

# March 2002 National Monitor Survey Findings

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Linda A. DiVall, President  
Gary Ferguson, Senior Vice President  
Bob Carpenter, Vice President

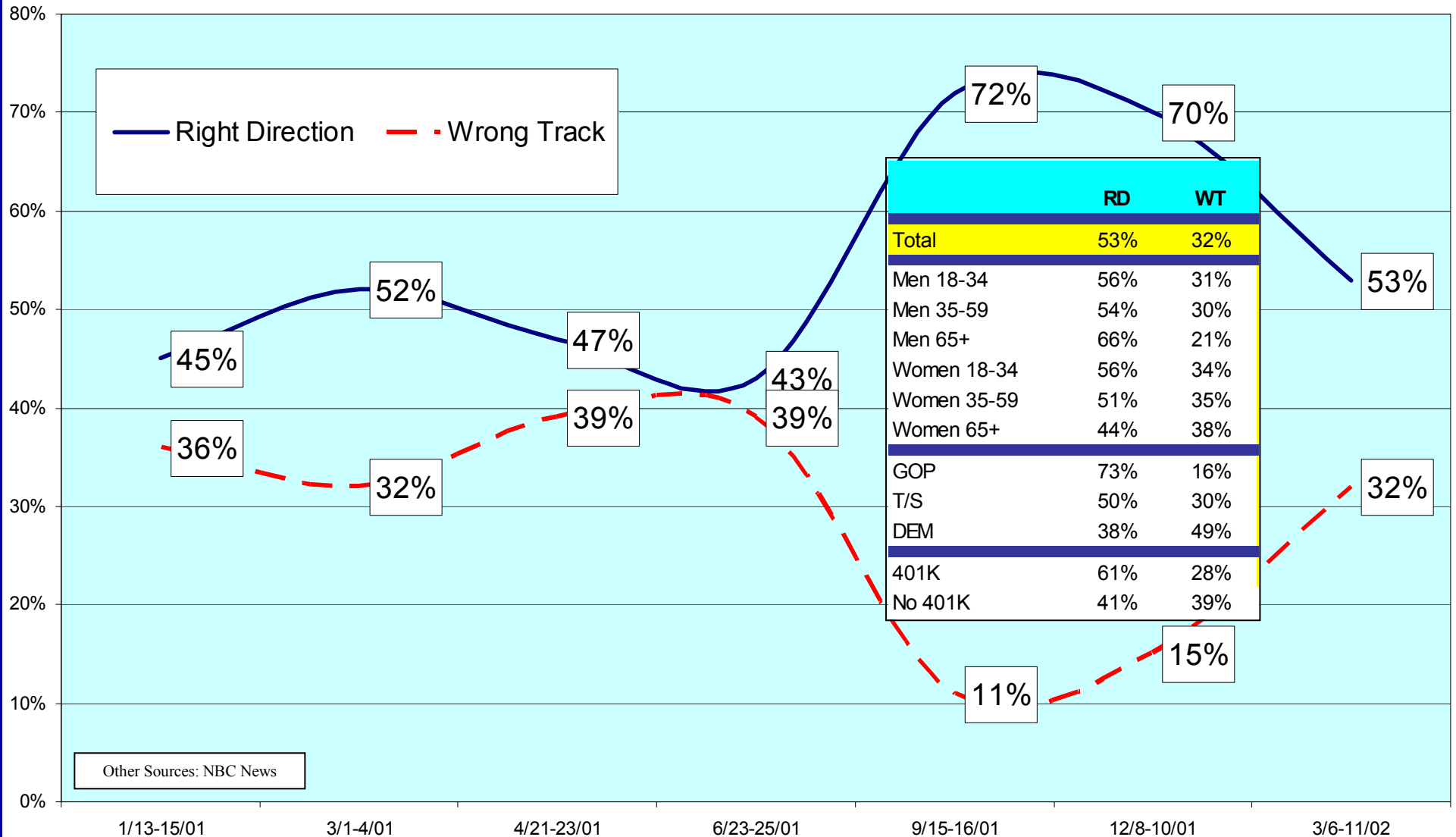
300 North Lee Street, Suite 400 · Alexandria, Virginia 22314 · 703.684.3325 · 703.684.9295 FAX · [info@amview.com](mailto:info@amview.com)

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March 2002 National Monitor Survey

# Direction of Country

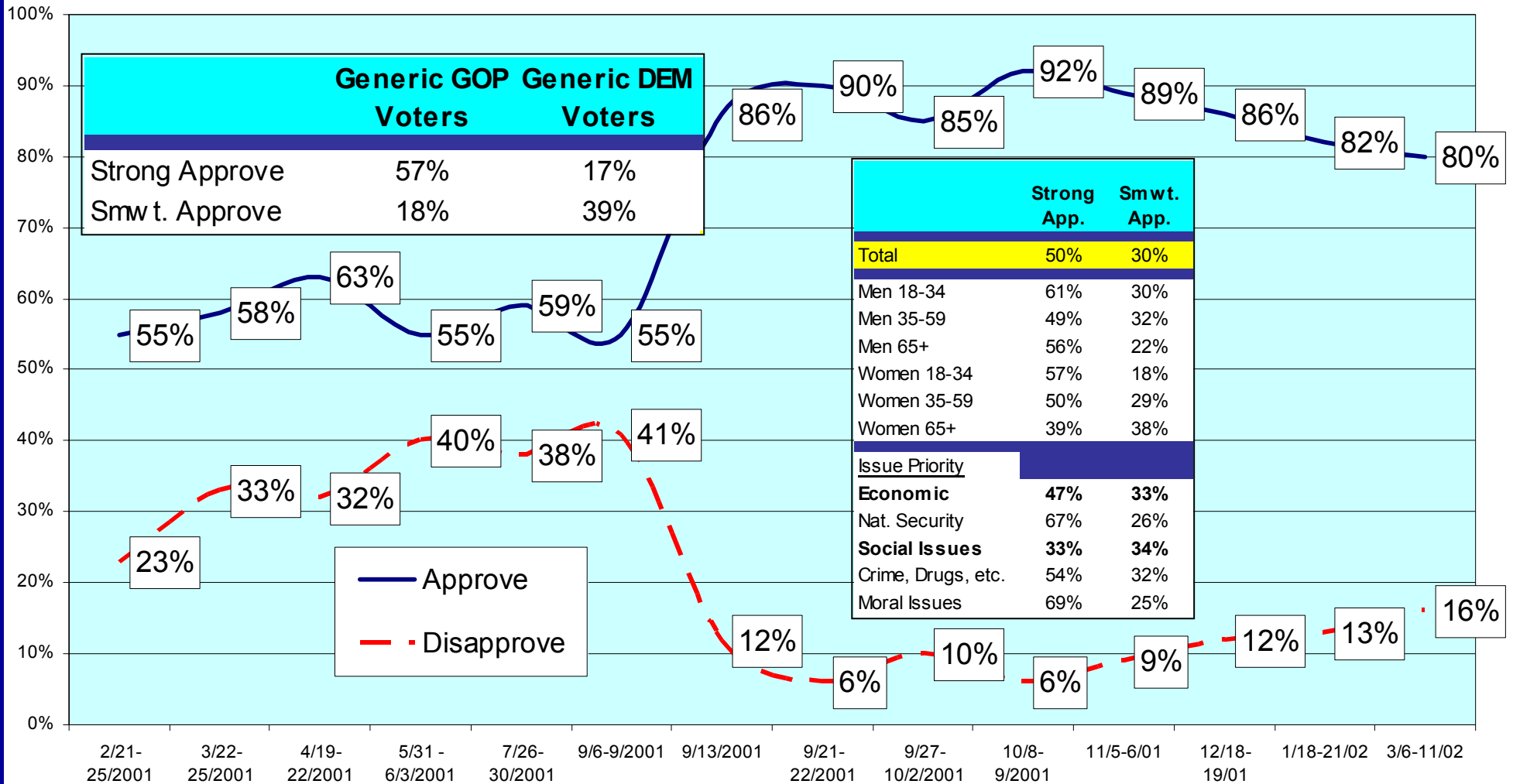


# Why Right Direction / Wrong Track?

<b>RIGHT DIRECTION (N = 425)</b>	<b>%</b>
Economy turning around	38%
Bush doing a good job	33%
Handling terrorism well.	24%
People pulled together.	14%
Good leadership	11%
National security / defense	5%
More patriotism	4%
Bush has morals / Christian	4%
GOP is doing a good job	4%
Education	2%
Non-Specific / Just right direction	8%
Other	6%
Don't Know	1%

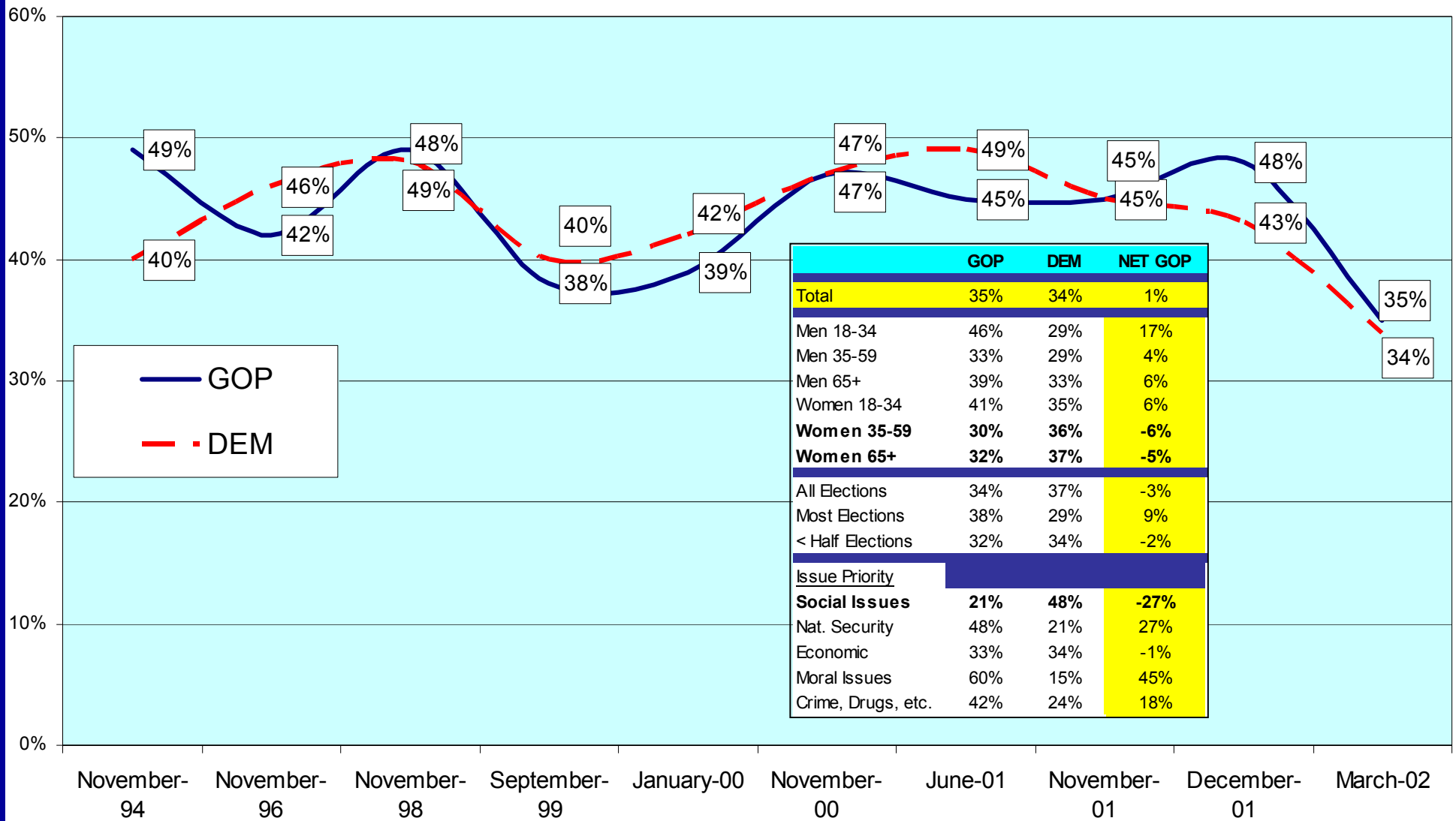
<b>WRONG TRACK (N = 257)</b>	<b>%</b>
Poor economy	23%
War / Terrorism	20%
Government corruption	13%
Moral values	11%
Don't like Bush	10%
Education	8%
Government spending / deficit	8%
Government is for the rich	7%
Worry about other countries more	7%
Crime / Drugs	7%
Greed	6%
Social Security / Elderly	5%
Military / National Security	3%
Immigration	2%
Other	8%
Don't Know	2%

# Bush Job Approval



Other Sources: Washington Post, CBS/NYT

# Generic Congressional Ballot

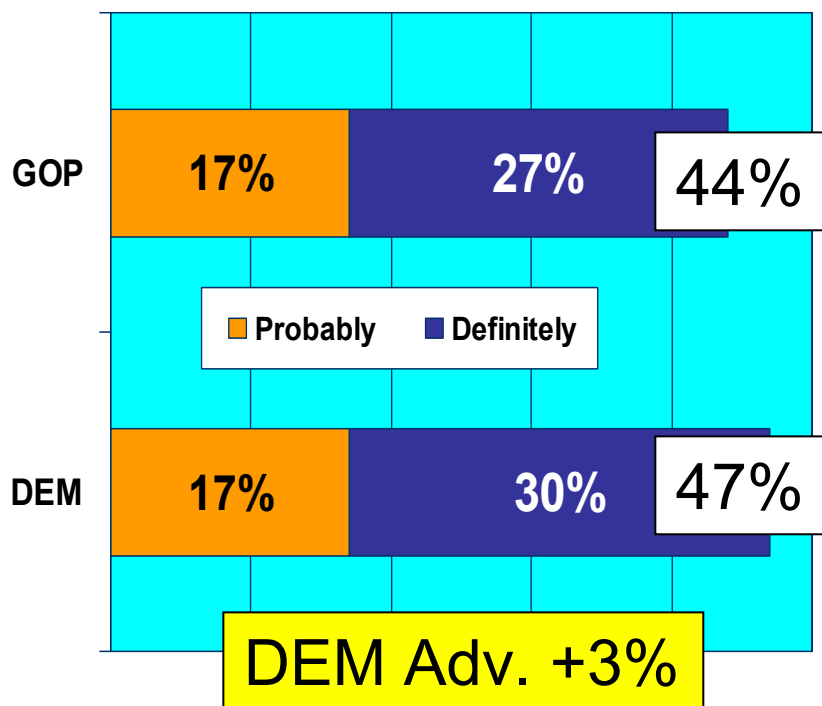


Other Sources: Gallup

# Vote For Congress Between Two Candidates...

A **Republican candidate** who says we need to continue with the tax cuts to get the economy moving again to put money back in the hands of individuals and businesses and restrain wasteful government spending while continuing to meet our education and domestic security initiatives.

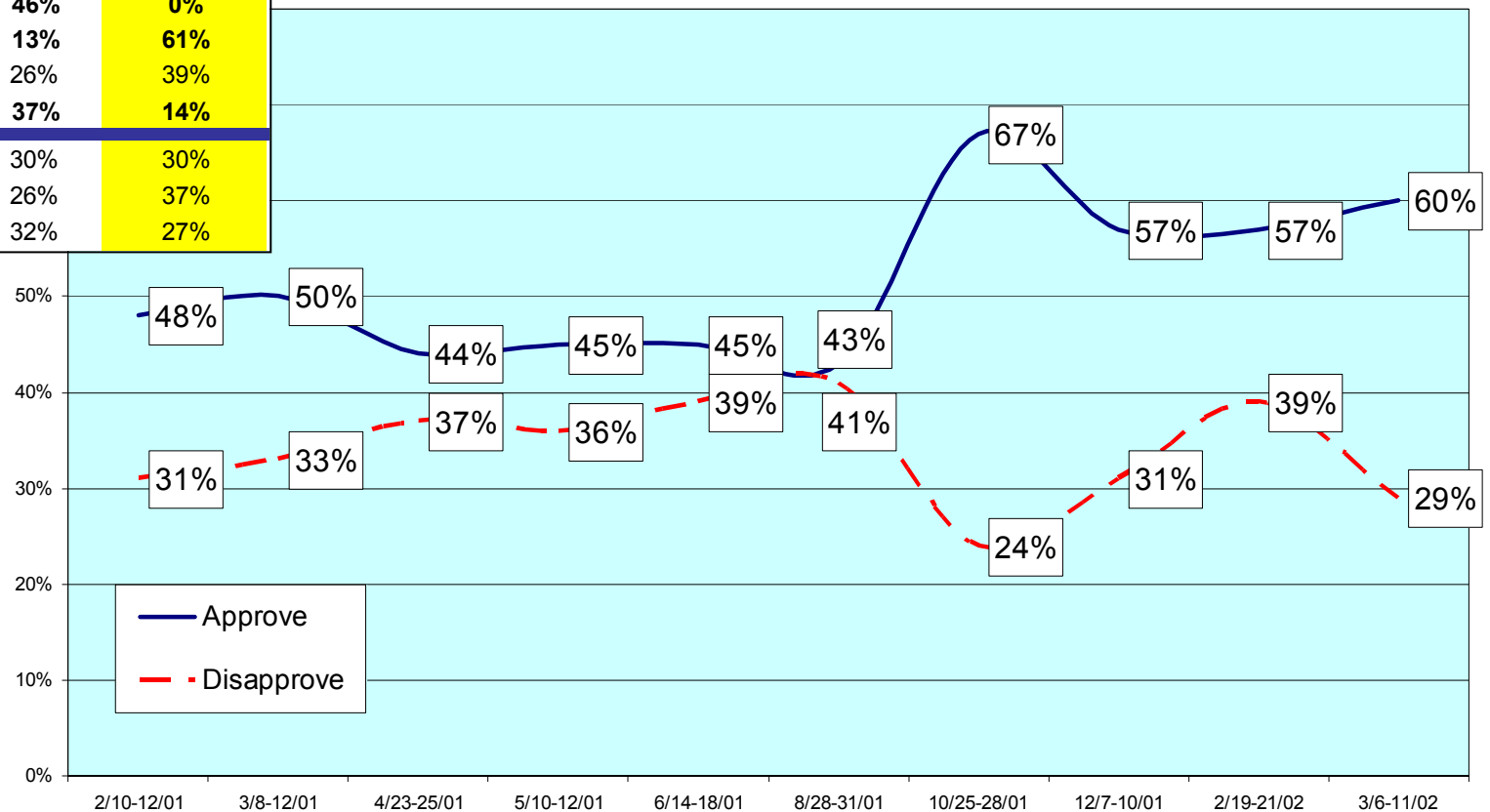
OR A **Democratic candidate** who says we should cancel the tax cuts for the top 1% of wage earners until the economy recovers so we can continue to cut middle class taxes, restore the Social Security trust fund, support a prescription drug plan for seniors and extend unemployment benefits.



	GOP	DEM	NET GOP
<b>Total</b>	44%	47%	<b>-3%</b>
Men 18-34	53%	41%	12%
Men 35-59	44%	45%	-1%
Men 65+	47%	44%	3%
Women 18-34	55%	41%	14%
<b>Women 35-59</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>-7%</b>
<b>Women 65+</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>-24%</b>
401(k) / Stocks	49%	44%	5%
<b>No 401(k) / Stocks</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>-18%</b>
<b>Issue Priority</b>			
Economic	49%	46%	3%
Nat. Security	57%	34%	23%
Social Issues	26%	64%	-38%
Crime, Drugs, etc.	56%	40%	16%
Moral Issues	64%	33%	31%

# Congressional Job Approval

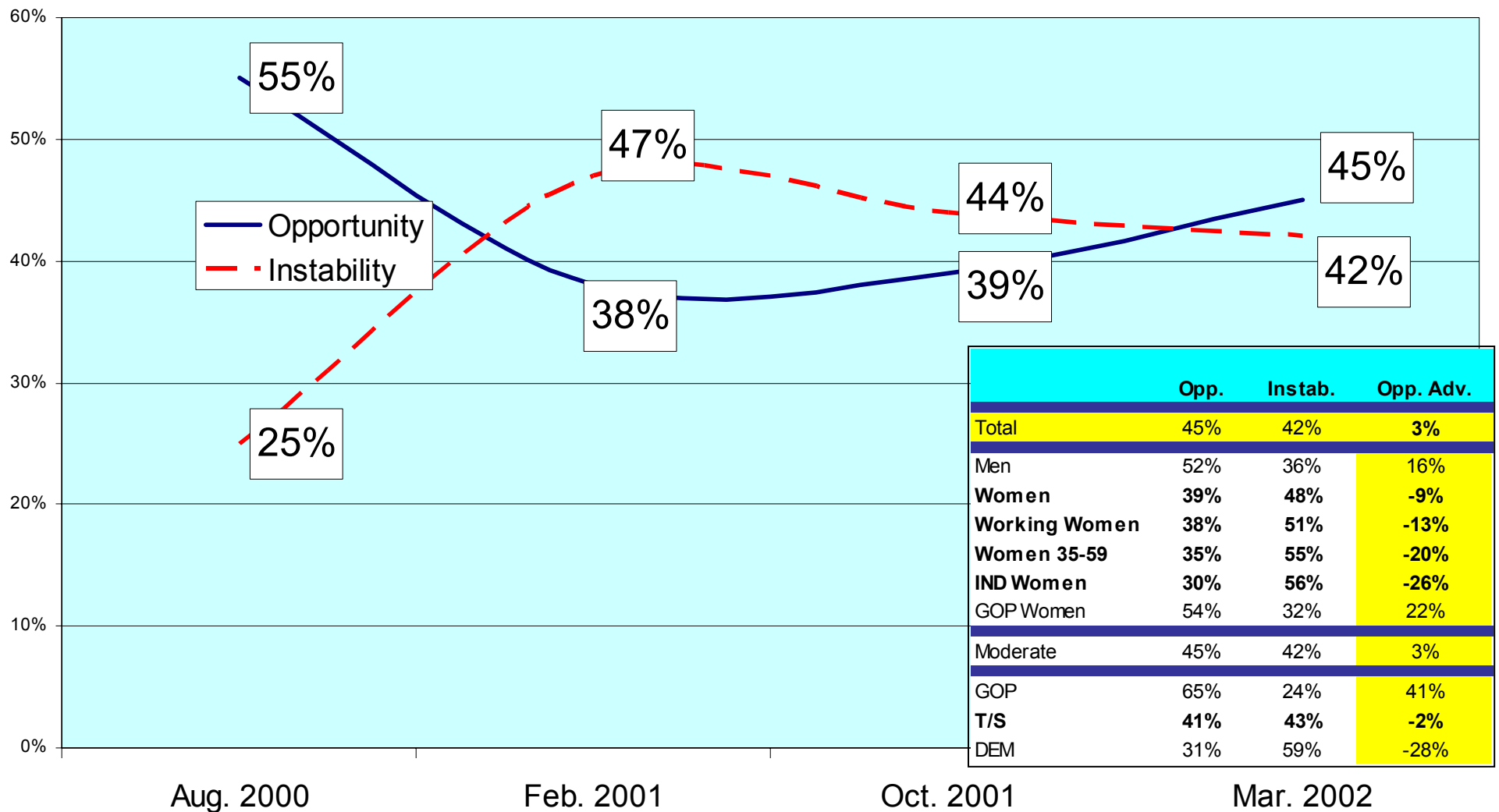
	App.	Dispp.	App. Adv.
<b>Total</b>	<b>60%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>31%</b>
<b>Men 18-34</b>	<b>70%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>51%</b>
Men 35-59	57%	33%	24%
<b>Men 65+</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Women 18-34</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>61%</b>
Women 35-59	65%	26%	39%
<b>Women 65+</b>	<b>51%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>14%</b>
<b>GOP</b>	<b>60%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>30%</b>
T/S	63%	26%	37%
DEM	59%	32%	27%



Other Sources: CBS/NYT

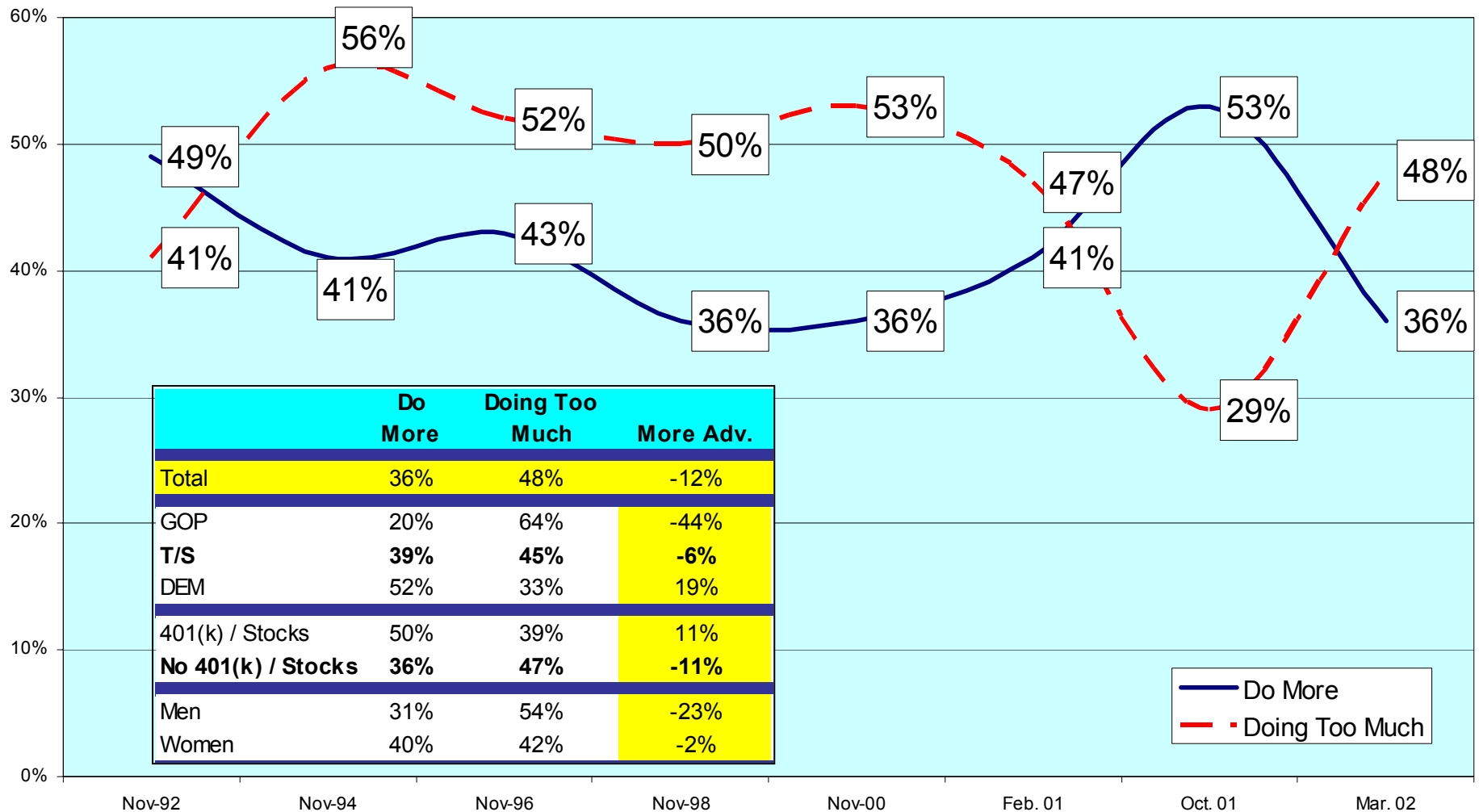
# Economic Opportunity v. Instability

(“Thinking about the economy today, do you see...”)



	Opp.	Instab.	Opp. Adv.
<b>Total</b>	45%	42%	3%
Men	52%	36%	16%
<b>Women</b>	39%	48%	-9%
<b>Working Women</b>	38%	51%	-13%
<b>Women 35-59</b>	35%	55%	-20%
<b>IND Women</b>	30%	56%	-26%
GOP Women	54%	32%	22%
<b>Moderate</b>	45%	42%	3%
GOP	65%	24%	41%
T/S	41%	43%	-2%
DEM	31%	59%	-28%

# Role of Government



# Individuals and Institutions

<b>RANKED BY FAV. ADVANTAGE</b>	<b>Fav.</b>	<b>(Very Fav/Unfav)</b>		<b>Unfav.</b>	<b>Fav. Adv.</b>
Laura Bush (97% aware)	80%	50%	3%	6%	<b>+74%</b>
George W. Bush (100%)	81%	53%	8%	16%	<b>+65%</b>
Donald Rumsfeld (81%)	52%	28%	4%	12%	<b>+40%</b>
The Republican Party (99%)	58%	21%	11%	30%	<b>+28%</b>
The Democrat Party (98%)	55%	17%	13%	34%	<b>+21%</b>
Hillary Rodham Clinton (99%)	49%	25%	29%	42%	<b>+7%</b>
Tom Daschle (77%)	30%	9%	12%	25%	<b>+5%</b>
Al Gore (99%)	47%	17%	23%	42%	<b>+5%</b>
Enron (94%)	2%	1%	67%	80%	<b>-78%</b>
Saddam Hussein (99%)	1%	1%	92%	96%	<b>-95%</b>
Osama bin Laden (100%)	0%	0%	95%	97%	<b>-97%</b>

Most Favorable



Most Unfavorable

# Personal & Community Values



Most Important American Value	TOTAL
Religion	28%
Personal Freedom	24%
Family	22%
Job Security & Health/Retirement Benefits	7%
Compassion	6%
Financial Success	6%
Patriotism	4%

# Issue Priorities

Ranked by Total Importance	TOTAL Oct. 01	TOTAL Mar. 02	GOP	T/S	DEM	GOP Gen. Ballot	DEM Gen. Ballot.
Social Issues - Education, Health Care, etc.	16%	27%	14%	30%	37%	21%	48%
National Security Issues	39%	22%	30%	21%	15%	48%	21%
Economic Issues	14%	16%	15%	14%	19%	33%	34%
Human Equality Issues	10%	11%	7%	13%	14%	16%	53%
Moral Issues	8%	11%	22%	8%	5%	60%	15%
Issues Like Crime, Drugs & Welfare	7%	8%	8%	9%	6%	41%	24%

- GOP has ownership of 3 issue clusters – National Security, Moral Issues, and Crime
- DEMs have ownership of Social Issues & Social Equality issues.
- Total parity on economy.

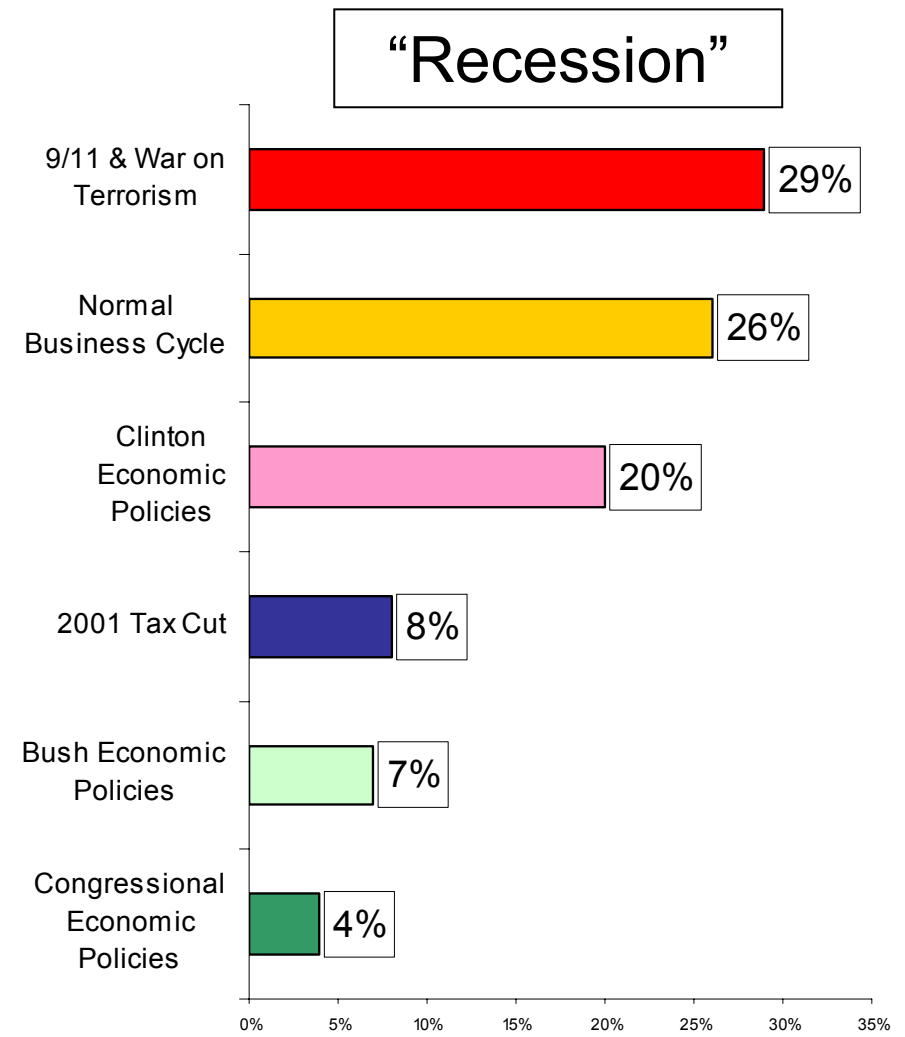
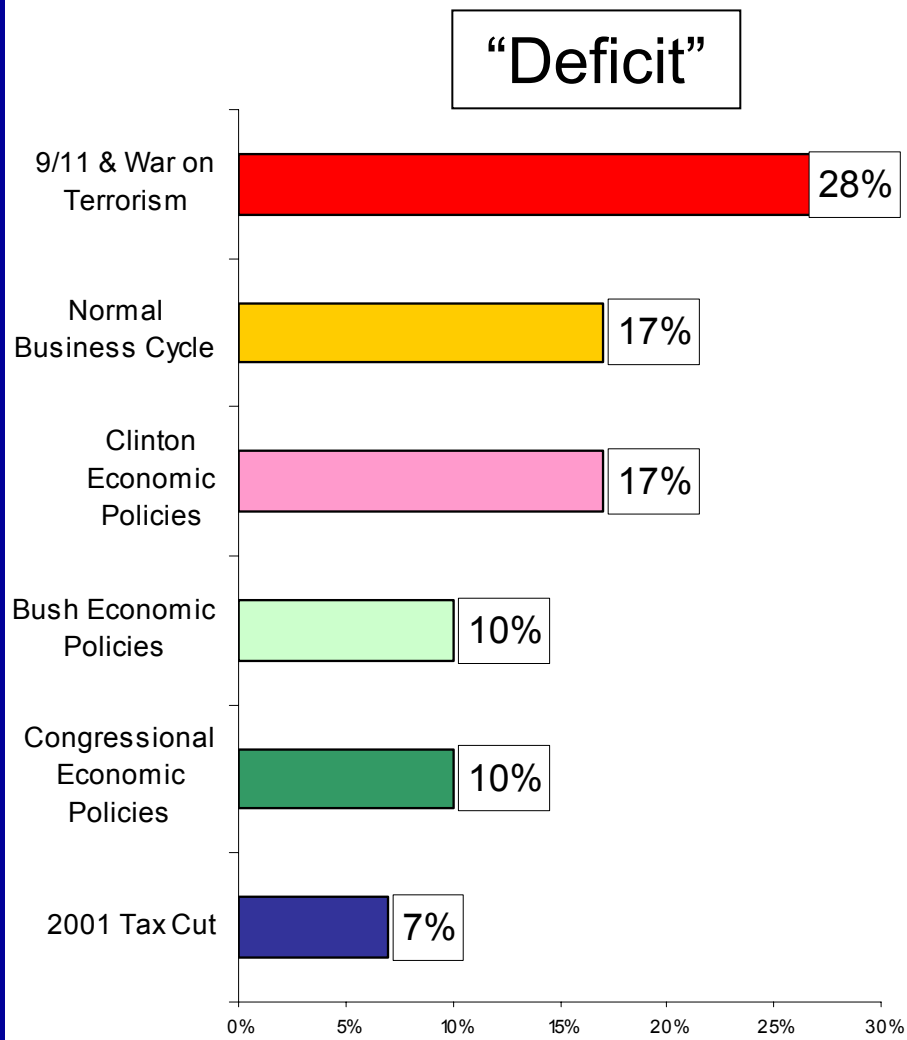
# Partisan Descriptors

	ALL RESPONDENTS				GOP Adv.
	GOPers	DEMs	Both	Neither	
<b>Controlled by Special Interests</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>31%</b>
<b>Will Hold The Line on Wasteful Spending</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>22%</b>
<b>Will Fight To Keep Taxes Down</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>19%</b>
<b>Effective at Getting Things Done</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>14%</b>
<b>Vision For The Future</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>8%</b>
Shares Your Values	38%	35%	12%	8%	3%
<i>Understands Concerns of People Like You</i>	30%	41%	10%	12%	-11%
<i>Protect Interests of Seniors</i>	22%	55%	9%	6%	-33%

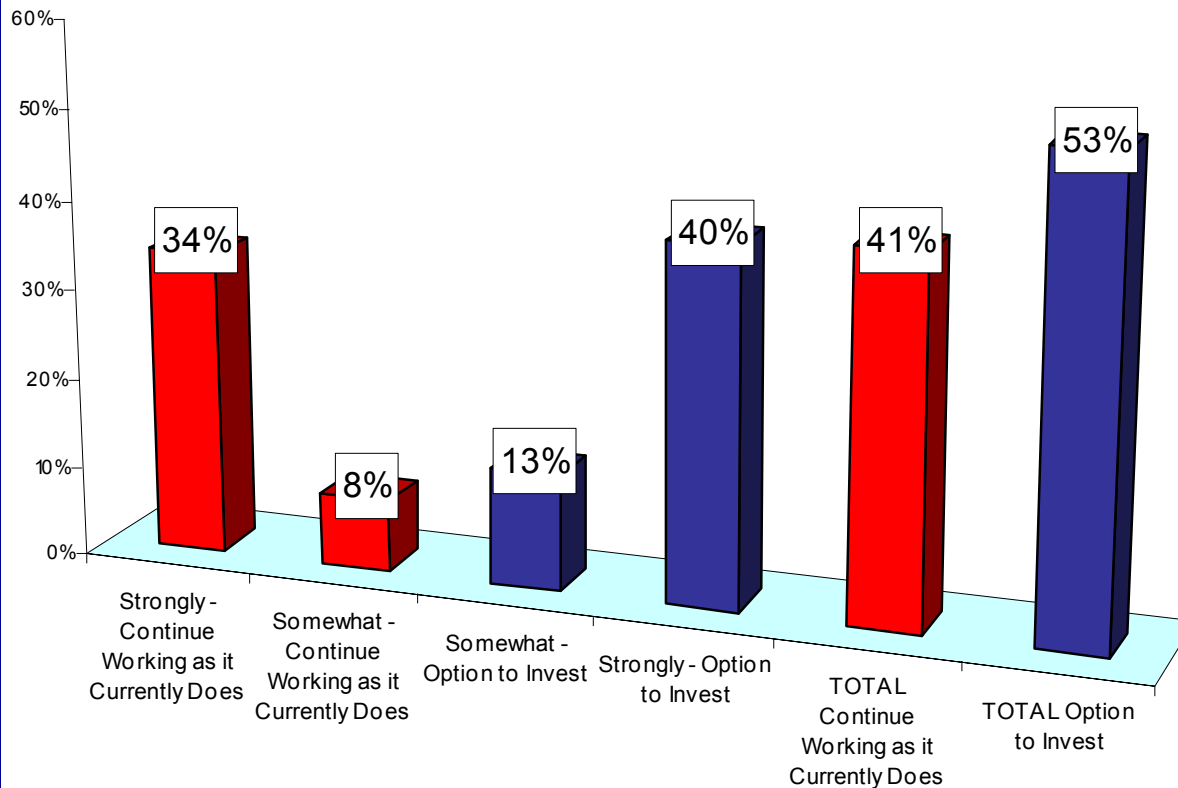
# Partisan Descriptors: Voter Behavior

<i>Ranked by T/S Gop Adv.</i>	Among Republicans			Among Ticket-Splitters			Among Democrats		
	GOP	DEM	GOP adv.	GOP	DEM	GOP adv.	GOP	DEM	GOP adv.
Beholden to Interest Grps.	26%	32%	-6%	51%	15%	36%	75%	11%	64%
Keep Taxes Down	77%	8%	69%	46%	26%	20%	25%	55%	-30%
Effective	64%	5%	59%	36%	16%	20%	9%	49%	-40%
No Wasteful Spending	70%	8%	62%	41%	25%	16%	30%	43%	-13%
Visionary	63%	4%	59%	29%	19%	10%	9%	53%	-44%
Shares Your Values	80%	4%	76%	28%	34%	-6%	8%	71%	-63%
Understands Concerns	65%	10%	55%	22%	40%	-18%	4%	76%	-72%
Protect Seniors	42%	30%	12%	17%	56%	-39%	9%	81%	-72%

# Most Responsible for Deficit / Recession

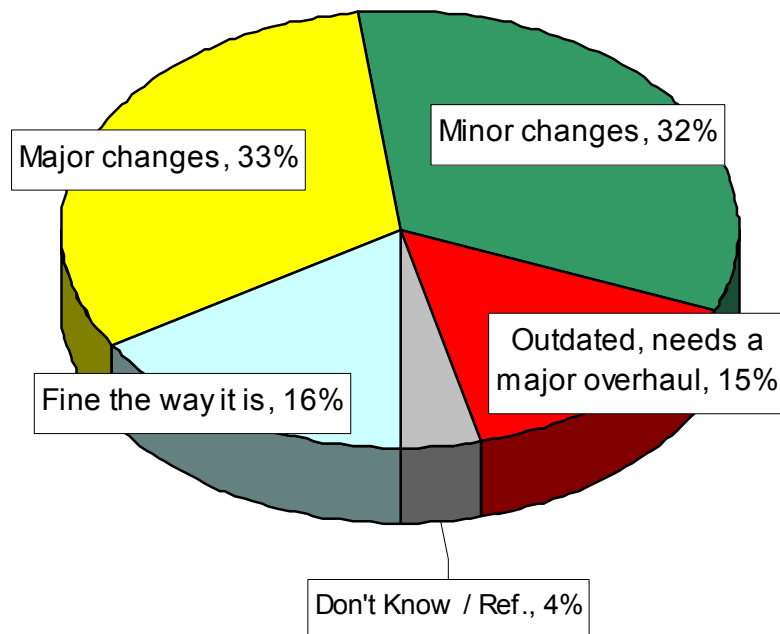


# Option to Invest Social Security Taxes



	Continue	Invest	Invest Adv.
<b>Total</b>	41%	53%	12%
Men 18-34	24%	72%	48%
Men 35-59	40%	55%	15%
Men 65+	54%	43%	-11%
Women 18-34	27%	69%	42%
Women 35-59	36%	56%	20%
Women 65+	65%	28%	-37%
Men < \$20K	38%	54%	16%
Men \$20K - \$50K	51%	44%	-7%
Men > \$50K	29%	69%	40%
Women < \$20K	50%	45%	-5%
Women \$20K - \$50K	42%	52%	10%
Women > \$50K	38%	56%	18%
GOP	25%	72%	47%
T/S	42%	51%	9%
DEM	58%	38%	-20%

# Feelings About Social Security



	Overhaul	Major	Minor	Fine As Is
<b>Total</b>	15%	33%	32%	16%
Men 18-34	23%	43%	27%	6%
Men 35-59	17%	32%	38%	11%
Men 65+	11%	17%	35%	25%
Women 18-34	14%	44%	19%	14%
Women 35-59	17%	39%	29%	11%
Women 65+	9%	14%	36%	37%
Men < \$20K	7%	33%	42%	18%
Men \$20K - \$50K	14%	30%	37%	17%
Men > \$50K	19%	38%	32%	8%
Women < \$20K	16%	20%	25%	26%
Women \$20K - \$50K	13%	33%	28%	23%
Women > \$50K	17%	40%	33%	6%
GOP	21%	32%	30%	12%
T/S	14%	33%	36%	131%
DEM	11%	35%	29%	24%

# Safe Investment Vehicle Is The Choice

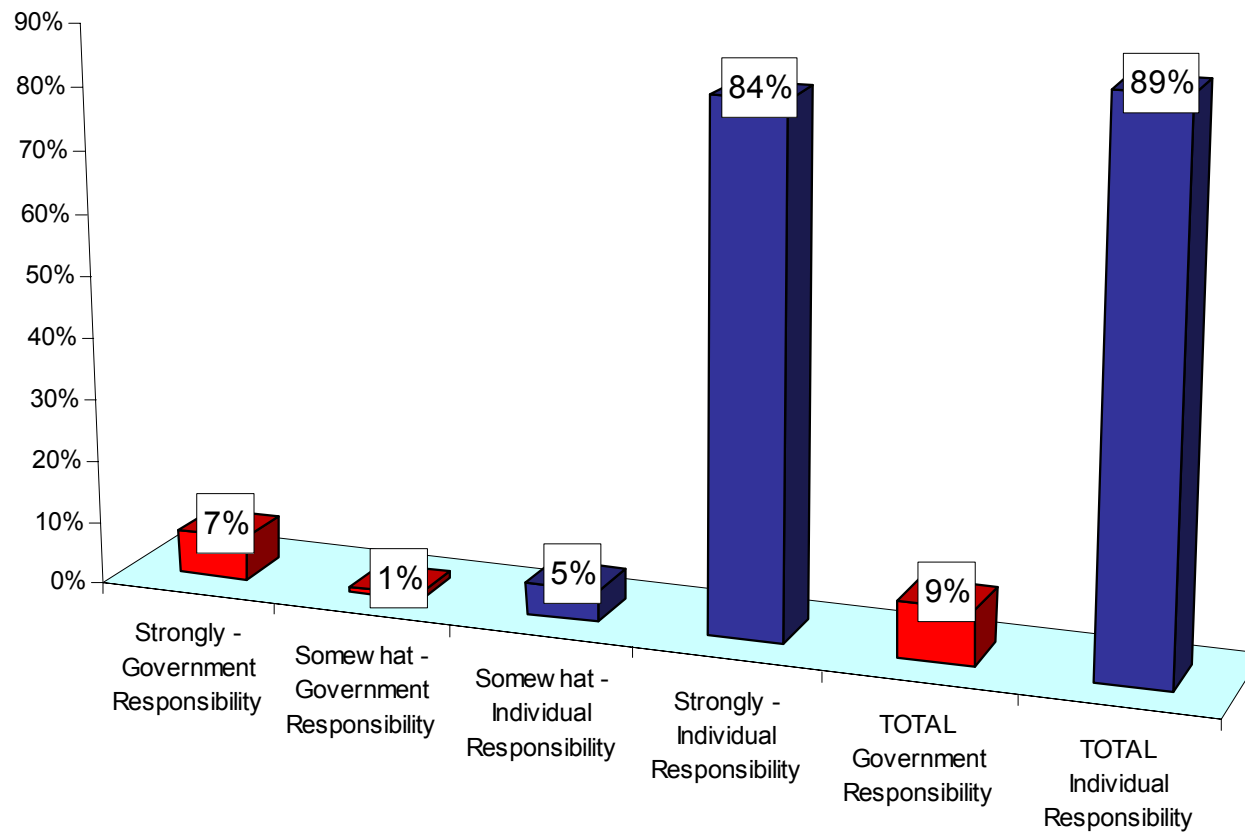
“Some people have suggested allowing individuals to invest portions of their Social Security payroll taxes on their own, **which would allow earnings to be inherited without tax penalty and might allow them to make more money for their retirement, but would involve greater risk.** Do you favor or oppose allowing individuals to invest 2% of their Social Security payroll taxes into a Personal Retirement Account?”

“A proposal has been made that would allow people to put a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes **into Personal Retirement Accounts that would be invested in stocks, bonds and mutual funds and would allow the earnings to be inherited without tax penalty.** Do you favor or oppose allowing individuals to invest 2% of their Social Security payroll taxes into a Personal Retirement Account?”

	INVEST ON OWN			INVEST IN STOCKS, BONDS, FUNDS		
	Favor	Oppose	FAVOR Adv.	Favor	Oppose	FAVOR Adv.
<b>Total</b>	65%	31%	34%	73%	22%	51%
Men 18-34	90%	8%	82%	91%	7%	84%
Men 35-59	68%	28%	40%	76%	24%	52%
<b>Men 65+</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>-15%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>19%</b>
Women 18-34	87%	13%	74%	95%	2%	93%
Women 35-59	69%	27%	42%	75%	19%	56%
<b>Women 65+</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>-10%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>0%</b>
Men < \$20K	76%	24%	52%	73%	20%	53%
Men \$20K - \$50K	64%	27%	37%	78%	21%	57%
Men > \$50K	68%	31%	37%	76%	23%	53%
<b>Women &lt; \$20K</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>60%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>25%</b>
Women \$20K - \$50K	62%	32%	30%	75%	22%	53%
Women > \$50K	74%	26%	48%	76%	15%	61%
GOP	75%	21%	54%	89%	7%	82%
T/S	66%	29%	37%	74%	21%	53%
DEM	53%	44%	9%	56%	41%	15%

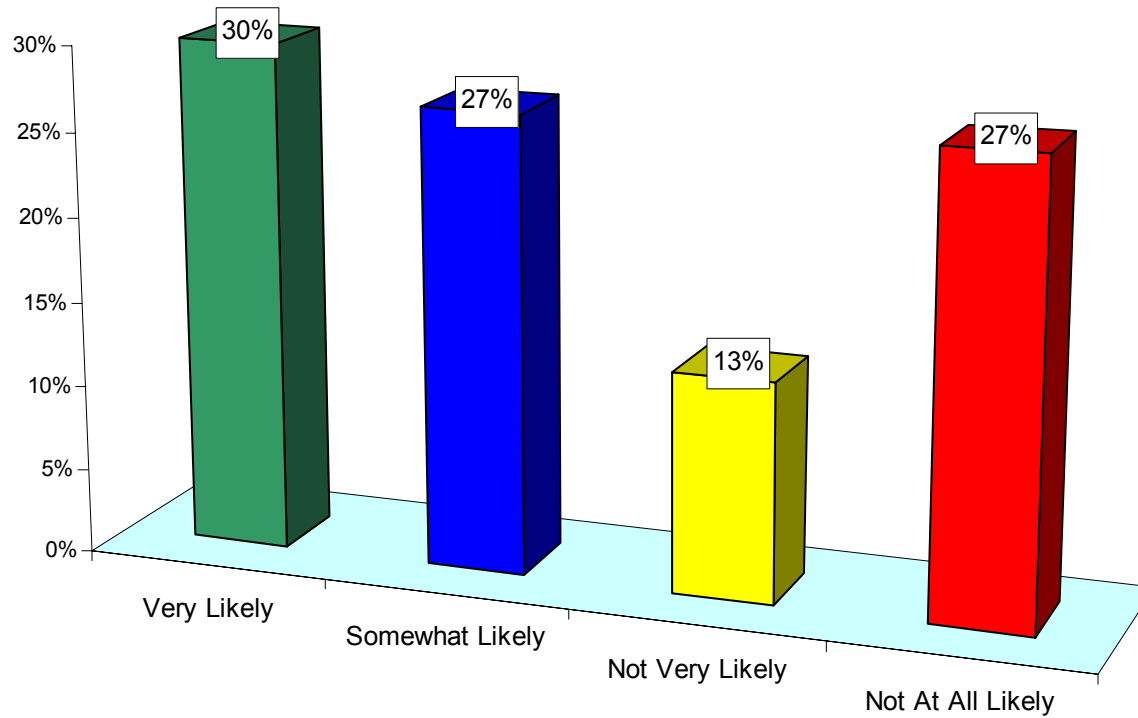
# Governmental Responsibility

“If people who chose to invest their Social Security payroll taxes in the stock market lose their money, should it be the responsibility of the government to make up these losses, or a responsibility accepted by the individual?”



# Clear Majority Likely to Participate in PRAs

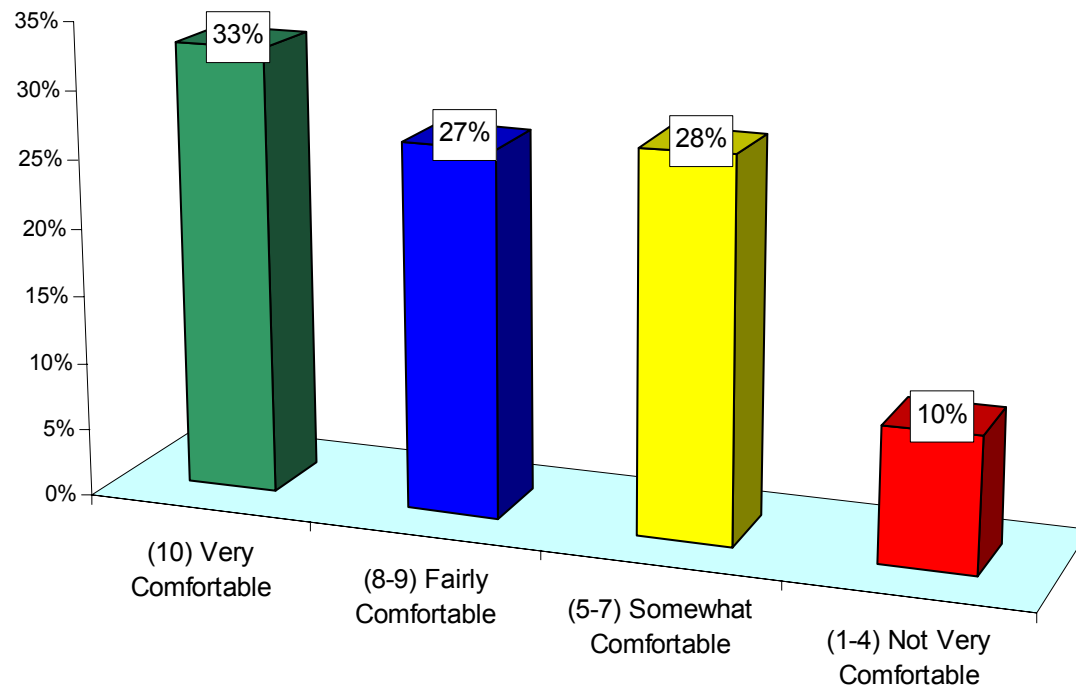
“If you were permitted to invest some of your Social Security payroll taxes in an investment vehicle of stocks, bonds and mutual funds, would you say you are very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely or not at all likely to do so?”



	Very/ SW Likely	Not Very / Not At All Likely
<b>Total</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>40%</b>
Men 18-34	80%	18%
Men 35-59	68%	31%
Men 65+	44%	53%
Women 18-34	76%	21%
Women 35-59	58%	40%
Women 65+	20%	75%
Men < \$20K	66%	33%
Men \$20K - \$50K	57%	41%
Men > \$50K	72%	26%
Women < \$20K	25%	70%
Women \$20K - \$50K	51%	48%
Women > \$50K	66%	31%
GOP	70%	26%
T/S	56%	42%
DEM	46%	52%

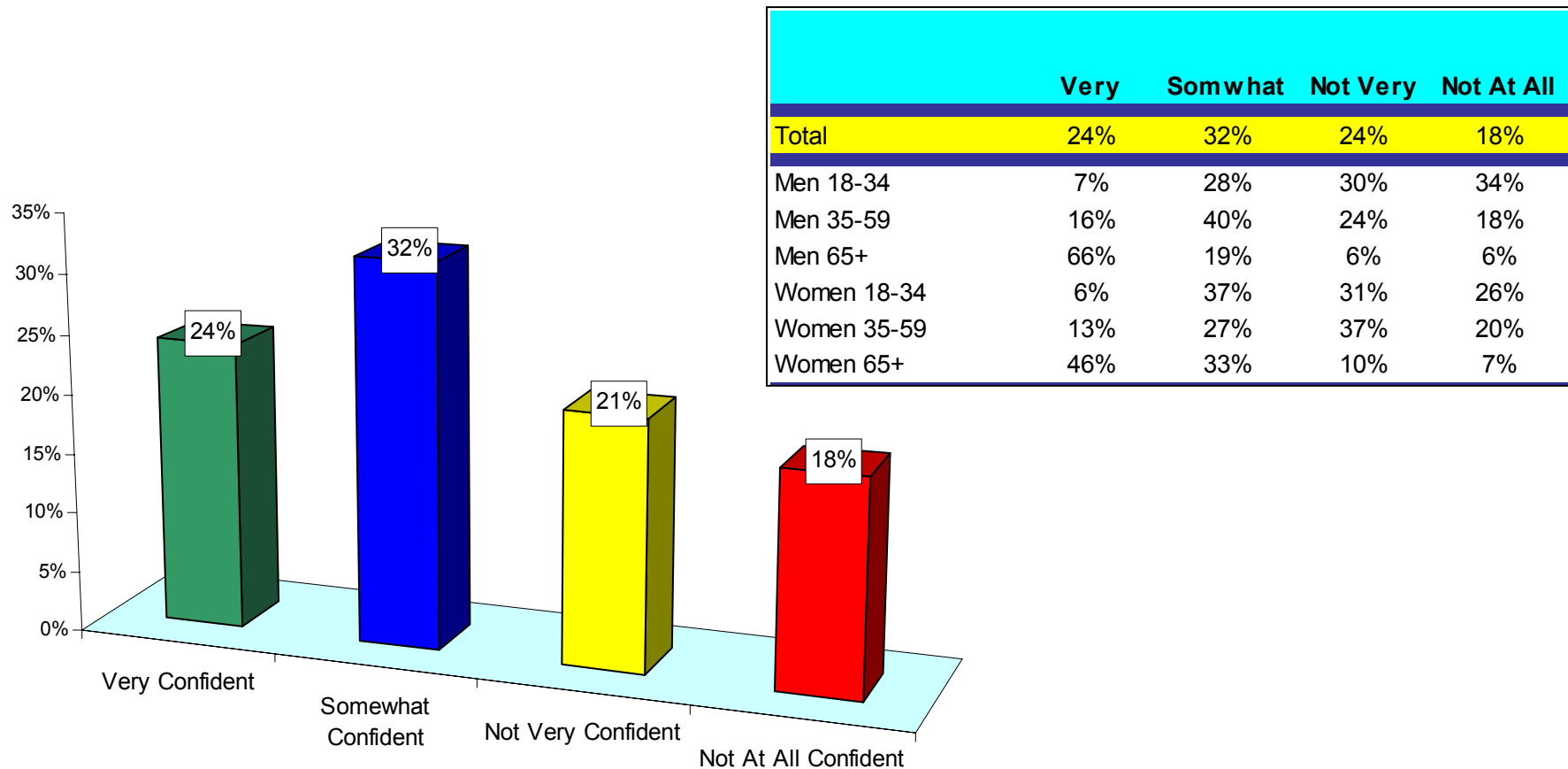
# Degree of Comfort With Retirement Planning

7.6 Mean Rating



	Mean	VERY Comfortable	NOT Very Comfortable
<b>Total</b>	<b>7.6</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>10%</b>
Men 18-34	7.4	20%	11%
Men 35-59	8.0	41%	7%
Men 65+	7.7	40%	9%
Women 18-34	7.5	29%	10%
Women 35-59	7.3	28%	12%
Women 65+	7.4	34%	14%
Men < \$20K	7.8	45%	12%
Men \$20K - \$50K	7.2	22%	11%
Men > \$50K	8.3	41%	4%
Women < \$20K	7.3	32%	13%
Women \$20K - \$50K	7.3	25%	10%
Women > \$50K	7.7	36%	12%
GOP	7.8	34%	10%
T/S	7.6	32%	10%
DEM	7.4	30%	10%

# Confidence In Receiving Social Security Benefits



# Vote Intention: Social Security Reform

%		GOP	DEM	GOP Adv.
<b>Degree of Reform</b>				
15%	Overhauled	50%	22%	<b>28%</b>
33%	Major Change	32%	38%	<b>-6%</b>
32%	Minor Change	36%	32%	<b>4%</b>
16%	Basically Fine	24%	44%	<b>-20%</b>
<b>Age 65+ Social Security Reliance</b>				
30%	Exclusively	25%	56%	<b>-31%</b>
54%	Supplement	31%	27%	<b>4%</b>
14%	Not Count On	35%	35%	<b>0%</b>
<b>Social Security Investments</b>				
41%	Keep Status Quo	22%	43%	<b>-21%</b>
53%	Option to Invest	46%	27%	<b>19%</b>
<b>Likelihood Of Investing</b>				
57%	Very/Somewhat	43%	28%	<b>15%</b>
40%	Not Very/Not At All	24%	42%	<b>-18%</b>
<b>401(k) / Stock Investor</b>				
62%	Yes	38%	29%	<b>9%</b>
34%	No	30%	41%	<b>-11%</b>

# Conclusion

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1. The current contours of the election provide a boost for the GOP from that of conventional wisdom of midterm losses.
  - President Bush's job performance remains high and a majority is confident in the direction of the country. That sentiment is bolstered by recognition of President Bush's leadership skills, professed faith in an economic turnaround and his prosecution of the war.
  - GOP party perceptions are more favorable than those of the Democratic Party and the top echelon of GOP leaders clearly outperform the Democrats. In fact, the highest net favorability rating given was to First Lady Laura Bush.
2. However, the GOP remains plagued by perceptions of being controlled by special interests and at a disadvantage to Democrats on protecting senior citizens and understanding problems and concerns of average Americans.
3. The issue matrix has changed since September 11th, as the top priority issue cluster is that of social issues such as education, health care and the environment, in which Democrats have a decided advantage.
  - Rounding out the top tier are national security/attacking terrorism, which solidly accrues to an advantage for the Republican Party. Cutting taxes and job creation is third most important with neither party at a competitive advantage.

# Conclusion

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4. There is no evidence to suggest that Enron is currently damaging Republican prospects. The cost of the Enron debacle to the Republican Party is in the obvious reluctance to engage in much needed policy discussions on strengthening Social Security, and the educational merits in engaging conversation in retirement security for the America work force.
  - Even with a lackluster stock market, voters are supportive of personal retirement accounts that allow them to invest a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes, allow earnings to be inherited without tax penalty by investing in stocks, bonds and mutual funds of their choosing. They do so with a full understanding of the full risk that is associated with such action.
  - 62% sampled are invested in a 401(k) account or the stock market and are clearly looking at that investment as a supplement to Social Security.
  - Republicans must be clear that seniors will retain all benefits that they have earned while advancing the discussion as to retirement security in a responsible fashion.
  - At this time, as many people believe Social Security should be overhauled as believe it is basically fine as is. The public is ready for further education on retirement security, but not an abandonment of Social Security.
  - Remember that women 60+ comprise 16% of our overall sample and 55% of them are high propensity voters. They will form the critical swing voter bloc in this election cycle in most of our competitive seats.
5. At this early juncture, turnout indicators show the Democratic coalition with a slight advantage in intensity. 46% of those voting Democratic on the generic ballot are high propensity voters versus 41% of generic Republican voters. 57% of seniors are high propensity voters while 42% of those who strongly approve of President Bush are high propensity voters. Message articulation, party perceptions and turnout efforts will all be contributing factors in the final result.