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# The People, The Press & Politics Campaign '92:

## The Politics of the Economy

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#### <u>Dem Candidate Leads Bush On Economic Issues (48% to 39%)</u> AMERICANS WANT BUSH CALL FOR PUBLIC WORKS/JOBS PROGRAM

With the State of the Union Address days away, a majority of the American people (52 percent) want President George Bush to call for a public works program to put the unemployed back to work as their first choice to revitalize the economy. President Bush's job approval rating continues to drop (46%) as he fails, thus far, to convince the American public that he is doing all he can to improve the economy. The Republican party's image is also being hurt by the current climate of opinion. Recent efforts notwithstanding, fully 76% of the public thinks the President could be doing more to improve economic conditions, while only 21% think he is doing as much as he can. Even a 64% majority of Republicans think the President is not doing enough to mend the economy.

#### Teflon No More

The results of a series of probing free response questions in the latest *Times Mirror* survey indicates that public blame for the recession is principally directed at the President who has thus far been unsuccessful in convincing the public that the Democrats in Congress should also be held accountable.

Bush and Reagan are assigned even more of the blame by people who have the darkest view of economic conditions. Substantially more than a third of the public (38%) believes that the economy is in a depression that will last a long time while a 51% majority feel that the country is in a recession that will pass fairly soon. Among people who see depression, 34% volunteered that Bush or Reagan were to blame, while only 23% of people who think the country is in a recession hold them accountable.

The recession is taking a heavy toll on the image of the Republican party. In May of 1990, the public was evenly divided over whether the Democratic party (30%) or the Republican party (29%) could do a better job of handling the nation's most important problem. In the current survey, Times Mirror's respondents preferred the Democratic party 41% to 32%.

Perhaps more significantly, the perception that the GOP is superior to the Democratic party for economic management appears to have all but withered away. In May of 1990, a 41% to 25% plurality thought the Republican party could do a better job than the Democrats of making America competitive in the world economy. Today, about as many choose the Democratic party (38%) as choose the Republican party (41%) for this key attribute.

Over this same period the Democratic party's advantage over the GOP for protecting jobs has swollen 10 percentage points (49 to 30% vs. 40 to 30% in 1990). In fact, the current survey shows the Democratic party improving its image in seven out of the eight performance areas tested. The Republican party has made gains in only one area, making wise decisions about the new situation in Eastern Europe and Russia. Its advantage over the Democratic party increased to a 52% to 24% plurality (from 39% to 20%). *See Table I.* 

While the current survey continues to show the President in a virtual dead heat when matched against an unnamed Democrat, a 48% to 39% plurality of the public believes that a Democratic candidate could do a better job than George Bush of creating good economic conditions for people like them. This is the prevailing view among key independent groups that the President will have to rely on to ensure a victory in November.

Among the *Disaffecteds\** who gave Bush equivocal support over Dukakis in 1988, a 49% to 34% plurality have more confidence that a Democratic candidate will look out for their economic interests. More surprisingly, many younger, Republican leaning Independents also feel that a Democratic candidate might better serve their pocketbooks. Among *Upbeats\**, who voted overwhelmingly for Bush, only 42% think that President Bush would do a better job of creating good economic conditions for

people like them, while almost as many (38%) put more faith in an unnamed Democratic candidate. *See Table II*.

When asked who is most responsible for the current economic conditions, 26% volunteer Bush or Reagan and 14% cite the Congress. When the latter response is probed, 10% of respondents said they had neither party in mind when they mentioned the Congress, while only 3% said they were thinking of the Democrats in Congress and 1% point to congressional Republicans. Another 3% volunteered that the Republicans in general are responsible for economic conditions and 1% the Democrats. *See Table III*.

\*For a description of the Times Mirror Typology groups, see the Methodology section on pp. 10-12.

TABLE I

# WHICH POLITICAL PARTY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTYYOU THINK COULD DO A BETTER JOB OF:

	Republican	Democrat	(VOL) Neither	DK
a. Improving our educational system	28	48	10	14=100
May, 1990	30	42	14	14=100
b. Representing your views on abortion	29	39	11	21=100
August, 1990	30	40	12	18=100
c. Protecting U.S. jobs	30	49	8	13=100
May, 1990	30	40	16	14=100
d. Improving health care in the U.S.	21	56	8	15=100
May, 1990	20	50	16	14=100
e. Reducing crime	32	32	18	18=100
h. Making America competitive in				
the world economy	41	38	7	14=100
May, 1990	41	25	17	17=100
l. Dealing with the problem of				
the homeless	20	56	9	15=100
May, 1990	15	52	21	12=100
<sup>1</sup> m.Making wise decisions about the new situation in Eastern				
Europe and Russia	52	24	6	18=100
May, 1990	39	20	16	25=100
			10	20 100

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In 1990 the question was asked, "Making wise decisions about the new situation in Eastern and Central Europe."

#### TABLE II

# WHO DO YOU THINK WOULD DO THE BEST JOB OF CREATING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS FOR PEOPLE LIKE YOU, GEORGE BUSH OR A DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE?

TOTAL	<b>Bush</b> 39	Demo- crat 48	<i>Not sure</i> 13 =100	<i>N</i> = 1220
Sex Male Female	44 35	47 49	9 =100 16 =100	612 608
Age 18-29 30-49 50+	42 41 34	50 45 51	8 =100 14 =100 15 =100	275 511 429
Race White Black	41 20	45 76	14 =100 4 =100	1065 93
Family Income \$50K+ \$30-49,999K \$20-29,999K >\$20K	56 42 39 28	35 43 52 59	9 =100 15 =100 9 =100 13 =100	259 310 237 336
Party ID Republicans Democrats Independents	77 12 35	14 81 48	9 =100 7 =100 17 =100	367 357 443
Region East Midwest South West	35 39 42 41	50 51 46 46	15 =100 10 =100 12 =100 13 =100	304 352 385 179

TABLE III

# WHO DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION?

	Bush	Reagan	Con- gress	Con. Dems	Con. Reps	Wall St./ Bus.	All Other	Don't know	N=
TOTAL	20	6	14	3	1	2	30	24=100	1220
Sex Men Women	17 23	8 5	17 11	3 2	1 1	2 2	33 27	19=100 29=100	612 608
Age 18-29 30-49 50+	22 18 21	7 7 5	8 14 17	2 2 4	* * 2	2 3 2	27 37 23	32=100 19=100 26=100	275 511 429
Race White Black	18 39	7 4	15 7	3	1 0	2 3	30 20	24=100 26=100	1065 93
Family Income \$50K+ \$30-49,999 \$20-29,999 >\$20K	13 14 22 28	9 6 6 4	16 18 14 9	5 3 3 1	0 * 1 2	4 2 3 2	34 36 24 28	19=100 21=100 27=100 26=100	259 310 237 336
Party ID Republican Democrat Independent	9 30 18	4 8 7	21 10 12	6 1 1	* 2 *	3 2 2	28 26 37	29=100 21=100 23=100	367 357 443

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Respondents who said "Congress" were asked which party they had in mind when they gave that answer. The resulting three categories of response are shown in the table. The first category represents people who had neither party in mind. The second represents those who were thinking of the Democrats in Congress and the third those who had the Congressional Republicans in mind.

#### Jobs Key Indicator to Public

Americans see the loss of jobs to foreign competition as the thing that worries them most about future economic conditions. Fifty percent say these job losses troubled them the most about the country's future, 20% said they worried most about the financial shape of state and local governments and 16% named the condition of the banks and other financial institutions. Only 2% said they worried most about the decline in real estate prices.

When the question was rephrased asking people what most worries them about their *own* future there was less of a focus on jobs lost to foreign competition (31%) and somewhat more expressed concern about the condition of the banks (21%). Worry about the decline in real estate prices rose to only 6%, but was as high as 11% among upper income home owners.

Reflecting these concerns, 52% of respondents in the survey said they would like to hear President Bush announce a public works program for the unemployed. The second most frequently mentioned choice was a cut in the capital gains tax; 17% chose this option. Eight percent preferred a one time \$300 income tax rebate, 7% a cut in social security taxes, and 7% allowing first time home buyers to withdraw money from their IRA's.

Preference for a public works program for the unemployed was even overwhelming among fiscally conservative *Enterpriser Republicans* who chose this option over a cut in the capital gains tax by a margin of 45% to 19%.

#### Seniors Vexed by Fed Cut

By a margin of three to one the public at large saw the Federal Reserve's cutting lending rates as good news (61%), not bad news (21%). But opinion about the measure is closely related to age. Seventy-two percent of those under 50 years of age liked the Fed's action, while among people 65 years of age and older opinion broke against the measure - 43% saw it as bad news and only 32% saw the cut as good news.

Despite the Fed action and attendant stock market rally, the survey finds no significant changes in the perceived financial condition of the public. As in November, Times Mirror's respondents divided about evenly between those who see themselves as better off compared to four years ago versus those who think they are now worse off. Also as in the previous survey, three in ten said there was a high chance that in the next 12 months someone within their household would be out of work. Fifty-three percent said they expected their finances to be bettered by this time next year, while 24% expected their financial situation to worsen over the next 12 months. These expectations were about the same as found in Times Mirror's November 1991 poll.

Although financial attitudes have not further deteriorated over the past two months, public discontent with the state of the nation has continued to increase and presidential approval has continued to go down.

Since November the percentage who say they approve of the way George Bush is handling his job has fallen from 55% to 46% and the percent of the public saying they are satisfied with the way things are going in the country fell from 34% to 28%.

In the current survey, the President achieves majority approval from only a few sectors of the public: College graduates (51%), people under 30 (55%) and in the South (53%).

Since November Bush's ratings have taken the biggest tumble among political independents, falling from 54% to 39%. This slide has been most pronounced among *Disaffected* voters and among *Seculars*, who are generally liberal independent voters. Bush's rating has fallen far less among *Upbeats*, who are younger independent voters with moderate political attitudes.

Percent Approve Of Bush: Diff in

## November 91 January 92 %Pts.

Party Identification			
Republicans	82	78	- 4
Democrats	32	26	- 6
Independents	54	39	-15
Typology Independents			
Upbeats	67	60	- 7
Disaffecteds	51	35	-16
Seculars	37	21	-16

Although President Bush's approval rating has fallen further in the past two months, the Times Mirror survey continues to find respondents dividing their support equally between George Bush and an unnamed Democratic challenger - 42% chose each when questioned about their November preferences.

The public is far less equivocal when asked about their preferences in specific job performance areas. By a margin of 61% to 25% the public thinks that a Democratic candidate would do a better job of improving health care in the U.S. than would George Bush. On the other hand the public has more confidence in George Bush than his Democratic challengers to make wise decisions about Eastern Europe and Russia by exactly the same margin - 61% to 25%!

#### Clinton Has Highest Favorability Ratings

While most Americans are still not familiar enough to render the most basic of judgments about the Democratic challengers, Bill Clinton achieves the best rating of the five Democratic candidates when favorability scores are computed on the basis of those who can rate the candidates.

The survey also finds that Pat Buchanan is known to most, but not nearly all citizens. However, David Duke has become known to and disliked by almost the entire public.

## **BASED ON THOSE WHO CAN RATE**

_,	Favorable	Unfavorable	% Who Could Rate
George Bush	64	36	98
Paul Tsongas	52	48	46
Douglas Wilder	51	49	49
Robert Kerrey	64	36	50
Tom Harkin	59	41	49
Bill Clinton	71	29	52
Jerry Brown	51	49	75
David Duke	14	86	88
Pat Buchanan	52	48	63

Both Pat Buchanan and David Duke get higher than average favorability scores among *Moralist Republicans* who are familiar with them. David Duke also gets better than average ratings from *Disaffecteds*. Twenty-one percent of Disaffecteds who are aware of the former Klansman rate him favorably.

	RATED EACH (Among those who	
	Buchanan	Duke
Enterprisers	55	8
Moralists	63	19
Upbeats	39	3
Upbeats Disaffecteds	53	21

### SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 1,220 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of January 3 - 7, 1992. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

#### THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in *THE PEOPLE*, *THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990*. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year the *Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press* has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research. There are two core Republican groups - Enterprisers and Moralists. *Enterprisers* are fiscal conservatives, who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. *Moralists*, are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older and many live in the South.

There are three core Democratic groups. *Sixties Democrats* are strong believers in social justice, are adverse to the use of military force and experience low financial pressure. Sixties Democrats are a heavily female, middle class, middle aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

*New Dealers* also do not experience a lot of financial pressure, but they are advocates of a tough defense policy and are socially conservative. Drawn heavily from the South, the roots of these Democrats who defected in some numbers to Reagan and Bush go all the way back to FDR's presidency. *Pocketbook Democrats* are very concerned with social justice and the government taking a more active role in the solution of the social and economic problems these people face on a day to day basis. Many minority members, poor people and people with less than a high school education are Pocketbook Dems.

There are three typology groups who are basically Independent. *Seculars* lean to the Democratic party; however some identify more closely with the GOP. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms and profess no religious belief. Seculars are well informed, relatively affluent and more often found in the East and on the West Coast.

Two Independent groups lean to the Republican party. *Disaffecteds* are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle aged, lower middle income group contains many blue collar workers. *Upbeats* are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their

attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats contain many young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values, believing that Americans can always solve their problems and there are no limits to this country's power.

The final group in the Times Mirror typology are *Bystanders* who reflect an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

	PERCENT
Enterprisers	13
Moralists	12
Upbeats	9
Disaffecteds	16
Bystanders	8
Seculars	8
60's Democrats	7
New Dealers	5
Pocketbook Dems.	14
Unclassified	7

# THE QUESTIONNAIRE

# TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS POLITICAL SURVEY II - NATIONAL JANUARY 3-6, 1991 N=1,220

SEX: 1[]Male 2[]Female	INTERVIEWER'S NAME:		
TIME STARTED:	INTERVIEWER'S I.D.:		
TIME FINISHED:	PAGE NUMBER:		
LENGTH: R	REPLICATE NUMBER:		
<ul><li>2 Midwest</li><li>3 South</li><li>4 West</li></ul>	TRATUM: 1 Stratum One 2 Stratum Two 3 Remainder		
INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am calling for the Princeton Survey Research Associates from Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)			

## MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

			NEWS INTEREST INDEX					
		Nov 1991	Oct 1991	July <u>1991</u>	May <u>1991</u>	March 1991	Jan 25 1991	Jan 3 1991
46	Approve	55	61	67	77	84	79	59
43	Disapprove	33	28	23	16	10	14	24
$\frac{11}{100}$	Don't know	12 100	10 100	10 100	$\frac{7}{100}$	<u>6</u> 100	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{17}{100}$

Q.6 Would you like to see George Bush re-elected President in November or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election?

•	Total	Registered	
	<u>Respondents</u> Jan. Nov.	<u>Voters</u> Jan. Nov.	
	<u>1992</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u> <u>1991</u>	
Bush re-elected	42 41	41 41	
Prefer Democrat	42 43	45 44	
Not sure (VOL)	$\frac{16}{100}$ $\frac{16}{100}$	$\frac{14}{100}$ $\frac{15}{100}$	

### ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.7 What is the most important problem facing the country today?

43	Economy	May <u>1990</u> 5	<u>1989</u> 4	1987 10	
22	Unemployment/ Lack of jobs	7	9	13	
6	Homelessness	8	10	*	
5	Recession/ Depression	*	*	*	
4	Drugs/ Alcohol	11	22	37	
4	Deficit/Balanced budget	11	19	11	
3	Morality/Ethics/ Family Values	5	2	5	
3	Crime/Gangs/ Justice system	8	8	3	
2	Health care (cost, accessibility)	2	*	*	
2	Trade deficit/ Trade relations	1	1	3	
2	Hunger	1	*	*	
76	Net economic				
_					

2 Don't know/No answer

Q.8 Who do you think can do a better job of handling the problem you just mentioned -- the Republican party or the Democratic party?

32	Republican	May <u>1990</u> 29	May <u>1988</u> 26	Jan. <u>1988</u> 30	May 1987 28
41	Democrat	30	38	35	38
12	No difference (VOLUNTEERED)	31	22	24	24
15 100	Don't know	<u>10</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	11 100	<u>10</u> 100

Q.9 In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the U.S. at this time?

28	Satisfied	Nov 1991 34	May <u>1990</u> 41	Jan. <u>1989</u> 45	Oct. <u>1988</u> 56	May 1988 41	Jan. <u>1988</u> 39
68	Dissatisfied	61	54	50	40	54	55
<u>4</u> 100	Don't know	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100

#### ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.10 Thinking about your own situation, compared to 4 years ago, would you say that you are better off financially today or worse off financially today?

		Nov 1991	<sup>3</sup> May 1987
45	Better off	40	48
41	Worse off	43	20
13	Same (VOL)	16	31
$\frac{1}{100}$	Don't know (VOL)	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

 $<sup>^{^3}\,</sup>$  In 1987 the questioned was asked, "Compared to five years ago, would you say you are better off financially, worse off financially, or about the same?"

Q.11 Now looking ahead, do you expect that at this time next year you will be financially better off than now, or worse off than now?

53	Better	Nov <u>1991</u> 49	May 1990 44	Jan. <u>1989</u> 54	May 1988 54	Jan. <u>1988</u> 46
24	Worse	26	24	15	10	18
16	Same (VOL)	17	27	28	31	30
<u>7</u> 100	Don't know (VOL)	<u>8</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100

Q.12 Do you think the chances are high, low or almost zero that sometime in the next 12 months an adult in your family will be out of work and actively looking for a job?

30	High	Nov 1991 27
25	Low	28
31	Almost zero	30
6	Someone out of work now (VOL)	5
4	Retired (VOL)	6
<u>4</u> 100	Don't know/ No answer	<u>4</u> 100

- Q.13 Based on your <u>own impressions</u> of economic conditions would you say news organizations have been too positive or too negative or about right in the way they have reported news about the economy?
  - 12 Too positive
  - Too negative
  - 55 About right
  - <u>5</u> Can't say

- How would you describe economic conditions would you say the economy is now Q.14 recovering, or that we are in a recession that will pass fairly soon or that we are in an economic depression that will last a long time? 7 Recovery

  - 51 Recession
  - 38 Depression
  - $\frac{4}{100}$ Can't say
- Who do you think is most responsible for the current economic situation: **DO NOT READ LIST** And who would you name second?

George Bush

- 20 First choice
- 12 Second choice

Ronald Reagan

- 6 First choice
- 2 Second choice

<sup>4</sup>Congress Both/Neither party

- 10 First choice
- 7 Second choice

Democrats in Congress

- 3 First choice
- 1 Second choice

Republicans in Congress

- 1 First choice
- 1 Second choice

The Democrats

- 1 First choice
- 1 Second choice

The Republicans

- 3 First choice
- 3 Second choice

If respondent answered '12' Congress in Q.15 they were Are you thinking of the Democrats in Congress, the asked: Republicans in Congress or neither party in particular?

## Q.15 **CONTINUED....**

	2 2	Wall Street, the Banks, financial institutions First choice Second choice
	3 5	Business Corporations First choice Second choice
	2 2	Foreign trade/Foreign interests First choice Second choice
	8 3	Government/Politicians First choice Second choice
	6 2	People/The public/Consumers First choice Second choice
	3 5	Other First choice Second choice
Q.17		a, if any of the following most worries you about future economic ions in this <u>country</u> :
	16	The condition of the banks and other financial institutions
	50	Jobs lost to foreign competition
	2	The decline in real estate prices
	20	The financial shape of state and local governments
OR	1?	
	5	Other
	2	None
	<u>5</u> 100	Can't say

Q.17a	wnich	, if any, of the following most worries you about your <u>own future?</u>
	21	The financial condition of the banks and other financial institutions
	31	The number of jobs lost to foreign competition
	6	The decline in real estate prices
	23	The financial condition of state and local governments
	4	Other
	10	None
	<u>5</u> 100	Can't say
Q.18		r opinion, is President Bush doing as much as he can to improve economic ons or do you think he could be doing more?
	21	Doing all he can
	76	Could be doing more
	<u>3</u> 100	Can't say
Q.19		one of the following would you most like to hear the President announce an to improve economic conditions ( <b>READ LIST - ROTATE</b> ) Which ?
	8 14	A one time \$300 income tax rebate First choice Second choice
	52 16	A public works program for the unemployed First choice Second choice
	7 15	A cut in Social Security <u>taxes</u> First choice Second choice

#### Q.19 **CONTINUED...**

Allowing first time home buyers to withdraw money from their IRA's

- 7 First choice
- 19 Second choice

A cut in the capital gains tax

- First choice 17
- 19 Second choice

#### None (**DO NOT READ**)

- First choice
- 3 Second choice

# Don't know (**DO NOT READ**) First choice

- 6
- 6 Second choice
- Q.19a As you may have heard, recently the Federal Reserve has lowered interest rates significantly. All in all, is this mostly good news for you or is this mostly bad news for you?
  - 61 Good news
  - 21 Bad news
  - 18 Don't know
  - $\overline{100}$

# ON ANOTHER SUBJECT, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POLITICAL PARTIES

Q.20 Which political party - the Republican Party or the Democratic party -do you think could do a better job of: (**REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM BELOW - ROTATE**)

(VOL)

	(VOI	Republican	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	Improving our educational system May, 1990	28 30	48 42	10 14	14=100 14=100
b.	Representing your views on abortion August, 1990	29 30	39 40	11 12	21=100 18=100
c.	Protecting U.S. jobs May, 1990	30 30	49 40	8 16	13=100 14=100
d.	Improving health care in the U.S. May, 1990	21 20	56 50	8 16	15=100 14=100
e.	Reducing crime	32	32	18	18=100
h.	Making America competitive in the world economy May, 1990	41 41	38 25	7 17	14=100 17=100
1.	Dealing with the problem of the homeless May, 1990	20 15	56 52	9 21	15=100 12=100
<sup>5</sup> m	. Making wise decisions about the new situation in Eastern Europe and Russia May, 1990	52 39	24 20	6 16	18=100 25=100

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 5}$  In 1990 the question was asked, "Making wise decisions about the new situation in Eastern and Central Europe."

Q.21 I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. First, would you describe your opinion of (ITEM) as very favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

		Vom	Mostly	Mostly	Vom	( <b>VOL</b> ) Never	(VOL)
		Very Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- able	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Heard Of	Can't <u>Rate</u>
a.	George Bush November, 1991 May, 1990 January, 1989 *October, 1988 *September, 1988 *August, 1988 May, 1988 January, 1988 September, 1987 May, 1987	20 25 24 24 23 19 25 11 11 18	43 46 52 54 35 40 40 40 41 51	22 17 15 9 20 20 18 25 26 19	13 9 7 4 17 17 12 17 13 8 7	:	2=100 3=100 2=100 9=100 5=100 4=100 7=100 9=100 4=100 7=100
d.	Paul Tsongas November, 1991	4 3	20 21	17 11	5 3	31 40	23=100 22=100
e.	Douglas Wilder November, 1991	5 4	20 25	16 11	8 3	26 35	25=100 22=100
f.	Bob Kerrey November, 1991	7 5	25 24	13 8	5 2	27 41	23=100 20=100
g.	Tom Harkin November, 1991	4 3	25 24	14 10	6 2	29 38	22=100 23=100
h.	Bill Clinton November, 1991	9 5	28 25	11 8	4 2	27 39	21=100 21=100
i.	Jerry Brown	8	30	24	13	11	14=100
j.	David Duke November, 1991	3 1	9 11	18 17	58 32	5 28	7=100 11=100
k.	Pat Buchanan	6	27	21	9	18	19=100

<b>JUST A</b>	<b>FEW MORE</b>	<b>QUESTIONS</b>	<b>ABOUT</b> I	NEXT Y	YEAR'S	<b>PRESIDE</b>	<b>NTIAL</b>
ELECT	ION	•					

	ou might vote for, who do you think would do the best job of mic conditions for people like you George Bush or a re?
39	Bush
48	Democrat
$\frac{13}{100}$	(DO NOT READ) Not sure
Q.32 Who do you think w Bush or a Democrati	ould do the best job of improving health care in the U.S. George c candidate?
25	Bush
61	Democrat
$\frac{14}{100}$	(DO NOT READ) Not sure
	ould do the best job of making wise decisions about the new situation d Russia George Bush or a Democratic candidate?
61	Bush
25	Democrat
$\frac{14}{100}$	(DO NOT READ) Not sure

#### **DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS:**

Q.900

Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)

	(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)							
		Completely	Mostly	Mostly	Completely	Don't		
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Know</u>		
a.	People like me don't have any say about what the government does	21	35	33	10	1=100		
b.	Most elected officials care what people like me think	7	37	38	16	2=100		
c.	Hard work offers little guarantee of success	16	25	35	21	3=100		
d.	The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives	27	36	28	7	2=100		
e.	The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	8	35	40	15	2=100		
f.	There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	32	46	16	3	3=100		
g.	As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	11	47	31	9	2=100		
h.	Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed	53	38	6	2	1=100		
i.	The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	18	36	28	14	4=100		
j.	The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	17	33	32	15	3=100		

1_	Decree is an important	Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly Agree	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
k.	Prayer is an important part of my daily life	49	32	12	6	1=100
1.	Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	27	18	24	28	3=100
m.	There are clear guide- lines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	27	43	16	11	3=100
n.	Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	39	38	17	4	2=100
0.	I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	25	28	32	14	1=100
p.	I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	35	52	10	2	1=100
q.	I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	46	31	12	8	3=100

### ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..

Q.901 How often would you say you vote -- always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

- 40 Always
- Nearly always
- 11 Part of the time
- 10 Seldom
- 0 Other (**VOLUNTEERED**)
- 4 Never vote (**VOLUNTEERED**)
- $\frac{*}{100}$  Don't know/No answer