

THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS  
SURVEY II

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## I SUMMARY & OVERVIEW

\* George Bush's commanding lead among Republicans in national surveys is a consequence of the ground he has gained among Enterprisers since the last Times-Mirror/Gallup survey. While the Republican nomination contest has narrowed to a two-man race between George Bush and Robert Dole, the Vice-President's fortunes are clearly linked to Ronald Reagan's popularity. As the president's popularity rises among Republicans, so does Bush's standing. He does less well among those few Republicans who disapprove of Reagan's handling of his job.

-In two Republican-oriented groups - the Enterprisers and Upbeat Republicans- Bush actually runs behind Dole among those who disapprove of the president's handling of his job.

-Robert Dole has improved his standing nationally among one group of independent Republicans - the Upbeats - since the fall. The degree to which Bush's lead is tied to the loyalist factor is underscored by the fact that the Vice President is preferred over Dole at the same time that the challenger actually has a more positive image among Republican voters.

\*While there is strong latent support for whomever is the Democratic party's nominee in this fall's general election, the race there remains wide open because Democratic-oriented voter groups have not coalesced around any announced candidate. And a large proportion of Democrats remain undecided.

The results of the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary are sure to have a substantial effect upon Democratic candidate preferences as the results become known and interpreted for the rest of the nation's electorate.

- At the national level, three candidates - Michael Dukakis, Gary Hart, and Paul Simon - are dividing the support of Seculars and the 60's Democrats, based upon the issue-oriented campaigns they are running to appeal to these well-educated, politically sophisticated Democrats. Jesse Jackson is attracting support among the 60's Democrats.

- Two candidates - Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson - have garnered the attention and support of two other groups, the Partisan Poor and the God & Country Democrats, based upon popular perceptions of their expressed concerns for social justice and plans for social programs.

- Gary Hart is the preferred choice of the New Deal Democrats, a core group of Democratic voters. But this is a shift in his coalition of supporters from last spring, before he left the race. Hart's appeal is only half as great as it was among the two constituencies closest to him in ideology - the Seculars and 60's Democrats, while his appeal is now focused in lower turnout groups. This does not bode well for him in the primaries.

-The battle for the Democratic nomination will be played out among the Seculars, New Dealers, and 60's Democrats, three relatively large constituencies in the Democratic coalition whose members are the most likely to participate in the primaries and caucuses.

\* The lack of recognition of many of the Democratic candidates and the lack of a clear front runner is coupled with a concern about the overall quality of the Democratic contenders and the party's ability to nominate a good candidate.

-Majorities of Republicans give their presidential candidates a "good" rating and a few give them an "excellent" one. On the other hand, Democratic groups, especially the Seculars, give their candidates much less positive evaluations.

\*When respondents were asked how likely they would be to vote for various candidates in November, if they were nominated, the Democrat with the broadest support was Mario Cuomo. He was the first or second most likely candidate to receive support from most of the Democratic-oriented groups. In particular, he appeals to those high turnout constituencies crucial to a Democratic victory in November - Seculars, 60's Democrats, and New Dealers.

\*Two policy positions which would make the public more likely to vote for a presidential candidate are support for an increase in taxes on foreign imports to protect American jobs in certain industries and support for a government program of public works job for the unemployed. A position opposing automatic cost-of-living increases for Social Security and federal pension beneficiaries would make large numbers of Americans less likely to vote for a presidential candidate.

-Other issue positions which would make Americans more likely to vote for a presidential candidate would be support for

mandatory drug tests for students applying for a driver's license, while issue positions which would make Americans less likely to vote for a candidate would be opposition to the INF treaty, opposition to a constitutional amendment to permit school prayer, support for a federal tax increase to reduce the deficit, and support for military aid to the Contras.

-Candidate positions on the SDI program to develop a space-based defense against nuclear attack are as likely to increase or decrease voter support, depending upon their partisanship.

\*Even before the George Bush-Dan Rather confrontation on the evening news, this survey was showing an increase in "very unfavorable" opinions of network TV news organizations and a concern about how great a role news organizations play in the presidential nomination process. We now find an increase in negative press opinion among 60's Democrats, who generally are quite supportive of the press.

-The American public supports the view that the press was overzealous in covering the Gary Hart-Donna Rice affair, but a large minority think information about this aspect of Gary Hart's life is important in order to judge whether he would be a good president.

-They are equally divided in opinions that he made the right decision to reconsider and start campaigning again as opposed to staying out.

\*While half of those surveyed agree that a minister or clergyman would be more honest and have higher moral standards than the typical politician, they are concerned about problems of the separation of church and state and tension between religious groups in society if such a person is elected president. Two-thirds were concerned that he would press his religious position on moral issues.

\*Three out of four Americans are looking forward to this fall's general election campaign, as many as are looking forward to the Olympics. Slightly more than one-half are looking forward to the presidential primaries, about equal to those who look forward to the Super Bowl or the World Series.

## II Anticipation of the 1988 Campaigns

While interest in the presidential campaign is still building, the vast majority of Americans (74%) are looking forward to this fall's general election, comparable to the proportion who are looking forward to the Olympics (71%). Only about half of those surveyed (55%) are looking forward to the presidential primaries, however, which is equivalent to the proportion who are looking forward to the Super Bowl (55%) and the World Series (51%). Fewer Americans are looking forward to the Academy Awards (43%) and to the Miss America pageant (32%).

Those with the strongest attachments to the political parties and who are most active politically are the most likely to be looking forward to the political campaigns. Bystanders, the most politically inactive group in the electorate, are the least likely to be looking forward to the campaigns.

There is no difference between men and women in their anticipation of the major political events of 1988. However, men are more likely than women to be looking forward to the Super Bowl and the World Series, while women are more likely to be looking forward to the Academy Awards.



TABLE II-1  
 SUMMARY OF EVENTS BEING LOOKED FORWARD TO  
 BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

	EN-TERPR ISERS MORAL LISTS			DIS-AFFEC UPBEATS TEDS		BY STAN- DERS FOL- LOWERS		SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & NEW CNTRY DEALERS	PART- ISAN DEMS POOR	
	TOTAL	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
FUTURE EVENTS												
THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION	74	84	82	80	68	47	61	78	78	73	74	81
THE OLYMPICS	71	79	73	81	68	57	64	75	82	65	73	64
THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES	55	65	63	60	43	25	43	68	68	57	52	64
THE SUPER BOWL	55	60	52	59	51	55	54	43	54	57	55	59
THE WORLD SERIES	51	51	51	56	46	53	50	43	45	55	60	51
THE ACADEMY AWARDS	43	26	38	48	38	46	42	29	41	49	57	56
THE MISS AMERICA PAGEANT	32	19	35	32	21	44	39	11	16	42	47	32
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 2: I am going to read you a list of events that will occur in the coming year. As I read each one, please tell me whether or not this is an event you are especially looking forward to.

### III Candidate Awareness

After months of campaigning, the name recognition of most of the candidates has been established, although a test of photo identification shows much greater gaps in name versus visual recognition between the first and second echelon candidates within each party.

Photographs of Jesse Jackson (92%), Gary Hart (81%) and George Bush (76%) can be recognized by at least three out of four Americans, at a rate equivalent to Bill Cosby (93%) and Oliver North (84%). But for the other candidates, less than half those surveyed can associate their names with their faces (Robertson-48%, Dole-45%, Haig-43%, Simon-23%, Dukakis-22%, Kemp-21%, Gephardt-13%, Dupont-12%, Gore-11%, and Babbitt-10%).

TABLE III-1  
PHOTO RECOGNITION  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR			
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>RECOGNIZE</u>												
BILL COSBY	93	98	87	94	94	93	94	95	98	88	90	94
JESSE JACKSON	92	95	92	93	93	81	89	98	94	96	87	94
OLIVER NORTH	84	94	85	89	92	71	68	94	89	85	75	83
GARY HART	81	88	87	81	82	59	75	94	86	81	72	84
GEORGE BUSH	76	91	87	71	77	52	68	94	82	73	71	74
MIKHAIL GORBACHEV	60	77	67	61	54	37	51	78	66	55	56	58
WALTER MONDALE	54	69	55	48	53	40	52	69	60	53	51	49
PAT ROBERTSON	48	66	59	43	47	27	43	59	55	52	37	45
BOB DOLE	45	64	58	44	45	20	30	63	47	46	42	31
ALEXANDER HAIG	43	57	56	45	42	25	39	67	47	36	37	33
MARIO CUOMO	39	49	44	36	31	23	38	69	49	32	28	41
PAUL SIMON	23	33	25	15	19	9	20	49	34	20	19	22
MICHAEL DUKAKIS	22	31	19	19	21	11	11	44	32	17	22	19
JACK KEMP	21	40	28	19	17	7	10	38	31	14	17	17
ELIZABETH DOLE	20	32	26	19	15	7	16	34	25	18	19	14
RICHARD GEPHARDT	13	19	16	14	12	5	10	24	16	12	13	8
PATRICIA SCHROEDER	13	19	17	12	9	4	7	27	19	9	9	13
PETE DUPONT	12	26	16	10	12	6	4	18	17	7	13	8
ALBERT GORE	11	16	12	11	8	5	12	18	12	15	9	6
BILL BRADLEY	11	16	11	8	6	11	10	25	13	8	15	5
BRUCE BABBITT	10	16	10	9	6	3	6	23	17	6	9	9
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 5: Here are some photographs of well-known people and some people who are less well-known. For each person you recognize, please give me the letter from the photo and the name of the person. If you don't recognize a person, just let me know and go on to the next one.

Name recognition levels are much higher. For the Republican candidates, at least seven in ten adults say they have heard of Bush, Dole, Haig, and Robertson; about half of Kemp; and four in ten of Dupont. There are three levels of name recognition for the Democratic candidates as well. Nine in ten adults have heard of Jackson and Hart; about half of Dukakis, Simon, and Gephardt; and four in ten of Gore and Babbitt.

TABLE III-2  
NAME RECOGNITION (REPUBLICANS)

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

HEARD OF	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & NEW CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
GEORGE BUSH	96	100	100	99	99	89	85	98	97	98	96	97
BOB DOLE	80	95	91	86	88	56	64	95	90	77	66	68
ALEXANDER HAIG	79	97	90	86	85	59	58	96	88	74	63	73
PAT ROBERTSON	73	91	84	74	79	43	52	86	81	73	59	72
JACK KEMP	55	77	70	57	50	26	37	80	66	48	47	51
PETE DUPONT	39	65	54	40	28	15	21	64	48	27	36	35
NONE/DON'T KNOW	2	*	-	1	-	8	13	1	2	1	3	2
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 6: Will you please look over this list of Republicans and tell me which of them you have heard of. Please read off your answers by number.

TABLE III-3  
NAME RECOGNITION (DEMOCRATS)  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY		FOL- SECU-			60'S		GOD & PART-	
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS	STAN- DERS	LOWERS	LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR
HEARD OF	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
JESSE JACKSON	95	98	97	99	99	81	78	96	99	96	95	98
GARY HART	94	97	97	98	97	82	78	98	98	95	89	97
MICHAEL DUKAKIS	53	73	63	51	53	35	28	83	68	43	48	42
PAUL SIMON	52	70	59	53	48	32	31	76	64	46	43	46
RICHARD GEPHARDT	48	69	56	50	43	26	29	73	65	40	42	40
ALBERT GORE	44	65	56	38	40	20	32	71	51	41	37	37
BRUCE BABBITT	43	63	49	45	39	19	27	66	57	36	41	34
NONE/DON'T KNOW	3	1	1	-	1	11	14	1	1	2	2	1
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 9: Will you please look over this list of Democrats and tell me which of them you have heard of. Please read off your answers by number.

#### IV Early Candidate Preferences

Popular response and reaction to the current set of presidential candidates has focused on two Republican figures - George Bush and Robert Dole. As Ronald Reagan goes, so goes George Bush. His support is strongly linked to approval for Ronald Reagan's handling of his job as president; Robert Dole's support can be linked to dissatisfaction with it. Dole has established a strong identity among Republicans - in some areas a more positive image than Bush's - but widespread satisfaction with Reagan buttresses the vice-president's lead.

On the Republican side, Bush is preferred over Dole among every Republican oriented group, and no other candidate is preferred by more than 7% overall or 12% in any group. Among self-described Republicans and those who lean Republican, Bush is their first choice for the nomination by a 45% to 23% plurality over Dole.

-The lead is narrower among Enterprisers (42% to 25%) than among Moralists (45% to 20%). Nevertheless, Bush's lead over Dole among Enterprisers has increased since the last Times Mirror/Gallup Survey (September 1987) when it was 36% to 28%.

-Among Upbeats, the lead remains large (53% to 26%), although it has dropped somewhat from last fall (61% to 16%).

-In both cases, these shifts can be linked to those who disapprove of Reagan's handling of his job as president and the translation of this dissatisfaction into greater support for Dole.

-Reagan's job ratings among Republicans have remained relatively high and constant by group and by region. The shifts can probably be attributed more to relatively successful campaigning by Dole and other Republicans who are making the most of what they can of low levels of dissatisfaction with Reagan's performance and other national factors.

-It is not coincidental that the Bush-Dole race is even among Disaffecteds, who are the Republican group that most disapproves of Reagan's handling of his job as president.

-Among those who approve of Reagan's handling of his job as president, Bush is preferred over Dole by 48% to 21%. Among those who disapprove of Reagan's handling of his job, Dole is preferred 33% to 28%. Among Moralists, Bush maintains a slight lead over Dole among those who disapprove; his strongest defections have come among Enterprisers and Upbeats who disapprove of Reagan's handling of his job.

TABLE IV-1

NOMINATION PREFERENCES -- TREND

Based on Republicans and Leaners

	Total Republican & Lean Republican %	Enter- prisers %	Moralists %	Up- beats %	Disaff- edteds %
<u>Bush</u>					
Sept. 1987	42	36	42	61	28
Jan. 1988	45	42	45	53	32
<u>Dole</u>					
Sept. 1987	23	28	25	15	26
Jan 1988	23	25	20	26	26
<u>Kemp</u>					
Sept. 1987	12	17	8	6	17
Jan. 1988	6	5	8	4	5
<u>Robertson</u>					
Sept. 1987	6	7	9	7	8
Jan. 1988	7	4	12	4	3

When asked which of eight personal traits apply to each of the candidates, Republicans and those who lean Republican who said they know something about the candidates cited "steady and dependable" (54%), "thoughtful and well informed" (46%), "honest and ethical" (44%), "can get things done" (41%), and "concerned about the needs of people like me" (32%) as relevant to Bush. For Dole, on the other hand, the assigned traits were "can get things done" (48%), "honest and ethical" (46%), "thoughtful and well informed" (43%), "steady and dependable" (46%), "strong and forceful" (39%), and "concerned about the needs of people like me" (34%). Only 23% of the Republicans and those who lean Republican attribute the characteristic "strong and forceful" to George Bush, as opposed to 64% who associate this trait with Alexander Haig.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tables IV-2 and IV-3 show assignment of traits to George Bush and Bob Dole. See appendix, tables A through D for assignment of traits to Pete Dupont, Alexander Haig, Jack Kemp, and Pat Robertson.

TABLE IV-2  
 ASSIGNMENT OF TRAITS TO REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRATIC  
 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BY THEIR PARTISANS  
 (BASED ON THOSE WHO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES)

	TOTAL REPUBLICAN AND LEAN- ERS <u>          </u> %	EN- TERPR ISERS <u>          </u> %	MORAL LISTS <u>          </u> %	UPBEATS <u>          </u> %	DIS- AFFEC TEDS <u>          </u> %
<u>GEORGE BUSH</u> KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT	87	98	93	98	92
STEADY AND DEPENDABLE	39	71	53	50	37
THOUGHTFUL AND WELL INFORMED	35	53	45	52	33
HONEST AND ETHICAL	31	55	41	44	28
CAN GET THINGS DONE	28	50	44	41	23
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE ME	22	35	36	35	15
STRONG AND FORCEFUL	19	23	25	26	12
HAS A FRESH APPROACH	9	10	11	8	8
EXCITES AND INSPIRES PEOPLE	9	11	10	11	4
NONE	13	3	5	7	15
CAN'T SAY	12	3	8	6	18
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	840	227	254	200	209

Question 39: Will you please look over this list and tell me which of these persons you know something about. Please read off your answers by letter.

Question 40: Here is a card which lists eight characteristics people tell us they would like to see in the next President. Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to.....



TABLE IV-3  
 ASSIGNMENT OF TRAITS TO REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRATIC  
 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BY THEIR PARTISANS  
 (BASED ON THOSE WHO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES)

	TOTAL REPUBLICAN AND LEAN- ERS	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	UPBEATS	DIS- AFFEC TEDS
	%	%	%	%	%
<u>BOB DOLE</u> KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT	65	86	79	75	71
CAN GET THINGS DONE	38	57	51	37	32
HONEST AND ETHICAL	35	51	44	42	28
THOUGHTFUL AND WELL INFORMED	35	45	45	46	34
STEADY AND DEPENDABLE	35	53	44	45	28
STRONG AND FORCEFUL	34	45	41	40	21
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE ME	25	37	36	33	22
HAS A FRESH APPROACH	19	21	24	25	17
EXCITES AND INSPIRES PEOPLE	16	22	20	20	12
NONE	6	4	2	4	10
CAN'T SAY	15	10	8	11	19
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	840	227	254	200	209

Question 39: Will you please look over this list and tell me which of these persons you know something about. Please read off your answers by letter.

Question 40: Here is a card which lists eight characteristics people tell us they would like to see in the next President. Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to.....

Among self-described Democrats and those who lean Democratic, there are different and distinct patterns of candidate preference in this national survey, illustrating the basic cleavages which remain within the party. There are more active candidates on the Democratic side, making appeals to more differentiated constituencies. Some of these candidates are still on the ascendancy while others have yet to get their campaigns off the ground. In such a state of flux, the results of the early primaries - both in real and reported terms - are bound to have a substantial effect on how these candidacies develop.

Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson are the apparent front runners, based upon their high levels of name recognition and relatively strong showing among Democratic groups of lower socioeconomic status. But these groups are less likely to participate in the primaries and caucuses. The main battle between the other candidates is being fought for the loyalties of three Democratic groups - New Dealers, 60's Democrats, and Seculars; and no clear favorite has emerged there yet.

- New Dealers, a core group of older Democrats are largely undecided or have no current preference (32%) while 33% prefer Hart. No other candidate is the choice of more than 10 percent of this group because no more than one-quarter of these respondents say they know something about these candidates.

- Seculars are equally divided between Dukakis (24%), Simon (19%), and Hart (20%).

- The 60's Democrats divide their preferences for Jackson (26%), Dukakis (18%), Hart (16%), and Simon (14%).

- Richard Gephardt and Albert Gore have yet to emerge as a visible candidates on the national scene.

The coalition of Democrats supporting Gary Hart has been undergoing drastic reformulation since the peak of his support last spring, when he was the clearly acknowledged front runner. Eighteen months ago in a May Times-Mirror/Gallup survey, he was the clear choice of all Democratic groups, with strong support among the 60's Democrats (41% preferring him as the first choice for the Democratic nomination), the New Dealers (45%), and the Seculars (39%). After the coverage of the Donna Rice affair and his withdrawal from the race, his support dropped to 31% among the New Dealers and 30% among the God & Country Democrats. Only one in six Seculars and 60's Democrats indicated that he was their first choice for the nomination. In the latest survey, his support is unchanged among the God & Country Democrats; and Jesse Jackson has replaced him as the preferred candidate among the Partisan Poor.

TABLE IV-4  
NOMINATION PREFERENCES -- TREND

	Total Democrats & Lean Democrats	Foll- owers	Sec- ulars	60's Dems	New Dealers	God & Country Dems	Partisan Poor
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Babbitt</u>							
April, 1987	1	0	2	1	1	1	0
Jan., 1988	2	3	5	4	3	6	3
<u>Dukakis</u>							
April, 1987	5	9	15	5	4	2	4
Jan., 1988	11	2	24	18	10	6	7
<u>Gephardt</u>							
April, 1987	2	2	2	2	3	3	2
Jan., 1988	4	4	4	4	3	6	3
<u>Gore</u>							
April, 1987	2	2	1	1	4	4	2
Jan., 1988	4	1	2	1	9	2	2
<u>Hart</u>							
April, 1987	38	27	39	41	45	33	35
Jan., 1988	25	12	20	16	33	33	21
<u>Jackson</u>							
April, 1987	18	27	8	18	10	24	29
Jan., 1988	19	17	5	26	8	22	36
<u>Simon</u>							
April, 1987	NA						
Jan., 1988	8	6	19	14	4	7	6
<u>No Preference</u>							
April, 1987	17	18	19	14	18	14	15
Jan., 1988	28	56	20	16	32	23	25

Among Democrats and those who lean Democratic who say they know something about him, Gary Hart is perceived to "have a fresh approach" (34%), to "excite and inspire people" (30%), and to be "concerned about the needs of people like me" (28%); but only 12% of Democrats and those who lean Democratic describe him as "honest and ethical" or "steady and dependable."

For those who feel they know something about Jesse Jackson, on the other hand, he is perceived to "excite and inspire people" (43%), and be "concerned about the needs of people like me" (37%), "strong and forceful" (32%), and "honest and ethical" (31%).

Nationally, respondents are less well informed about Dukakis, Simon, and Gephardt, but between one-quarter and one-third of those who indicate they know something about them can attribute positive traits to them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Tables IV-5 and IV-6 show assignment of traits to Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson. See appendix, tables E through I for assignment of traits to Bruce Babbitt, Michael Dukakis, Richard Gephardt, Albert Gore, and Paul Simon.

**TABLE IV-5**  
**ASSIGNMENT OF TRAITS TO REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRATIC**  
**PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BY THEIR PARTISANS**  
**(BASED ON THOSE WHO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES)**

	DEMOCRATS AND <u>LEANERS</u>	FOL- <u>LOWERS</u>	SECU- <u>LARS</u>	60'S DEMO- <u>CRATS</u>	NEW <u>DEALERS</u>	GOD & CNTRY <u>DEMS</u>	PART- ISAN <u>POOR</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>GARY HART</u>							
KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT	85	65	94	95	86	73	85
HAS A FRESH APPROACH	31	19	38	32	31	31	33
EXCITES AND INSPIRES PEOPLE	30	13	45	37	24	20	31
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE ME	22	8	33	31	24	22	28
THOUGHTFUL AND WELL INFORMED	19	15	29	24	19	20	19
CAN GET THINGS DONE	18	13	17	21	20	23	19
STRONG AND FORCEFUL	15	8	20	12	19	19	10
STEADY AND DEPENDABLE	9	9	10	8	13	23	8
HONEST AND ETHICAL	9	10	7	8	12	15	16
NONE	20	23	20	23	17	16	13
CAN'T SAY	17	28	7	9	19	18	18
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	1064	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 40: Here is a card which lists eight characteristics people tell us they would like to see in the next President. Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to.....

**TABLE IV-6**  
**ASSIGNMENT OF TRAITS TO REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRATIC**  
**PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BY THEIR PARTISANS**  
**(BASED ON THOSE WHO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES)**

	DEMOCRATS	FOL-	SECU-	60'S	GOD &	PART-	
	AND <u>LEANERS</u>	<u>LOWERS</u>	<u>LARS</u>	DEMO- <u>CRATS</u>	NEW <u>DEALERS</u>	CNTRY <u>DEMS</u>	ISAN <u>POOR</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>JESSE JACKSON</u>							
KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT	86	62	96	96	87	77	88
EXCITES AND INSPIRES PEOPLE	43	26	64	61	35	32	44
STRONG AND FORCEFUL	32	26	46	47	21	26	32
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE ME	31	21	39	47	21	38	55
HONEST AND ETHICAL	28	23	38	46	17	22	33
HAS A FRESH APPROACH	24	17	32	43	18	17	22
THOUGHTFUL AND WELL INFORMED	23	10	29	34	19	25	30
CAN GET THINGS DONE	18	16	18	24	12	27	28
STEADY AND DEPENDABLE	16	11	20	25	9	24	21
NONE	15	15	10	6	19	12	5
CAN'T SAY	13	24	6	6	21	14	10
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	1064	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 40: Here is a card which lists eight characteristics people tell us they would like to see in the next President. Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to.....

## V Candidate Electability

After being questioned about their preferences among the announced Democratic and Republican candidates, the respondents were asked about their likelihood of voting for a number of political figures in November, if each were the nominee.

Republican groups are solidly behind Bush and Dole, but the broadest Democratic support developed behind a non-candidate - Governor Mario Cuomo of New York. Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts was a close second.

Among core Republican groups, at least eight in ten described themselves as "very likely" or "somewhat likely" to vote for Bush in November, and Dole received only slightly less support. Among Enterprisers 91% responded in this fashion for Bush while 82% did for Dole; among Moralists the equivalent data were 85% and 72%, and they were 75% and 64% among Upbeats.

TABLE V-1

### SUMMARY OF LIKELY 1988 VOTE FOR REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES.

(VERY LIKELY AND SOMEWHAT LIKELY COMBINED)

BASED TOTAL SAMPLE

	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>REPUBLICANS</b>												
GEORGE BUSH	53	91	85	75	58	29	55	26	43	62	31	
BOB DOLE	47	82	72	64	50	11	33	38	38	52	30	
ALEXANDER HAIG	28	42	39	46	31	17	21	18	23	25	19	
JACK KEMP	23	48	38	29	23	10	19	17	14	20	16	
PAT ROBERTSON	16	30	29	24	16	7	7	7	15	16	19	
PETE DUPONT	13	40	19	19	7	3	-	9	8	16	3	
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	1072	113	109	100	119	67	55	81	103	151	79	95

Question 12: I am going to read you a list of names. Please tell me how likely you are to vote for each person in November if he is the nominee of the Republican Party. Would you be very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely or not at all likely to vote for him?

Among Democratic-oriented groups, Cuomo would receive the broadest support. Seventy-five percent of Seculars would be likely to vote for him, as would 50% of the 60's Democrats. He would be supported by 40% of the New Dealers and 40% of the God & Country Democrats, but only by 33% of the Partisan Poor.

Dukakis would be supported by 67% of Seculars and 51% of the 60's Democrats. Jesse Jackson would be supported by 48% of the God & Country Democrats, 54% of the 60's Democrats, and 53% of the Partisan Poor, as would Hart (55% of the Partisan Poor and 53% of the God & Country Democrats). But less than half of the other Democratic groups indicated that they would be "very likely" or "somewhat likely" to vote for these two candidates if nominated.

No more than four in ten of any of these Democratic-oriented groups indicated equivalent support for Babbitt, Gephardt, Gore, or Simon, with the exception of 48% of the Seculars who indicated a likelihood of voting for Simon if he were nominated.

TABLE V-2  
SUMMARY OF LIKELY 1988 VOTE FOR DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES.  
(VERY LIKELY AND SOMEWHAT LIKELY COMBINED)

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY AFFEC STAN- FOL- SECU-					60'S DEMO- NEW		GOD & PART- CNTRY ISAN	
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS	DEBS	LOWERS	LARS	CRATS	DEALERS	DEMS	POOR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>DEMOCRATS</b>												
GARY HART	39	20	25	39	39	40	24	38	45	48	53	55
MARIO CUOMO	32	38	19	30	25	12	16	75	50	40	40	33
MICHAEL DUKAKIS	28	31	20	26	27	16	9	67	51	27	41	16
JESSE JACKSON	28	12	5	19	9	27	18	39	54	33	48	53
PAUL SIMON	20	17	16	16	10	14	9	48	32	23	24	23
RICHARD GEPHARDT	20	23	10	25	21	10	11	33	36	20	26	17
ALBERT GORE	17	14	14	19	20	3	11	30	24	30	23	14
BILL BRADLEY	15	20	14	13	7	8	4	36	23	13	28	9
BRUCE BABBITT	14	8	7	17	11	4	5	27	25	20	23	14
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	1037	114	145	100	90	94	52	77	95	101	75	94

Question 12: I am going to read you a list of names. Please tell me how likely you are to vote for each person in November if he is the nominee of the Democratic Party. Would you be very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely or not at all likely to vote for him?



## VI Overall Assessments of the Parties and Their Candidates

The assessments of the quality of the men who are running for the Democratic and Republican nominations are reserved. Because of their advantage in partisan identification, there is an apparent willingness among respondents to support the Democratic nominee in the fall, whoever he is. But the Democrats should be concerned about the public's evaluation of their party on other dimensions in relation to the Republicans.

For example, 42% of all the respondents indicate they are more likely to vote for a Democratic candidate for president while 33% express similar sentiments for a Republican. These data are unchanged from two Times-Mirror/Gallup surveys conducted last May and September.

But nine in ten of the Enterprisers and Moralists say they will vote for a Republican, as do 62% of the Upbeats. Equivalent support for a Democrat is lower among the Partisan Poor (83%), New Dealers (74%), and 60's Democrats (76%), Seculars (69%), and God & Country Democrats (55%).

**TABLE VI-1  
LIKELY VOTE IN THE 1988 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION -- TREND**

	<u>Republican</u>		<u>Democratic</u>	
	<u>April 1987</u> %	<u>Jan. 1988</u> %	<u>April 1987</u> %	<u>Jan. 1988</u> %
Total	30	33	40	42
Enterprisers	77	81	3	2
Moralists	77	89	4	2
Upbeats	47	62	12	13
Disaffecteds	28	28	17	24
Bystanders	24	23	25	34
Followers	23	21	42	47
Seculars	12	7	61	69
60's Democrats	5	5	73	76
New Dealers	2	7	77	74
God & Country Dems	7	13	67	55
Partisan Poor	2	7	87	84

The perceptions of the quality of the Democratic and Republican candidate pools are ostensibly the same, with few describing the overall quality of the candidates as "excellent," only about three in ten describing them as "good," and four in ten as "fair." But Republican groups feel more positively toward their candidates than Democrat groups do toward theirs. Six in ten of those in the core Republicans groups describe their candidates as "good" or "excellent," while no more than four in ten of any of the Democratic-oriented groups respond in a similar fashion to their candidates.

TABLE VI-2  
OPINIONS OF REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

OPINION OF REPUBLICANS	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- UPBEATS	BY AFFEC TEDS	STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
EXCELLENT CANDIDATES	3	5	10	7	2	1	2	1	1	1	6	1
GOOD CANDIDATES	34	55	56	47	30	29	39	24	17	27	25	23
FAIR CANDIDATES	42	36	28	42	45	36	33	55	56	45	45	46
POOR CANDIDATES	11	2	2	2	18	11	9	17	19	13	13	16
DON'T KNOW	10	2	4	2	6	24	16	2	7	14	11	14
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 15: Overall, what's your opinion of the men who are running for the Republican nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates, or poor candidates?

TABLE VI-3  
OPINIONS OF DEMOCRATIC NOMINATIONS  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

OPINION OF DEMOCRATS	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- UPBEATS	BY AFFEC TEDS	STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
EXCELLENT CANDIDATES	3	1	*	2	*	3	2	3	2	4	9	2
GOOD CANDIDATES	28	17	21	28	17	28	34	28	35	30	29	40
FAIR CANDIDATES	44	50	44	44	45	34	37	54	48	45	43	40
POOR CANDIDATES	17	28	28	19	28	11	11	13	10	13	8	11
DON'T KNOW	9	4	6	7	10	24	15	2	4	7	11	7
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 14: Overall, what's your opinion of the men who are running for the Democratic nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates, or poor candidates?

Overall the Republican party is more likely than the Democratic party to be seen as "well organized" (38% to 19%) and "selecting good candidates for office" (31% to 24%). But the Democratic party is more likely to be seen as "concerned about the needs of people like me" (47% to 22%) and "bringing about the kinds of changes the country needs" (37% to 28%). The public is evenly divided on which party "is able to manage the federal government well" (30% to 28%), and one in five believe that neither can. These data are unchanged since a Times Mirror/Gallup survey conducted in May, 1987.

In the latest survey, seven in ten of the two strongest Republican-oriented groups - the Enterprisers (61%) and Moralists (72%) - think their party is more likely to select good candidates, while no more than five in ten of the strongest Democratic-oriented groups feel that way about their party. In the same fashion, few Enterprisers or Moralists believe the two parties are equivalent in their ability to manage the federal government or will admit that the Democrats might do better. Relatively large proportions of Democratic-oriented groups (24% of Seculars and 16% of 60's Democrats) give the edge to the Republican party, and one in ten say both are the same.

While there has been little change in attitudes toward the parties overall between April and January, we see two elements among the groups which are worth noting. Upbeats are now more likely to say they will vote Republican and show greater satisfaction with the Republican candidates than earlier. Disaffecteds are unchanged and remain outside the mainstream of the Republican party in these terms.

TABLE VI-4

DO THE FOLLOWING PHRASES MORE ACCURATELY DESCRIBE  
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OR DEMOCRATIC PARTY?

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*\* IS WELL ORGANIZED \*\*

CLUSTERS

DESCRIBES	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY			60'S			GOD & PART-		
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	AFFEC TEDS	STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR
REPUBLICAN PARTY	38%	59%	69%	54%	35%	26%	15%	57%	40%	15%	22%	21%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	19	5	2	8	10	21	15	15	23	45	37	29
BOTH	19	21	15	21	23	23	20	12	13	17	21	26
NEITHER	14	13	10	14	20	11	26	12	16	16	10	16
DCN'T KNOW	9	2	4	4	12	20	24	4	8	8	10	8
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

TABLE VI-5

\*\* SELECTS GOOD CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE \*\*

CLUSTERS

DESCRIBES	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY			60'S			GOD & PART-		
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	AFFEC TEDS	STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR
REPUBLICAN PARTY	31%	61%	72%	52%	22%	21%	16%	17%	18%	12%	18%	14%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	24	2	1	8	14	24	16	31	36	45	47	44
BOTH	18	16	15	24	24	18	26	11	17	16	13	16
NEITHER	18	18	8	10	31	16	17	36	23	16	14	14
DCN'T KNOW	9	2	4	6	9	22	26	4	6	10	8	11
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 35: Now I'm going to read you a few phrases. for each, I'd like you to tell me whether you think that the phrase better describes the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. How about the phrase..... Does that more accurately describe the Republican Party and its leaders or the Democratic Party and its leaders?

TABLE VI-6

DO THE FOLLOWING PHRASES MORE ACCURATELY DESCRIBE  
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OR DEMOCRATIC PARTY?

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*\* IS CONCERNED WITH THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE YOU \*\*

CLUSTERS

DESCRIBES	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY			60'S			GOD & PART-		
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	AFFEC TEDS	STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR
REPUBLICAN PARTY	22%	58%	66%	39%	16%	11%	14%	7%	5%	2%	9%	2%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	47	15	9	24	38	37	28	74	75	76	67	80
BOTH	11	13	11	21	13	10	16	8	7	9	6	8
NEITHER	13	9	10	9	24	22	21	7	10	8	14	6
DON'T KNOW	7	4	3	7	9	19	22	4	2	5	4	4
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

TABLE VI-7

\*\* IS ABLE TO MANAGE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WELL \*\*

CLUSTERS

DESCRIBES	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY			60'S			GOD & PART-		
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	AFFEC TEDS	STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR
REPUBLICAN PARTY	30%	64%	65%	50%	26%	22%	16%	24%	16%	7%	14%	14%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	28	1	2	6	17	19	20	36	48	57	51	54
BOTH	12	8	11	21	14	17	11	9	11	12	10	10
NEITHER	20	24	19	17	28	17	25	26	23	13	19	15
DON'T KNOW	10	3	3	7	16	25	28	5	3	12	6	7
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 35: Now I'm going to read you a few phrases. for each, I'd like you to tell me whether you think that the phrase better describes the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. How about the phrase..... Does that more accurately describe the Republican Party and its leaders or the Democratic Party and its leaders?

TABLE VI-8

DO THE FOLLOWING PHRASES MORE ACCURATELY DESCRIBE  
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OR DEMOCRATIC PARTY?

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*\* CAN BRING ABOUT THE KINDS OF CHANGES THE COUNTRY NEEDS \*\*

CLUSTERS

DESCRIBES	EN-TERPR ISERS		MORAL LISTS	DIS-UPBEATS		BY AFFEC TEDS	STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & NEW DEALERS	PART- CNTRY ISAN DEMS POOR
	TOTAL											
REPUBLICAN PARTY	28%	65%	70%	53%	23%	17%	14%	16%	7%	4%	14%	8%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	37	5	6	10	30	27	22	58	63	66	55	69
BOTH	14	13	10	19	18	18	24	8	14	12	11	9
NEITHER	11	12	9	6	16	13	11	14	11	10	14	8
DON'T KNOW	10	5	6	11	13	26	30	5	5	8	6	6
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 35: Now I'm going to read you a few phrases. for each, I'd like you to tell me whether you think that the phrase better describes the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. How about the phrase..... Does that more accurately describe the Republican Party and its leaders or the Democratic Party and its leaders?

## VII THE PRESS & POLITICS

Our first survey on the press and the campaign (October-November 1987) indicated that the public expressed significant criticisms of the role of the press in this campaign. The results of the current study come to the same conclusion, with a majority of the public (51%) feeling that the press is having too much of an influence on which candidates become the nominees.

But the poll also finds an increase in the percentage of Americans holding unfavorable attitudes toward network news. Even though the field work for this survey was conducted prior to the Bush - Rather confrontation, the survey recorded 18% of the public holding unfavorable views of network tv news ... up from 14% in the spring of 1987. The proportion of those holding highly favorable opinions of network tv has fallen comparably.

Immediately after the Bush - Rather confrontation we re-interviewed some of our respondents from the fall. That survey showed a steep decline in the percentage of Americans holding highly favorable opinions of network TV news in the aftermath of the controversial interviews; only 12% of respondents in that poll had very favorable opinions. This compares to the 30% who held such views just two and one half years ago. Favorability ratings of daily newspapers have been less sharply affected.



TABLE VII-1  
TRENDS IN FAVORABILITY RATINGS:  
NETWORK TV NEWS

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never Heard Of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Jan. 27, 1988	12%	69	13	3	-	3	100	(642)
Jan. 8-17, 1988	18%	60	14	4	-	4	100	(2109)
Oct/Nov 1987	19%	62	10	3	*	6	100	(1501)
Apr/May 1987	21%	63	11	3	*	2	100	(4244)
Jan 1987	19%	55	16	6	--	4	100	(1502)
July 1986	30%	53	10	4	--	3	100	(1504)
Aug 1985	30%	51	8	4	*	7	100	(1018)
June 1985	25%	59	8	2	*	6	100	(2104)

TABLE VII-2  
TRENDS IN FAVORABILITY RATINGS:  
DAILY NEWSPAPERS

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never Heard Of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Jan 27, 1988	19%	62	11	3	-	5	100	(642)
Jan 8-17, 1988	21%	59	12	4	*	4	100	(2109)
Oct/Nov 1987	21%	58	9	4	*	8	100	(1501)
Apr/May 1987	22%	59	12	3	*	4	100	(4244)
Jan 1987	19%	57	13	6	--	5	100	(1502)
July 1986	28%	51	11	6	--	4	100	(1504)
Aug 1985	25%	52	10	5	--	8	100	(1018)
June 1985	25%	56	8	3	*	8	100	(2104)

It should be kept in mind that the vast majority of the public continues to have positive opinions of news organizations; nonetheless, these shifts in favorability ratings are indicative of a change in the climate of opinion toward the press. Looking at the sectors of the public where unfavorable opinions of the press increased the most, we find that two Republican and two Democratic oriented groups were most apt to register increases in unfavorable attitudes toward tv news... Moralists (+11 percentage points), Disaffecteds (+10 percentage points), Followers (+12 percentage points) and 60's Democrats (+9 percentage points). The latter group had been Gary Hart's strongest constituency prior to the Donna Rice expose and generally holds among the most positive attitudes toward the press.

TABLE VII-3  
PERCENT UNFAVORABLE OPINION  
NETWORK TV NEWS

	<u>April/May 87</u>	<u>January 88</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Enterprisers	30	34	+4
Moralists	17	28	+11
Upbeats	10	16	+6
Disaffecteds	12	22	+10
Bystanders	11	10	-1
Followers	11	23	+12
Seculars	23	17	-6
60's Democrats	13	22	+11
New Dealers	10	11	+1
God & Country Democrats	2	5	+3
Partisan Poor	10	15	+5

In effect, the latest data show that all three sophisticated groups, Enterprisers, Seculars and 60's Democrats contain significant numbers of people holding unfavorable opinions toward network tv news. Enterprisers are far and away the most critical of tv news, making the Bush - Rather confrontation particularly relevant to this core group of likely Republican primary voters. It is also of note that all groups that contain significant numbers of tv news critics also contain majorities holding unfavorable opinions of Gary Hart.

Fewer in this survey as compared to the October poll reported that they felt that the press was biased in a partisan way. The percentage who said that they believed the press was biased in favor of the Democrats decreased from 16% to 9% but the percentage who felt that the press was biased against a democratic candidate rose from 12% to 20%. Mentions of press bias against Gary Hart on an unprompted basis climbed from 5% to 16% since the fall.

TABLE VII-4  
PARTISAN BIAS AMONG NEWS ORGANIZATIONS  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	<u>BIASED IN FAVOR OF DEMO- CRATS</u>	<u>BIASED IN FAVOR OF REPUB- LICANS</u>	<u>HAVEN'T SHOWN ANY BIAS</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Enterprisers	23	8	56	13	100	227
Moralists	19	4	55	22	100	254
Upbeats	8	5	70	17	100	200
Disaffecteds	10	5	64	21	100	209
Bystanders	4	5	42	49	100	161
Followers	3	6	45	46	100	107
Seculars	7	10	69	14	100	158
60's Democrats	6	15	67	12	100	198
New Dealers	3	10	61	26	100	252
God & Country						
Democrats	7	17	58	18	100	154
Partisan Poor	5	20	55	20	100	189
TOTAL	9	10	58	23	100	2109

Question 62: Do you think the news organizations are biased in favor or the Democrats or the Republicans?

Nearly two in three (61%) continue to feel that the press went too far in the way the Hart-Rice story was covered ... down somewhat from the 68% who expressed that opinion in the October poll.

TABLE VII-5  
NEWS COVERAGE OF THE GARY HART - DONNA RICE AFFAIR  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR MORAL			DIS- AFFEC		BY STAN- FOL-		SECU-	60'S		GOD &	PART-
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS	TERS	LOWERS	LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>NEW COVERAGE</u>												
WENT TOO FAR	61	64	57	58	61	63	34	68	75	56	64	67
ACTED PROPERLY	32	32	41	37	33	23	34	29	24	39	28	29
DON'T KNOW	7	4	2	4	6	14	32	3	1	5	8	4
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 66: In reporting the charges that Gary Hart was having an affair with Donna Rice, do you think news organizations went too far in the way they reported the story, or do you think news organizations acted properly?

By an overwhelming margin, (60% to 30%) the public feels the press should continue to investigate and report on Hart's private life, particularly 60's Democrats and Partisan Poor.

TABLE VII-6  
ATTITUDES TOWARD CONTINUED COVERAGE OF GARY HART'S PERSONAL LIFE  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR MORAL			DIS- AFFEC		BY STAN- FOL-		SECU-	60'S		GOD &	PART-
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS	TERS	LOWERS	LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>CONTINUE PRIVATE LIFE REPORTING</u>												
SHOULD CONTINUE	30	34	35	36	33	24	21	31	29	31	24	24
SHOULD NOT CONTINUE	60	58	56	57	58	59	52	63	68	59	65	67
DON'T KNOW	10	7	9	7	10	18	27	6	3	10	10	10
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 69: Now that Gary Hart has re-entered the race for the Democratic nomination, do you think news organizations should or should not continue to investigate and report on his private life?

However, the poll does show a more even division of opinion on whether Hart should have re-entered the race (42% right decision vs. 46% should not).

TABLE VII-7

ATTITUDES TOWARD GARY HART'S DECISION TO START CAMPAIGNING AGAIN  
 BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<u>HART CAMPAIGN RETURN</u>												
RIGHT DECISION TO RECONSIDER	42	30	26	38	47	46	32	46	48	48	48	49
SHOULD NOT HAVE RETURNED	46	62	63	51	43	29	36	47	44	40	42	41
DON'T KNOW	12	7	10	11	10	25	31	7	7	11	10	9
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 68: Do you think Gary Hart made the right decision in December to reconsider and start campaigning again, or should he not have returned?

The public also divides on whether it was important to learn about this aspect of Hart's life in order to judge whether he would be a good president (43%), or whether this was not relevant to a decision about his presidential capabilities (50%). Majorities of the two core Republican groups, Moralists and Enterprisers, feel it was important to learn about this aspect of Gary Hart's life. In all other groups this view was held by less than 50% (see table VII-8), but nonetheless, as many as 40% of Seculars and 35% of 60's Democrats, key components of Hart's old coalition, now feel that the Rice affair was relevant to a decision about his ability to serve as president.

TABLE VII-8

VALUE OF COVERAGE OF HART IN JUDGING HIS ABILITY TO SERVE AS PRESIDENT  
 BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR		
TOTAL	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
<u>PRIVATE LIFE COVERAGE</u>												
IMPORTANT TO LEARN ABOUT HART	43	56	60	49	41	33	36	40	35	40	30	38
NOT RELATED TO HIS ABILITY TO SERVE	50	39	33	45	53	50	41	54	63	53	61	59
DON'T KNOW	8	5	7	6	5	17	23	5	2	7	8	3
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 67: Apart from the way news organizations reported the story, do you think it was important that voters learned about this aspect of Gary Hart's life in order to judge whether he would be a good president, or do you think this aspect of his life is not related to his ability to serve as President?

## VIII Religion and Politics in the 1988 Campaign

Americans overwhelmingly support the principal of the separation of church and state and are concerned about possible effects of a minister or clergyman being elected president of the United States. But they do perceive some positive differences in the personal characteristics of a candidate who is a minister or clergyman compared to the typical politician.

The Seculars are most likely to express concerns about the separation of church and state in the United States. While 77% of all those surveyed agreed that "in our system of government, church and state should be separated," 97% of Seculars felt this way. Moralists were no less likely to hold this view (81%) than the general population.

TABLE VIII-1

### ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIGION AND POLITICS IN OUR SYSTEM OR GOVERNMENT, CHURCH AND STATE SHOULD BE SEPARATED

#### CLUSTERS

AGREEMENT LEVEL	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- TERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
AGREE	77	85	81	80	71	66	65	97	84	74	74	70
COMPLETELY AGREE	48	57	55	51	47	37	20	76	57	47	42	38
MOSTLY AGREE	29	28	26	29	25	29	45	21	27	27	32	32
DISAGREE	17	12	15	16	23	23	27	1	16	18	18	21
MOSTLY DISAGREE	12	9	8	10	18	15	19	1	11	14	12	12
COMPLETELY DISAGREE	5	3	6	7	5	8	8	-	4	4	5	9
DON'T KNOW	6	3	4	4	5	11	8	1	1	8	8	9
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 28: People give us different reasons for supporting or opposing the idea of a clergyman or minister running for President of the United States. I am going to read you some statements about religion and politics, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it.

Two out of three respondents (67%) in the total sample, as well as among the Moralists, agreed that "electing a minister or clergyman would create tension between religious groups in society," while three in four (76%) of the Seculars did.

TABLE VIII-2

ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIGION AND POLITICS

ELECTING A MINISTER/CLERGYMAN WOULD CREATE TENSION  
BETWEEN RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN SOCIETY

CLUSTERS

AGREEMENT LEVEL	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAH POOR	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
AGREE	67	61	67	65	69	78	51	76	60	69	72	64
COMpletely AGREE	26	18	30	24	34	26	18	33	21	30	31	21
MOSTLY AGREE	41	42	37	42	34	52	33	43	40	39	41	44
DISAGREE	27	34	30	30	25	11	31	22	38	24	21	29
MOSTLY DISAGREE	21	27	25	24	17	8	31	19	29	18	14	21
COMpletely DISAGREE	6	7	5	7	8	3	-	3	10	6	6	8
DON'T KNOW	7	6	4	4	6	11	18	3	1	7	8	7
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 28: People give us different reasons for supporting or opposing the idea of a clergyman or minister running for President of the United States. I am going to read you some statements about religion and politics, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it.



Seven in ten of all those surveyed (69%) agreed that a minister or clergyman would press his religious position on moral issues, while 78% of Seculars did.

TABLE VIII-3

ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIGION AND POLITICS

MINISTER/CLERGYMAN WOULD PRESS HIS RELIGIOUS POSITION ON MORAL ISSUES

CLUSTERS

AGREEMENT LEVEL	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN-TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS-UPBEATS	BY-AFFEC TEDS	STAN-DERS	FOL-LOWERS	SECU-LARS	60'S DEMO-CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CENTRY DEMS	PART-ISAN POOR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
AGREE	69	65	71	72	70	74	51	78	64	68	70	71
COMPLETELY AGREE	25	18	28	26	32	30	16	32	21	30	24	19
MOSTLY AGREE	44	47	44	46	38	44	35	46	43	37	46	52
DISAGREE	25	30	24	23	22	15	35	19	34	25	22	24
MOSTLY DISAGREE	20	25	19	19	18	11	25	15	27	19	19	22
COMPLETELY DISAGREE	5	5	5	5	4	4	10	4	8	6	3	2
DON'T KNOW	6	4	5	5	8	11	14	3	2	7	8	5
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 28: People give us different reasons for supporting or opposing the idea of a clergyman or minister running for President of the United States. I am going to read you some statements about religion and politics, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it.

In addition, two-thirds (64%) of the public disagreed that a minister or clergyman's training and background would make him more able to deal with the nation's problems. Seculars (82%) were most likely to disagree with such a statement.

TABLE VIII-4

ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIGION AND POLITICS

A MINISTER/CLERGYMAN'S TRAINING AND BACKGROUND WOULD MAKE HIM MORE ABLE TO DEAL WITH THE NATION'S PROBLEMS

CLUSTERS

AGREEMENT LEVEL	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
AGREE	29	19	28	22	27	37	30	14	22	30	44	40
COMPLETELY AGREE	9	4	12	5	5	12	11	3	4	11	15	10
MOSTLY AGREE	20	15	17	17	23	26	19	11	18	20	29	30
DISAGREE	64	79	66	73	67	50	50	82	74	61	47	55
MOSTLY DISAGREE	42	50	45	43	42	32	40	41	53	41	33	37
COMPLETELY DISAGREE	22	29	21	30	25	18	10	41	21	21	14	18
DON'T KNOW	7	2	6	5	5	13	20	4	4	8	10	5
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 28: People give us different reasons for supporting or opposing the idea of a clergyman or minister running for President of the United States. I am going to read you some statements about religion and politics, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it.

However, majorities of those surveyed agreed that a minister or clergyman would have higher moral standards (55%) and that he would be more honest than the typical politician (49%). Seculars were the least likely to agree with each of these statements (29% and 25% respectively), while greater proportions of Moralists agreed with them (63% and 57% respectively).

TABLE VIII-5

ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIGION AND POLITICS

A MINISTER OR CLERGYMAN WOULD HAVE HIGHER MORAL STANDARDS THAN THE TYPICAL POLITICIAN

CLUSTERS

AGREEMENT LEVEL	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- OERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
AGREE	55	53	63	58	53	53	51	29	54	55	58	66
COMPLETELY AGREE	16	14	23	14	14	20	11	2	15	20	26	15
MOSTLY AGREE	38	39	39	44	40	33	40	28	38	35	32	51
DISAGREE	38	43	30	35	43	36	33	68	46	37	32	29
MOSTLY DISAGREE	27	30	24	19	28	29	24	38	33	28	22	21
COMPLETELY DISAGREE	12	13	6	16	15	7	8	30	13	9	11	9
DON'T KNOW	7	4	7	7	3	11	17	3	1	8	10	5
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 28: People give us different reasons for supporting or opposing the idea of a clergyman or minister running for President of the United States. I am going to read you some statements about religion and politics, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it.

TABLE VIII-6

ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIGION AND POLITICS

A MINISTER OR CLERGYMAN WOULD BE MORE HONEST  
THAN THE TYPICAL POLITICIAN

CLUSTERS

	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY		FOL- SECU-			60'S		GOD & PART-	
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS	STAN- DERS	LOWERS	LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>AGREEMENT LEVEL</u>												
AGREE	49	47	57	51	46	50	53	25	51	52	51	53
COMPLETELY AGREE	13	8	20	10	12	14	12	3	8	16	19	16
MOSTLY AGREE	36	39	37	41	34	36	41	22	43	36	32	37
DISAGREE	44	50	38	43	50	40	38	69	48	42	40	39
MOSTLY DISAGREE	31	38	28	29	34	27	28	40	34	29	25	30
COMPLETELY DISAGREE	13	13	10	14	16	12	9	29	14	13	14	9
DON'T KNOW	6	3	5	6	4	10	9	6	2	6	10	8
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 28: People give us different reasons for supporting or opposing the idea of a clergyman or minister running for President of the United States. I am going to read you some statements about religion and politics, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it.

An analysis of the interrelationship of these factors shows that attitudes toward the separation of church and state and a concern about pressing a religious position on moral issues are the strongest factors explaining support for or opposition to a minister or clergyman running for president.

## IX Attitudes toward Pardons for Oliver North and John Poindexter

A slight plurality of Americans think President Reagan should pardon Oliver North, if he is indicted for his role in the Iran-Contra affair (by 49% to 41%). But a bare majority is opposed to a pardon for John Poindexter (50% to 34%).

These attitudes divide along partisan lines, with most Republicans more likely to support a pardon in each case and most Democrats to oppose it. Among Republican-oriented groups, substantial majorities of Enterprisers (63%) and Moralists (72%) think that North should be pardoned while half think that Poindexter should be (50% each). Upbeats are less likely to support a pardon for Oliver North (57%), and a plurality oppose a pardon for John Poindexter (47% to 37%).

Among Democratic-oriented groups, a North pardon is opposed by 73% of Seculars, 63% of 60's Democrats, and 54% of the Partisan Poor. A majority of the God & Country Democrats (52%) support a pardon, and the New Dealers are split (47% in favor and 42% opposed). For John Poindexter 83% of the Seculars oppose a pardon, as do 68% of the 60's Democrats, 59% of the Partisan Poor, and 54% of the New Dealers.

TABLE IX-1

ATTITUDES TOWARD PRESIDENTIAL PARDONS FOR OLIVER NORTH  
AND JOHN POINDEXTER FOR THEIR ROLES IN THE IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

	TOTAL	EN- TERPR	MORAL	DIS- AFFEC	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & NEW CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR		
		ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
<u>PRESIDENT PARDON NORTH</u>												
YES, SHOULD PARDON	49	63	72	57	58	43	36	26	35	47	52	35
NO, SHOULD NOT PARDON	41	31	21	37	33	37	44	73	63	42	34	54
DON'T KNOW	10	5	7	6	8	20	20	1	2	12	13	11
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 25: If Oliver North is indicted for the role he played in the Iran-Contra affair, should President Reagan pardon him for any crimes he may have committed, or not?

TABLE IX-2

CLUSTERS

	TOTAL	EN- TERPR	MORAL	DIS- AFFEC	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & NEW CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR		
		ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
<u>PRESIDENT PARDON POINDEXTER</u>												
YES, SHOULD PARDON	34	50	50	37	38	30	24	14	28	31	33	25
NO, SHOULD NOT PARDON	50	42	32	47	46	45	47	83	68	54	45	59
DON'T KNOW	16	8	18	16	17	26	30	3	5	15	22	15
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 25a: What about John Poindexter? (IF NECESSARY, PROMPT: If John Poindexter is indicted for the role he played in the Iran-Contra affair, should President Reagan pardon him for any crimes he may have committed, or not?)

## X Policy Bases for Candidate Support in the 1988 Presidential Campaign

Respondents were asked whether 14 different policy positions or statements would make them more likely or less likely to vote for a presidential candidate who espoused them, or whether there would be no effect at all. The significance of these issues varied by partisanship and other demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Two policy positions which would make large portions of the public more likely to vote for a presidential candidate are support for an increase in taxes on foreign imports to protect American jobs in certain industries (71%) and for a government program of public works job for the unemployed (78%). A position opposing automatic cost-of-living increases for Social Security and federal pension beneficiaries would make large numbers of Americans (64%) less likely to vote for a presidential candidate.

Other issue positions which would make Americans more likely to vote for a presidential candidate would be support for mandatory drug tests for students applying for a driver's license (54%), while issue positions which would make most Americans less likely to vote for a candidate would be opposition to the INF treaty (55%), opposition to a constitutional amendment to permit school prayer (57%), support for a federal tax increase to reduce the deficit (56%), and support for military aid to the Contras (49%).

Nearly three-quarters (71%) of survey respondents would be more likely to vote for a candidate who supports an increase in taxes on foreign imports to protect American jobs in certain industries.

-The New Dealers (84%), Partisan Poor (81%), Upbeats (81%), and Disaffecteds (81%) would be the most likely to vote for such a candidate.

-Enterprisers (48%) and Seculars (52%) show the least support for such a candidate.

TABLE X-1

POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*SUPPORTS AN INCREASE IN TAXES ON FOREIGN IMPORTS  
TO PROTECT AMERICAN JOBS IN CERTAIN INDUSTRIES

CLUSTERS

	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY		FOL-	SECU-	60'S	GCD & PART-			
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	AFFEC TEDS				STAN- DERS	DEMO- NEW	CNTRY ISAN	DEM'S POOR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING												
MORE LIKELY	71	48	76	81	81	68	58	52	64	84	69	81
LESS LIKELY	17	39	14	8	11	14	20	26	25	7	19	9
NO EFFECT	8	11	5	10	5	7	9	15	8	4	7	5
DON'T KNOW	5	2	5	2	4	11	13	7	3	5	4	6
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who.....



Eight in ten survey respondents (78%) would be more likely to vote for a candidate who supports a government program of public works jobs for the unemployed.

-A presidential candidate who supports such a position would appeal to Democrats and Republicans alike.

-Enterprisers (61%) and Followers (61%) are the only groups who are somewhat less inclined than the other groups to support such a candidate.

TABLE X-2

POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*SUPPORTS A GOVERNMENT PROGRAM OF PUBLIC WORKS JOBS FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

CLUSTERS

AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING	EN-	MORAL	DIS-		BY	FOL-	SECU-	60'S	GOD &	PART-		
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	AFFEC	STAN-	LARS	DEMO-	CNTRY	ISAN		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
MORE LIKELY	78	61	74	79	80	79	61	84	84	86	76	89
LESS LIKELY	11	29	13	13	11	5	14	9	8	7	14	4
NO EFFECT	7	7	8	7	7	14	13	6	7	4	4	3
DON'T KNOW	4	3	5	1	2	3	13	*	1	3	6	4
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who.....

Forty-five percent of those surveyed said they would be less likely to vote for a presidential candidate who supported changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion, while 30% said they would be more likely to vote for such a candidate.

-Nine out of ten Seculars said they would be more likely to vote against such a candidate, as did 57% of the 60's Democrats. Forty-five percent of the Moralists said such a position would make them more likely to vote for a presidential candidate. These attitudes are not related to sex or age, but they are related to various stages of life. Young, single respondents would react most negatively to a candidate who held such a position, while married and older respondents would respond more favorably.

TABLE X-3  
POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*SUPPORTS CHANGING THE LAWS TO MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT  
FOR A WOMAN TO GET AN ABORTION

CLUSTERS

	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- AFFEC		BY STAN- FOL-		SECU-	60'S DEMO- NEW		GOD & CNTRY	PART- ISAN
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS	DERS	LOWERS	LARS	CRATS	DEALERS	DEMS	POOR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING												
MORE LIKELY	30	30	45	31	29	32	18	4	25	36	38	31
LESS LIKELY	45	47	33	44	43	42	37	90	57	34	36	48
NO EFFECT	19	22	20	19	23	19	27	6	17	23	16	16
DON'T KNOW	5	2	2	6	5	7	18	-	*	7	9	5
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who.....

Forty-two percent of those surveyed said they would be less likely to vote for a candidate who opposed the SDI program to develop a space-based defense against nuclear attack, while 31% said they would be more likely to vote for such a candidate.

-Enterprisers would be much less likely to vote for such a candidate (62%), while Seculars and 60's Democrats would be more likely to support such a candidate (57% and 42%, respectively).

TABLE X-4  
POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*OPPOSES THE SDI PROGRAM TO DEVELOP A SPACE-BASED  
DEFENSE AGAINST NUCLEAR ATTACK

CLUSTERS

	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
MORE LIKELY	31	19	26	22	29	29	26	57	43	31	37	29
LESS LIKELY	42	62	52	52	46	32	42	31	34	37	37	37
NO EFFECT	16	16	17	18	16	16	15	10	18	16	10	18
DON'T KNOW	11	3	6	9	9	23	17	2	6	16	15	16
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who.....

A majority of Americans (54%) would be more likely to vote for a presidential candidate who supports mandatory drug tests for students applying for a driver's license, while 28% would be less likely to.

-Moralists (66%), New Dealers (67%), the God & Country Democrats (63%), Disaffecteds (61%), and Upbeats (59%) would be more likely than the rest of population to support such a candidate, while Seculars (58%) would be less likely than others to vote for him or her.

TABLE X-5  
POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*SUPPORTS MANDATORY DRUG TESTS FOR STUDENTS APPLYING FOR A DRIVER'S LICENSE

CLUSTERS

AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY					60'S GOD & PART-			
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	AFFEC TEDS	STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
MORE LIKELY	54	35	66	59	61	49	53	23	44	67	63	58
LESS LIKELY	28	37	20	21	24	31	24	58	40	18	24	23
NO EFFECT	14	25	12	19	12	15	12	18	15	11	10	12
DON'T KNOW	4	3	2	1	3	6	11	2	1	5	4	6
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who.....

At the same time, 41% of those surveyed would be less likely to vote for a presidential candidate who supported limiting the access that AIDS patients have to public places.

-Seculars (69%) and 60's Democrats (64%) would be less likely to vote for such a candidate than other groups, while Moralists (42%) and the God & Country Democrats (47%) would be more likely to.

TABLE X-6

POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*SUPPORTS LIMITING THE ACCESS THAT AIDS PATIENTS HAVE TO PUBLIC PLACES

CLUSTERS

	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY		FOL- SECU-			60'S		GOD & PART-	
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS	STAN- DERS	LOWERS	LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR
AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
MORE LIKELY	29	22	42	28	32	38	25	11	7	36	47	22
LESS LIKELY	41	54	26	39	36	33	33	69	64	30	33	45
NO EFFECT	19	20	19	25	22	17	24	17	23	19	8	18
DON'T KNOW	11	5	13	8	10	12	17	3	6	14	13	15
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who.....

Three out of four survey respondents (77%) indicated that they favor the ratification of the treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union to eliminate their intermediate range nuclear weapons. Therefore, it is not surprising that Americans would be less likely to vote for a presidential candidate who opposes ratification of the treaty by a two to one margin, 55% to 25%.

-Larger proportions of Seculars (80%), 60's Democrats (74%), and Upbeats (69%) would be less likely to support such a candidate than other groups in the electorate.

TABLE X-7  
POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*OPPOSES RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY BETWEEN THE U.S. AND USSR TO ELIMINATE THEIR INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS

CLUSTERS

	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY AFFEC STAN- FOL- SECU-					60'S		GOD & PART-	
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS	TERS	LOWERS	LARS	DEMO-	NEW	CNTRY	ISAN
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING												
MORE LIKELY	25	24	38	18	32	27	22	13	17	26	36	19
LESS LIKELY	55	59	45	69	45	43	38	80	74	54	47	54
NO EFFECT	11	13	12	8	14	15	17	4	7	11	5	13
DON'T KNOW	9	4	5	5	9	15	23	3	1	9	13	14
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who.....

A majority of those surveyed (56%) would be less likely to vote for a presidential candidate who supported an increase in the federal income tax to reduce the federal deficit.

Only among the Seculars did a bare majority (50%) indicate they would be more likely to support such a candidate.

**TABLE X-8**  
**POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN**  
**BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE**

**\*SUPPORTS AN INCREASE IN THE FEDERAL INCOME TAX  
TO REDUCE THE FEDERAL DEFICIT**

CLUSTERS

	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- AFPEC		BY STAN- FOL-		SECU-		60'S DEMO- NEW		GOD & PART- CNTRY ISAM	
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS	TERS	LOWERS	LARS	CRATS	DEALERS	DEMS	POOR	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING													
MORE LIKELY	26	32	25	31	15	18	14	50	33	24	23	25	
LESS LIKELY	56	54	61	49	71	56	65	36	44	59	61	61	
NO EFFECT	11	10	10	16	9	14	9	12	19	11	4	9	
DON'T KNOW	6	5	4	4	5	12	12	2	4	7	11	5	
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189	

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who.....

About half of those surveyed (49%) said they would be less likely to vote for a presidential candidate who supports military aid to the Contras, while one-fifth (22%) said they would be more likely.

-Moralists would be more likely to vote for such a candidate (46%) than the population as a whole, while Enterprisers would be evenly divided. Seculars and 60's Democrats would be much less likely to vote for such a candidate (70% and 71% respectively).

TABLE X-9

POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*SUPPORTS MILITARY AID TO THE CONTRAS IN NICARAGUA

CLUSTERS

	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING												
MORE LIKELY	22	37	46	28	20	10	21	10	8	18	20	14
LESS LIKELY	49	34	35	37	53	52	38	70	71	51	52	57
NO EFFECT	16	26	11	20	12	20	20	13	18	15	9	15
DON'T KNOW	12	3	8	14	15	17	21	7	3	16	18	14
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who.....



The public is divided in its support for presidential candidates who might take different positions on a number of issues related to retirement plans and benefits. For example, 64% of those surveyed would be less likely to vote for a presidential candidate who opposed automatic cost-of-living allowance increases for Social Security and federal pension beneficiaries. This opposition is uniform across all partisan groups, with Upbeats having the largest proportion who respond in this fashion (64%).

TABLE X-10  
POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*OPPOSES AUTOMATIC COST OF LIVING ALLOWANCE INCREASES  
FOR SOCIAL SECURITY AND FEDERAL PENSION BENEFICIARIES

CLUSTERS

	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY AFFEC STAN- FOL- SECU-					60'S		GOD & PART-	
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS	DERS	LOWERS	LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR
AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
MORE LIKELY	22	24	25	16	21	26	23	23	21	17	27	23
LESS LIKELY	64	59	64	73	65	59	54	61	64	70	62	64
NO EFFECT	9	17	8	9	6	8	9	15	13	8	7	7
DCN'T KNOW	5	1	3	2	8	7	14	1	3	5	4	7
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who..

On another dimension, the public is somewhat less likely to be willing to vote for a candidate who supports reducing Social Security benefits for elderly people who earn more than \$25,000 a year (47% to 37%).

-The two central Republican-oriented groups are divided on this issue. Enterprisers would be more likely to vote for such a candidate by a 45% to 33% plurality, while Moralists would be less likely to vote for such a candidate by a 50% to 40% plurality.

TABLE X-11  
POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*SUPPORTS REDUCING SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS FOR ELDERLY PEOPLE WHO EARN MORE THAN \$25,000 A YEAR

CLUSTERS

	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY					60'S		GOD & PART-	
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	AFPEC TEDS	STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING												
MORE LIKELY	37	45	39	32	44	35	35	37	30	39	47	25
LESS LIKELY	47	33	50	50	41	43	42	44	51	49	44	62
NO EFFECT	10	16	8	12	8	13	11	17	14	7	2	7
DON'T KNOW	6	5	2	5	7	9	12	2	5	6	7	5
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who.....

And the public is divided on the effect of a candidate supporting a tax free private savings plan to replace the Social Security system in the future. Thirty-eight percent say it would make them less likely to vote for such a presidential candidate and 36% say it would make them more likely.

-Enterprisers would be much more likely to vote for such a candidate, by a 58% to 21% margin.

TABLE X-12  
POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*SUPPORTS A TAX FREE PRIVATE SAVINGS PROGRAM TO REPLACE THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM IN THE FUTURE

CLUSTERS

	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY		FOL-		SECU-	60'S		GOD & PART-	
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	AFFEC TEDS	STAN- DERS	LOWERS	LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAM POOR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING												
MORE LIKELY	36	58	38	43	32	37	31	38	38	28	33	26
LESS LIKELY	38	21	43	39	41	34	28	38	40	45	40	40
NO EFFECT	13	15	14	10	10	15	15	16	15	9	10	13
DON'T KNOW	13	7	5	9	17	14	27	8	8	18	18	21
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who.....

Half of those surveyed (49%) indicated they would be more likely to vote for a presidential candidate who supports giving parents more choice in the schools their children attend through payment vouchers that could be used in public or private schools, while 27% would be less likely to vote for a candidate who adopted such a position.

-The greatest support for such a candidate would come from Moralists (54%) and the God & Country Democrats (53%). Seculars are the only group in which opposition for such a candidate (40%) outweighs support (33%).

TABLE X-13  
POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*SUPPORTS GIVING PARENTS MORE CHOICE IN THE SCHOOLS  
THEIR CHILDREN ATTEND VIA PAYMENT VOUCHERS USED IN PRIVATE/PUBLIC  
SCHOOLS

CLUSTERS

	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS-BY					60'S		GOD & PART-	
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS	STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR
AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
MORE LIKELY	49	44	54	54	41	57	39	33	44	46	53	61
LESS LIKELY	27	35	26	28	32	17	24	40	35	27	25	17
NO EFFECT	16	17	16	15	19	16	15	22	17	17	13	14
DON'T KNOW	7	5	3	2	8	10	22	4	4	9	9	7
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who.....

A majority of Americans (57%) would be less likely to vote for a candidate who opposes a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in public schools, while 24% would be more likely to vote for him or her.

-Moralists (69%) and Disaffecteds (66%) would be the most unlikely to vote for such a candidate, while Seculars (41%) would be most likely to support such a candidate.

TABLE X-14

POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*OPPOSES A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO PERMIT PRAYER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS\*

CLUSTERS

	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY AFFEC STAN- FOL- SECU-			60'S DEMO- NEW		GOD & CNTRY ISAN		PART-	
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS	TERS	LOWERS	LARS	CRATS	DEALERS	DEMS	POOR
AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
MORE LIKELY	24	20	18	22	19	24	23	41	25	25	34	21
LESS LIKELY	57	56	69	61	66	50	53	42	51	57	48	60
NO EFFECT	16	23	12	14	12	20	15	16	23	15	12	13
DON'T KNOW	3	1	1	4	4	6	10	1	2	3	5	6
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who.....

And Americans would be somewhat more likely to vote for a presidential candidate who announced that Jesus Christ is his personal savior (37%) than would be less likely to (24%). One-third of those surveyed say such a statement would have no effect on their vote.

-Moralists are the only group in which a majority (57%) indicate they would be more likely to vote for such a candidate, although New Dealers (43%), the God & Country Democrats (46%), and the Partisan Poor (49%) would be more likely to vote for such a candidate than the population as a whole.

-Seculars would be much less likely to vote for such a candidate, by a 60% to 3% margin.

TABLE X-15  
POLICY BASIS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

\*ANNOUNCES THAT JESUS CHRIST IS HIS PERSONAL SAVIOR

CLUSTERS

	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS-AFFEC		BY STAN-FOL-		SECU-LARS	60'S DEMO-NEW		GOD & PART- CNTRY ISAN	
	TOTAL ISERS	LISTS		UPBEATS	TEDS	DERS	LOWERS		CRATS	DEALERS	DEMS	POOR
AFFECT LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
MORE LIKELY	37	29	57	35	32	41	26	3	27	43	46	49
LESS LIKELY	24	18	17	27	21	25	21	60	21	21	29	20
NO EFFECT	33	50	23	34	40	28	30	36	52	30	17	27
DON'T KNOW	5	3	3	4	6	6	24	1	-	5	9	4
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 26: As you know, the presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate First, a candidate who.....

**APPENDIX**

TABLE A  
 ASSIGNMENT OF TRAITS TO REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRATIC  
 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BY THEIR PARTISANS  
 (BASED ON THOSE WHO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES)

<u>PETE DUPONT</u>	<u>TOTAL REPU- BLICAN AND LEAN- ERS</u>	<u>EN- TERPR ISERS</u>	<u>MORAL LISTS</u>	<u>UPBEATS</u>	<u>DIS- AFFEC TEDS</u>
KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT	22	38	29	25	12
HAS A FRESH APPROACH	25	38	27	33	19
CAN GET THINGS DONE	20	26	24	31	18
HONEST AND ETHICAL	20	31	29	21	17
STEADY AND DEPENDABLE	18	24	21	17	8
THOUGHTFUL AND WELL INFORMED	17	25	22	20	10
STRONG AND FORCEFUL	17	23	18	22	10
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE ME	12	16	21	19	19
EXCITES AND INSPIRES PEOPLE	9	12	10	15	13
NONE	11	7	4	3	23
CAN'T SAY	32	26	32	30	31
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	840	227	254	200	209

Question 39: Will you please look over this list and tell me which of these persons you know something about. Please read off your answers by letter.

Question 40: Here is a card which lists eight characteristics people tell us they would like to see in the next President. Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to.....



TABLE B  
 ASSIGNMENT OF TRAITS TO REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRATIC  
 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BY THEIR PARTISANS  
 (BASED ON THOSE WHO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES)

	TOTAL REPU- BLICAN AND LEAN- ERS	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	UPBEATS	DIS- AFFEC TEDS
<u>ALEXANDER HAIG</u> KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT	64	83	79	79	70
STRONG AND FORCEFUL	53	65	59	67	49
CAN GET THINGS DONE	29	45	37	44	24
THOUGHTFUL AND WELL INFORMED	24	28	26	36	18
STEADY AND DEPENDABLE	21	34	31	26	20
HONEST AND ETHICAL	15	20	22	19	13
EXCITES AND INSPIRES PEOPLE	14	15	21	20	12
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE ME	9	13	15	16	2
HAS A FRESH APPROACH	8	7	10	10	4
NONE	10	8	5	3	16
CAN'T SAY	16	9	18	10	17
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	840	227	254	200	209

Question 39: Will you please look over this list and tell me which of these persons you know something about. Please read off your answers by letter.

Question 40: Here is a card which lists eight characteristics people tell us they would like to see in the next President. Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to.....

TABLE C  
**ASSIGNMENT OF TRAITS TO REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRATIC  
 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BY THEIR PARTISANS  
 (BASED ON THOSE WHO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES)**

<u>JACK KEMP</u>	<u>TOTAL REPU- BLICAN AND LEAN- ERS</u>	<u>EN- TERPR ISERS</u>	<u>MORAL LISTS</u>	<u>UPBEATS</u>	<u>DIS- AFFEC TEDS</u>
KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT	34	59	44	40	23
HONEST AND ETHICAL	32	39	43	33	32
THOUGHTFUL AND WELL INFORMED	30	39	37	33	24
STEADY AND DEPENDABLE	28	39	41	21	22
STRONG AND FORCEFUL	27	33	34	23	25
CAN GET THINGS DONE	26	31	38	24	24
HAS A FRESH APPROACH	22	30	23	21	32
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE ME	18	26	29	23	20
EXCITES AND INSPIRES PEOPLE	15	20	27	14	10
NONE	9	6	5	1	19
CAN'T SAY	24	20	23	29	19
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	840	227	254	200	209

Question 39: Will you please look over this list and tell me which of these persons you know something about. Please read off your answers by letter.

Question 40: Here is a card which lists eight characteristics people tell us they would like to see in the next President. Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to.....

TABLE D  
 ASSIGNMENT OF TRAITS TO REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRATIC  
 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BY THEIR PARTISANS  
 (BASED ON THOSE WHO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES)

	TOTAL REPU- BLICAN AND LEAN- ERS	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	UPBEATS	DIS- AFFEC TEDS
<u>PAT ROBERTSON</u> KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT	61	80	73	70	66
HONEST AND ETHICAL	38	57	52	40	37
EXCITES AND INSPIRES PEOPLE	29	40	33	35	33
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE ME	28	32	41	34	31
HAS A FRESH APPROACH	25	27	30	31	27
THOUGHTFUL AND WELL INFORMED	20	25	31	27	21
STEADY AND DEPENDABLE	17	20	30	17	15
STRONG AND FORCEFUL	13	9	19	13	11
CAN GET THINGS DONE	10	13	17	10	7
NONE	13	8	10	6	14
CAN'T SAY	18	12	15	19	20
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	840	227	254	200	209

Question 39: Will you please look over this list and tell me which of these persons you know something about. Please read off your answers by letter.

Question 40: Here is a card which lists eight characteristics people tell us they would like to see in the next President. Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to.....

TABLE E  
 ASSIGNMENT OF TRAITS TO REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRATIC  
 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BY THEIR PARTISANS  
 (BASED ON THOSE WHO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES)

	TOTAL DEMO- CRATIC AND LEAN- ERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR
<u>BRUCE BABBITT</u>							
KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT	20	13	42	34	13	18	17
HONEST AND ETHICAL	24	8	42	24	9	20	26
HAS A FRESH APPROACH	22	-	23	32	3	30	27
THOUGHTFUL AND WELL INFORMED	22	-	21	31	13	8	22
STEADY AND DEPENDABLE	19	-	23	27	9	25	26
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE ME	18	5	28	26	16	3	15
CAN GET THINGS DONE	13	-	15	13	7	25	27
STRONG AND FORCEFUL	10	-	19	9	5	30	12
EXCITES AND INSPIRES PEOPLE	8	18	7	11	-	26	6
NONE	11	12	8	9	11	9	14
CAN'T SAY	31	57	22	19	51	28	19
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	1064	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 39: Will you please look over this list and tell me which of these persons you know something about. Please read off your answers by letter.

Question 40: Here is a card which lists eight characteristics people tell us they would like to see in the next President. Please look at this list and tell me which items you think apply to.....

TABLE F  
 ASSIGNMENT OF TRAITS TO REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRATIC  
 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BY THEIR PARTISANS  
 (BASED ON THOSE WHO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES)

	TOTAL DEMO- CRATIC AND LEAN- ERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
<u>MICHAEL DUKAKIS</u> KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT	35	13	63	54	27	26	29
HONEST AND ETHICAL	29	8	41	44	18	35	37
THOUGHTFUL AND WELL INFORMED	28	8	36	38	14	26	39
CAN GET THINGS DONE	28	17	40	33	17	7	32
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE ME	27	4	40	44	12	27	31
HAS A FRESH APPROACH	26	11	32	38	27	13	22
STEADY AND DEPENDABLE	26	11	35	29	16	26	27
STRONG AND FORCEFUL	25	9	32	23	20	37	29
EXCITES AND INSPIRES PEOPLE	20	-	23	32	14	8	18
NONE	5	11	6	5	13	7	2
CAN'T SAY	26	45	11	19	35	31	22
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	1064	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 39: Will you please look over this list and tell me which of these persons you know something about. Please read off your answers by letter.

Question 40: Here is a card which lists eight characteristics people tell us they would like to see in the next President. Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to.....

TABLE G  
 ASSIGNMENT OF TRAITS TO REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRATIC  
 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BY THEIR PARTISANS  
 (BASED ON THOSE WHO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES)

	TOTAL DEMO- CRATIC AND LEAN- ERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
<u>RICHARD GEPHARDT</u> KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT	25	16	46	40	16	21	26
HONEST AND ETHICAL	25	11	25	34	18	41	19
HAS A FRESH APPROACH	25	26	25	17	23	32	22
THOUGHTFUL AND WELL INFORMED	22	11	27	34	14	6	23
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE ME	21	7	25	30	23	15	25
STRONG AND FORCEFUL	19	23	16	35	25	12	12
STEADY AND DEPENDABLE	19	-	20	32	23	24	21
CAN GET THINGS DONE	15	11	18	12	18	23	10
EXCITES AND INSPIRES PEOPLE	10	14	15	9	6	17	4
NONE	10	8	11	7	4	18	13
CAN'T SAY	29	37	23	17	32	24	25
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	1064	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 39: Will you please look over this list and tell me which of these persons you know something about. Please read off your answers by letter.

Question 40: Here is a card which lists eight characteristics people tell us they would like to see in the next President. Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to.....

TABLE H  
 ASSIGNMENT OF TRAITS TO REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRATIC  
 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BY THEIR PARTISANS

(BASED ON THOSE WHO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES)

	TOTAL DEMO- CRATIC AND LEAN- ERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR
<u>ALBERT GORE</u>							
KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT	23	17	47	34	21	16	22
HONEST AND ETHICAL	26	15	31	26	32	8	32
HAS A FRESH APPROACH	22	26	20	36	27	26	18
THOUGHTFUL AND WELL INFORMED	21	8	19	32	22	11	28
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE ME	20	5	22	29	21	11	18
STEADY AND DEPENDABLE	19	-	25	29	22	21	28
STRONG AND FORCEFUL	18	4	20	29	19	6	31
CAN GET THINGS DONE	16	-	9	20	14	17	23
EXCITES AND INSPIRES PEOPLE	13	4	13	17	18	21	9
NONE	8	9	14	-	7	3	1
CAN'T SAY	34	51	25	22	36	46	24
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	1064	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 39: Will you please look over this list and tell me which of these persons you know something about. Please read off your answers by letter.

Question 40: Here is a card which lists eight characteristics people tell us they would like to see in the next President. Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to.....

TABLE I  
 ASSIGNMENT OF TRAITS TO REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRATIC  
 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BY THEIR PARTISANS  
 (BASED ON THOSE WHO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES)

	TOTAL DEMO- CRATIC AND LEAN- ERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
<u>PAUL SIMON</u>							
KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT	32	21	61	48	19	25	33
HONEST AND ETHICAL	35	27	53	56	24	22	27
THOUGHTFUL AND WELL INFORMED	31	10	52	52	16	13	33
STEADY AND DEPENDABLE	30	14	48	46	18	15	41
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE ME	29	11	48	54	16	10	34
CAN GET THINGS DONE	20	14	23	37	18	10	23
HAS A FRESH APPROACH	20	14	24	33	21	17	20
STRONG AND FORCEFUL	12	-	9	24	5	10	16
EXCITES AND INSPIRES PEOPLE	11	23	12	9	7	12	13
NONE	6	12	3	4	8	6	6
CAN'T SAY	28	46	17	8	28	43	13
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	1064	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 39: Will you please look over this list and tell me which of these persons you know something about. Please read off your answers by letter.

Question 40: Here is a card which lists eight characteristics people tell us they would like to see in the next President. Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to.....



## THE GALLUP PERSONAL INTERVIEW SAMPLE DESIGN

The sampling procedure is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, eighteen years and older, living in the United States, except those persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals.

The design of the sample is that of a replicated, probability sample down to the block level in the case of urban areas, and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas. Over three hundred sampling locations are used in each survey.

The sample design includes stratification by the following seven size-of-community strata, using 1980 Census data: (1) incorporated cities of population 1,000,000 and over; (2) incorporated cities of population 250,000 to 999,999; (3) incorporated cities of population 50,000 to 249,999; (4) urbanized places not included in (1)-(3); (5) cities over 2,500 population outside of urbanized areas; (6) towns and villages with less than 2,500 population; and (7) rural places not included within town boundaries. Each is further stratified into four geographic regions: East, Midwest, South and West. Within each city size-regional stratum, the population is arrayed in geographic order and zoned into equal sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities are selected in each zone, with probability of selection for each locality proportional to its population size in the 1980 census, producing two replicated samples of localities.

Separately for each survey, within each subdivision so selected for which block statistics are available, a sample of blocks or block clusters is drawn with probability of selection proportional to the number of dwelling units. In all other subdivisions or areas, blocks or segments are drawn at random or with equal probability.

In each cluster of blocks and each segment so selected, a randomly selected starting point is designated on the interviewer's map of the area. Starting at this point, interviewers are required to follow a given direction in the selection of households until their assignment is completed.

Interviewing is conducted at times when adults, in general, are most likely to be at home. Interviewers were asked to make up to three calls at a specific address in order to complete an interview.

Allowance for persons not at home is made by a weighting\* procedure which uses information from two sources: respondents' answers to a series of "times at home" questions and from interviewer contact records. This procedure is a standard method for reducing the sample bias that would otherwise result from underrepresentation in the sample of persons who are difficult to find at home.

The pre-stratification by regions is routinely supplemented by fitting each obtained sample to the latest available Census Bureau estimates of the regional distribution of the population. In addition, minor adjustments of the sample are made by educational attainment of men and women separately, based on the annual estimates of the Census Bureau (derived from their Current Population Survey), and by age and race.

#### SURVEY METHODOLOGY

For this Times Mirror Survey, face-to-face personal interviews were conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2,109 adults during the period from January 8 to 17, 1988. The margin of error due to sampling is + 3 percentage points.

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\* Politz, A. and Simmons, W., "An Attempt to Get the "Not at Homes" into the Sample without Callbacks", JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, Volume 44, (March, 1949), pp. 9-31.

### TYPOLOGY DISTRIBUTION

	<u>All Adults</u> %	<u>Registered Voters</u> %	<u>Likely Voters</u> %	<u>Likely Primary Voters</u> %
Enterprisers	10	10	13	14
Moralists	11	12	14	15
Upbeats	9	10	10	9
Disaffecteds	9	10	10	7
Bystanders	10	3	0	0
Followers	6	6	4	4
Seculars	6	7	8	9
60's Democrats	8	9	9	9
New Dealers	13	14	14	15
God & Country Democrats	8	8	8	8
Partisan Poor	10	11	10	10
Number of Interviews	(2109)	(1688)	(1495)	(1057)

N = 2109

7-9 = Z  
10-11 = '01'  
12-15 = wt field  
16-24 = cross secti



# The Gallup Survey

Sponsored by leading Newspapers, Corporations and Agencies.

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SUGGESTED INTRODUCTION: I'm taking a GALLUP SURVEY. I'd like YOUR opinion on some topics of interest.

TIME START: \_\_\_\_\_  
TIME END: \_\_\_\_\_  
LENGTH: \_\_\_\_\_

G088002

JANUARY, 1988

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Q1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?

	5/84*	6/56*	Typo 9/87
A1.50 1 [ ] Approve	54	64	47
41 2 [ ] Disapprove	38	26	44
9 0 [ ] Don't know	8	10	9
<u>100</u>			

\* Gallup Poll

Q2. I am going to read you a list of events that will occur in the coming year. As I read each one, please tell me whether or not this is an event you are especially looking forward to. The first one is... (INTERVIEWER: READ LIST. CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM)

A2.

	Looking Forward	Not Looking Forward	Don't Know
a. The Olympics	71	25	4 = 100
b. The Presidential Primaries	55	40	5 = 100
c. The Super Bowl	55	42	3 = 100
d. The Academy Awards	43	53	4 = 100
e. The Miss America Pageant	32	64	4 = 100
f. The World Series	51	45	4 = 100
g. The Presidential Election	74	23	3 = 100

Rep 1 35-1  
Form A 36-1  
37 = Z

Q3. Thinking ahead to the 1988 Presidential election, are you in general more likely to vote for a Republican candidate for President, or for a Democratic candidate for President?

		<u>8/8*</u>	<u>4/8<sup>i</sup></u>
A3. <sup>33</sup> 1	[ ] Republican	37	30
42	2 [ ] Democratic	40	40
1	3 [ ] Other (VOL.)	1	2
15	4 [ ] IT DEPENDS (VOL.)	14	20
	9 0 [ ] Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
	<u>100</u>	100	100

Q4. Is there anyone in particular you would like to see elected President in November? (IF YES:) Who is that?

A4. <sup>32</sup> 1	[ ] No
* 2	[ ] Bruce Babbitt
9	3 [ ] George Bush
4	4 [ ] Bob Dole
2	5 [ ] Michael Dukakis
* 6	[ ] Pete DuPont
1	7 [ ] Richard Gephardt
1	8 [ ] Albert Gore
* 9	[ ] Alexander Haig
7	0 [ ] Gary Hart
5	1 [ ] Jesse Jackson
1	2 [ ] Jack Kemp
3	3 [ ] Pat Robertson
1	4 [ ] Paul Simon
4	5 [ ] OTHER (SPECIFY): _____
2	<u>Cuomo</u>
28	0 [ ] Don't know
<u>100</u>	

Q5. (INTERVIEWER: PLEASE SHUFFLE PHOTOS A-U AND HAND TO RESPONDENT)  
 Here are some photographs of well-known people and some people who are less well-known. For each person you recognize, please give me the letter from the photo and the name of the person. If you don't recognize a person, just let me know and go on to the next one.

## PHOTO A

- 10 1[ ]Bruce Babbitt  
 2[ ]Other person  
 0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO B

- 11 1[ ]Bill Bradley  
 2[ ]Other person  
 0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO C

- 76 1[ ]George Bush  
 2[ ]Other person  
 0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO D

- 93 1[ ]Bill Cosby  
 2[ ]Other person  
 0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO E

- 39 1[ ]Mario Cuomo  
 2[ ]Other person  
 0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO F

- 20 1[ ]Elizabeth Dole  
 2[ ]Other person  
 0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO G

- 45 1[ ]Bob Dole  
 2[ ]Other person  
 0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO H

- 22 1[ ]Michael Dukakis  
 2[ ]Other person  
 0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO I

- 12 1[ ]Pete DuPont  
 2[ ]Other person  
 0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO J

- 13 1[ ]Richard Gephardt  
2[ ]Other person  
0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO K

- 60 1[ ]Mikhail Gorbachev  
2[ ]Other person  
0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO L

- 11 1[ ]Albert Gore  
2[ ]Other person  
0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO M

- 43 1[ ]Alexander Haig  
2[ ]Other person  
0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO N

- 81 1[ ]Gary Hart  
2[ ]Other person  
0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO O

- 92 1[ ]Jesse Jackson  
2[ ]Other person  
0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO P

- 21 1[ ]Jack Kemp  
2[ ]Other person  
0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO Q

- 54 1[ ]Walter Mondale  
2[ ]Other person  
0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO R

- 84 1[ ]Oliver North  
2[ ]Other person  
0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO S

- 48 1[ ]Pat Robertson  
2[ ]Other person  
0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO T

- 13 1[ ]Patricia Schroeder  
2[ ]Other person  
0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

## PHOTO U

- 23 1[ ]Paul Simon  
2[ ]Other person  
0[ ]DK/CAN'T GIVE NAME

Q6. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD A. RESPONDENT RETAINS CARD A THROUGH Q. 8) Will you please look over this list of Republicans and tell me which of them you have heard of. Please read off your answers by number. (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE NUMBERS THAT APPLY.)

A6. 1 2 3 4 5 6  
0[ ]None/DK - GO TO Q. 9

Q7. Next, which ONE would you like to see nominated as the Republican Party's candidate for president in 1988? Please read off your answer by number. (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ONLY.)

A7. 1 2 3 4 5 6  
0[ ]None/DK -- GO TO Q. 9

Q8. Who would be your SECOND choice as the nominee of the Republican Party? Please read off your answer by number. (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ONLY.)

A8. 1 2 3 4 5 6  
0[ ]None/DK

ASK EVERYONE:

Q9. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD C. RESPONDENT RETAINS CARD C THROUGH Q. 11) Will you please look over this list of Democrats and tell me which of them you have heard of. Please read off your answers by number. (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE NUMBERS THAT APPLY.)

A9. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
0[ ]None/DK - GO TO Q. 12

67-76 = Z  
77-80 = Ballot  
and spot



# NOMINATION PREFERENCES

## BASED ON REPUBLICANS AND LEANERS

Q's. 6, 7, 8

G088002

### CARD A

<u>Heard of</u>		<u>First Choice</u>		
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Hard Card</u>	<u>Photo</u>
97	1. George Bush	44	48	41
86	2. Bob Dole	23	22	23
47	3. Pete DuPont	2	2	2
87	4. Alexander Haig	5	3	7
64	5. Jack Kemp	6	5	7
78	6. Pat Robertson	7	7	6
	None/Don't KNOW	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>
		100	100	100

# NOMINATION PREFERENCES

Q's. 6, 7, 8

G088002

## TREND

- BASED ON REPUBLICANS + LEANERS -

CARD A

Heard of		FIRST CHOICE	
<u>10/87*</u>	<u>1/88</u>	<u>10/87*</u>	<u>1/88</u>
98	97	47	44
83	86	22	23
34	47	1	2
82	87	4	5
58	64	4	6
78		7	7
		other/Undecided	13
		<u>15</u>	<u>100</u>
		100	100

\* Gallup Poll

BASED ON DEMOCRATS  
AND LEANERS

Q's. 9, 10, 11

G088002

HAND CARD C

<u>Heard Of</u>		<u>First Choice</u>		
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Hand Card</u>	<u>Photo</u>
40	1. Bruce Babbitt	2	3	1
49	2. Michael Dukakis	10	10	11
46	3. Richard Gephardt	4	4	4
41	4. Albert Gore	4	3	4
93	5. Gary Hart	25	25	26
95	6. Jesse Jackson	19	18	20
50	7. Paul Simon	8	7	9
	None/Don't know	<u>28</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>25</u>
		100	100	100

# NOMINATION PREFERENCES

## TREND

Q's. 9, 10, 11

G088002

— BASED ON DEMOCRATS & LEANERS —

HAND CARD C

Heard OF		First Choice		
10/87*	1/88	9/87*	10/87**	1/88
38	40	1	1	2
49	49	14	14	10
44	46	6	5	4
46	41	5	7	4
NA	93	24	NA	25
46	95	17	22	19
46	50	5	8	8
		None/Don't Know	22 43	28

\* Times Mirror Reinterview  
 \*\* Gallup Poll

Q10. Next, which ONE would you like to see nominated as the Democratic Party's candidate for president in 1988? Please read off your answer by number. (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ONLY)

A10. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 0[ ]None/DK - GO TO Q. 12

Q11. And who would be your SECOND choice as the nominee of the Democratic Party? Please read off your answer by number. (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ONLY)

A11. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 0[ ]None/DK

Q12. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD E) I am going to read you a list of names. Please tell me how likely you are to vote for each person in November if he is the nominee of the Democratic Party. Would you be very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely or not at all likely to vote for him? First... (INTERVIEWER: READ LIST. CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM)

A12.

BASED ON DEMOCRATS  
 HEARD OF (Q 9)

	Very Likely	Some-what Likely	Not Too Likely	Not At All Likely	DK
a. Bruce Babbitt	4	10	25	38	23 = 10
b. Bill Bradley	NA				
c. Mario Cuomo	NA				
d. Michael Dukakis	10	19	21	31	19 = 10
e. Richard Gephardt	5	15	26	32	22 = 1
f. Albert Gore	4	14	28	32	22 = 10
g. Gary Hart	19	21	15	39	6 = 10
h. Jesse Jackson	13	16	17	48	6 = 10
i. Paul Simon	8	13	26	34	19 = 10

Q10. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD D. RESPONDENT RETAINS CARD THROUGH Q. 11) Next, which ONE would you like to see nominated as the Democratic Party's candidate for president in 1988? Please read off your answer by number. (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ONLY)

A10. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 0 [ ] None/DK - GO TO Q. 12

Q11. And who would be your SECOND choice as the nominee of the Democratic Party? Please read off your answer by number. (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ONLY)

A11. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 0 [ ] None/DK

Q12. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD E) I am going to read you a list of names. Please tell me how likely you are to vote for each person in November if he is the nominee of the Republican Party. Would you be very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely or not at all likely to vote for him? First... (INTERVIEWER: READ LIST. CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM)

A12.

BASED ON REPUBLICANS  
 HEARD OF (26)

	Very Likely	Some-what Likely	Not Too Likely	Not At All Likely	DK
a. George Bush	28	26	14	26	6 = 10
b. Bob Dole	20	27	19	24	10 = 10
c. Pierre DuPont	3	10	23	47	17 = 10
d. Alexander Haig	6	22	20	41	11 = 10
e. Jack Kemp	7	16	23	39	15 = 10
f. Pat Robertson	7	9	20	55	9 = 10

ASK EVERYONE:

Q13. How important is it to you that a Presidential or Vice Presidential candidate come from your part of the country? Would you say it is very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?

12  
A13. 1[ ]Very important  
19 2[ ]Somewhat important  
22 3[ ]Not very important  
46 4[ ]Not at all important  
1 0[ ]Don't know  
100

Q14. Overall, what's your opinion of the men who are running for the Democratic nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates, or poor candidates?

A14. 31[ ]Excellent candidates  
27 2[ ]Good candidates  
44 3[ ]Fair candidates  
17 4[ ]Poor candidates  
9 0[ ]Don't know  
100

Q15. Overall, what's your opinion of the men who are running for the Republican nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates, or poor candidates?

15. 31[ ]Excellent candidates  
34 2[ ]Good candidates  
42 3[ ]Fair candidates  
11 4[ ]Poor candidates  
10 0[ ]Don't know  
100

Q16. In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the U.S. at this time?

A16. 39 1[ ]Satisfied  
55 2[ ]Dissatisfied  
6 0[ ]Don't know  
100

Q17. What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

A17. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Q18. Which political party do you think can do a better job of handling the problem you have just mentioned -- the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

		1/85*	1/87*	7/9/	
A18.	<sup>30</sup> 1[ ]	Republican Party	39	30	6
	35 2[ ]	Democratic Party	29	39	3
	24 3[ ]	NO DIFFERENCE (VOL.)	24	22	2
	<u>11</u> 0[ ]	Don't know	8	9	1
	100		100	100	1

Q19. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD F) Here is a list of some of the important institutions in the United States. I am going to read a list of problems and would like you to tell me which one, if any, of these institutions is most responsible for this problem. Please read off your answer by number. The first problem is... (INTERVIEWER: READ LIST. CIRCLE ONLY ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM)

A19. \*Gallup Poll

SEE NEXT PAGE

a. The deficit in the U.S. federal budget

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DK/NONE
							0

b. The recent drop in the stock market

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DK/NONE
							0

c. The problems of farmers

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DK/NONE
							0

d. American industries not being competitive with foreign industries

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DK/NONE
							0

Q20. 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?

		11-12/84*	6/87*	
A20.	<sup>46</sup> 1[ ]	Better off	50	57
	18 2[ ]	Worse off	17	17
	30 3[ ]	SAME (VOL.)	28	18
	<u>6</u> 0[ ]	Don't know	5	8
	100		100	100

\*Gallup Poll



# INSTITUTIONS MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR PROBLEM

Q. 19

G088002

## CARD F

<u>U.S. Fed Budget Deficit</u>	<u>Drop in Stock Market</u>		<u>Problems of Farmers</u>	<u>U.S. Industries No Being Competitive</u>
5	6	1. Banks	19	2
5	14	2. Business Corporations	9	29
45	4	3. Congress	26	15
1	2	4. News Organizations	1	1
2	1	5. Organized Labor	8	25
27	6	6. The President	14	12
2	47	7. Wall Street Brokers	1	1
<u>13</u>	<u>20</u>	None/Don't know	<u>22</u>	<u>15</u>
100	100		100	100

Q21. A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be better than they are at present, or worse, or just about the same as now?

A21. <sup>22</sup>1[ ] Better  
26 2[ ] Worse  
45 3[ ] Same  
7 0[ ] Don't know  
100

Q22. Do you happen to know whether the U.S. is supporting the government in Nicaragua, or is the U.S. supporting the rebels who are opposing the Nicaraguan government?

A22. 10 1[ ] U.S. supporting the government  
55 2[ ] U.S. supporting the rebels  
35 0[ ] Not sure/Don't know  
100

Q23. Do you happen to know how many women, if any, sit on the U.S. Supreme Court? (PROMPT: IF YES: How many?)

A23. <sup>53</sup>1[ ] One  
8 2[ ] More than one  
6 3[ ] None  
33 0[ ] Don't know  
100

Q24. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD G) Do you happen to know which of these men is currently the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives?

A24. 14 1[ ] Robert Byrd  
4 2[ ] Edward Kennedy  
20 3[ ] Thomas "Tip" O'Neil  
6 4[ ] Sam Rayburn  
25 5[ ] Jim Wright  
\* 6[ ] Other answer  
31 0[ ] Don't know  
100

Q25. If Oliver North is indicted for the role he played in the Iran-Contra affair, should President Reagan pardon him for any crimes he may have committed, or not?

A25. <sup>49</sup>1[ ] Yes, should pardon  
41 2[ ] No, should not pardon  
10 0[ ] Don't know  
100

Q25a. What about John Poindexter?  
 (IF NECESSARY, PROMPT: If John Poindexter is indicted for the role he played in the Iran-Contra affair, should President Reagan pardon him for any crimes he may have committed, or not?)

34

A25a. 1[ ]Yes, should pardon  
 50 2[ ]No, should not pardon  
 16 0[ ]Don't know  
 100

Q26. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD H) As you know, the Presidential candidates will be stating their positions on a wide range of issues. I am going to read a list of positions on some issues. As I read each one, tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate? First, a candidate who... (READ LIST. CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM)

A26.

	<u>More Likely</u>	<u>Less Likely</u>	<u>No Effect</u>	<u>DK</u>	
a. Supports changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion	30	45	19	6	=100
b. Opposes the SDI program to develop a space-based defense against nuclear attack	31	42	16	11	=100
c. Opposes a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in public schools	24	57	16	3	=100
d. Supports mandatory drug tests for students applying for a driver's license	54	28	14	4	=100
e. Supports an increase in taxes on foreign imports to protect American jobs in certain industries	70	17	8	5	=100
f. Supports limiting the access that AIDS patients have to public places	29	41	19	11	=100

CONTINUED...

	<u>More Likely</u>	<u>Less Likely</u>	<u>No Effect</u>	<u>DK</u>
g. Opposes the ratification of the treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union to eliminate their intermediate-range nuclear weapons	25	55	11	9 = 100
h. Supports an increase in the federal income tax to reduce the federal deficit	26	57	11	6 = 100
i. Supports military aid to the Contras in Nicaragua	22	49	17	12 = 100
j. Opposes automatic cost of living allowance increases for Social Security and federal pension beneficiaries	22	64	9	5 = 100
k. Supports reducing Social Security benefits for elderly people who earn more than \$25,000 a year	37	47	10	6 = 100
l. Supports a tax free private savings program to replace the social security system in the future	36	38	13	13 = 100
m. Supports a government program of public works jobs for the unemployed	78	11	7	4 = 100
n. Supports giving parents more choice in the schools their children attend through payment vouchers that could be used in public or private schools	49	27	17	7 = 100
o. Announces that Jesus Christ is his personal savior	37	24	33	6 = 100

Q27. In general, how do you feel about a clergyman or minister running for President of the United States -- do you think it is a good thing, a bad thing, or doesn't it make any difference?

<sup>16</sup>  
A27. 1[ ] Good thing  
39 2[ ] Bad thing  
41 3[ ] Doesn't make any difference  
4 0[ ] Don't know  
100

Q28. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD I)  
People give us different reasons for supporting or opposing the idea of a clergyman or minister running for President of the United States. I am going to read you some statements about religion and politics, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it. (READ LIST.)

A28.

	<u>Com-pletely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Dis-agree</u>	<u>Com-pletely Dis-agree</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. A minister or clergyman would be more honest than the typical politician.	13	37	31	13	6 = 10
b. In our system of government, church and state should be separated.	48	29	12	5	6 = 10
c. A minister or clergyman would have higher moral standards than the typical politician.	16	38	27	12	7 = 10
d. A minister or clergyman's training and background would make him more able to deal with our nation's problems than the typical politician.	9	20	42	22	7 = 10
e. A minister or clergyman would press his religious position on moral issues.	25	44	20	5	6 = 10
f. Electing a minister or clergyman would create tension between religious groups in society.	26	41	21	6	6 = 10

Q29. Do you favor or oppose the ratification of the treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union to eliminate their intermediate-range nuclear weapons?

A29. <sup>77</sup> 1[ ] Favor  
 11 2[ ] Oppose  
 120[ ] Don't know  
 100

Q30. How would you rate the American news coverage of Mikhail Gorbachev on his recent visit to the United States? Was it too positive, too negative, or was it balanced?

A30. <sup>24</sup> 1[ ] Too positive  
 5 2[ ] Too negative  
 57 3[ ] Balanced  
 14 0[ ] Don't know  
 100

Now on a completely different subject...

Q31. In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

A31. <sup>27</sup> 1[ ] Republican - GO TO Q. 32 2  
 39 2[ ] Democrat - GO TO Q. 33 3  
 26 3[ ] Independent 2  
 6 4[ ] No preference - GO TO Q. 34 8  
 \* 5[ ] Other party \*  
 2 0[ ] Don't know 2  
 100

Typolog  
4/8

Q32. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

A32. <sup>12</sup> 1[ ] Strong  
 15 2[ ] Not strong - GO TO Q. 35

BASED ON 'REPUBLICANS'  
 IN Q 31

Q33. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

A33. <sup>19</sup> 1[ ] Strong  
 19 2[ ] Not strong - GO TO Q. 35  
 1 Don't know

BASED ON 'DEMOCRATS'  
 IN Q 31

Q34. Would you say you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

A34. 11 1[ ] Republican  
 13 2[ ] Democratic  
 100[ ] Don't know

BASED ON 'INDEPENDENTS'  
 IN Q 31

Typolog  
4/8  
13  
13  
12

**ASK EVERYONE:**

**Q35.** Now I'm going to read you a few phrases. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether you think that the phrase better describes the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. How about the phrase... (READ FIRST ITEM)? Does that more accurately describe the Republican Party and its leaders or the Democratic Party and its leaders? (READ LIST. CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM)

**A35.**

	Repub- lican	Demo- cratic	(VOL) BOTH	(VOL) NEITHER	DK	
a. Is well organized	38	20	19	14	9	= 100
<i>Typology</i> 4/87-	34	19	25	13	9	= 100
b. Selects good candidates for office	31	24	18	18	9	= 100
4/87-	27	26	25	13	9	= 100
c. Is concerned with the needs of people like you	22	47	11	13	7	= 100
d. Is able to manage the Federal Government well	30	28	12	20	10	= 100
4/87-	24	25	13	28	10	= 100
e. Can bring about the kinds of changes the country needs	28	37	14	11	10	= 100
4/87-	26	36	14	14	10	= 100

Q37. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD J) Now I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category on this card best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. Probably, there will be some people and organizations on this list that you have never heard of. First, how would you describe your opinion of... (READ ITEMS. CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) NEVER HEARD OF	(VOL) CAN'T RATE
a.	The Congress	6	58	25	4	0	7 = 100
	<i>Typology 4/87</i>	10	64	16	4	*	6 = 100
b.	* Wall Street Brokers	3	30	37	10	1	19 = 100
	<i>4/87</i>	5	33	30	11	2	19 = 100
c.	The Supreme Court	14	65	11	2	*	8 = 100
	<i>4/87</i>	13	63	15	2	*	7 = 100
d.	Mikhail Gorbachev	6	50	21	9	1	13 = 100
	<i>4/87</i>	3	37	24	14	6	16 = 100
e.	The daily newspaper you are most familiar with	21	59	12	4	*	4 = 100
	<i>4/87</i>	22	59	12	3	*	4 = 100
f.	Network TV news	18	60	14	4	0	4 = 100
	<i>4/87</i>	21	63	11	3	*	2 = 100
g.	The military	20	57	14	3	*	6 = 100
	<i>4/87</i>	17	63	12	4	0	4 = 100
h.	Ronald Reagan	17	42	24	13	*	4 = 100
	<i>4/87</i>	21	41	22	14	*	2 = 100
i.	Gary Hart	7	31	33	19	1	9 = 100
	<i>4/87</i>	15	57	13	4	3	8 = 100
j.	Jesse Helms	2	15	18	11	20	34 = 100
	<i>4/87</i>	3	19	15	9	26	28 = 100
k.	Business Corporations	6	53	27	5	*	9 = 100
	<i>4/87</i>	8	50	24	7	1	10 = 100
l.	** Organized labor	10	42	29	10	*	9 = 100
	<i>4/87</i>	9	37	30	17	*	7 = 100

\* Trend: Wall Street Investors

\*\* Trend: Labor Unions



INTERVIEWER NOTE: FOR Q. 39 RECORD INFORMATION UNDER A. 39. FOR EACH CANDIDATE THE RESPONDENT "KNOWS SOMETHING ABOUT" IN Q. 39, ASK Q. 40 AND RECORD UNDER A. 40)

Q39. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD L)  
Will you please look over this list and tell me which of these persons you know something about. Please read off your answers by letter.

Q40. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD M)  
Here is a card which lists eight characteristics people tell us they would like to see in the next President. Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to... (READ NAME OF FIRST CANDIDATE RESPONDENT "KNOWS SOMETHING ABOUT." CONTINUE FOR ALL OTHER NAMES CHECKED IN A. 39)

	<u>A. 39</u>	<u>A. 40</u>								
	<u>Know About</u>		<u>Characteristics That Apply</u>							
NONE/DON'T KNOW		0[ ]	-- GO TO Q. 41, PAGE 26							
Bruce Babbitt	20 1[ ]A.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			9[ ]None				0[ ]Can't say			
George Bush	87 2[ ]B.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			9[ ]None				0[ ]Can't say			
Bob Dole	65 3[ ]C.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			9[ ]None				0[ ]Can't say			
Michael Dukakis	35 4[ ]D.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			9[ ]None				0[ ]Can't say			
Pete DuPont	22 5[ ]E.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			9[ ]None				0[ ]Can't say			

		<u>A. 39</u>	<u>A. 40</u>							
		<u>Know About</u>	<u>Characteristics That Apply</u>							
Richard Gephardt	25	1[ ]F.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			9[ ]None					0[ ]Can't say		
Albert Gore	23	2[ ]G.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			9[ ]None					0[ ]Can't say		
Alexander Haig	64	3[ ]H.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			9[ ]None					0[ ]Can't say		
Gary Hart	85	4[ ]I.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			9[ ]None					0[ ]Can't say		
Jesse Jackson	86	5[ ]J.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			9[ ]None					0[ ]Can't say		
Jack Kemp	34	6[ ]K.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			9[ ]None					0[ ]Can't say		
Pat Robertson	61	7[ ]L.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			9[ ]None					0[ ]Can't say		
Paul Simon	32	8[ ]M.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			9[ ]None					0[ ]Can't say		

INTERVIEWER: AFTER Q. 39 IS COMPLETE, RETURN TO PREVIOUS PAGE AND READ Q. 40.

CHARACTERISTICS THAT APPLY  
 BASED ON THOSE WHO "KNOW SOMETHING  
 ABOUT" THE CANDIDATE

Q. 40

G088002

HAND CARD M

<u>Zeppitt</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>	<u>Gephardt</u>		<u>Gore</u>	<u>Hart</u>	<u>Jackson</u>	<u>SIMC</u>
13	28	15	1. Can get things done	16	18	18	20
8	20	10	2. Excites and inspires people	13	30	43	11
24	29	25	3. Honest and ethical	26	9	28	35
10	25	19	4. Strong and forceful	18	15	32	12
22	26	25	5. Has a fresh approach	22	31	24	20
22	28	22	6. Thoughtful and well informed	21	19	23	31
19	26	19	7. Steady and dependable	19	9	16	30
18	27	21	8. Concerned about the needs of people like me	20	22	31	29
11	5	10	None	8	20	14	6
31	26	29	Can't say	34	17	13	28

CHARACTERISTICS THAT APPLY  
 BASED ON THOSE WHO "KNOW SOMETHING  
 ABOUT" THE CANDIDATE

Q. 40

G088002

HAND CARD M

<u>Rush</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>DuPont</u>		<u>Haig</u>	<u>Kemp</u>	<u>Robert Son</u>
23	38	26	1. Can get things done	29	26	10
9	16	9	2. Excites and inspires people	14	15	29
31	36	20	3. Honest and ethical	15	32	38
19	34	17	4. Strong and forceful	53	27	13
9	19	25	5. Has a fresh approach	8	22	25
35	35	17	6. Thoughtful and well informed	24	30	20
39	34	18	7. Steady and dependable	21	28	17
22	26	12	8. Concerned about the needs of people like me	9	18	28
13	6	11	None	10	9	13
12	15	32	Can't Say	16	24	18

Q41. In general, do you think news organizations get the facts straight or do you think that their stories and reports are often inaccurate?

55 A41.<sup>44</sup> 1[ ]Get facts straight  
 34 48 2[ ]Inaccurate  
 8 0[ ]Can't say  
100

Q42. In presenting the news dealing with political and social issues, do you think that news organizations deal fairly with all sides or do they tend to favor one side?

34 A42.<sup>30</sup> 1[ ]Deal fairly with all sides  
 53 59 2[ ]Tend to favor one side  
 13 11 0[ ]Can't say  
100

Q43. Are the news organizations you are most familiar with fair or unfair to the Reagan Administration?

78 A43.<sup>66</sup> 1[ ]Fair  
 21 2[ ]Unfair  
 13 0[ ]Don't know  
100

Q44. In general, do you think news organizations are pretty independent, or are they often influenced by powerful people and organizations?

37 A44.<sup>40</sup> 1[ ]Pretty independent  
 53 49 2[ ]Often influenced by the powerful  
 11 0[ ]Can't say  
100

Q45. Now I will read a list of some different groups. As I read each one, tell me whether you feel this group often influences news organizations in the way they report the news, or not? First... (READ)

- a. Advertisers
- b. Blacks
- c. Business Corporations
- d. Catholics
- e. Conservatives
- f. Democrats
- g. The Federal Government
- h. Jews
- i. Organized Labor
- j. Liberals
- k. The Military
- l. Republicans

A45.

	Yes, Often Influences	No, Does Not	Don't Know
	69	21	10 = 100
Typology- 6/85- 65	65	26	9 = 100
	41	44	15 = 100
6/85- 44	44	44	12 = 100
	71	18	11 = 100
6/85- 70	70	20	10 = 100
	29	51	20 = 100
6/85- 35	35	49	16 = 100
	38	42	20 = 100
6/85- 45	45	39	16 = 100
	50	36	14 = 100
6/85- 58	58	31	11 = 100
	67	22	11 = 100
6/85- 73	73	19	8 = 100
	29	50	21 = 100
6/85- 33	33	49	18 = 100
	58	29	13 = 100
6/85- 62	62	28	10 = 100
	42	37	21 = 100
6/85- 48	48	37	15 = 100
	49	38	13 = 100
6/85 50	50	39	11 = 100
	54	42	14 = 100
6/85- 60	60	29	11 = 100

Q46. Do you think that newspapers should or should not be allowed to endorse a Presidential candidate on their editorial page?

A46. 57 1[ ] Yes, should be allowed  
 34 2[ ] No, should not  
 9 0[ ] Don't know  
100

Q47. Do you feel news organizations often invade people's privacy or do they generally respect people's privacy?

A47 78 1[ ] Invade people's privacy <sup>TH</sup> 73  
 17 2[ ] Respect people's privacy <sup>6/85</sup> 21  
 5 0[ ] Don't know <sup>6</sup> 6  
100 100

Rep 1 77-1

78-80 = Z

Cum u u  
 1-6 = Resp #  
 7-9 = Z  
 10-11 = '05'  
 Typology

Q48. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

A48. <sup>37</sup>1 [ ] Most of the time 41  
 35 2 [ ] Some of the time 35  
 18 3 [ ] Only now and then 15  
 8 4 [ ] Hardly at all 7  
2 0 [ ] Don't know 2  
 100 100

Q49. In the election in November 1984, when Ronald Reagan ran against Walter Mondale, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? For whom?

A49. <sup>42</sup>1 [ ] Reagan 40  
 26 2 [ ] Mondale 29  
 1 3 [ ] Other 2  
 3 4 [ ] Voted, don't remember for whom 2  
 25 5 [ ] Did not vote 25  
3 0 [ ] Don't remember if voted 2  
 100 Typology 100  
 4/87

Q50. Is your name recorded in the registration book of the voting precinct or election district where you now live? (That is, are you registered to vote?)

A50. <sup>75</sup>1 [ ] Yes -- GO TO Q. 52 77  
 22 2 [ ] No -- ASK Q. 51 21  
 1 3 [ ] Don't have to register } GO TO Q. 52 1  
 2 0 [ ] Don't know } 1

Q51. Do you plan to register so that you can vote in the next Presidential election?

A51. <sup>13</sup>1 [ ] Yes 13  
 6 2 [ ] No 6  
 \* 3 [ ] Other \*  
 3 0 [ ] Don't know 2

Typology  
4/87

ASK EVERYONE:

Q52. How often would you say you vote -- always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

A52.39	1	]Always	34
33	2	]Nearly always	37
12	3	]Part of the time	11
8	4	]Seldom	6
1	5	]OTHER (SPECIFY) _____	2
<hr/>			
6	6	]NEVER VOTE (VOL.)	9
1	0	]Don't know	1
<hr/>			100

Q53. If there is a Presidential primary or a caucus in your state this year, how likely is it that you will participate? Is it very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely?

A53.38	1	]Very likely	-ASK Q. 54
19	2	]Somewhat likely	
12	3	]Not too likely	
20	4	]Not at all likely	-GO TO Q. 55
2	5	]NO PRIMARY OR CAUCUS ELECTION (VOL.)	
7	0	]Don't know	
<hr/>			100

Q54. As of today, are you more likely to participate in the Democratic or the Republican primary or caucus for President?

A54.49	1	]Democratic
38	2	]Republican
13	0	]Don't know

ASK EVERYONE:

Q55. Thinking about the Presidential primaries, generally do you think they are a good way of determining who the best qualified nominees are, or not?

A55.61	1	]Yes, a good way	
23	2	]No, not a good way	
16	0	]Don't know	
<hr/>			100



10/81\*

Q56. How much influence do you feel news organizations have on which candidates become Presidential nominees: too much influence, too little influence, or about the right amount?

A56. <sup>51</sup>1[ ] Too much influence 59  
 4 2[ ] Too little influence 5  
 37 3[ ] About the right amount 31  
<sup>8</sup>0[ ] Don't know 5  
 100 100

\* People, Press, + Campaign

Q57. And how about advertising consultants and pollsters? (IF NECESSARY, PROMPT: How much influence do you feel advertising consultants and pollsters have on which candidate become their parties' Presidential nominees? Would you say they have too much influence, too little influence, or about the right amount?)

A57. <sup>38</sup>1[ ] Too much influence  
 5 2[ ] Too little influence  
 45 3[ ] About the right amount  
<sup>12</sup>0[ ] Don't know  
 100

Q58. How good a job do the debates do for you in providing information on where a candidate stands on the issues? Do they do an excellent job, a good job, a fair job, or a poor job?

A58. 11 1[ ] Excellent job  
~~38~~ 2[ ] Good job  
 34 3[ ] Fair job  
 9 4[ ] Poor job  
<sup>8</sup>0[ ] Don't know  
 100

Q59. How good a job do the debates do in providing information for you on what kind of person a candidate is? Do they do an excellent job, a good job, a fair job, or a poor job?

A59. 7 1[ ] Excellent job  
 36 2[ ] Good job  
 39 3[ ] Fair job  
 11 4[ ] Poor job  
<sup>7</sup>0[ ] Don't know  
 100

Q60. Do you think the high cost of running a Presidential campaign discourages many good candidates from running or do you think that most good candidates can raise whatever money they need?

A60. <sup>64</sup>1[ ] Discourages good candidates  
 29 2[ ] Good candidates can raise money  
<sup>7</sup>0[ ] Don't know  
 100

Q61. We would like to find out about some of the things people do during a Presidential campaign. Which of the following have you done, if any, within the last year or so: (INTERVIEWER: READ LIST. CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM)

A61.

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
a. Watched a debate between Presidential candidates?	60	38	2 = 100
b. Contributed money to a Presidential candidate?	12	86	2 = 100
c. Contributed money to a political party organization?	14	84	2 = 100

10/87

Q62. In the way they have been covering the Presidential race so far, do you think that news organizations are biased in favor of the Democrats, biased in favor of the Republicans, or don't you think news organizations have shown any bias one way or the other?

A62.9 1 [ ] Biased in favor of Democrats	16
10 2 [ ] Biased in favor of Republican	11
58 3 [ ] Haven't shown any bias	62
23 0 [ ] Don't know	<u>11</u> 100
	<u>10/87</u>

Q63. In their coverage of the Democratic Presidential candidates so far, do you think that news organizations have been biased in favor of any candidates, biased against any candidates, or do you think news organizations have shown no bias in their coverage? (MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER CATEGORY)

A63.7 1 [ ] Biased in favor - GO TO Q. 64 & THEN ASK Q. 66	11
16 2 [ ] Biased against - GO TO Q. 65	10
20 4 3 [ ] Biased in favor and biased against (VOL)	2
51 4 [ ] Haven't shown any bias	60
22 0 [ ] Don't know	<u>11</u> 100

\* The People, The Press \* Campaign I

Q64. Which candidate have they been biased in favor of? (ACCEPT MULTIPLE ANSWERS)

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

A64.* 1[ ]	Bruce Babbitt		1
2 2[ ]	Michael Dukakis	Biden -	2
* 3[ ]	Richard Gephardt		1
* 4[ ]	Albert Gore		1
3 5[ ]	Gary Hart		2
2 6[ ]	Jesse Jackson		2
1 7[ ]	Paul Simon		1
1 8[ ]	OTHER (SPECIFY _____)		
* _____	Cuomo		
3 0[ ]	Can't say		1

Q65. Which candidate have they been biased against? (ACCEPT MULTIPLE ANSWERS)

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

A65.* 1[ ]	Bruce Babbitt		* 2
1 2[ ]	Michael Dukakis	Biden	*
* 3[ ]	Richard Gephardt		*
* 4[ ]	Albert Gore		*
16 5[ ]	Gary Hart		5
5 6[ ]	Jesse Jackson		3
1 7[ ]	Paul Simon		*
2 8[ ]	OTHER (SPECIFY _____)		*
_____			
1 0[ ]	Can't say		4

ASK EVERYONE:

Q66. In reporting the charges that Gary Hart was having an affair with Donna Rice, do you think news organizations went too far in the way they reported the story, or do you think news organizations acted properly?

A66. 61[ ]	Went too far	10/87*	
322[ ]	Acted properly	68	
7 0[ ]	Don't know	29	
100		3	
		100	

\* The People, The Press + Campaign I

Q67. Apart from the way news organizations reported the story, do you think it was important that voters learned about this aspect of Gary Hart's life in order to judge whether he would be a good president, or do you think this aspect of his life is not related to his ability to serve as President?

A67. <sup>43</sup> 1[ ] Important to learn about Hart  
50 2[ ] Not related to his ability to serve  
7 0[ ] Don't know  
100

Q68. Do you think Gary Hart made the right decision in December to reconsider and start campaigning again, or should he not have returned?

A68. <sup>42</sup> 1[ ] Right decision to reconsider  
46 2[ ] Should not have returned  
12 0[ ] Don't know  
100

Q69. Now that Gary Hart has re-entered the race for the Democratic nomination, do you think news organizations should or should not continue to investigate and report on his private life?

A69. <sup>30</sup> 1[ ] Should continue  
60 2[ ] Should not continue  
10 0[ ] Don't know  
100