510	51	48	2	451
Ages 18-25	67	32	1	123	53	43	4	101
Ages 26-35	68	32	-	149	46	53	1	139
Ages 36-50	76	23	1	248	43	55	1	235
Ages 51-64	81	18	1	234	47	52	1	220
Ages 65+	89	11	-	140	48	50	2	129
Northeast	76	24	1	160	49	49	2	209
Midwest	75	24	2	200	45	54	2	203
South	79	21	1	480	45	54	2	267
West	73	27	=	85	49	49	2	171
Liberal	84	15	-	304	68	30	2	241
Moderate	75	25	1	312	54	44	2	246
Secular Conservative	61	40	-	57	29	71	-	108
Christian Conservative	75	25	1	211	24	75	1	222
Less Than HS	69	30	1	115	55	38	7	56
HS Graduate	74	26	-	324	41	57	2	237
Some College/Tech	82	17	1	236	47	51	1	209
College Degree+	78	21	-	223	48	52	1	334
Less Than \$15,000	74	25	1	107	46	50	5	68
\$15,000-\$35,000	82	18	-	223	44	52	4	149
\$35,000-\$60,000	73	27	-	265	46	53	1	216
\$60,000-90,000	80	19	1	122	45	55	-	162
More Than \$90,000	82	18	-	54	50	50	-	116

Table 3
 How would you rate the job that Congress in doing? Is it excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

	Black Population				General Population			
	Excellent/ Good	Fair/ Poor	D/K	(N)	Excellent/ Good	Fair/ Poor	D/K	(N)
	%	%	%		%	%	%	
Total	27	67	5	925	24	71	5	850
White	-	-	-	-	24	71	5	683
Men	20	77	4	415	22	76	3	399
Women	33	60	6	510	27	66	7	451
Ages 18-25	29	68	4	123	33	60	7	101
Ages 26-35	26	66	9	149	25	66	10	139
Ages 36-50	26	69	4	248	23	75	3	235
Ages 51-64	28	69	3	234	23	74	3	220
Ages 65+	32	62	6	140	20	76	4	129
Northeast	24	69	8	160	23	71	5	209
Midwest	29	66	6	200	26	71	3	203
South	31	65	4	480	27	68	5	267
West	13	80	7	85	19	74	8	171
Liberal	27	68	5	304	27	68	4	241
Moderate	29	69	2	312	22	74	4	246
Secular Conservative	24	76	-	57	22	74	4	108
Christian Conservative	28	66	7	211	26	70	4	222
Less Than HS	33	58	9	115	30	54	16	56
HS Graduate	28	69	3	324	26	67	7	237
Some College/Tech	27	67	7	236	27	68	4	209
College Degree+	26	70	4	223	20	68	2	334
Less Than \$15,000	26	66	8	107	15	75	9	68
\$15,000-\$35,000	34	61	5	223	26	65	9	149
\$35,000-\$60,000	29	64	6	265	26	71	3	216
\$60,000-90,000	23	75	3	122	25	72	3	162
More Than \$90,000	26	72	2	54	22	77	1	116

Table 4

Would you rate your feelings toward Bill Clinton as very favorable, favorable, unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	Black Population				(N)	General Population				(N)
	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K		Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K	
	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	
Total	87	3	9	1	925	52	4	43	1	850
White	-	-	-	-	-	47	4	48	1	683
Men	86	3	10	1	415	49	3	47	1	399
Women	89	3	7	1	510	55	4	40	-	451
Ages 18-25	87	2	9	2	123	68	6	25	1	101
Ages 26-35	81	3	15	1	149	58	5	37	-	139
Ages 36-50	88	3	9	-	248	51	-	49	-	235
Ages 51-64	88	3	8	1	234	48	5	47	1	220
Ages 65+	96	1	3	-	140	46	4	49	2	129
Northeast	87	3	9	1	160	56	3	42	-	209
Midwest	85	6	9	1	200	52	6	41	-	203
South	89	2	8	1	480	51	2	46	1	267
West	87	-	13	-	85	51	4	43	2	171
Liberal	92	3	6	-	304	72	4	25	-	241
Moderate	89	3	8	1	312	63	5	32	1	246
Secular Conservative	86	5	7	2	57	27	4	69	1	108
Christian Conservative	82	2	15	1	211	31	2	67	1	222
Less Than HS	90	3	6	2	115	66	4	30	-	56
HS Graduate	84	4	11	1	324	52	3	46	-	237
Some College/Tech	94	2	3	1	236	52	6	41	1	209
College Degree+	85	3	11	-	223	50	3	46	1	334
Less Than \$15,000	90	5	4	2	107	57	2	42	-	68
\$15,000-\$35,000	93	2	5	-	223	55	4	40	1	149
\$35,000-\$60,000	86	3	9	2	265	54	4	41	1	216
\$60,000-\$90,000	88	2	9	1	122	46	3	51	1	162
More Than \$90,000	83	-	16	-	54	52	3	45	1	116

Table 5
 Would you rate your feelings toward Hillary Rodham Clinton as very favorable, favorable, or unfavorable?

	Black Population					General Population				
	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K	(N)	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K	(N)
	%	%	%	%	(N)	%	%	%	%	(N)
Total	87	4	7	2	925	55	6	36	3	850
White	-	-	-	-	-	51	6	39	3	683
Men	83	4	10	3	415	48	6	42	5	399
Women	91	3	5	2	510	62	6	31	1	451
Ages 51-64	91	1	7	2	123	69	6	23	2	101
Ages 18-25	83	4	10	3	149	58	6	33	3	139
Ages 26-35	87	5	7	2	248	57	7	35	1	235
Ages 36-50	86	5	7	2	234	49	6	43	3	220
Ages 65+	93	2	4	2	140	51	4	39	6	129
Northeast	88	3	8	1	160	57	8	34	2	209
Midwest	85	5	9	2	200	51	5	40	3	203
South	86	4	7	3	480	54	6	37	3	267
West	100	-	-	-	85	60	5	31	4	171
Liberal	90	4	6	1	304	77	4	18	1	241
Moderate	88	5	6	2	312	58	10	29	4	246
Secular Conservative	77	4	14	5	57	35	2	60	3	108
Christian Conservative	89	2	8	2	211	38	5	54	3	222
Less Than HS	93	3	3	2	115	70	5	18	7	56
HS Graduate	85	3	9	3	324	55	6	37	3	237
Some College/Tech	88	5	6	1	236	53	7	37	3	209
College Degree+	88	4	7	2	223	55	6	38	2	334
Less Than \$15,000	87	4	6	4	107	54	6	32	8	68
\$15,000-\$35,000	92	2	4	2	223	57	7	33	3	149
\$35,000-\$60,000	86	4	8	2	265	54	6	39	1	216
\$60,000-\$90,000	89	7	5	-	122	61	4	34	1	162
More Than \$90,000	89	-	9	2	54	51	5	41	3	116

Table 6
 Would you rate your feelings toward Al Gore as very favorable, favorable,
 unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	Black Population				(N)	General Population				(N)
	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K		Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K	
	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	
Total	69	7	17	8	925	49	8	37	6	850
White	-	-	-	-	-	46	9	40	6	683
Men	70	6	18	6	415	43	8	43	6	399
Women	69	7	16	9	510	54	8	32	5	451
Ages 18-25	63	4	28	6	123	52	9	31	9	101
Ages 26-35	60	9	23	8	149	50	9	32	9	139
Ages 36-50	69	9	17	6	248	49	6	42	4	235
Ages 51-64	76	7	13	5	234	51	9	36	3	220
Ages 65+	77	4	8	11	140	44	11	37	8	129
Northeast	61	7	21	12	160	50	11	34	6	209
Midwest	63	10	20	8	200	45	9	41	4	203
South	74	7	12	7	480	50	6	37	8	267
West	73	-	27	-	85	50	9	36	5	171
Liberal	73	7	17	4	304	63	4	27	5	241
Moderate	71	6	15	8	312	52	13	30	6	246
Secular Conservative	51	12	24	12	57	36	8	52	4	108
Christian Conservative	68	6	17	8	211	37	7	52	4	222
Less Than HS	71	6	11	12	115	55	7	29	9	56
HS Graduate	69	7	20	5	324	45	10	37	8	237
Some College/Tech	66	9	17	8	236	47	10	36	7	209
College Degree+	71	6	17	6	223	52	7	39	2	334
Less Than \$15,000	72	5	10	13	107	55	14	26	5	68
\$15,000-\$35,000	73	5	17	5	223	44	11	37	7	149
\$35,000-\$60,000	66	7	22	5	265	49	7	38	6	216
\$60,000-\$90,000	69	7	18	7	122	51	6	38	4	162
More Than \$90,000	72	9	15	4	54	49	5	43	3	116

Table 7
 Would you rate your feelings toward Bill Bradley as very favorable, favorable, unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	Black Population				(N)	General Population				(N)
	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K		Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K	
	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	
Total	41	6	11	42	925	39	7	9	45	850
White	-	-	-	-	-	39	7	10	43	683
Men	48	6	14	32	415	47	6	12	36	399
Women	35	6	8	50	510	31	8	7	54	451
Ages 18-25	32	3	8	57	123	19	4	8	69	101
Ages 26-35	27	6	12	55	149	32	3	9	55	139
Ages 36-50	44	9	13	34	248	45	7	8	40	235
Ages 51-64	49	6	11	34	234	43	11	10	35	220
Ages 65+	48	5	6	40	140	43	6	9	42	129
Northeast	49	5	13	33	160	44	6	13	36	209
Midwest	41	9	10	41	200	36	9	9	47	203
South	37	5	10	49	480	37	6	8	49	267
West	48	7	15	30	85	39	7	7	48	171
Liberal	48	7	12	34	304	44	5	7	44	241
Moderate	41	7	9	44	312	40	8	5	47	246
Secular Conservative	43	4	10	44	57	44	10	14	32	108
Christian Conservative	33	6	13	49	211	34	6	14	46	222
Less Than HS	30	4	10	56	115	30	4	4	63	56
HS Graduate	37	6	12	45	324	31	6	9	54	237
Some College/Tech	48	6	8	38	236	37	9	7	47	209
College Degree+	47	8	11	34	223	47	7	12	34	334
Less Than \$15,000	43	4	10	43	107	34	3	5	59	68
\$15,000-\$35,000	39	5	9	48	223	32	4	9	54	149
\$35,000-\$60,000	42	7	8	42	265	33	11	7	49	216
\$60,000-\$90,000	45	5	12	39	122	41	7	8	45	162
More Than \$90,000	39	7	26	28	54	53	3	15	28	116

Table 8
 Would you rate your feelings toward George W. Bush as very favorable, favorable, unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	Black Population					General Population				
	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K	(N)	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K	(N)
	%	%	%	%	(N)	%	%	%	%	(N)
Total	43	9	34	14	925	63	8	19	11	850
White	-	-	-	-	-	65	8	17	11	683
Men	45	10	35	10	415	58	8	20	13	399
Women	42	9	33	16	510	66	8	17	9	451
Ages 18-25	38	4	42	16	123	62	5	23	10	101
Ages 26-35	44	3	39	14	149	66	1	21	12	139
Ages 36-50	41	13	36	9	248	61	8	20	11	235
Ages 51-64	48	12	30	9	234	61	13	17	10	220
Ages 65+	41	9	27	23	140	63	11	13	13	129
Northeast	41	10	34	14	160	59	8	20	13	209
Midwest	38	11	34	17	200	64	7	17	12	203
South	46	7	33	13	480	68	6	18	8	267
West	43	17	35	5	85	56	11	20	13	171
Liberal	40	11	39	11	304	48	6	35	11	241
Moderate	45	9	35	10	312	59	11	18	12	246
Secular Conservative	34	7	34	25	57	71	7	11	10	108
Christian Conservative	52	8	25	15	211	81	6	6	7	222
Less Than HS	49	7	22	22	115	59	5	18	18	56
HS Graduate	45	7	35	13	324	68	6	13	12	237
Some College/Tech	37	11	41	11	236	65	11	15	10	209
College Degree+	44	14	31	11	223	58	8	25	10	334
Less Than \$15,000	40	7	33	21	107	63	6	17	14	68
\$15,000-\$35,000	43	6	38	13	223	66	7	17	9	149
\$35,000-\$60,000	41	10	37	13	265	58	9	21	11	216
\$60,000-\$90,000	56	5	28	11	122	70	7	16	8	162
More Than \$90,000	44	17	28	11	54	60	7	21	12	116

Table 9

Would you rate your feelings toward Jesse Jackson as very favorable, favorable, unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	Black Population					General Population				
	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K	(N)	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K	(N)
	%	%	%	%	(N)	%	%	%	%	(N)
Total	88	3	8	1	925	62	10	25	3	850
White	-	-	-	-	-	57	11	29	4	683
Men	89	2	9	1	415	57	9	30	5	399
Women	88	4	7	2	510	66	10	21	3	451
Ages 18-25	85	2	11	2	123	73	8	13	6	101
Ages 26-35	93	2	3	2	149	73	6	18	4	139
Ages 36-50	86	3	11	-	248	60	9	29	2	235
Ages 51-64	90	3	7	-	234	52	14	31	3	220
Ages 65+	88	4	8	-	140	58	9	27	5	129
Northeast	87	1	11	-	160	68	7	22	3	209
Midwest	87	6	6	1	200	62	10	22	6	203
South	89	3	8	-	480	59	11	29	1	267
West	93	-	7	-	85	57	11	27	5	171
Liberal	89	2	9	-	304	76	6	16	3	241
Moderate	91	2	6	1	312	65	10	22	3	246
Secular Conservative	83	4	12	2	57	44	14	38	5	108
Christian Conservative	88	4	7	1	211	52	10	35	3	222
Less Than HS	88	4	7	2	115	75	5	14	5	56
HS Graduate	86	3	10	1	324	61	11	23	6	237
Some College/Tech	92	3	5	-	236	65	8	25	2	209
College Degree+	90	2	8	-	223	59	11	28	3	334
Less Than \$15,000	87	2	8	3	107	66	8	20	6	68
\$15,000-\$35,000	93	3	4	-	223	65	8	24	3	149
\$35,000-\$60,000	86	4	9	2	265	60	13	25	3	216
\$60,000-\$90,000	90	2	7	1	122	62	9	25	4	162
More Than \$90,000	89	-	11	-	54	56	8	32	4	116

Table 10
 Would you rate your feelings toward Colin Powell as very favorable,
 favorable, unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	Black Population				(N)	General Population				(N)
	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K		Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K	
	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	
Total	78	5	8	9	925	78	5	7	10	850
White	-	-	-	-	-	79	5	7	9	683
Men	79	6	10	5	415	80	5	8	7	399
Women	78	4	7	11	510	77	6	5	12	451
Ages 18-25	72	4	13	11	123	72	6	5	17	101
Ages 26-35	83	4	8	5	149	77	3	6	14	139
Ages 36-50	78	7	9	7	248	79	6	7	9	235
Ages 51-64	80	5	8	7	234	82	6	7	5	220
Ages 65+	79	3	5	14	140	81	4	8	8	129
Northeast	82	4	9	5	160	79	7	6	8	209
Midwest	74	5	9	13	200	75	8	7	9	203
South	78	5	8	10	480	81	3	6	11	267
West	88	3	8	-	85	77	4	8	11	171
Liberal	81	5	9	6	304	75	3	10	12	241
Moderate	83	5	6	6	312	84	5	5	6	246
Secular Conservative	72	5	9	14	57	81	7	7	5	108
Christian Conservative	73	3	9	14	211	77	6	7	11	222
Less Than HS	68	8	14	11	115	64	4	11	21	56
HS Graduate	78	5	7	10	324	76	6	5	14	237
Some College/Tech	83	3	10	4	236	81	4	6	8	209
College Degree+	82	5	5	9	223	81	6	8	5	334
Less Than \$15,000	69	5	14	13	107	71	3	12	14	68
\$15,000-\$35,000	81	4	8	8	223	77	6	3	14	149
\$35,000-\$60,000	80	5	7	8	265	81	4	5	10	216
\$60,000-\$90,000	76	7	8	8	122	82	5	6	7	162
More Than \$90,000	89	2	6	4	54	79	5	11	4	116

Table 11
 Would you rate your feelings toward J.C. Watts as very favorable, favorable, unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	Black Population					General Population				
	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K	(N)	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	D/K	(N)
	%	%	%	%	(N)	%	%	%	%	(N)
Total	26	6	13	55	925	19	6	8	67	850
White	-	-	-	-	-	19	5	8	66	683
Men	31	7	17	46	415	23	6	11	61	399
Women	22	5	11	63	510	14	6	6	73	451
Ages 18-25	30	5	7	58	123	16	7	6	71	101
Ages 26-35	25	4	14	57	149	15	2	6	76	139
Ages 36-50	28	4	13	54	248	17	6	9	69	235
Ages 51-64	23	7	16	54	234	24	7	11	58	220
Ages 65+	21	6	15	57	140	19	4	6	71	129
Northeast	27	9	9	56	160	21	5	11	63	209
Midwest	21	7	16	57	200	14	9	6	71	203
South	23	5	13	59	480	23	6	6	66	267
West	48	-	22	30	85	16	4	11	70	171
Liberal	26	5	17	53	304	13	4	13	70	241
Moderate	26	8	12	55	312	14	7	7	71	246
Secular Conservative	12	2	21	65	57	31	5	7	58	108
Christian Conservative	31	4	10	56	211	27	7	5	62	222
Less Than HS	27	4	13	56	115	20	4	7	70	56
HS Graduate	26	5	10	59	324	14	3	6	76	237
Some College/Tech	21	6	18	56	236	15	7	7	71	209
College Degree+	28	6	14	52	223	24	7	11	58	334
Less Than \$15,000	23	6	13	58	107	15	2	9	74	68
\$15,000-\$35,000	24	5	12	60	223	13	4	5	79	149
\$35,000-\$60,000	26	5	11	57	265	17	6	9	69	216
\$60,000-\$90,000	28	2	19	52	122	21	5	7	67	162
More Than \$90,000	36	6	20	39	54	27	3	8	62	116

Table 12

Would you say that you are financially better off, worse off, or about the same now as you were a year ago?

	Black Population					General Population				
	Better	Same	Worse	D/K	(N)	Better	Same	Worse	D/K	(N)
	%	%	%	%	(N)	%	%	%	%	(N)
Total	39	49	11	1	925	34	53	13	1	850
White	-	-	-	-	-	33	54	13	1	683
Men	41	49	10	-	415	34	54	11	1	399
Women	38	49	12	2	510	34	52	14	-	451
Ages 18-25	45	47	7	2	123	50	42	8	1	101
Ages 26-35	51	42	7	-	149	49	39	12	1	139
Ages 36-50	41	42	17	1	248	36	52	12	-	235
Ages 51-64	37	51	11	-	234	25	61	15	-	220
Ages 65+	26	64	9	1	140	16	66	17	2	129
Northeast	34	53	12	1	160	25	59	15	1	209
Midwest	36	57	7	1	200	39	46	15	-	203
South	43	45	11	1	480	35	52	12	1	267
West	33	43	22	2	85	36	54	8	1	171
Liberal	38	52	9	1	304	39	49	11	-	241
Moderate	41	46	12	1	312	38	51	10	1	246
Secular Conservative	35	48	15	2	57	27	60	13	-	108
Christian Conservative	42	47	11	1	211	25	58	16	-	222
Less Than HS	28	57	12	3	115	29	50	21	-	56
HS Graduate	36	52	11	1	324	30	52	19	-	237
Some College/Tech	42	44	14	1	236	36	51	13	-	209
College Degree+	48	44	8	-	223	36	55	7	2	334
Less Than \$15,000	22	62	15	1	107	12	66	22	-	68
\$15,000-\$35,000	40	48	12	-	223	30	48	22	-	149
\$35,000-\$60,000	38	48	13	1	265	35	55	10	-	216
\$60,000-\$90,000	56	35	8	-	122	38	50	10	2	162
More Than \$90,000	60	40	-	-	54	47	47	6	-	116

Table 13

Do you feel things in the country are generally going in the right direction, or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

	Black Population				General Population			
	Right Direction	Wrong Track	D/K	(N)	Right Direction	Wrong Track	D/K	(N)
Total	39	50	11	925	38	50	11	850
White	-	-	-	-	37	51	12	683
Men	44	47	9	415	40	50	10	399
Women	36	53	12	510	37	51	12	451
Ages 18-25	34	60	6	123	45	50	6	101
Ages 26-35	32	63	5	149	38	53	9	139
Ages 36-50	41	48	11	248	40	51	9	235
Ages 51-64	44	45	10	234	38	53	10	220
Ages 65+	44	42	14	140	31	50	19	129
Northeast	39	51	11	160	41	50	9	209
Midwest	42	48	11	200	40	48	12	203
South	40	50	10	480	34	55	11	267
West	33	53	13	85	40	46	14	171
Liberal	48	44	8	304	50	40	10	241
Moderate	37	50	13	312	47	40	13	246
Secular Conservative	40	55	5	57	24	66	10	108
Christian Conservative	35	56	9	211	25	64	11	222
Less Than HS	33	54	13	115	36	50	14	56
HS Graduate	40	52	8	324	35	58	7	237
Some College/Tech	42	49	9	236	41	48	12	209
College Degree+	41	49	11	223	40	47	13	334
Less Than \$15,000	34	54	12	107	31	51	19	68
\$15,000-\$35,000	43	49	8	223	33	56	11	149
\$35,000-\$60,000	38	53	10	265	42	51	8	216
\$60,000-90,000	44	49	7	122	38	50	12	162
More Than \$90,000	60	28	13	54	47	45	9	116

Table 14
 In politics, do you consider yourself a Democrat,
 a Republican, or an independent?

	Democratic	Independent	Republican	D/K	(N)
	%	%	%	%	
Total	68	23	5	5	925
Ages 18-25	58	30	7	5	123
Ages 26-35	67	26	4	3	149
Ages 36-50	66	26	4	4	248
Ages 51-64	69	20	5	5	234
Ages 65+	80	13	4	4	140