CHANGE, LEADERSHIP, AND VISION

A Public Opinion Study

Conducted for:

The Congressional Institute, Inc.

The National Vision Foundation

Spring 1997

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What Does the Study Tell Us?

- Americans believe the country has an unhealthy moral climate. This has been one source of pessimism in a relatively optimistic period of history.
- It is essential to talk about issues in terms of values. Many people have differing views on issues, but their basic values structures are very similar. Speaking through values, allows Leaders to reach many constituencies at once.
- Issues the American public wants immediate action on include: Education, Crime, Health care, The Environment, Morality in Public Venues (t.v., Internet, politics), and Nuclear Safety.
- People view issues in two ways: personalized and generalized. Personalized issues are those that affect individuals directly. Therefore, people pay more attention to these issues and are trying to make decisions on those issues. Generalized issues are those that may not personally affect an individual, but are important to others. People have less knowledge about these issues and look to Leaders to help the country make judgment.
- The American public is frustrated that today's leaders are not offering the country direction and are not listening to public priorities. Everyone has personalized individual visions, but there is no sense of a national vision.
- People are looking for leadership and vision within the current political structure they helped build during the 1996 election.
- A national vision must be personalized toward the American public. It should be simple, basic and filled with values so that all Americans understand its direction. Leaders' views should not be the overriding theme, but instead should be balanced with the public's views.

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Does America have a national vision?

Can we unify a country that is not currently experiencing a crisis?

What kind of leadership is needed to put the country on the right path?

How do the nation's most pressing issues fit into this vision?

On what issues should the country's leaders focus?

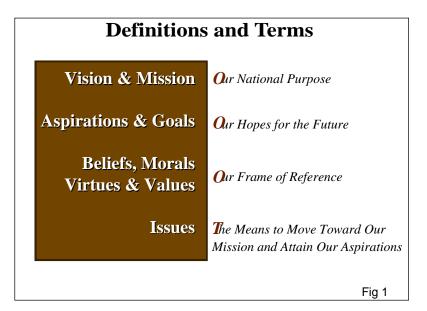
Since the end of the Cold War, Americans have been given an opportunity to create a national vision without a crisis unifying the country under one common purpose. In the absence of an outside enemy, the country has been free to focus on internal problems such as skyrocketing crime rates, increasing stratification of rich and poor, and a growing bureaucracy that remains inefficient to tackle society's problems. Americans have experimented with different political structures to effectively address these difficult issues. In the decade's first two election cycles, they used their voting power to announce that the country needed political change; they elected a Democratic president for the first time since the 1970s, and, two years later, they elected the first Republican-held Congress in forty years. After these two attempts at changing the system, American voters decided to work within the system they had built. The results of the 1996 election cycle indicated that Americans were now giving their current leaders—President Clinton and a Republican Congress—a chance to offer the country direction.

How can our leaders provide a unified national vision and deal with our most difficult and divisive issues?

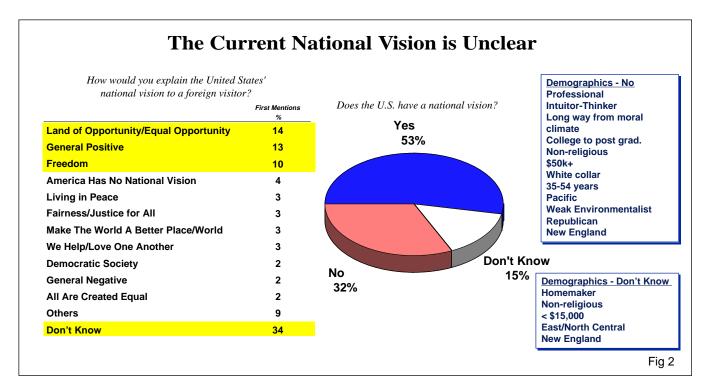
First, they need to consult the American public. However, traditional public opinion research—which pits Republicans against Democrats, structures competition between ideologies, and focuses one side or the other winning electoral politics—gives us few insights and understanding into governing. The Congressional Institute and the National Vision Foundation recently commissioned Charlton Research Company to conduct an innovative research study designed to explore Americans attitudes toward a set of broad concepts dealing with change, leadership, and vision. Using a series of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies, we asked Americans to offer their opinions on the country's most challenging problems and opportunities. The results of this study follow.

IS THERE A NATIONAL VISION?

Issues, Values and Beliefs, Aspirations and Goals, Vision and Mission—Today's leaders pepper their speeches with these terms without offering many definitions. We have defined them in one way (See Fig 1) but what do they really mean to the public? According to both a national survey and in-depth conversations, people apply these concepts differently depending on what level they are thinking: their personal lives, their communities, or the nation. An individual's perception of an issue, value, goal or vision, then, is very different than someone else's.



These individualistic attitudes were present in the national survey results. For example, when asked to identify how they would explain the United States' national vision to a foreign visitor, no single theme stood out. More importantly, a plurality of respondents (34%) did not know how they would respond to a foreign visitor (See Fig 2). Others mentioned concepts such as opportunity, freedom, peace and justice. When asked specifically about the presence of national vision, only a slight majority said they believe the United States has a national vision. Many others did not believe or did not know if the country has a national vision (Again See Fig 2). Interestingly, those who did not believe the United States has a national vision tended to be well-educated, middle-aged, and high income earners.



These ambivalent attitudes toward an American vision were also seen in the in-depth discussions. While everyone agreed the United States needs a central vision to achieve its goals, most did not believe our leaders are currently pointing citizens in the right direction. One man asked, "Do we really have one right now: We don't necessarily see it, but that doesn't mean that its not somewhere in your brains up there. If it's not articulated and it's not put out to the country, we can't back it, therefore do we really have it?"

A perception of mistrust toward the nation's leaders affected their attitudes toward a national vision. One woman offered, "As a nation, we used to say "In God We Trust," and we don't trust in God anymore and we haven't found anybody to replace that trust. We try to put it on Congress, but they can't bear that load." Another asked, "How can you trust somebody that sits up there and they set up a trust fund called Social

Security for older people to be taken care of, and then they say oh by the way, we've already spent all of that?"

Both survey respondents and discussion participants were offered three examples of a national vision: Visions X, Y and Z (See Fig 3). Vision X stresses the idea of constitutional freedom in the form of "unlimited opportunity," and Vision Y talks about "individual conscience and personal re-

An America built on faith and Constitutional freedom, where every American has a sense of personal strength and unlimited opportunity, will lead the world. Economically, militarily and morally, America will help the entire human race achieve self-government, security, and prosperity

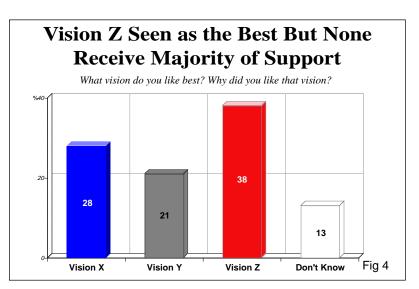
In order to provide greater freedom and security, we seek an elevated sense of individual conscience and personal responsibility. We believe government is too big, but a reduction in the size and scope of government cannot occur without a renewal of the other core institutions of society: families, businesses, and religious / civic groups. Our vision is one in which these institutions, along side a smaller, limited government, contribute equally to the foundation of a New America.

America will be built on the innate initiative of its citizens, individually, and in free association, in pursuit of happiness and quality of life. Our belief in individual freedom, individual responsibility, individual opportunity, and lending a helping hand, not a handout, will produce an opportunity society characterized by the best health, the best learning, the greatest safety, and the highest standard of living in the world.

Fig 3

sponsibility," arguing for limited government. Vision Z addresses several concepts including individual freedom, individual responsibility, individual opportunity, limited welfare, and high standards of living, education, safety and health.

None of these three visions received a majority vote as the <u>best</u> vision for the United States to achieve in the next twenty years. Interestingly, while Vision Z received a slight plurality of support in the national study, discussion participants found Vision Y more attractive (See Fig 4). Those in the discussion groups indicated that they liked many of the concepts included in each vision statement, however, they realized that getting all of these concepts to work together may be too difficult to



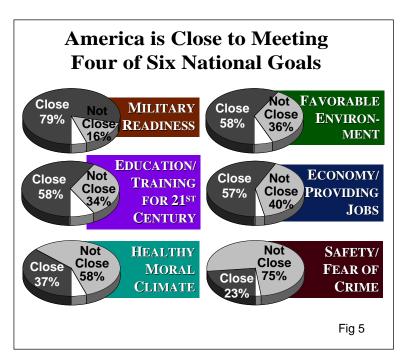
accomplish. They felt that a vision should offer basic values for which the country and its leaders should

strive. One person argued "Get back to basics. A vision statement must be straight forward and understood by all. A vision statement must be based on some core values—duty, honor, courage."

Get back to basics. A vision statement must be straight forward and understood by all. A vision statement must be based on some core values—duty, honor, courage.

DESPITE A FUZZY NATIONAL VISION, AMERICANS EXPECT LEADERS TO ADDRESS SPECIFIC NATIONAL ISSUES

Although the American public may have fuzzy notions of a unified national vision, they expect leaders to continue addressing specific national issues. In fact, the American public has recently begun to take more notice of issues on national, statewide, and local levels. In the political realm, this has shifted voter focus from a candidate's personality or political party, to his or her stance on important national issues. Initiatives and referenda have also become increasingly more important in statewide and local politics.



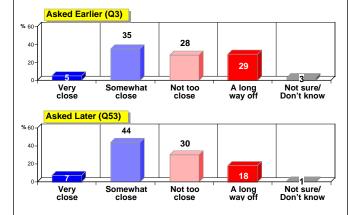
Since the most recent recession ended in the early 1990s, a new set of social issues has captured the public's attention. Issues such as crime, health care, education, decline in American values, drugs, welfare, and homelessness have overshadowed economic and foreign policy concerns that had dominated the political landscape since the Great Depression. While Americans are very concerned about these specific issues, according to the national survey, they are relatively confident that the country is meeting several important national goals. Of the six national goals tested, a majority of respondents agreed that America was close to effectively meeting four of them (See Fig 5).

Americans seem most comfortable with the country's military readiness. Over three-quarters of respondents indicated the United States is <u>very close</u> to being able to respond effectively to any military attack on our country or allies. This may be one reason why foreign policy issues no longer register much concern among the American public. In addition, over half of respondents agreed that the U.S. is close to having acceptable environmental conditions, having the education and training needed in the 21st Century, and having a strong economy where anyone who wants to work can find a job. People are much less convinced that crime and morality issues are effectively being tackled. Only thirty-seven percent believe the U.S. is close to having the moral climate needed for a healthy country, and less than one-quarter felt the U.S. offers the ability for almost everyone to walk in their communities without the fear of theft or violence.

The attitude that America is working on—but has not solved—many national issues, and that the country does not have a clear national vision, is confirmed in respondents' ambivalent attitudes toward America's direction in general. Twice during the study, respondents were asked to measure how close the U.S. was to being the America they want for the future. Initially, respondents were relatively split between somewhat close, not too close and a long way off. Only five percent felt that the U.S. was very close to being the America they want for the future. When asked later in the study, those who felt the U.S. was somewhat close increased by nine points, while those who felt the country was a long way off decreased by eleven points (See Fig 6).

In analyzing the results, we explored all the different factors that might have motivated people to change their responses. This multivariate analysis indicated that people's attitudes toward how the United States is handling several of the national goals were the strongest factors driving their opinions (Again See Fig 6). The specific goals most strongly driving these attitudes were moral climate, education and training, and economic strength. In other words, respondents who felt the nation was not close to having a strong moral climate, offering education and training for the 21st Century, and maintaining a strong economy which allows universal job access, were also very likely to believe that the country is <u>not close</u> to being the America they want in the future. Those who felt the country is close in meeting these specific goals, also felt that the country was on the right track for the future.

The U.S. Is Somewhat Close to Being What Americans Want in the Future



Demographic Analysis of Attitude Changes

No Change: Close*	Changed to Close	No Change Not Close	Changed to Not Close
Political Region: New England W/N Central	Political Region: W/N Central Border	Political Region: Deep South Mountain	Political Region: Mountain
Post Graduate		College Graduate	Low Income
High Income (over \$50K)		\$30K to \$49K	(under \$15K)
Blue Collar	Retired Homemaker	Professional	
Roman Catholic	Manual Laborer	Long Way Moral Climate	
Intuitor	Methodist	No National Vision	
Yes national vision	Black	Baptist	Black
Close on moral climate		Rural Area	
Intuitor/Thinker	Older (65+)		
Moderate		Vision Y	

Close = Very Close and Somewhat Close Not Close = Not Too Close and A Long Way Off

Driving Factors for Attitude Changes

How close do you think the United States is to having a strong economy where anyone who wants to work can find a job?

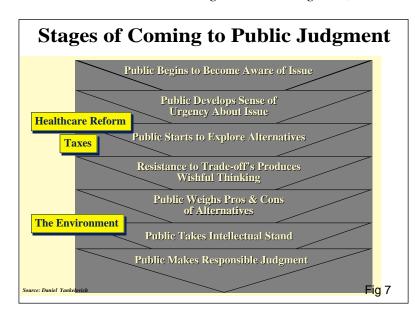
How close would you say the United States is to having the moral climate needed for a healthy country?

In twenty years or so, how close would you say the United States will be to having the education and training needed in the 21st Century?

Fig 6

THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS OF COMING TO PUBLIC JUDGMENT

In the early 1990s, public opinion pollster Daniel Yankelovich explored the idea that in a democratic society, people continually cycle through a systematic decision-making process on various issues facing the nation. In his book *Coming to Public Judgment*, Yankelovich outlined the Seven Stages of Coming to

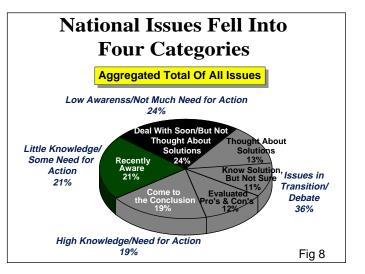


Public Judgment (See Fig 7). The model explains that the public first begins to become aware of an issue and then develops a sense of urgency about the issue. In subsequent stages, the public begins to debate the issue by exploring alternatives, wishing for best-case scenarios and, finally, weighing the pros and cons of the alternatives. The issue becomes mature when the public takes an intellectual stand and ultimately makes a responsible judgment. An effective application of this model would allow society to finally find some ways to progress toward a national vision by allowing individuals to make decisions on important national issues.

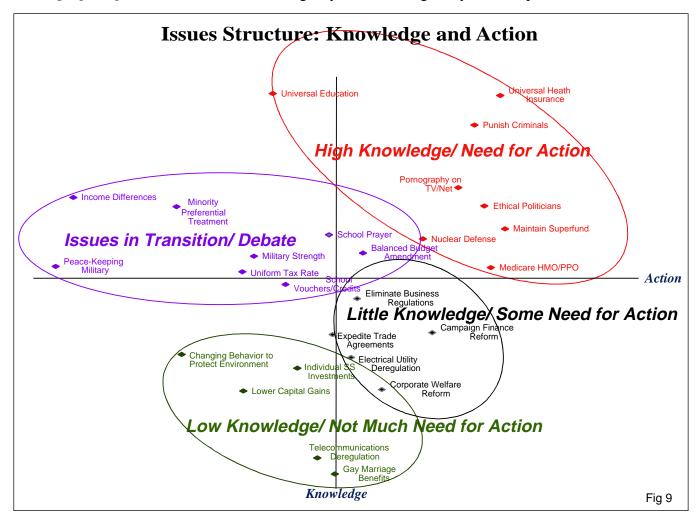
Understanding where specific national issues fit into this decision-making process, then, is important to shaping policy. In many instances, the issue may be at different stages of evolution in different constituencies. If policymakers misread the public's position, the results can be disastrous. For instance, several years ago, policymakers moved ahead of the public and attempted to push them into taking a stand on health care reform. Behind the scenes, policymakers had already explored alternatives and analyzed tradeoffs, presenting their arguments from the Sixth Stage. The public, however, was just beginning to enter the Third Stage of exploring alternatives and, therefore, resisted reform efforts.

Similarly, the attempt to reform environmental regulation illustrates a case of when the public is pressed into action on a mature issue. Americans had been thinking seriously about the issue since the 1960s and felt relatively comfortable that many environmental problems were being addressed. The issue was in the mature phase where conscious awareness remains low. The attempt to update many older environmental laws in 1995 caused people to develop a renewed sense of urgency about issues like clean air and water. By receiving no clear information to quell their concerns, many Americans resisted change as they feared a roll-back of standard environmental protections.

We tested twenty-six of the nation's top issues to determine generally where the public stood. While not all Americans are in the same stage on each issues, the issues did roughly fall into four categories including: Low Knowledge/Not Much Need for Action, Little Knowledge/Some Need for Action, Issues in Transition/Debate, and High Knowledge/Need for Action (See Figs 8 and 9). In general, twenty-one percent of Americans were just becoming aware of the issues, falling into the Low Knowledge/Not Much Need for Action category. Approximately one-third were in the Issues in Transition/Debate, and High Knowledge/Not Much Need for Action category.

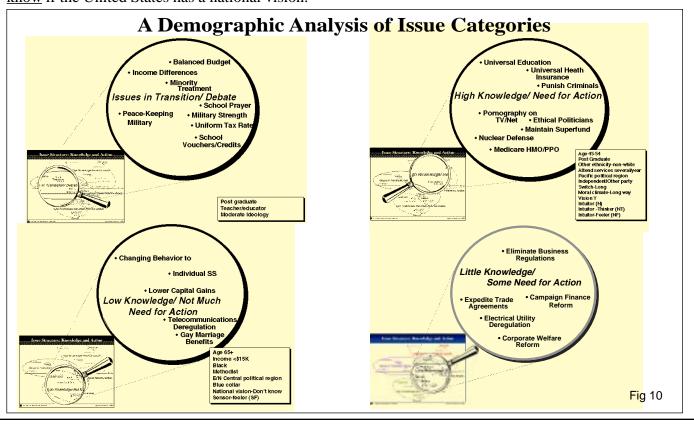


sition/Debate phase, as they continue to explore alternatives and solutions to national issues. During this phase, the issues become muddled because people wish for best-case scenarios and attempt to combine rational thinking, self interest, and compassion. A plurality of Americans felt some urgency toward finding solutions to these issues, falling into the Little Knowledge/Some Need for Action or the High Knowledge/Need for Action categories. Of these people, over half had Little Knowledge of the issues, yet they felt that these issues should be dealt with soon. The rest had come to some sort of conclusion on the issues after developing a high sense of awareness <u>and</u> urgency about solving many of these problems.



In exploring the data, there are two methods to determine what types of people were more likely to fit into each category. First, analyzing how a specific demographic group responds to all of the issues allows us to see which groups consistently leaned toward one issue category or another. Several of these demographic patterns, in fact, did emerge throughout the study. For example, overall, male respondents tended to consistently fall into the High Knowledge/Need for Action category. Females, on the other hand, generally did not lean toward any issue category. People who believe the country is a long way from having a healthy moral climate, and those that had an income of over \$50,000 per year, also tended to consistently experience this high level of awareness and urgency toward the issues. Republicans tended to fall into Issues in Transition/Debate category. Those who felt the country was close to having a healthy moral climate tended to fall into the Little Knowledge/Some Need for Action category. Finally, people with a high school degree or less tended to fall into the Low Knowledge/Not Much Need for Action category.

A second way of analyzing the data is to look at <u>all of the issues within each issue category</u> and determine who was more likely than others to appear in that specific category (See Fig 10). Using this methodology we found that people who were most likely to fall into the High Knowledge/Need for Action group tended to be middle-aged and have a great deal of education. They also were more likely to consider themselves political Independents and think the country is a <u>long way</u> from having a healthy moral climate. Similarly, highly educated people also tended to drive the Issues in Transition/Debate category. No specific demographic groups were more likely than others to fall into this category. Interestingly, most of these issues, including the elimination of business regulations and corporate welfare reform, tended to relate to the business community. Finally, issues which will most likely affect a specific group of Americans, such as gay marriage benefits, lowering capital gain taxes, and allowing private social security investment, tended to fall into the Low Knowledge/Not Much Need for Action category. People who were most likely to fall into this category were older, low income, or blue collar workers. They also tended to say they <u>did not</u> know if the United States has a national vision.



How effective is the Public Judgment Model? In order to further explore its effectiveness, the model was introduced during the in-depth discussions as a car buying analogy (See Fig 11).

Public Judgment Model Applied

You have a car. It is working fine. You are not thinking about getting a new car.

Awareness—One day you realize there are lots of miles on your car and it is starting to have some mechanical problems. It breaks down and you have it fixed. You are starting to realize that you will have to do something about your transportation.

Urgency—A week later your car does not start and you miss an important appointment. The condition of your car is affecting your life.

Debate—You get your car fixed, but you know you need to come up with a permanent solution, so you start looking around for alternatives.

Trade-offs—You now see a couple of options and you have to decide which fits you best.

Weigh Pros and Cons—Your current car is starting to give you even more trouble. You need to make a decision. You are not sure whether to get the station wagon that will be useful for the whole family, or the convertible, two-seater sports car that is fun to drive but is not very practical.

Come to Judgment—Your current car breaks down and it is serious. The repair is very expensive and you know that it is not worth fixing. You are forced to make a decision about buying a new car. You make a decision using your personal values system. You buy the new station wagon.

Now you own the new car and you have to live with the consequences of your decision.

The new car is find. You will not be buying a new car for a long time.

You are no longer thinking about the new cars coming on the market.

Source: Jerry Climer, The Congressional Institute

Fig 11

While the Yankelovich model made some sense to them, people felt it was reactive rather than proactive. In other words, they felt does not anticipate the need for proactive decision-making, but waits until an event occurs when people have fewer choices and a limited time-frame. In addition, at Stage Two—the urgency stage—people tended to make a decision of whether to address an issue or not. After making this judgment, people proceeded through Stages Three through Six at their own pace. Using our analogy of purchasing a car, some respondents said they decided to buy a car during Stage Two and filled in the details of their purchasing decision during the debate phases. Others went through the whole process and waited to make that decision in Stage Six. Finally, people placed issues on the Yankelovich model according to whether they personalized or generalized the issue. Issues which personally affected them landed at a different stage than issues that may be less personal yet important to society as a whole.

A SMALL GENDER GAP EXISTS ON KNOWLEDGE AND ACTION TOWARD ISSUES

In keeping with the recent media coverage about a gap between male and female attitudes, the two groups do hold somewhat different levels of knowledge, and have different attitudes toward the need for action, on many of the nation's issues (See Fig 12). Men had more knowledge of the issues concerning politicians' ethics, expedited trade agreements, deregulation of electric utilities, and deregulation of telecommunications. They also felt more need for action on these than women. On the other hand, women had more knowledge of and felt a stronger need for action on those issues surrounding school prayer, a balanced

budget amendment, and changing environmental behavior.

Interestingly, while men tended to have more knowledge of the issues surrounding the privatization of social security investments and the punishment of criminals, women felt more action needed to be taken on these issues. Women, on the other hand, had more knowledge of Superfund issues, while men felt more urgent toward action on this issue. These findings illustrate that levels of knowledge and action are not mutually exclusive. For example, men may feel they are more aware of crime as they absorb media cover-

Men versus Women Men Women More Aware More Aware Nuclear Defense Income Differences Peace-Keeping Military Individual SS Investments Punish Criminal Maintain Superfund **Lower Capital Gains More Urgent More Urgent** Maintain Superfund Universal Education Military Strength Punish Criminals Minority Treatment Individual SS Investment More Aware & More Urgent More Aware & More Urgent **Ethical Politicians** School Prayer **Expedite Trade Agreements** Balance Budget Amendment Changing Environmental Behavior Electric Utility Deregulation Telecommunications Deregulation Similar **Eliminate Business Regulation** Uniform Tax Rate Gay Marriage Benefits Medicare HMO/PPO Universal Health Care Campaign Finance Reform Corporate Welfare Reform Pornography on TV/Internet School Vouchers Fig 12

age on issues like crime rates and punishment. Women, on the other hand, may not know what is happening with these specific issues, but feel a greater sense of urgency about wanting to solve crime issues and maintain safe communities.

Men and women did have a similar level of knowledge and ideas toward action on several issues including: universal health insurance, pornography on television and the Internet, a uniform tax rate, school vouchers, elimination of business regulations, Medicare reform, corporate welfare reform, campaign finance reform and gay marriage benefits.

When looking at women as a whole, very few specific types of women consistently fell into one issue category. Two exceptions included women with some college experience and those earning \$15,000 to \$29,000 annually. These women generally fell into the Little Knowledge/Need for Some Action category. Men, on the other hand, had many overall demographic consistencies. Men who consistently fell into the Low Knowledge/Not Much Need for Action category tended to be young, less educated, low income, and weak environmentalists. Men who were not well educated also often fell into the Little Knowledge/Some Need for Action category, as were those who believed the country is <u>close</u> to being morally healthy. White men and Republican men were consistently more likely to fall into the Issues in Transition/Debate categories, while those with a post graduate degree and those who felt the country was a <u>long way</u> from being morally healthy tended to fall into the High Knowledge/Need for Action category.

REPUBLICANS, DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS DIFFER OVER KNOWLEDGE AND ACTION ON KEY ISSUES

Not surprisingly, Republicans and Democrats have different levels of knowledge and action toward specific national issues (See Fig 13). While no issues can be identified as completely "Republican" or "Democrat," there were some issues that one group had stronger feelings toward than the other. Overall, key

Key Issues: Republicans versus Democrats Republican Democrat **Universal Education** Medicare HMO/PPO Pornography on TV/Internet Income Differences Corporate Welfare Reform Gay Marriage Benefits Universal Health Insurance **Campaign Finance Reform** Similar **Ethical Politicians Uniform Tax Rate** Nuclear Defense Military Strength School Prayer Peace-keeping Military Eliminate Business Regulations Fig 13

Republican issues included: universal education, pornography on television and the Internet, income differences, and campaign finance reform. Democrats, on the other hand, had stronger attitudes toward Medicare/HMO reform, corporate welfare reform, gay marriage benefits, and universal health insurance.

People from both parties tended to have similar levels of knowledge and action toward issues surrounding politician's ethics, nuclear defense, school prayer, eliminating business regulation, uniform tax rates, the country's military strength, and our peace-keeping military role.

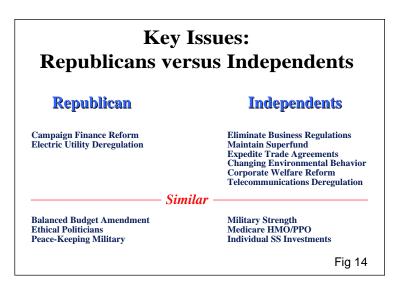
In most cases, different demographic groups are driving the issues categories in the Democratic and Republican parties. Among Republicans, those who were in the Low Knowledge/Not Much Need for Action category tended to be non-religious, blue collar workers, not registered to vote, or weak environmentalists. Republicans who were less educated, low-to-mid income, or church-going tended to be in the Little Knowledge/Not Much Need for Action issue category. Finally, Republicans who fell into the Issues in Transition/Debate category tended to be middle-aged, high income, urban dwellers, a professional or educator, or hold a moderate ideology.

Among Democrats, those with low awareness tended to be homemakers or attend church once a week. Democrats in the Little Knowledge/Some Need for Action category tended to be non-religious, manual laborers, or moderately educated. They were also more likely to believe the country is <u>close</u> to having a healthy moral climate. Finally, Democrats who fell into Issues in Transition/Debate category tended to be moderate income earners, White, or live in the country's Pacific region.

People who generally drove the High Knowledge/Need for Action category looked very similar in both parties. Among both Republicans and Democrats, these people tended to be 55 to 64 years old, well-educated, regular church-goers, or believe the country is a <u>long way</u> from having a healthy moral climate. Republicans in this category tended to live in the Pacific region while Democrats were more apt to live in the Mountain region or Mid-Atlantic states. Interestingly, Republicans who identified themselves as having a Conservative ideology were consistently more likely to fall into the High Knowledge/Need for Action category, while Conservative Democrats generally fell into the Low Knowledge/Not Much Need for Action group.

Finally, Republicans and Independents also have different levels of knowledge and action on national

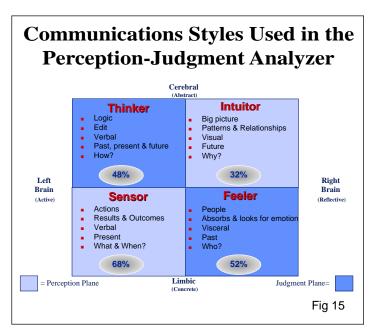
issues (See Figs 14). Among these two groups, Republicans had only two issues for which they had more knowledge and felt a greater need for action including campaign finance reform and electric utility deregulation. Independents, on the other hand, felt more strongly about on six issues, most of which had to do with government regulation. Both groups had similar awareness and urgency levels toward a balanced budget amendment, ethical politicians, peace-keeping military, school vouchers, a uniform tax rate, military strength, Medicare reform and individual Social Security investments.



When looking at all three political groups, these results indicate that, whether they are Republican, Democrat, or Independent, Americans have a similar knowledge and action levels toward issues concerning ethical politicians, a uniform tax rate, maintaining our military strength, and our role as a peace-keeping military.

USING COMMUNICATION STYLES TO ASSESS WHERE PEOPLE STAND ON ISSUES

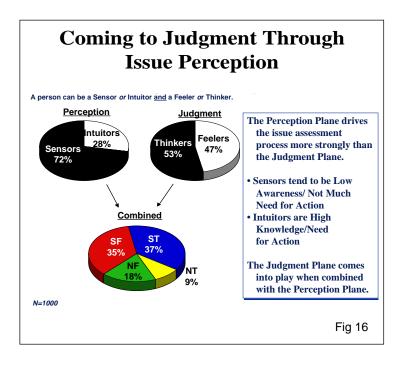
While examining the various standard demographic categories has been useful, it is important to construct



a deeper analysis which illustrates how people cycle through the decision-making process. Charlton Research has developed a model to offer this type of analysis by segmenting people according to communication styles. The Perception-Judgment Analyzer recognizes that, over and above their standard demographic make-up, people use different styles to communicate with one another. Therefore, people synthesize information in different ways. By blending and adapting analytical theories derived by several social scientists, Charlton Research has identified four primary and basic communication styles used by the public (See Fig 15). These styles include: Thinker, Intuitor, Sensor and Feeler. While everyone has the capability to communicate using

all of the four communication styles, people exhibit tendencies toward using two specific styles. A person

tends to *perceive* the world (i.e. become aware) as an Intuitor or Sensor, <u>and judge</u> the world (i.e. make decisions) as a Thinker or Feeler.



In this study, regardless of other demographic characteristics, Sensors consistently fell into the Low Knowledge/Not Much Need for Action category, while Intuitors were almost always in the High Knowledge/Need for Action category (See Fig 16). Sensors make up nearly three-quarters of the population and are best characterized as: preferring factual arguments, basing decisions on experience, grounded firmly in reality, and focusing on the what and when. Intuitors, on the other hand, are a much smaller segment and best characterized as: looking at the big picture, finding appeal in metaphor, visionaries, thinking about the future more than the present, and focused on the why.

Whether a person was a Thinker or a Feeler had much less significance on their ability to come to judgment on an issue. These findings indicate that how someone *perceives* an issue tends to drive their assessment of that issue more strongly than how they *judge* the issue. In other words, people tend to come to judgment on an issue through the process of absorbing impressions and data from the outside world, and then cycle through the issue assessment process by formulating decisions and opinions through the Thinking and Feeling functions.

When the four communications styles are combined, not surprisingly, the Intuitor-Thinkers and Intuitor-Feelers drive the High Knowledge/Need for Action category while the Sensor-Feelers drive the Low Knowledge/Not Much Need for Action categories. Sensor-Thinkers, on the other hand, tended to move around among the four issue categories.

Intuitor-Thinkers Are the Nation's Most Educated and Involved—In general, Intuitor-Thinkers focus on the possibilities of a situation, using objective analysis to develop theoretical concepts (See Fig 17). In this study, these people were more likely to be male, well-educated, high income earners, residents of the East/North Central region, Methodist, or moderate church-goers. Although smaller in numbers than the other groups, because of their heightened social and economic status, Intuitor-Thinkers tend to be highly active. In fact, Intuitor-Thinkers were consistently driving the eight issues which fell into the High Knowledge/Need for Action category. On the issues of education, pornography, universal health insurance, crime, Medicare/HMO reform, and politicians' ethics, this group was consistently more likely than the others to have high levels of knowledge and desire for action. There were only two issues where Intuitor-Thinkers did not lead the four groups: nuclear defense and Superfund. On the issue of nuclear defense, this group

split between the Issues in Transition/ Debate and the High Knowledge/Need for Action categories. For Superfund, Intuitor-Thinkers spilt between Little Knowledge/Some need for Action and High Awareness/Need for Action.

Intuitor-Thinkers were also much more positive toward America's future than the other groups. In fact, they were more likely to consistently believe that the United States is <u>close</u> to being the America they want for the future, and feel the country is <u>close</u> to attaining several of the national goals we tested early in the survey, includ-

Perception-Judgment Analyzer: Demographic Profiles

Sensor Feeler (SF)	Sensor Thinker (ST)	Intuitor Feeler (NF)	Intuitor Thinker (NT)
Females	Males	18-44 years old	Males
Less Educated	Older (65+)	Liberal	Well Educated
South	Republican	Well Educated	E/N Central Region
Low Income (under \$15K)	College Grads	Educators	Methodist
	Modest	Strong	Attends Church
Homemaker	Environmentalist	Environmentalist	Several Times Per Year
Attends Church Weekly			

Fig 17

ing having a strong economy that provides jobs, safety from crime, and a favorable environment. Despite these relatively positive attitudes toward the country's direction, Intuitor-Thinkers were more likely than others to disagree that the United States has a national vision. When picking the best of the three visions, a plurality of Intuitor-Thinkers picked Vision Z, the overall favorite, which combines the ideas of individual responsibility and individual opportunity.

Younger, Liberal Activists Tend to Be Intuitor-Feelers—Intuitor-Feelers generally focus their attention on possibilities and are gifted at communicating with others. They consider a personal view of the possibilities and the value of an outcome when attempting to solve problems. In this study, Intuitor-Feelers were more likely to be young to middle-age, Liberal, well-educated, strong environmentalists, or educators. Like Intuitor-Thinkers, Intuitor-Feelers were more likely to believe the country does not have a national vision. However, while Intuitor-Thinkers picked Vision Z, Intuitor-Feelers split between choosing Vision X and Vision Y. On the eight key national issues, Intuitor-Feelers generally had similar high levels of knowledge and action as their Intuitor-Thinker counterparts. On the issues of universal education, universal health care, crime, and politicians ethics, Intuitor-Feelers tended to have high knowledge and feel a need for action. Most likely because of their youth, this group felt less strongly about the issues of Medicare/HMO reform and pornography on the t.v./Internet. Finally, Intuitor-Feelers were in the debate phases on the issue of nuclear defense.

Sensor-Feelers and Sensor-Thinkers Are the Majority of the Population, But Less Active—Sensor-Feelers like facts, and they solve problems by analyzing a personal view of facts and considering the value of an outcome. Sensor-Feelers tended to be female, less educated, Southern, homemakers, low income, and regular church-goers. Sensor-Feelers were most likely to agree that the country has a national vision. Mirroring the rest of the respondents, a plurality of Sensor-Feelers picked Vision Z as the best for the country. On the eight issues that fell into High Knowledge/Need for Action category, especially universal education, universal health insurance, and nuclear defense, Sensor-Feelers had exceptionally low aware-

ness and felt less need for action than the other groups. They had little knowledge of and felt only some need for action on issues including pornography on the Internet and t.v., crime, Superfund, and Medicare. The only issue for which they had high levels of awareness and knowledge was politicians' ethics.

Sensor-Thinkers generally focus their attention on facts and become adept at applying facts and experience to everyday situations. These people solve problems by using a detached analysis of facts in a step-by-step process, moving from cause to effect. Demographically, Sensor-Thinkers people tended to be male, older, Republican, college graduates and modest environmentalists.

While Sensor-Thinkers were rarely exceptional compared to the other groups, a plurality consistently fell into the High Knowledge/Need for Action category on many of the top eight issues including universal health insurance, crime, nuclear defense, Superfund, and Medicare/HMO reform. In keeping with their practical view of life, Sensor-Thinkers tended to have Low Knowledge/Not Much Need for Action concerning politicians' ethics, a rather esoteric issue. They were the only group to have such low levels on this issue. Regarding pornography issues, a plurality of Sensor-Thinkers were in the Little Knowledge/Some Need for Action category. Again, although they were not exceptional compared to the other groups, Sensor-Thinkers were often able to drive responses in these categories because of their large numbers in the population.

Finally, Sensor-Thinkers were the most pessimistic group of all four. They were more likely than the others to consistently agree that the country is <u>not close</u> to being the America they want in the future, and not surprisingly, that the country is currently headed in the <u>wrong direction</u>. Sensor-Thinkers were more likely than the other groups to say they <u>did not know</u> if the country has a national vision. When choosing between the three visions, a plurality of Sensor-Thinkers picked Vision Z.

FRUSTRATED WITH TODAY'S LEADERS, AMERICANS WANT VALUES TO GUIDE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

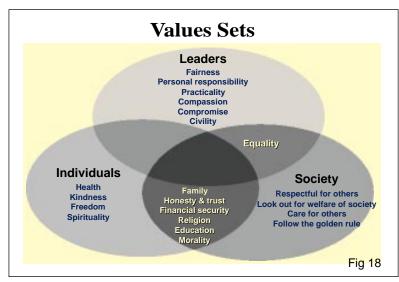
Time after time, public opinion surveys have illustrated the importance of personal values systems in American lives. Because it is impossible to synthesize all of the information bombarding the public today,

people rely on familiar ideas, concepts and experiences—in other words, their personal values systems—to make decisions. One person asserted, "I think you see issues based on what your core values are." While opinions and beliefs may

I think you see issues based on what your core values are.

change with experience, values generally stay consistent over time. A person summarized the difference between these concepts, arguing, "It's not that (core values) can't be changed, it's that (they) are more difficult to change. If you have an opinion about something, versus a value . . . eventually (you) may change your opinion about it, but it doesn't necessary change something that is inside of you." Values, then, offer people a prism through which the American public moves through the decision-making process on the many issues confronting them. Not surprisingly then, people in the in-depth discussions strongly agreed that they expect American leaders to adhere to the country's common values.

Interestingly, the national study indicated that Americans apply somewhat different values systems to the various levels of society. For individuals, a majority of people agree that family, honesty and trust are the most important values. Although other personal values also come into play, these three concepts have



consistently been considered very important by large portions of Americans since we began tracking individual values in 1992 (See Fig 18).

While honesty, trust and family are also considered important societal values, people did not form a consensus as to which values were the most important for driving society. No more than twelve percent of the population mentioned any one concept. Finally, people expect the country's leaders to adhere to a completely different

set of values than individuals or society in general. The idea of fairness was mentioned by a plurality of respondents, followed by personal responsibility, equality and practicality. Interestingly, honesty and trust were not mentioned as values that should be applied to lawmakers.

Although many of these concepts may seem similar in meaning, the subtle distinctions made by the American public are important to guide policymakers in forming appropriate actions on national issues. For example, on those issues which will affect people directly, the public will interpret information using their personal value system, and will therefore, most likely consider how the issue will affect their own family. However, when judging an issue dealing with lawmakers, such as conduct or ethics, people will use a different values system, and will most likely consider his or her record in terms of fairness, rather than family, trust and honesty.

People in the in-depth discussions expressed a deep suspicion that the country's leaders are not addressing the problems the public believes are important. One person argued, "Do our Congressmen really know what we think? I don't think they do. I think they are making decisions out there in a total vacuum and the

public feels frustrated that they don't get a chance to have a say." Another stated, "We have a national percep-

We have a national perception that those people leading (us) in Congress can't be trusted, don't really have our best interest at heart, and don't know where to lead us.

tion that those people leading (us) in Congress can't be trusted, don't really have our best interest at heart, and don't know where to lead us." Most agreed that the political corruption haunting our country's top leadership has caused Americans to lose faith in their leaders.

I trust in our system, the Democratic system.

Despite this lack of trust in their leaders, Americans continue to hold trust in the country's institutions.

One man plainly stated, "I trust in our system, the Democratic system." They repeatedly recalled our founding fathers' ideals, and wished the country could re-capture traditional American values.

METHODOLOGY

A series of focus groups were conducted in Concord, California, on April 8, 1997 and Fairfax, Virginia, on April 28 and April 30, 1997. Participants were eighteen years or older and had recently made a major

consumer purchase. In addition, a telephone survey lasting approximately twenty-eight minutes was conducted among 1,000 adults nationwide from January 24-29, 1997. This sample size, which was proportionate to the country's demographics including geography, gender, voter registration and ethnicity, yields a ±3.1% margin of error. Finally, a series of

Modified Conjoint National Telephone Survey Focus Groups

one hundred mall intercept interviews took place in various cities around the nation, including Massapequa, New York, Fort Meyers, Florida, Taylor, Michigan and Hayward, California. The interviews, which lasted approximately forty-five minutes each, were conducted from January 10-16, 1997. The total sample offers a ±9.8% margin of error.

Charlton Research Company is a research and consulting firm which has been developing strategies for business, political, and legal clients since 1983. The company specializes in analyzing changes in today's socio-political and economic environments. By combining research findings with public policy issues and political insights, we provide clients with timely, cost-effective, intelligence and advice. Using our innovative research models and methodologies, the firm has recently explored important issues such as:

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