

**THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS, & POLITICS
SURVEY III**

**Conducted for:
TIMES MIRROR**

**Conducted by:
THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, INC.
53 Bank Street
Princeton, NJ 08542**

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INTRODUCTION

This is the third in a series of nationwide personal interview surveys commissioned by Times Mirror to assess the American electorate. The People, The Press, and Politics series employs a unique voter classification scheme developed by Gallup for Times Mirror in 1987. The overall purpose of these surveys is to better understand voter decisions with regard to candidates and issues. The voter typology used in this survey is briefly described in the Technical Appendix and more fully described in previous reports available from Times Mirror.

The current survey deals with the first assessment of the Bush - Dukakis race utilizing the Times Mirror typology. More specifically, it gauges opinions of the candidates, attitudes toward the parties, the Reagan Presidency, and takes measure of the overall mood of the electorate.

For this survey, face-to-face personal interviews were administered to a nationally representative sample of 3021 adults during the period from May 13-22, 1988. Over the course of the past year, two other major surveys, involving personal interviewing in the home, have been conducted. The first of these was fielded April 25 - May 10, 1987 with a national sample of 4244 adults. This was followed by a survey of 2109 Americans, conducted January 8-17, 1988.

For a more detailed description of the sample design and the composition of the groups, please refer to the Technical Appendix.

INTRODUCTION

This is the first in a series of national personal interviews surveys commissioned by Times Mirror to assess the nation's electorate. The results, the results and follow-up studies, analyze a unique voter group: its action cohort, defined by Edwina Fox, Times Mirror, in 1964. The overall purpose of these surveys is to better understand voter behavior and its impact on the nation's political process. The first study, which is the subject of this report, is intended to provide a baseline for the study of voter behavior. The current study deals with the 1964 election of the President of the United States, which was held on November 3, 1964. This study is part of a series of studies conducted by Times Mirror for the purpose of assessing the nation's electorate. The results of this study will be reported in a separate report.

For this study, face-to-face interviews were conducted with a nationally representative sample of 3021 adults during the period from May 13-15, 1964. The purpose of the study was to assess the views, attitudes, and opinions of the nation's electorate regarding the 1964 election. The first of these was a survey of 1000 adults, which was conducted from May 13-15, 1964. This survey followed a survey of 1000 adults, which was conducted from May 13-15, 1964.

The purpose of this study was to assess the views, attitudes, and opinions of the nation's electorate regarding the 1964 election. The results of this study will be reported in a separate report.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This survey reveals an uncertain electorate that is divided both in current mood and with regard to retrospective evaluations of the Reagan administration. We find a tension between a desire for change and a desire for continuity. The coalitions that have formed with respect to the Dukakis and Bush candidacies reflect that tension. In fact, underlying attitudes are shaping expressed electoral preferences to a greater degree than are specific beliefs about the two candidates. This is best shown by the fact that the level and character of support for Bush and Dukakis in May of 1988 is almost identical to what we obtained a year ago in a test of preferences between George Bush and Gary Hart.

The current horse race numbers reflect opinions about the parties and beliefs about the Reagan Administration to a greater degree than they reflect perceptions of the two candidates. Opinions of George Bush are more salient than opinions of Michael Dukakis but it's hard to disentangle views of the Vice President personally from views about the administration. Neither candidate has a sharply drawn image with the public. The polls are mostly measuring the underlying dispositions of the American public with regard to continuity vs. change.

The Times Mirror typology provides a unique perspective on the current state of the race and the future course that it might take because it accounts for both party identification as well as the basic values and orientations of American voters. Our analysis reveals that the Dukakis lead over Bush is in large measure a consequence of the Republicans being unable to re-create the Reagan Coalition. In particular, Bush is not appealing to the disenchanted independents whom Reagan attracted with his anti-Washington, anti-elitist themes. Disaffected independent voters who supported Ronald Reagan at the 80% level are giving George Bush about half as much support. These alienated voters who are angry with most American institutions, are divided in their views of the Reagan presidency and want change. Despite their Republican-leanings they are as apt to see the Democratic party as best for change as they do the Republican party.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This survey reveals an underlying structure that is hidden beneath the current mood and with regard to retrospective evaluation of the Reagan administration. We find a number of differences between the two groups of respondents. The analysis indicates that the Reagan administration is viewed more favorably than the Carter administration. The analysis also indicates that the Reagan administration is viewed more favorably than the Carter administration. The analysis also indicates that the Reagan administration is viewed more favorably than the Carter administration.

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The politics of disenchantment is not well served by the Bush-Dukakis contest. Disaffecteds are very financially pressured, intolerant, and extremely anti-"Washington". Neither candidate is especially attractive to these voters. Bush gets a 50% favorable rating, Dukakis 60%. Disaffecteds do not feel strongly about their choice for either candidate and they are targets of opportunity for either side.

Disaffecteds show a high degree of antipathy toward George Bush. At this point, there are more anti-Bush voters among them than anti-Dukakis voters. They see Bush as a candidate who is unconcerned with their needs and they see him as weak. While a fair degree of opinion about Bush among Disaffecteds is about Bush himself, it is clear that for many Bush is a surrogate for beliefs about Reagan.

Bush's decline in favorability ratings, which first began in the fall of 1987, is patterned very similarly to the decline in political support shown by Ronald Reagan between 1984 and 1987. This suggests that Bush's sudden lack of popularity did not reflect any specific problem with the American public, but rather his gaining the national spotlight as a symbol of the Reagan Administration.

The other elements of the Reagan coalition, while not effusive in their support for George Bush, are currently behind him and continue to support the Reagan Administration. The good news for the GOP is that support for a Republican candidate for President has been consistently increasing among Upbeats. These young independent Republicans, who have had tenuous links to the Republican party, show considerable support for Bush against Dukakis, who they also regard favorably.

The propensity of Upbeats with their moderate political views and optimistic outlook to vote Republican accounts for the fact that Bush has more relative support among the under 30's than among voters of older age groups.

The crosscurrent of low support for Bush among Disaffecteds and strong support among Upbeats masks the nature of the Republicans' problems. When the horse race is analyzed by party affiliation, it would appear that Bush is in trouble with independent Republicans, but in fact, he only has a problem with one element of that group.

The nature of disengagement is not well served by the usual
Dukakis choice. Disaffected and very financially powerful
infinitely and extremely anti-Washington. However, disengagement
is especially effective in these voters. Bush voters are
disaffected, Dukakis voters are disaffected. Disengagement is not well
served by their choice for either candidate and they are
targets of opportunity for either side.

Disaffected now a high degree of ambiguity toward either side. At
this point there are more anti-Dukakis voters than there are anti-Bush
voters. They are both as a consequence who do not identify with their needs
and they are both as well. While a fair degree of ambiguity toward Bush voters
disaffected toward Bush voters, it is clear that the majority are a
consequence for the left's strong support.

Such a vote on the Republican side is not what they need in the
fall of 1992. It is not what they need in the fall of 1992. It is not what
support shown by Bush's support between 1984 and 1988. The support for
Bush's wider lack of support did not reflect my support for the
with the Administration, but rather it's gaining the national attention to
support of the Reagan Administration.

The main elements of the Reagan coalition are not effective in
their support for George Bush, and currently reflect the support for
support the Reagan Administration. The good news for the GOP is that
support for a Republican candidate for President has been consistently
increasing every year. The young independent right is now the
and finally that the Republican Party, once considered a support for
has a strong future, and they also require support.

The prospects of support with their message will be
and political action to very significant support for the left
that Bush has more serious support than the other side.
The nature of their support.

The importance of low support for Bush among disaffected and
strong support among voters who are the time of the
Republican message. When the message is rejected by voters
is that the support for Bush is not what it is
increasing in support, but in fact, it is a support with
the element of that group.

Overall, the current levels of support for Bush and Dukakis don't only reflect Republican problems but also indicate Democratic successes. Analysis of the survey shows that identification with the Democratic party is a slightly stronger correlate of voting behavior than identification with the Republican Party - quite an achievement, at this stage, for a party that has lost four out of five presidential elections, despite its affiliation plurality. Michael Dukakis is getting equally large levels of support from three elements of the Democratic Party that have quite different values, 60's Democrats, the Partisan Poor, and New Dealers. (New Dealers accounted for the largest share of Democratic defections in 1984.) Despite such indications of Democratic unity, problems in building a coalition remain for Michael Dukakis. Sophisticated, liberal Seculars and socially conservative, loyalist God & Country Democrats express preferences for George Bush that equal or exceed the vote they gave to Reagan in 1984.

The defections for both parties observed in the patterns of support by typology group stem from differing views of the recent past and the longer term future. However, overall the Dukakis lead is not a consequence of any noticeable recent souring in the mood of the American electorate. Since January, there has been no deterioration in any of the major indicators of political satisfaction, while the public's forecasts for both personal and national economic well-being are actually more optimistic than those made at the beginning of this year. While a significant degree of public restlessness is apparent in many survey findings, the overall national mood is relatively positive for the final year of his Presidency. Dukakis has thus built his lead without benefit of the usual stimulus for an opposition party's candidacy: widespread pessimism about the immediate future.

The public's short term personal optimism and favorable expectations for the country are significantly undercut by a persistent discontent with the state of the nation that has been evident since the Iran-Contra scandal eroded public confidence in the Reagan Administration. That dissatisfaction is now punctuated by longer term economic concerns. Large majorities of voters express concern over such issues as the loss of jobs due to foreign imports, a decline in the quality of American exports, and a loss of U.S. leadership in the area of science and technology. More

than a third took an extreme view in saying that the American economy is likely to collapse due to foreign competition in the coming decade. Long-term concerns of this magnitude necessarily undermine the normal political axiom that an electorate with high short-term expectations is one which will invariably favor continuity over change.

Analysis of presidential preferences indicate that perceptions of the state of the nation are far more important than short run economic expectations.

In effect Bush gets no lift from the economy as long as the public feels so divided about the future overall course of the nation.

This is not to discount the effect of the economy for the entire campaign. While optimism about the economy may not be especially relevant now, it may become so when the Republicans begin to beat this drum, and if and when, the climate of opinion about the Reagan Presidency changes. It should be kept in mind that there is a plurality in every one of the typology groups personally expecting better financial times next year. In contrast, dissatisfaction with the "way things are going in the country" is majority opinion among all Democratically-oriented groups and among Disaffecteds. People who are dissatisfied with the state of the nation generally don't differ from those who are satisfied as to what are the nation's problems; the drug problem is volunteered as the most important problem facing the nation among the satisfied, among the dissatisfied and in each and every typology group. However, the dissatisfied are much alarmed about the impact of foreign competition on jobs than are those content with the state of the nation.

On balance, given the nature of the long term trend on this question, the correlation with partisanship and the overall similarity in concerns between those satisfied and those dissatisfied, we conclude that this is best viewed as a measure of content with national leadership and direction.

As the public gives off conflicting signals with regard to mood, it also does not show consensus with regard to social justice themes. Although, social justice is the single value that best explains election

from a point that is adjacent to the line of the horizontal axis, a
vertical line is drawn perpendicular to the horizontal axis, and
the intersection of this vertical line with the normal distribution
curve is the point that is adjacent to the horizontal axis with which
the vertical line was drawn.
The normal distribution curve is a symmetric curve that is bell-shaped
and is centered at the mean of the data. The curve is symmetric
about the mean, and the area under the curve to the left of the
mean is equal to the area under the curve to the right of the mean.
The normal distribution curve is used to model many natural
phenomena, such as the height of people, the weight of babies,
and the length of pregnancies.

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and the length of pregnancies.

choices, when the public is questioned about government action to deal with specific social problems, there is broad based support for government involvement but limited support for increasing taxes to deal with national social problems.

Democratic and Democratic-leaning groups are more willing to endorse government initiatives on these social issues than are their Republican counterparts. However, this general pattern masks some important internal differences within each party's core constituencies. On the Democratic side, 60's Democrats and Seculars offer significantly greater support for government action on wide range of social issues (assuming it requires new taxes) than do other Democratic groups, particularly God & Country Democrats. Indeed, even New Dealers and the Partisan Poor list only a modest number of programs (drugs, the elderly, medical care) for which majorities are willing to endure additional taxes. This tension poses a problem for the Democrats, both internally and with the electorate as a whole. They are faced with the challenge of developing a party platform which is sufficiently activist on social issues that it will appeal to Seculars and 60's Democrats, yet not so broadly ambitious that it raises concerns about its fiscal implications.

On the Republican side, Enterprisers and Moralists predictably have both a more limited agenda for government action and a greater aversion to programs which would require new taxes than does the electorate as a whole. For Enterprisers, the most popular governmental initiatives (aside from the war against drugs), involve those which would improve the nation's "competitiveness", e.g., ensuring literacy and improving the quality of public education. (Enterprisers, in keeping with their economic ideology, are the least likely typology group to endorse full employment programs and safeguards against sudden layoffs). Moralists tend to restrict their governmental agenda to the basic issues of fighting drugs, ensuring a decent standard of living for the elderly, and (to a lesser extent) health care and education programs.

Interestingly, Upbeats stand apart from other Republican-oriented groups in their willingness to endorse governmental programs at rates comparable to those of the electorate as a whole. They largely lack traditional Republican antipathy toward government social programs which

choices, when the public is distressed about government action as well
with specific social programs, there is broad based support for government
intervention but limited support for increasing taxes to deal with national
social problems.

Researcher and Democratic-leaning groups are more willing to endorse
government intervention on these social issues than are their Republican
counterparts. However, this general pattern masks some important informal
differences - while both parties have reservations, on the Democratic
side the Democrats are more willing to significantly increase support for
government action on such issues of social reform (including financing
new taxes) than do their Republican counterparts. For example, the
Democrats believe that the federal government has a responsibility to
reduce the number of children living in poverty, while the Republicans
are more concerned with the impact on the federal budget. This difference
is evident for the Democrats' own interests, and in the education as a
whole. They are more willing to increase the federal government's
role in educationally motivated social issues than to increase the
role of the state government, and are more likely to support a
federal role in social issues.

In the education area, Democrats and Democrats predictively have
a more liberal agenda for government action and a greater aversion to
increases in state and federal taxes than does the Republican side.
While the Republicans, the most popular government, initially (state)
from the mid-1980s through the late 1990s, have been more likely to
national competitiveness, and ensuring literacy and improving the
quality of public education. (Education is linked with their
economic ideology, as the first priority group in various
significant programs and programs against children literacy. This
led to restrict their government's role in the area of fighting
drug, ensuring a decent standard of living for the elderly, and to
basic, extend health care and education programs.
Additionally, they tend to favor other social programs
such as their willingness to reduce government programs of
education in favor of the state role as a whole. They favor a
(additional) Republican majority toward government social programs with

George Bush's image positives are in being seen as having the record and experience to be President and as being well informed. Larger percentages of the public feel these characteristics apply to Bush than feel they apply to Dukakis. Bush's weaknesses are in not being seen as forceful, exciting, caring about the average voter or in offering a fresh approach. Dukakis is only somewhat better regarded on each of these dimensions, except with regard to the crucial perception of offering a fresh approach. But, even here, only 35% associate the phrase with Michael Dukakis. This is better than the 9% who feel it describes George Bush, but hardly a resounding expression of confidence in the Massachusetts Governor's ability to provide the change that seems so important to voters. In fact, this association with Dukakis is the most powerful discriminator of his support. Two of the three swing groups in this election are distinguished by their perception of the candidates on this dimension. Compared to other Republican-oriented voters Dukakis is seen by Disaffecteds as able to bring about a fresh approach. Compared to other Democrats, God & Country Democrats are more apt to ascribe that quality to Bush. For the third swing group, Seculars, image of the candidate does not differ markedly from the impression held by other Democrats. What continues to count for Seculars is feelings about the Reagan administration.

George Bush's image positive, and in doing so he leaves the record
and experience to be forgotten and as being well retained. Larger
percentages of the public feel these characteristics apply to Bush than
feel they apply to Clinton. Bush's weaknesses are in not being seen as
forceful, energetic, caring about the average voter or in offering a fresh
message. Clinton is only somewhat better regarded on each of these
dimensions, except with regard to the crucial question of offering a
fresh approach. But even here, only 52% associate the phrase with
Clinton. This is better than the 36% feel of Clinton's George
Bush, but hardly a reassuring expression of confidence in him.
Massachusetts Governor's ability to provide the change that voters so
important to voters. In fact, this survey shows that Clinton is the most
powerful determinant of his support. Two of the other swing groups in
this election are distinguished by their perception of the candidates on
this dimension. Compared to other significant-oriented voters, Clinton is
seen by disaffected as more to bring about a fresh approach. Compared to
other disaffected, and 4 Clinton's Bush's are more apt to believe that
we'll be such for the time with Clinton. Clinton, King of the
election does not differ markedly from the unswayed help by Clinton.
Democrats who continue to count for Clinton's feelings about the
George Bush's return.

KEY GRAPHS



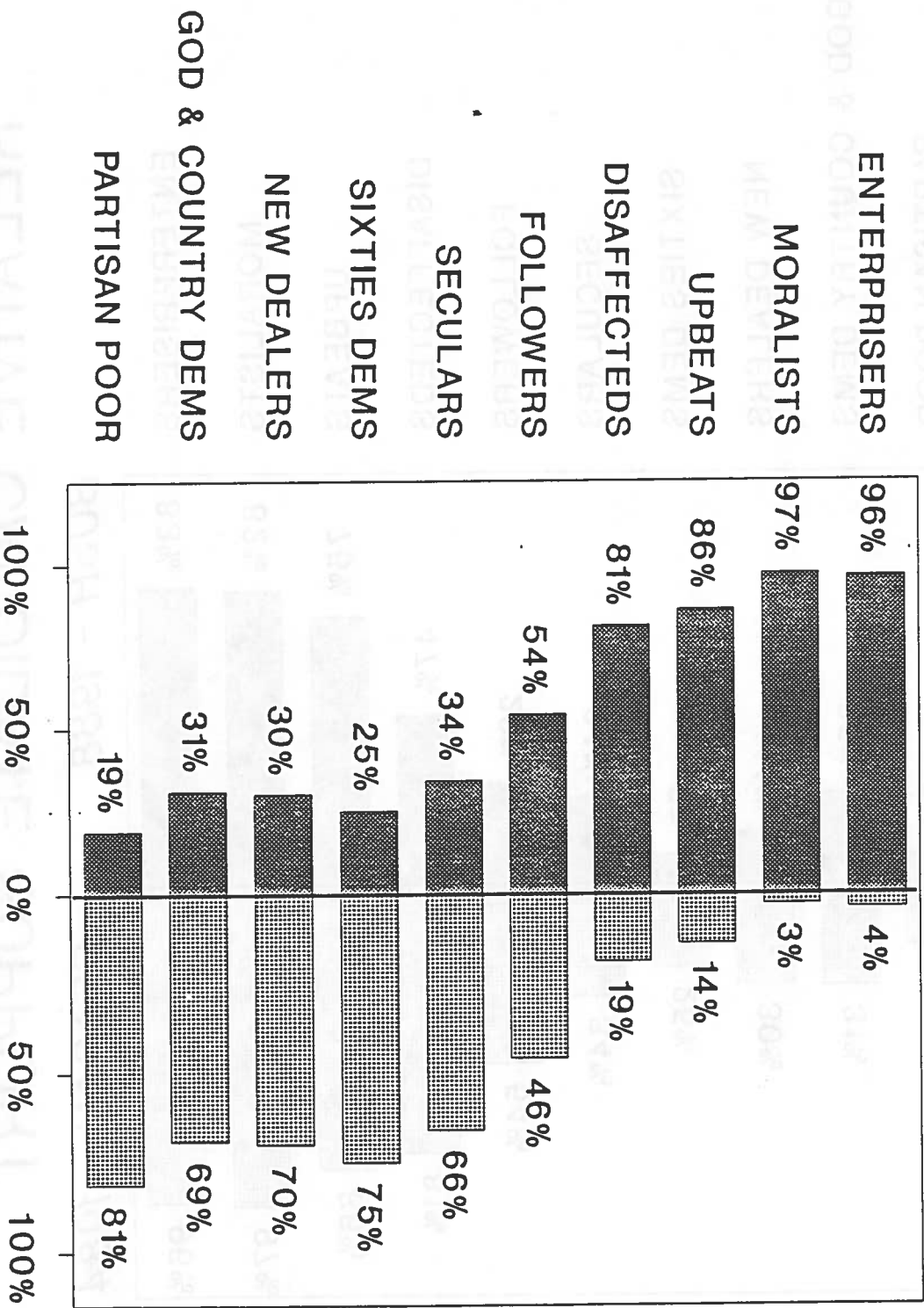
REV. GRAPHIC

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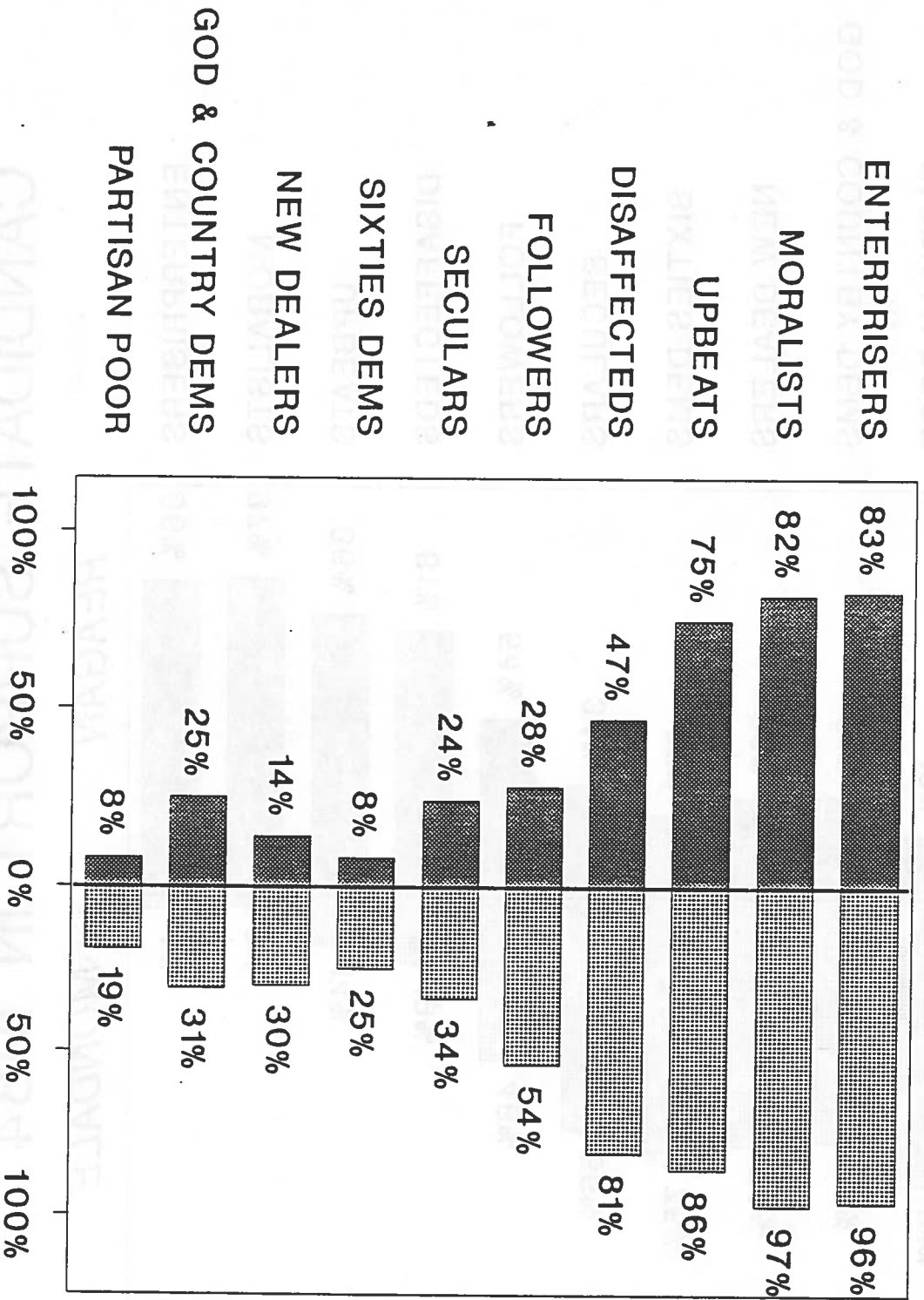
CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1984

REAGAN MONDALE



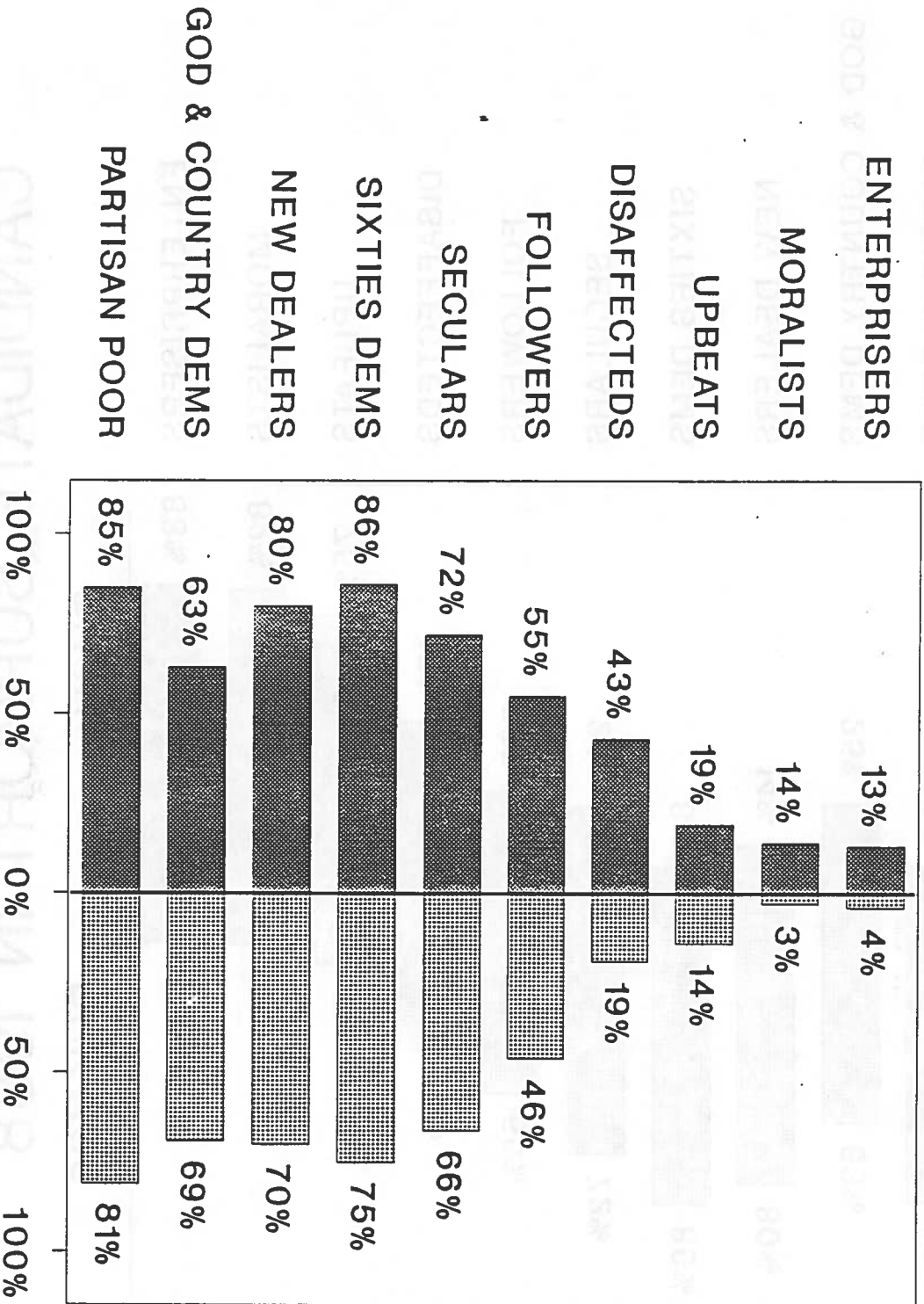
RELATIVE CANDIDATE SUPPORT

BUSH - 1988 REAGAN - 1984



RELATIVE CANDIDATE SUPPORT

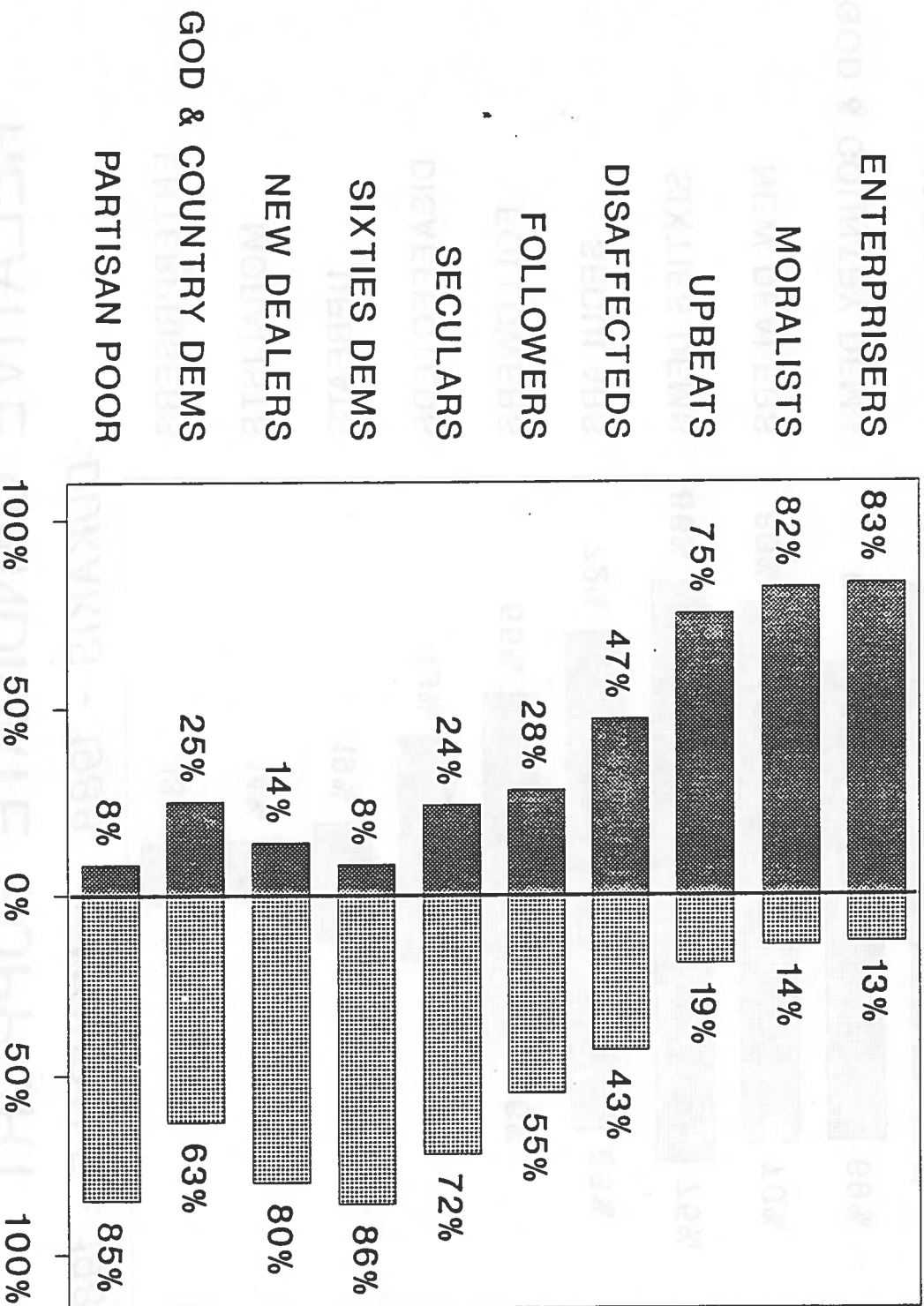
DUKAKIS - 1988 MONDALE - 1984



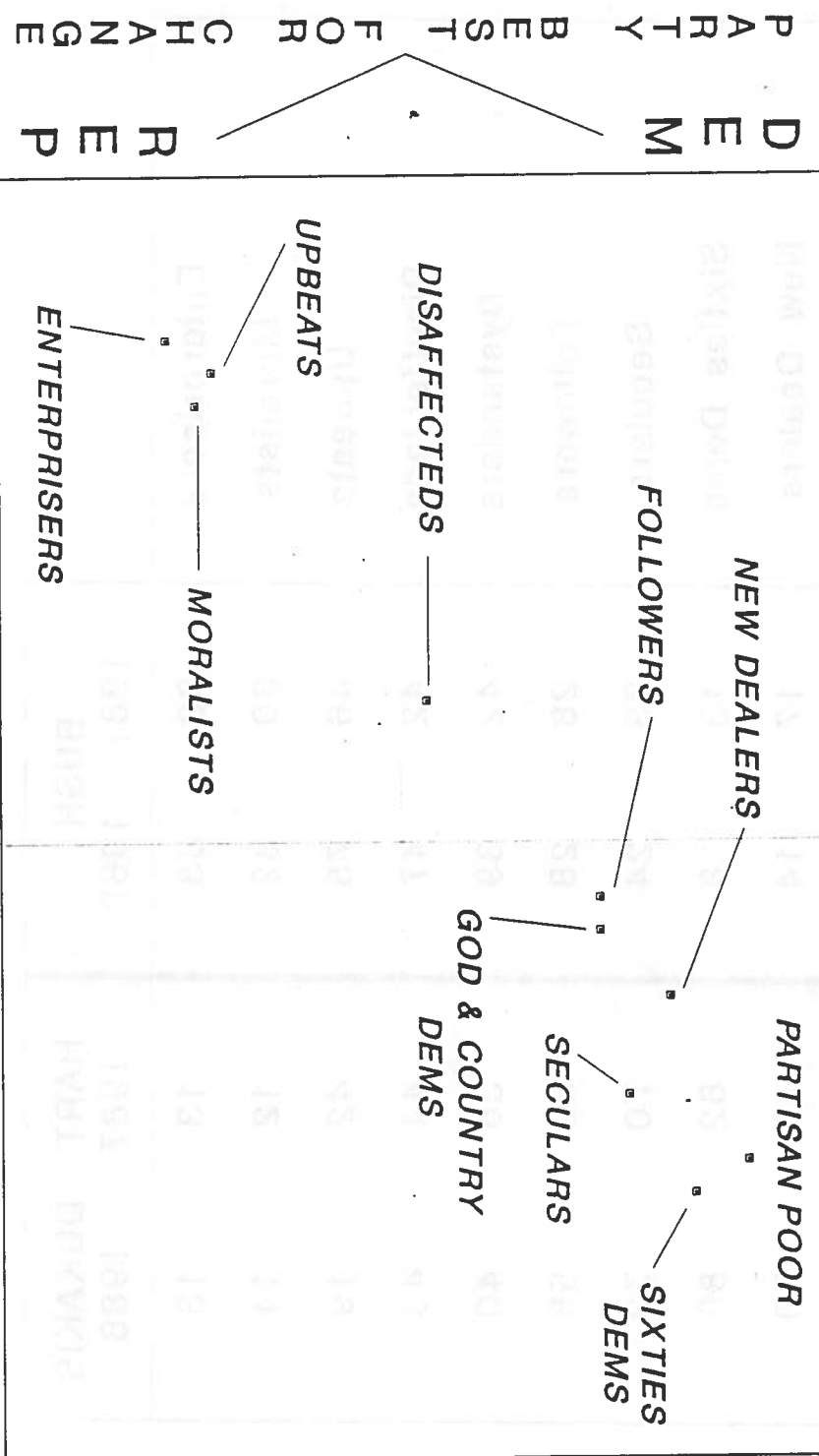
CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN 1988

BUSH

DUKAKIS



CONTINUITY AND CHANGE AND THE 1988 VOTE

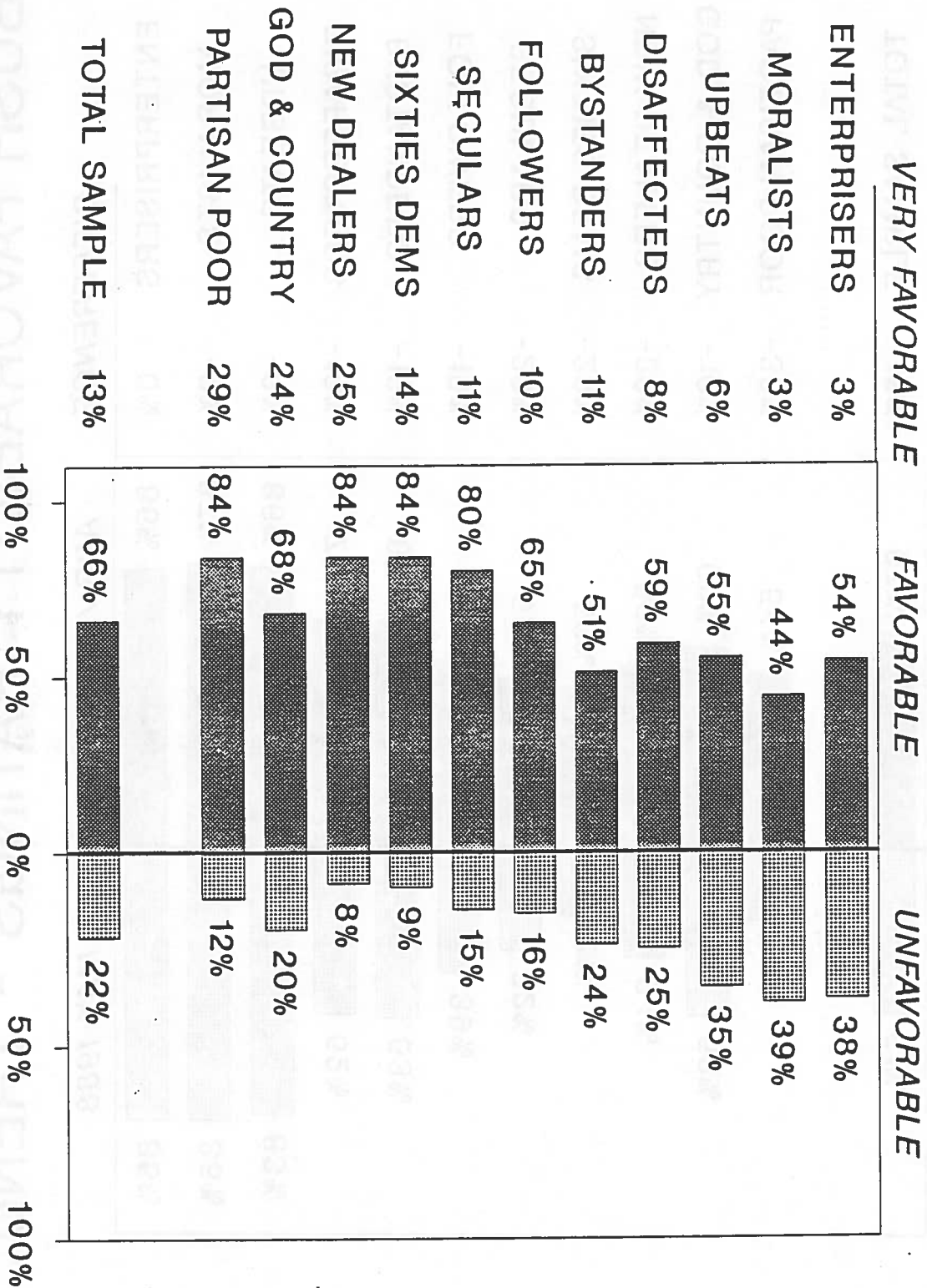


APPROVE OPINION OF REAGAN DISAPPROVE

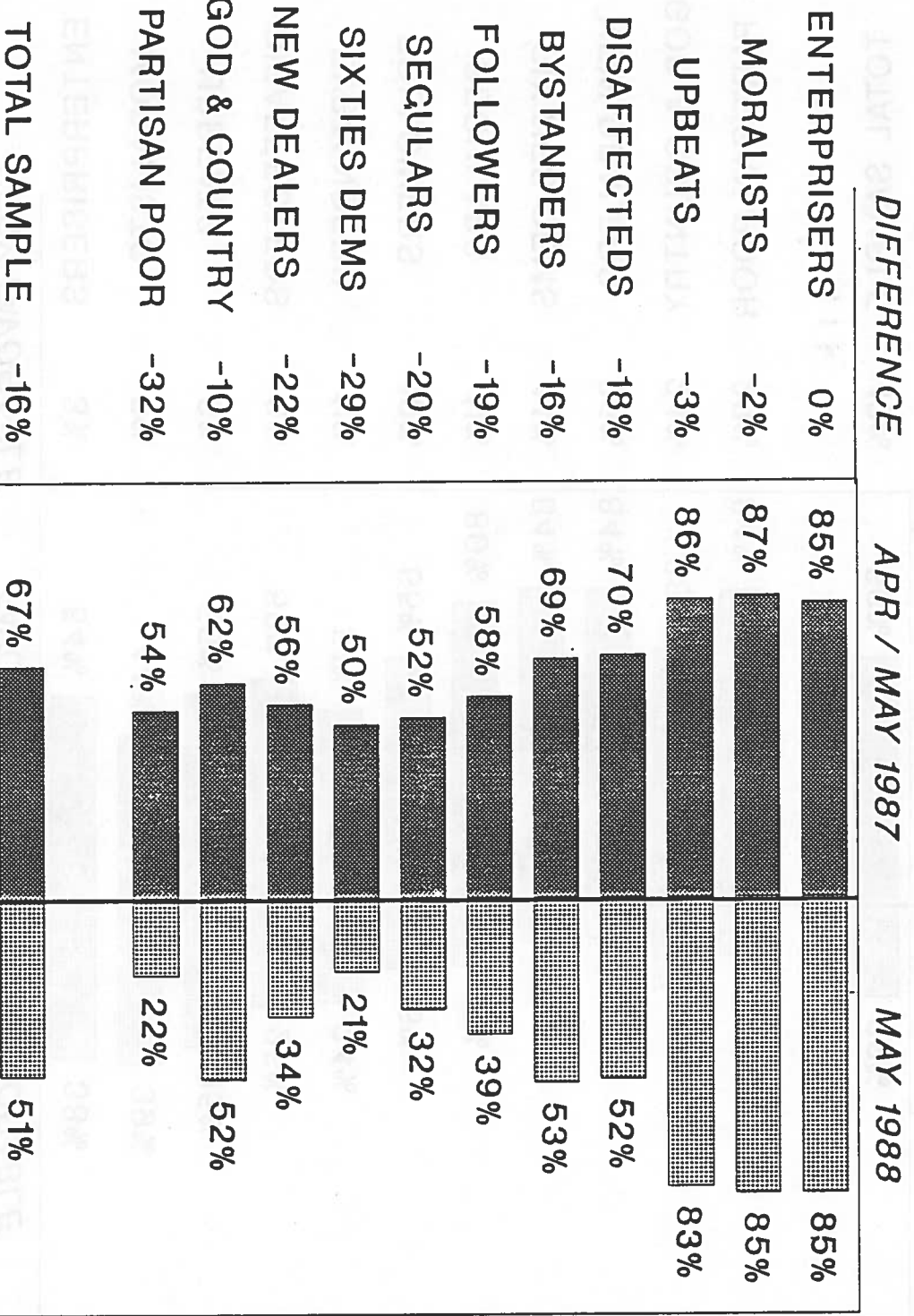
RELATIVE SUPPORT BY GROUP FOR A BUSH-DUKAKIS AND A BUSH-HART CONTEST

	BUSH		HART		DUKAKIS	
	1987	1988	1987	1988	1987	1988
Enterprisers	83	83	13	13	13	13
Moralists	80	82	12	14	12	14
Upbeats	46	75	42	19	42	19
Disaffecteds	42	47	44	43	44	43
Bystanders	42	39	35	40	35	40
Followers	28	28	53	55	53	55
Seculars	23	24	70	72	70	72
Sixties Dems	13	8	82	86	82	86
New Dealers	17	14	76	80	76	80
God & Country Dems	25	25	65	63	65	63
Partisan Poor	12	8	82	85	82	85
TOTAL SAMPLE	39	40	52	53	52	53

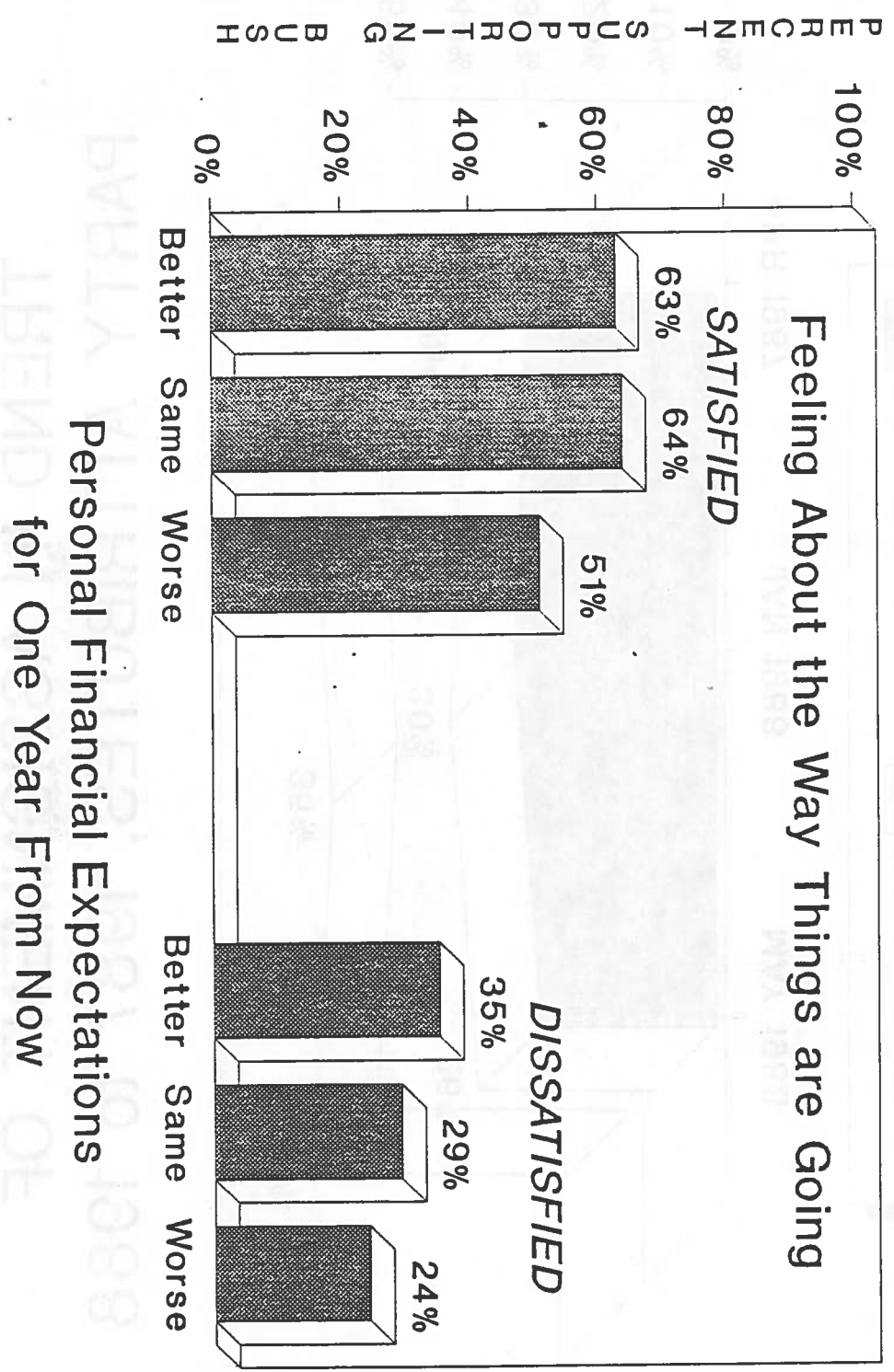
DUKAKIS FAVORABILITY RATINGS



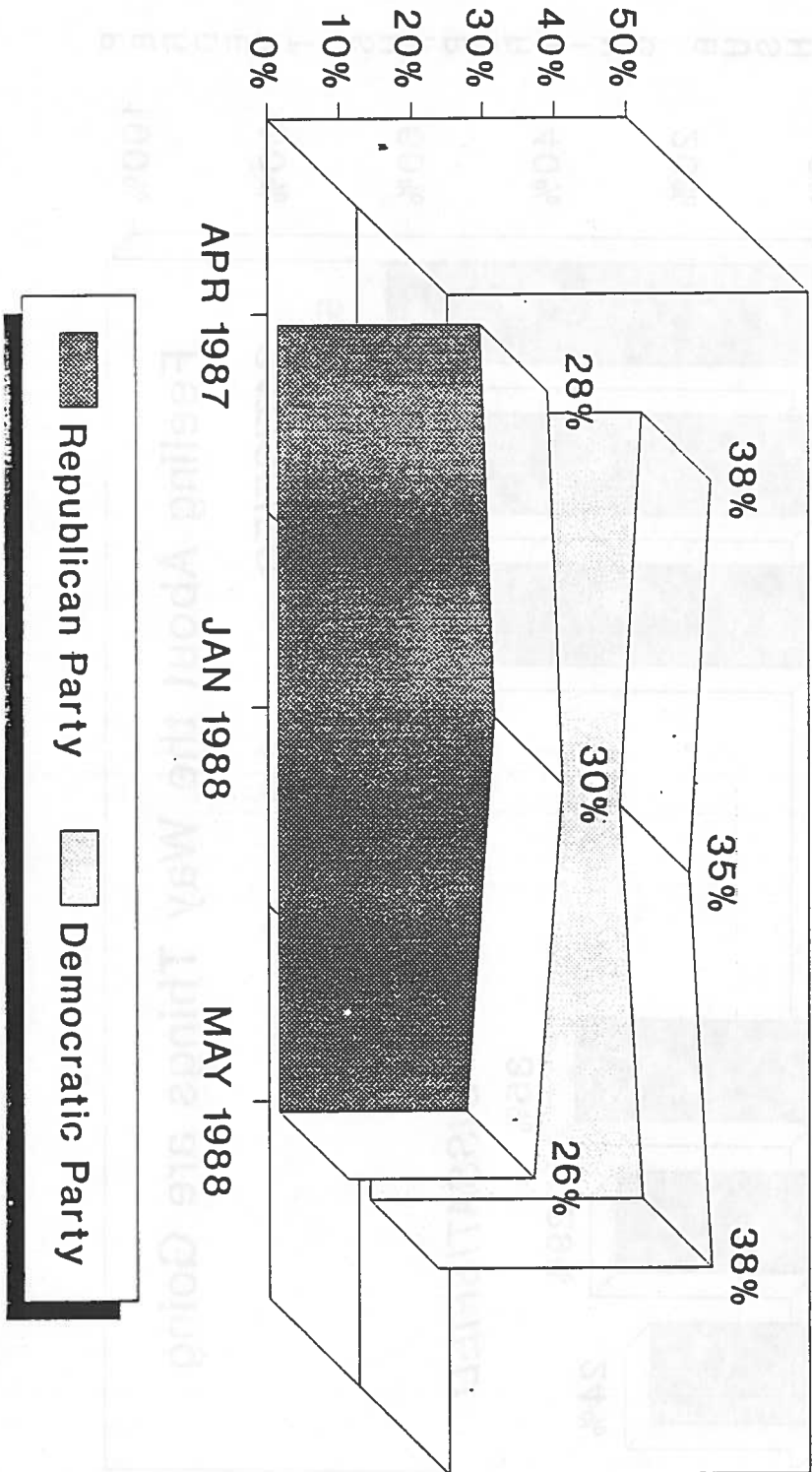
BUSH FAVORABILITY RATINGS - TREND



RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SUPPORT FOR BUSH, ECONOMIC EXPECTATIONS, AND SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING

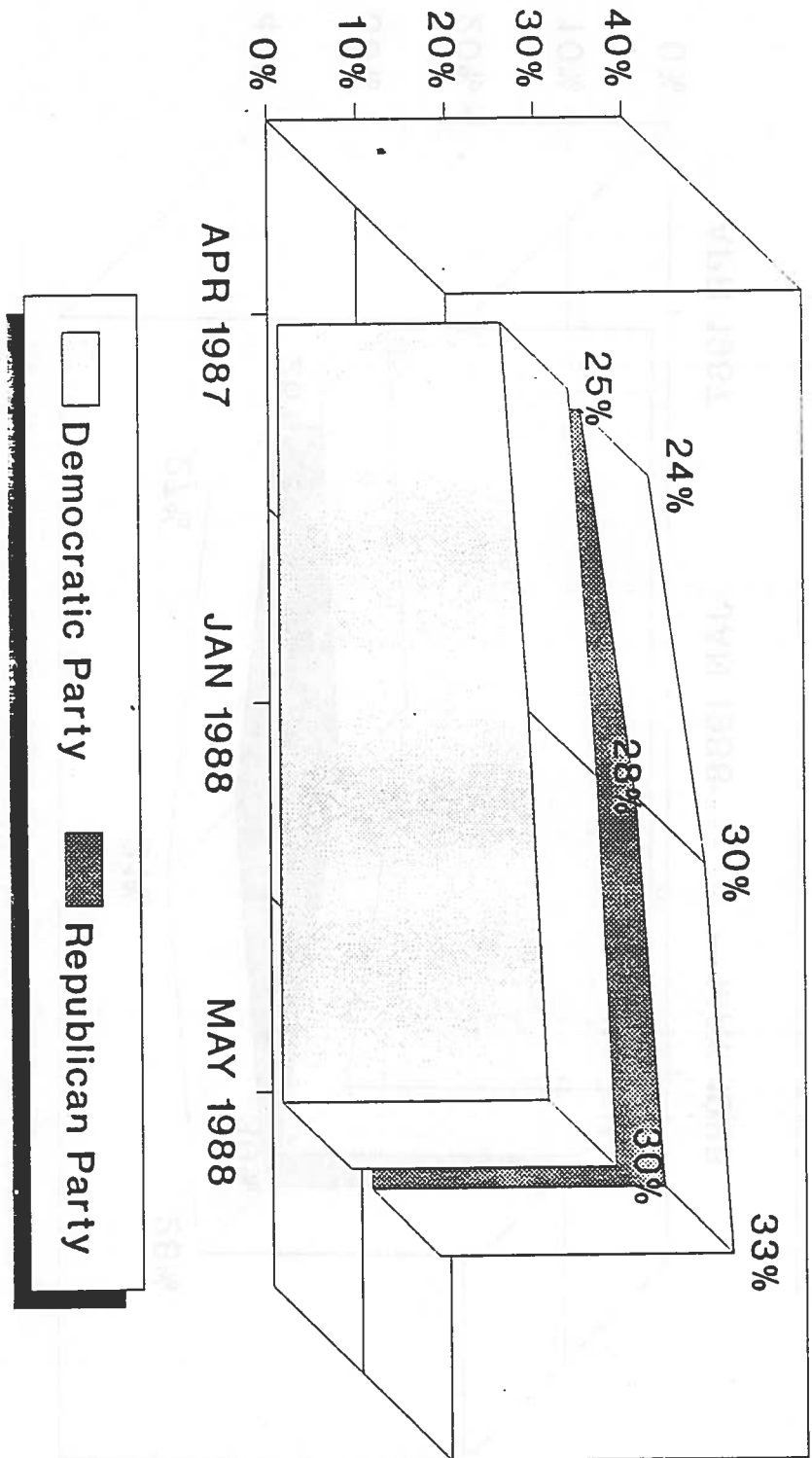


TREND IN ASSIGNMENT OF PARTY ATTRIBUTES, 1987 to 1988



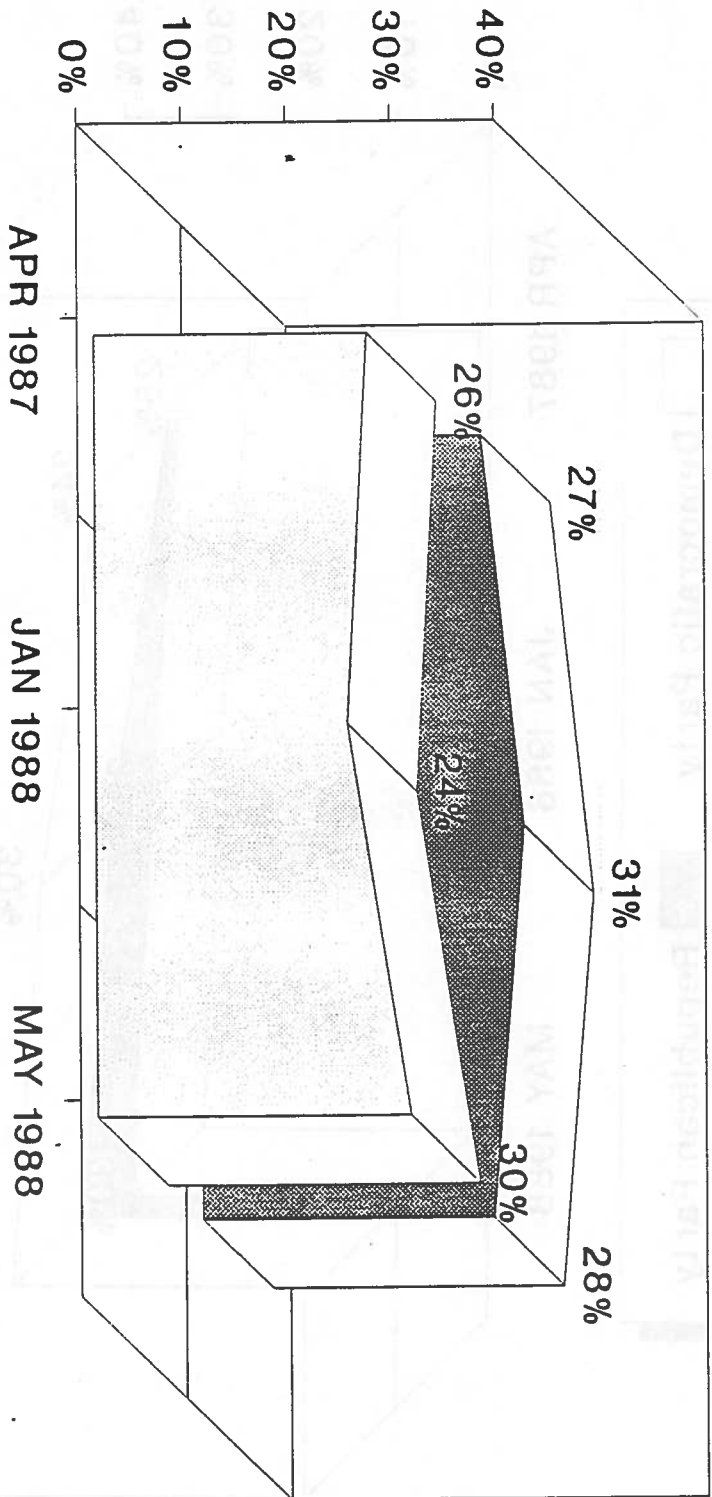
PARTY BEST ABLE TO DEAL WITH MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS

TREND IN ASSIGNMENT OF POLICE PARTY ATTRIBUTES, 1987 to 1988



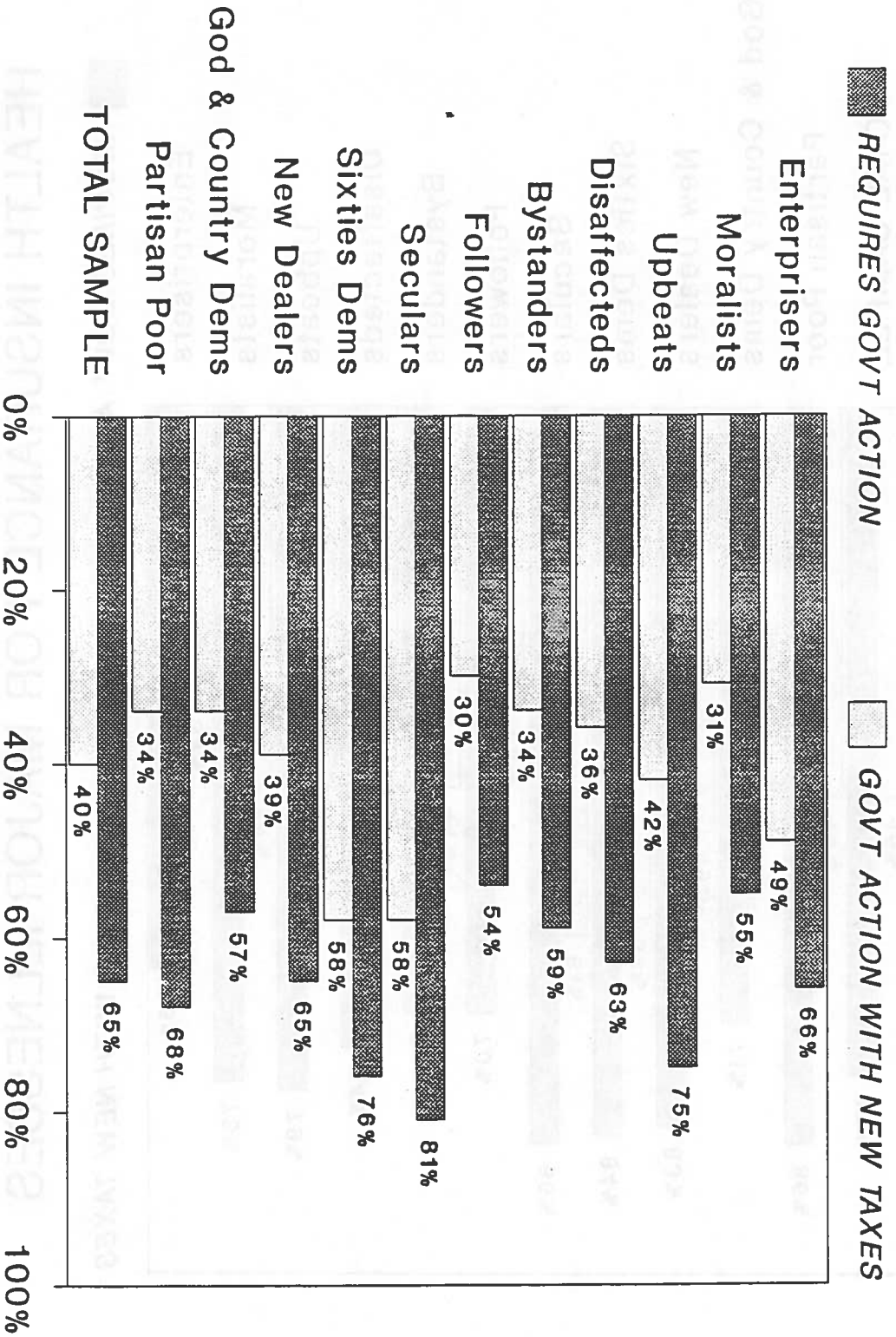
IS ABLE TO MANAGE THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WELL

TREND IN ASSIGNMENT OF PARTY ATTRIBUTES, 1987 to 1988

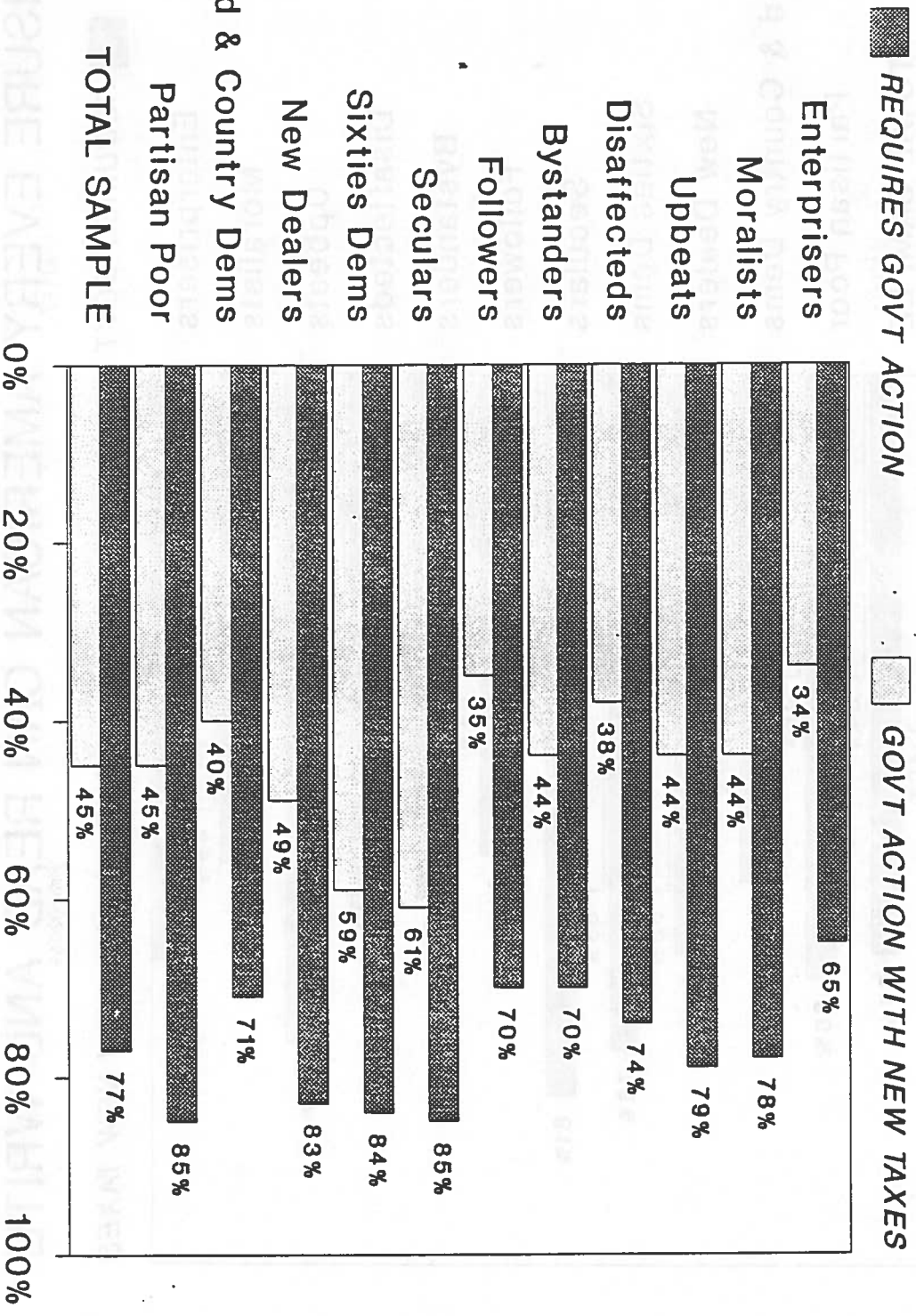


SELECTS GOOD CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE

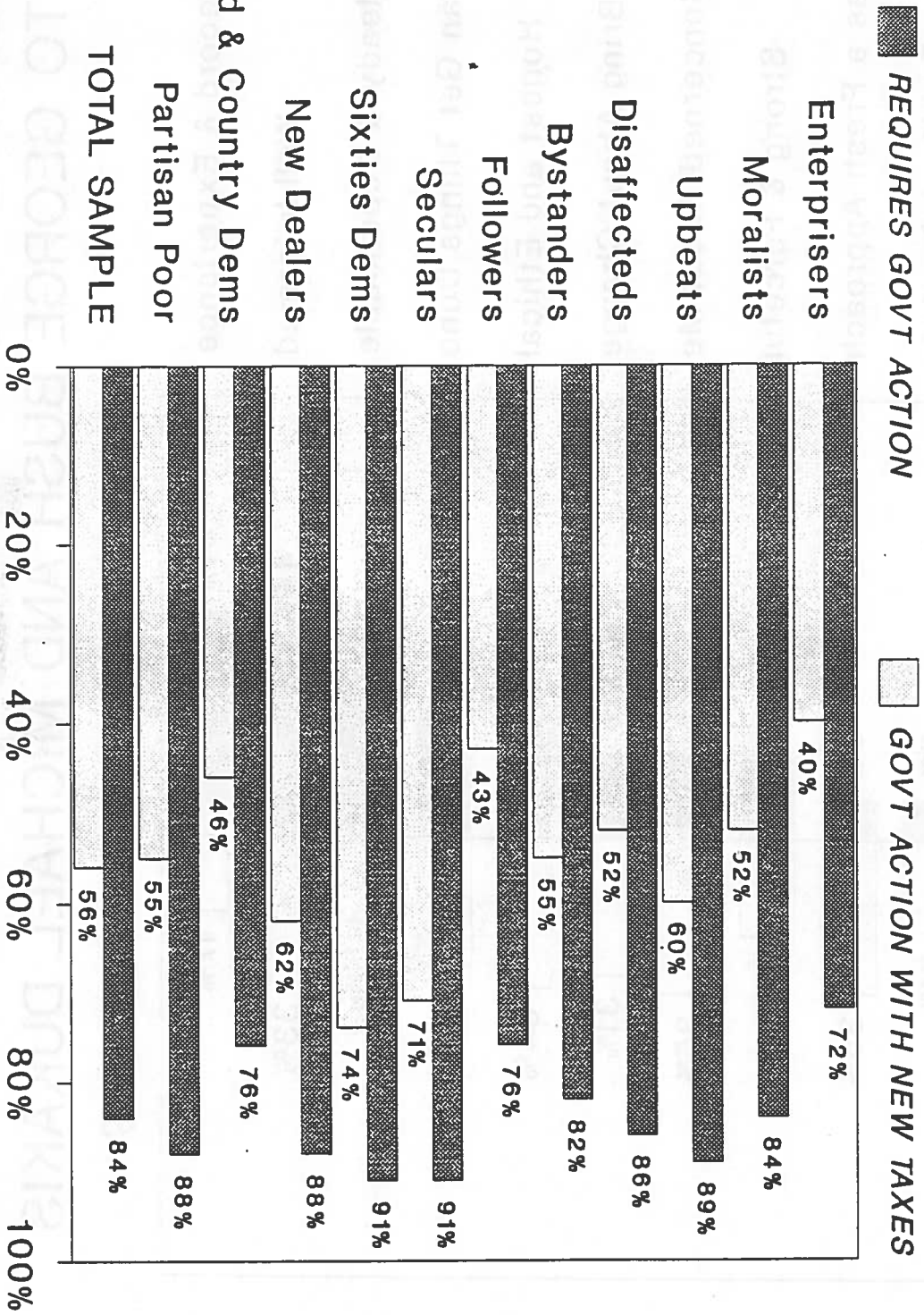
SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT ACTION TO INSURE EVERY AMERICAN CAN READ AND WRITE



SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT ACTION TO PROVIDE HEALTH INSURANCE FOR MAJOR ILLNESSES

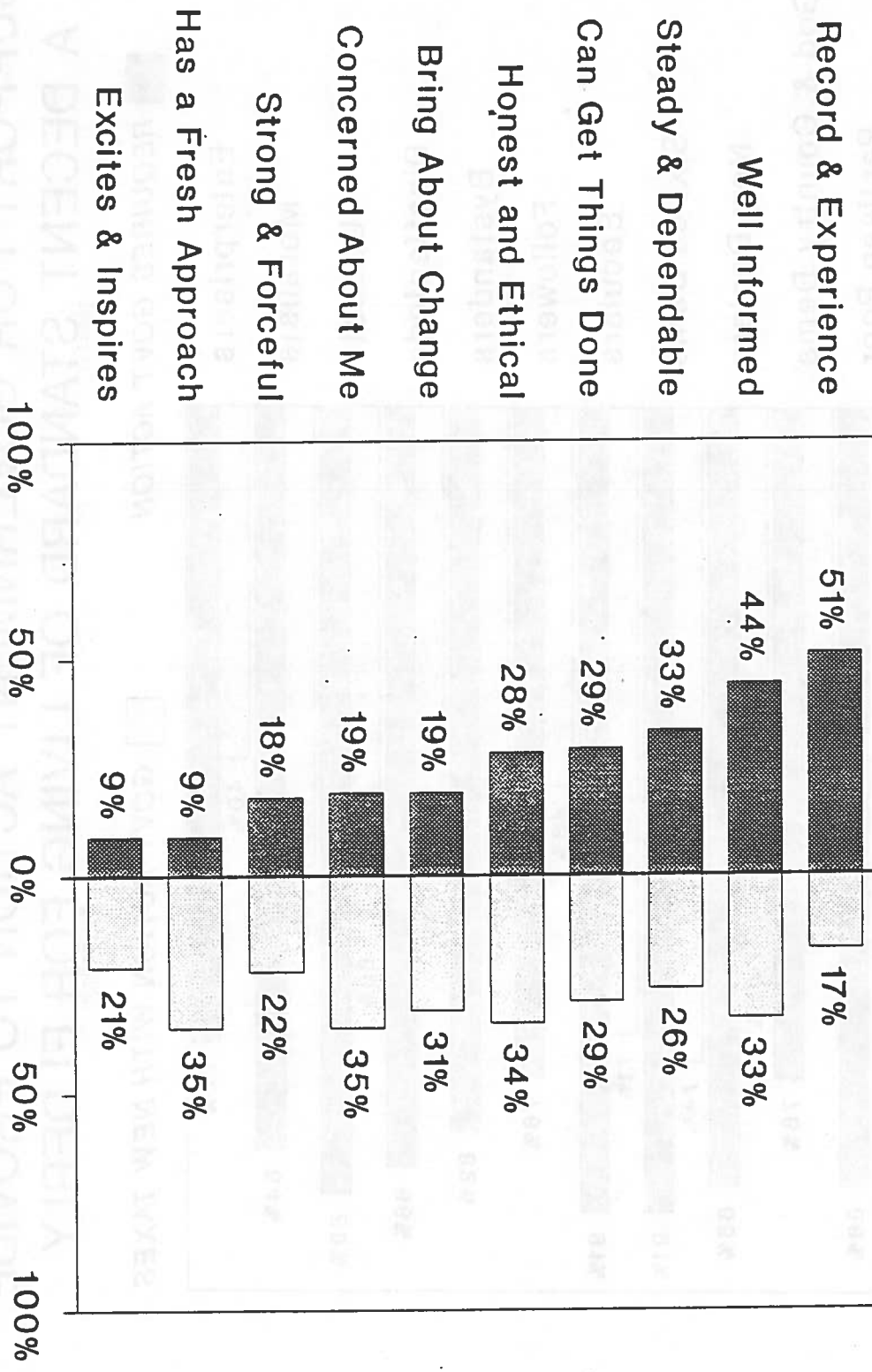


SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT ACTION TO PROVIDE A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING FOR ELDERLY

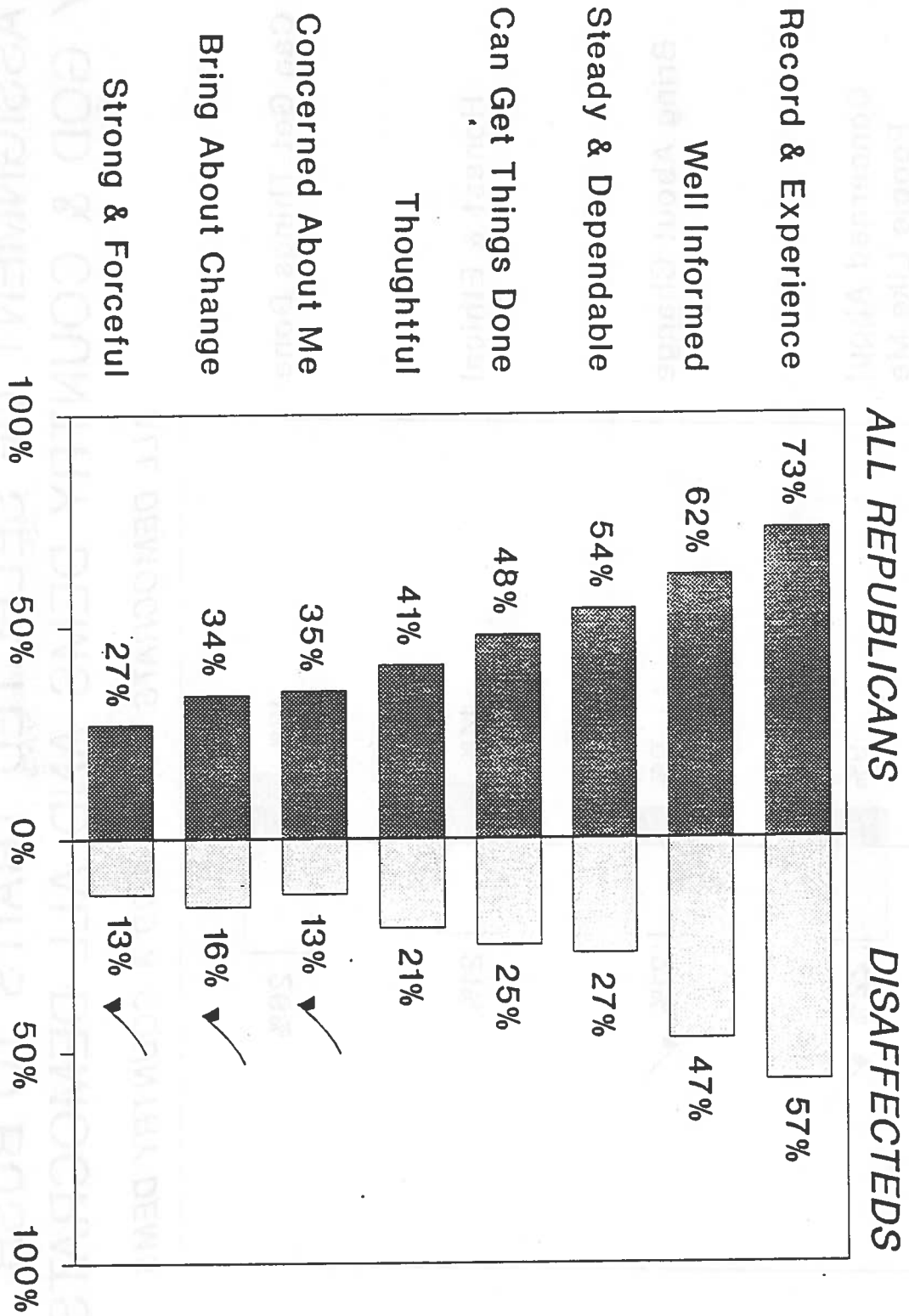


RELATIVE ASSIGNMENT OF PERSONAL TRAITS TO GEORGE BUSH AND MICHAEL DUKAKIS

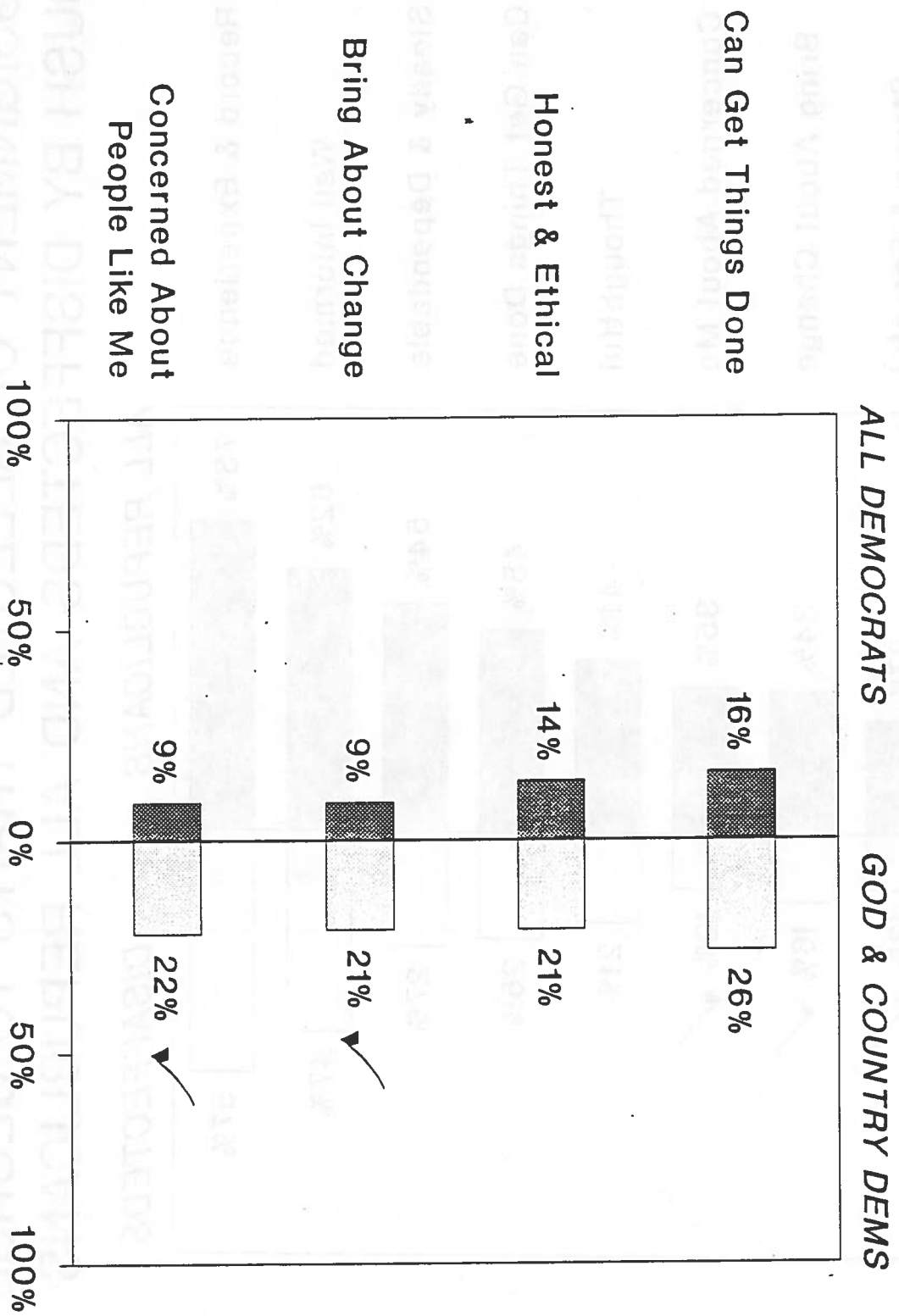
BUSH DUKAKIS



ASSIGNMENT OF SELECTED TRAITS TO GEORGE BUSH BY DISFECTEDS AND ALL REPUBLICANS



ASSIGNMENT OF SELECTED TRAITS TO BUSH BY GOD & COUNTRY DEMS AND ALL DEMOCRATS



FINDINGS



1941/1942

1941

CANDIDATE STANDING

This survey assessed the strength of the presidential candidacies of George Bush and Michael Dukakis in four ways: by obtaining head to head trial heat measures, by examining the general disposition of the public to vote for a Republican or Democratic presidential candidate, by looking at each candidate's overall favorability rating and by assessing the personal image of each man.

Michael Dukakis is a stronger candidate than George Bush on each measure, but especially with regard to personal favorability and image.

Favorability

Michael Dukakis has emerged not only as the Democratic nominee but also as a popular national figure who has few enemies. His overall favorability ratings exceed those of Ronald Reagan and equal those of such notable Americans as Ted Kennedy, Billy Graham, and Lee Iacocca. However, the Massachusetts governor does not evoke intensely positive feelings. Although two-thirds of the public hold a favorable opinion of him, only 13% rate him very favorably.

In contrast, a bare majority (51%) has a favorable opinion of George Bush. Over the past twelve months, the Vice President has become increasingly unpopular. In April/May of 1987, only 26% had an unfavorable opinion of him, compared to 42% who currently give him an unfavorable rating. One indication of Bush's problems with the public is that his current ratings are only slightly better than those of Jesse Jackson, a candidate who has also experienced some decline in favorability over the past few months. In fact, despite Jackson's vaunted primary success, he has a few more detractors among the public than he had a year ago.

**TREND IN FAVORABILITY RATINGS
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE**

	APRIL/MAY <u>1987</u>	APRIL* <u>1988</u>	MAY <u>1988</u>
<u>GEORGE BUSH</u>			
TOTAL FAVORABLE	67%	55%	51%
VERY FAVORABLE	11	13	11
MOSTLY FAVORABLE	56	42	40
TOTAL UNFAVORABLE	26	37	42
MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	19	21	25
VERY UNFAVORABLE	7	16	17
NEVER HEARD OF/CAN'T RATE	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100

<u>MICHAEL DUKAKIS</u>			
TOTAL FAVORABLE	38%**	65%	66%
VERY FAVORABLE	9	16	13
MOSTLY FAVORABLE	29	49	53
TOTAL UNFAVORABLE	12	19	22
MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	9	16	18
VERY UNFAVORABLE	3	3	4
NEVER HEARD OF/CAN'T RATE	<u>50</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100

<u>JESSE JACKSON</u>			
TOTAL FAVORABLE	51%	41%	46%
VERY FAVORABLE	13	11	11
MOSTLY FAVORABLE	38	30	35
TOTAL UNFAVORABLE	41	47	46
MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	24	28	27
VERY UNFAVORABLE	17	19	19
NEVER HEARD OF/CAN'T RATE	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100

<u>RONALD REAGAN</u>			
TOTAL FAVORABLE	62%	57%	56%
VERY FAVORABLE	21	22	16
MOSTLY FAVORABLE	41	35	40
TOTAL UNFAVORABLE	36	37	40
MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	22	18	22
VERY UNFAVORABLE	14	19	18
NEVER HEARD OF/CAN'T RATE	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100

SAMPLE SIZE (4244) (1204) (3021)

*GALLUP TREND - BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

**THIS FAVORABILITY RATING FOR MICHAEL DUKAKIS WAS MEASURED IN
SEPTEMBER (9/1/87-9/13/87)

Question 202: 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.

An important measure of the breadth of Dukakis' appeal is the fact that in every typology group, except the Moralists, a majority have a favorable opinion of him. However, even among Moralists favorable ratings out number unfavorable evaluations (44% to 39%). Broad support notwithstanding, Dukakis does not get enthusiastic ratings from any of the groups. His very favorable rating only breaks the 20% threshold among the New Dealers, God & Country Democrats and the Partisan Poor. It's important to note that many voters in the less politically sophisticated groups (Moralists, Bystanders and Followers) have low levels of candidate recognition, and are still unable to evaluate Dukakis.

George Bush is only able to top Dukakis' favorability ratings among Enterprisers, Moralists and Upbeats. Disaffecteds, however, are more likely to rate Michael Dukakis favorably (59%) than they are George Bush (52%). On the Democratic side Bush is best regarded by the loyalist God & Country Democrats (52% favorable), and about a third of Seculars (32%) and New Dealers (34%) continue to think well of the Vice President.

**FAVORABILITY RATINGS
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE**

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	BY- STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
<u>GEORGE BUSH</u>												
TOTAL FAVORABLE	51	85	85	83	52	53	39	32	21	34	52	22
VERY FAVORABLE	11	21	28	21	7	11	9	4	1	5	13	3
MOSTLY FAVORABLE	40	64	57	62	45	42	30	27	20	29	40	19
TOTAL UNFAVORABLE	42	13	12	12	43	32	44	64	75	61	37	72
MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	25	10	9	10	27	20	24	37	47	37	16	38
VERY UNFAVORABLE	17	3	3	3	16	12	19	28	28	24	21	34
NEVER HEARD OF/ CAN'T RATE	7	2	2	5	5	16	18	4	4	5	11	6
<u>MICHAEL DUKAKIS</u>												
TOTAL FAVORABLE	66	54	44	55	59	51	65	80	84	84	68	84
VERY FAVORABLE	13	3	3	6	8	11	10	11	14	25	24	29
MOSTLY FAVORABLE	53	51	42	49	51	40	55	69	71	59	44	55
TOTAL UNFAVORABLE	22	38	39	35	25	24	16	15	9	8	20	12
MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	18	28	29	32	21	20	14	14	8	7	16	8
VERY UNFAVORABLE	4	10	10	4	4	3	3	1	2	1	5	4
NEVER HEARD OF/ CAN'T RATE	12	8	17	9	16	25	19	4	7	9	11	4
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Looking at the decline in George Bush's favorability ratings over the past year, we see a familiar pattern. Almost all of the decrease in his popularity occurred in the Democratically-oriented groups and among the Disaffecteds. God & Country Democrats were the Democratic group that showed the least fall off in support for the Vice President. This pattern is almost identical to the pattern of loss of political support that was experienced by Ronald Reagan from 1984 to 1987.

This would lend credence to the belief that Bush's decline did not reflect any specific problem with the American public, but rather it reflected his gaining the national spotlight as a symbol of the Reagan Administration.

**TREND IN FAVORABILITY RATING FOR GEORGE BUSH
(PERCENT MENTIONING)**

	<u>GEORGE BUSH</u>	
	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>
Total	67%	51%
Enterprisers	85%	85%
Moralists	87%	85%
Upbeats	86%	83%
Disaffecteds	70%	52%
Bystanders	69%	53%
Followers	58%	39%
Seculars	52%	32%
60's Democrats	50%	21%
New Dealers	56%	34%
God & Country Democrats	62%	52%
Partisan Poor	54%	22%

Note: Sample sizes vary by survey and are given, by group, in the Technical Appendix.

Personal Image

Neither of these candidates has achieved sharply drawn public images. Dukakis has a better image because few people have unfavorable impressions of him, but only a minority of the public associates positive characteristics with the Massachusetts governor.

Dukakis' advantage in overall favorability is not predicated on an informed evaluation of him relative to Bush. Dukakis has a vague, mildly positive image while the Vice President carries some strong negatives and relatively few positives. In effect, it will be harder for Bush to change his image because he is more of a known quantity, but opinion of Dukakis is likely to change as it becomes more defined.

George Bush's image positives are in being seen as having the record and experience to be President and as being well informed. Larger percentages of the public feel these characteristics apply to Bush than feel they apply to Dukakis. Bush's weaknesses are in the relatively low proportions of people who see him as forceful, exciting, caring about the average voter or offering a fresh approach. Dukakis is only somewhat better perceived on each of these dimensions, except with regard to offering a fresh approach. But, even on that item only 35% associate the phrase with Michael Dukakis. This is better than the 9% who feel it describes George Bush, but it is hardly a measure of broad based confidence in Dukakis. Both candidates are relatively weak on perceived ability to accomplish things (29% for each) and in being viewed as thoughtful (28% for Dukakis, 25% for Bush).

CANDIDATE IMAGE
(PERCENT MENTIONING)
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	<u>GEORGE BUSH</u>	<u>MICHAEL DUKAKIS</u>
Has the record and experience for the job of president	51%	17%
Well informed	44%	33%
Steady and dependable	33%	26%
Can get things done	29%	29%
Honest and ethical	28%	34%
Thoughtful	25%	28%
Concerned about the needs of people like me	19%	35%
Can bring about the changes the country needs	19%	31%
Strong and forceful	18%	22%
Too extreme on issues	13%	12%
Excites and inspires people	9%	21%
Has a fresh approach	9%	35%
None	13%	7%
Don't know	10%	17%
Sample Size	(3021)	(3021)

Questions 204: Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to George Bush. Please read off you answers by number. And what about Michael Dukakis?

Examining the images of the candidates by the typology provides clues on the candidates' standings at this point.

Disaffecteds - compared to other Republican-oriented groups, these voters are much less apt to see Bush as forceful, honest and ethical, able to accomplish things, and caring about voters like themselves. While they generally agree with other Republican-oriented voters on the image of Michael Dukakis, they are more inclined to see him as being able to bring about the changes the country needs and as offering a fresh approach.

Other Republicans - Republican partisans tend to have a relatively good image of Bush vs. Dukakis. However, Bush should be uneasy that Upbeats, and to some degree Enterprisers, rate the two candidates about equally with regard to being concerned about the needs of voters like themselves.

God & Country Democrats - compared to other Democrats, these older, less politicized voters see Bush as concerned with people like them, able to get things done, and able to bring about needed change. They are more doubtful than most Democrats that Dukakis will reflect their needs and that he will be able to get things done.

Other core Democratic Groups - 60's Democrats have the best impression of Dukakis but it really doesn't differ in kind from the views of New Dealers and the Partisan Poor. All give the Massachusetts governor good marks for being concerned with voters like themselves and having a fresh approach. However, even in these very partisan groups his image remains vague and not sharply drawn. Only among 60's Democrats do we find a majority of respondents associating positive image items with Dukakis.

Seculars - despite their propensity to support George Bush, there is nothing apparent in their impressions of Bush or Dukakis to explain Secular's voting intentions. They evaluate George Bush in the same way as the 60's Democrats, and they are about as positive with regard to Dukakis as are members of other Democratically-oriented groups. Candidate image, at least as measured in this study, does not appear to be at issue in their relatively high rate of support for George Bush.

CANDIDATE IMAGE
(PERCENT MENTIONING)
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	<u>Concerned about the needs of people like me</u>		<u>Can get things done</u>		<u>Can bring about changes the country needs</u>		<u>Has a fresh approach</u>	
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>
Total	19%	35%	29%	29%	19%	31%	9%	35%
Enterprisers	37%	27%	58%	20%	31%	11%	11%	25%
Moralists	40%	19%	47%	12%	36%	13%	19%	26%
Upbeats	38%	30%	53%	28%	44%	18%	15%	37%
Disaffecteds	13%	24%	25%	14%	16%	28%	7%	37%
Bystanders	18%	22%	23%	20%	20%	22%	12%	23%
Followers	14%	31%	23%	24%	16%	30%	9%	28%
Seculars	5%	46%	20%	44%	6%	44%	2%	39%
60's Democrats	10%	58%	21%	57%	6%	48%	1%	47%
New Dealers	9%	49%	15%	40%	9%	45%	7%	45%
God & Country Democrats	22%	31%	26%	27%	21%	29%	13%	34%
Partisan Poor	5%	47%	12%	39%	6%	48%	6%	39%

Party Voting Intentions

Over the past year, there have been only slight changes in the public's disposition to vote for a Republican or Democratic candidate for President. In April/May of 1987, 30% of the voting age public said they were inclined to vote for a Republican candidate for President. In the current survey 33% gave that response. Similarly, support for a Democratic candidate rose from 40% to 46% during that time period.

Of greater interest than the overall results are the trends in voting disposition by group. For the Republicans, we observe a large and consistent increase among Upbeats in the propensity to vote for a GOP candidate. This is of considerable importance given the somewhat tenuous

links of this group to the party and because Upbeats are mostly young people without well formed voting patterns. We also see an increased disposition to vote Republican among two Democratic groups who are giving some support to George Bush -- God & Country Democrats and Seculars.

For the Democrats, there has been a major increase in expressed support from Disaffecteds and 60's Democrats, two groups who share an inordinate level of support for Dukakis relative to that of their peers.

VOTING INTENTION

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	REPUBLICAN			DEMOCRATIC		
	April/May 1987	Jan. 1988	May 1988	April/May 1987	Jan. 1988	May 1988
Total	30%	33%	33%	40	42	46
Enterprisers	77%	81%	83%	3	2	6
Moralists	77%	89%	78%	4	2	5
Upbeats	47%	62%	70%	12	13	11
Disaffecteds	28%	28%	34%	17	24	29
Bystanders	24%	23%	24%	25	34	33
Followers	23%	21%	19%	42	47	48
Seculars	12%	7%	23%	61	69	62
60's Democrats	5%	5%	3%	73	76	86
New Dealers	2%	7%	6%	77	74	77
God & Country Democrats	7%	13%	19%	67	55	56
Partisan Poor	2%	7%	4%	87	84	89

Note: Sample sizes vary by survey and are given, by group, in the Technical Appendix.

Question 102: 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?

Candidate Preferences

Fifty-three percent of registered voters in the survey said they would vote for Dukakis if the election were being held today, while 40% said they would vote for Bush. As the trend table below indicates, Bush has led his Democratic challenger only once since Gallup first assessed the appeal of the two men in a measurement taken right after Super Tuesday.

CANDIDATE PREFERENCES: BUSH VS. DUKAKIS BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	Post Super Tuesday March 10-12*	Post NY Primary April 21-23*	May 13-15*	May 13-22	June 10-12*
Bush	52%	45%	38%	40%	38%
Dukakis	40	43	54	53	52
Other/DK	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	(625)	(1,204)	(1,204)	(2,416)	(1005)

*Gallup Trend

Support for both candidates is soft at this time. Only about a third of those who chose each candidate considered themselves strong supporters. Bush's support is a little firmer than that of Dukakis, but more importantly, Bush's support is mostly pro-Bush and not anti-Dukakis, while Dukakis' support has a large anti-Bush component to it. In fact, half of Dukakis support is anti-Bush.

A large plurality of supporters of both candidates say they might change their minds between now and election day. However, Dukakis's supporters are less apt to say they might switch.

As was characteristic of patterns of support in the final major primaries, Dukakis supporters combine a lack of enthusiasm for their candidate with little inclination to switch to his opponent. In both the primaries and now in the general election, that pattern is at least partly related to negative attitudes toward Jackson and Bush. In effect, given the similarity between Bush and Jackson's favorability ratings at this time, Dukakis could go all the way to the White House without engendering a strong commitment from voters.

**CANDIDATE PREFERENCES: BUSH VS. DUKAKIS
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS**

	Post NY April 21-23*	May 13-15*	May 13-22
<u>Strength</u>			
Bush	NA	38%	40%
Strongly		14	12
Only Moderately		24	28
Dukakis		54%	53%
Strongly		19	14
Only Moderately		35	38
<u>Direction</u>			
Bush	45%	38%	40%
Pro-Bush	35	27	26
Anti-Dukakis	6	7	11
Undecided	4	4	3
Dukakis	43%	54%	53%
Pro-Dukakis	22	26	23
Anti-Bush	17	25	26
Undecided	4	3	4
<u>Switching</u>			
Bush	NA	NA	40%
Good Chance			4
Some Chance			11
No Chance Whatsoever			23
Don't Know			2
Dukakis			53%
Good Chance			5
Some Chance			10
No Chance Whatsoever			35
Don't Know			3
Sample Size	(1204)	(1204)	(2416)

*Gallup Trend

- Question 103: Suppose the 1988 general election for President were being held today. If George Bush were the Republican candidate, and Michael Dukakis were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?
- Question 104: Do you support (INSERT CHOICE) strongly or only moderately?
- Question 106: Would you say your choice is more of a vote for (PREFERRED CANDIDATE) or more of a vote against (THE OPPONENT)?
- Question 107: How much of a chance is there that you will vote for (THE OPPONENT) rather than (PREFERRED CANDIDATE): a good chance, some chance, or no chance whatsoever?

Looking at support for the two candidates, we see patterns that are both typically partisan and characteristic of these candidates.

Dukakis' lead is a consequence of the support of women, among whom he holds a twenty percentage point lead. Among men, however, his lead over George Bush narrows to only five percentage points.

Similarly, the Vice President runs about even against his opponent among whites but trails by large margins among blacks and Hispanics. However, Bush gets as much as 15% of the support of blacks, much more than Reagan was polling four years ago at this time.

Bush leads among white evangelicals, but white Catholics support Dukakis by a large margin.

The race is relatively close among people under 30 years of age, but Dukakis has a wide lead among those over 30.

The Democratic candidate has a significant lead in three of the four regions of the country, but in the South, candidate support divides evenly.

Socioeconomic measures show only limited relationships to candidate preference. Bush leads his opponent only among people in the highest income category while support for Bush and Dukakis divides about evenly among college graduates.

Uncharacteristically, Democrats are supporting their nominee at the same rate as Republicans are supporting George Bush. As a consequence, Bush is only getting the support of 64% of those who voted for Reagan, while Dukakis is getting the support of 85% of those who voted for Mondale.

DEMOGRAPHIC INCIDENCE OF CANDIDATE SUPPORT

	<u>Preference</u>		<u>Sample Size</u>
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>	
All Registered Voters	40%	53	(2416)
<u>Sex</u>			
Male	44%	49	(1200)
Female	36%	56	(1216)
<u>Race</u>			
White	44%	50	(2112)
Black	15%	72	(261)
Hispanic	35%	59	(124)
<u>Religion</u>			
White Protestants	49%	44	(1220)
White Evangelicals	53%	40	(481)
Catholics	35%	58	(629)
<u>Age</u>			
Under 30	46%	50	(394)
30-49	37%	55	(899)
50+	40%	52	(1118)
<u>Region</u>			
East	35%	59	(621)
Midwest	40%	53	(640)
South	45%	47	(663)
West	39%	53	(492)
<u>Education</u>			
College Graduate	47%	48	(543)
Some College	44%	51	(487)
High School Graduate	39%	53	(913)
Less than High School	31%	58	(466)
<u>Income</u>			
Under \$10,000	32%	57	(364)
\$10,000 - \$19,999	36%	55	(593)
\$20,000 - \$29,999	37%	57	(424)
\$30,000 - \$39,999	38%	56	(338)
\$40,000 - \$49,999	50%	46	(328)
\$50,000+	52%	45	(303)
<u>Party ID</u>			
Republican	81%	15	(740)
Independent	38%	50	(707)
Democrat	11%	83	(969)
<u>1984 Vote</u>			
Voted Reagan	64%	30	(1207)
Voted Other	8%	85	(875)
Non-Voter	39%	50	(334)

Candidate Support by Typology Groups

Looking at candidate support by the Times Mirror typology, two major elements appear to be at work with regard to voter sentiment. First, the Republicans are having difficulty in recreating the Reagan Coalition because Bush is not appealing to the disenchanted independents who Reagan attracted with his anti-Washington, anti-elitist themes. Disaffected independent voters who supported Ronald Reagan at the 80% level are giving George Bush about half as much support. Defections among Disaffecteds to the Democratic candidate stand in sharp contrast to the characteristically broad support given Bush by the core Republican groups, Moralists and Enterprisers. The Vice President also receives strong backing from Upbeats, who over the course of the past 12 months have consistently firmed up their Republican voting intentions.

Second, Michael Dukakis is getting equally large levels of support from three elements of the Democratic Party that have quite different values, 60's Democrats, the Partisan Poor, and New Dealers. (New Dealers accounted for the largest share of Democratic defections in 1984). Despite such indications of Democratic unity, coalitional problems remain for Michael Dukakis. Sophisticated, liberal Seculars and socially conservative, loyalist God & Country Democrats support George Bush at levels that equal or exceed the vote they gave to Reagan in 1984.

CANDIDATE PREFERENCE BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Sample Size</u>
All Registered Voters	40%	53	7	100	(2416)
Enterprisers	83%	13	6	100	(244)
Moralists	82%	14	4	100	(319)
Upbeats	75%	19	6	100	(208)
Disaffecteds	47%	43	10	100	(266)
Bystanders	39%	40	11	100	(65)
Followers	28%	55	16	100	(119)
Seculars	24%	72	4	100	(193)
60's Democrats	8%	86	5	100	(258)
New Dealers	14%	80	6	100	(325)
God & Country Democrats	25%	63	8	100	(189)
Partisan Poor	8%	85	7	100	(229)

In effect, while equal numbers of Enterprisers and Moralists support Bush, Enterprisers are less apt to be enthusiastic, but, also less apt to think they might switch. Enterprisers have been more critical of Bush all along but they are also more ideologically consistent... they can't envision themselves switching to a Democrat. Moralists have yet to develop an antipathy toward Michael Dukakis.

One measure of Bush's problems with Disaffecteds is that, on balance, there are as many of these independent Republicans who are voting against him as there are who are voting against Dukakis. As noted above, Disaffecteds show no real attraction to either candidate. Their support for Dukakis is neither firm nor positive. Among those who support Bush, feelings are equally equivocal.

**DIRECTION OF CANDIDATE SUPPORT
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS**

	<u>Bush Supporters</u>		<u>Dukakis Supporters</u>		<u>Number of Interviews</u>
	<u>Pro-Bush</u>	<u>Anti-Dukakis</u>	<u>Pro-Dukakis</u>	<u>Anti-Bush</u>	
All Registered Voters	26%	11	23	26	(2416)
Enterprisers	50%	28	5	9	(244)
Moralists	60%	15	5	8	(319)
Upbeats	51%	20	11	7	(208)
Disaffecteds	24%	19	17	23	(266)
Bystanders	20%	14	18	18	(65)
Followers	18%	7	23	25	(119)
Seculars	15%	7	30	40	(193)
60's Democrats	7%	1	32	51	(258)
New Dealers	10%	3	36	38	(325)
God and Country Democrats	19%	3	28	99	(189)
Partisan Poor	4%	3	42	33	(229)

Presidential Popularity

By a slight plurality (48% to 43%), Americans continue to express approval for Reagan's handling of the Presidency. The President's approval is statistically unchanged from the 50% to 41% advantage he enjoyed at the beginning of this campaign year.

Reagan's support is solid (80% or higher) among the core Republican typology groups, and the Republican-leaning Disaffecteds continue to approve of his performance by a 51% to 40% margin. On the Democratic side, the President remains popular with substantial minorities of God & Country Democrats (39%), New Dealers, and Seculars (32% each).

Voters under the age of 30 offer Reagan stronger approval ratings (57% positive) than do any other age group. In fact, this is one of the only age groups in which the proportion supporting Reagan's performance exceeds that expressing disapproval.

Among those who say they voted for Reagan in 1984, roughly one in five (21%) currently disapproves of the President's performance. (This group is in part offset by the 13% of Mondale voters who now express support for Reagan's handling of the Presidency).

REAGAN APPROVAL

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	BY- STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
APPROVE	48%	82%	77%	84%	51%	46%	37%	32%	21%	32%	39%	23%
DISAPPROVE	43	13	15	11	40	35	49	62	74	59	49	67
DON'T KNOW	9	5	7	5	10	19	14	6	4	9	12	10
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Question 101: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?

Satisfaction with the Way Things are Going in the United States

Despite considerable support for the Reagan Presidency, more Americans are dissatisfied (54%) than satisfied (41%) with the current course of national events. Predictably, this dissatisfaction is most evident among the core Democratic typology groups, but it extends also to the Democratic-leaning Seculars (59% dissatisfied) whose personal outlook is nonetheless bright.

The two core Republican groups, Moralists and Enterprisers, are characterized by very different levels of satisfaction with the country's present state. Enterprisers (along with Upbeats) are the most sanguine of the voter groupings, expressing satisfaction by a 73% to 23% margin. In contrast, Moralists are almost evenly divided between the 49% who say they are satisfied with the way things are going, and the 46% who say they are not. (Since only 15% of Moralists disapprove of Reagan's performance, this dissatisfaction is more likely to be a reflection of an ongoing commitment to social conservatism than an indication of possible future defections to the Democratic Party).

For one Republican-leaning typology group, however, the current level of dissatisfaction may signify a significant problem for Republicans in 1988. Among Disaffecteds, 66% say they are dissatisfied with the nation's current course, while only 30% express satisfaction. While Disaffecteds claim to have voted for Reagan by a 3 to 1 margin over Mondale in 1984, their unhappiness at present is further expressed by the President's 40% disapproval rating among this group. Disaffecteds constitute a prime swing group opportunity for the Democratic Party in the coming election.

SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING IN THE U.S. BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	BY- STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
SATISFIED	41%	73%	49%	71%	30%	43%	37%	31%	28%	28%	37%	24%
DISSATISFIED	54	23	46	24	66	55	51	59	67	66	58	73
DON'T KNOW	5	4	5	4	4	2	12	10	5	6	5	4
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Question 108: In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the United States at this time?

THE COUNTRY'S MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	TOTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	BY- STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
	18%	19%	23%	16%	21%	16%	19%	10%	14%	19%	23%	16%
DRUG ABUSE	18	19	23	16	21	16	19	10	14	19	23	16
UNEMPLOYMENT/ RECESSION/ DEPRESSION	10	3	6	8	11	12	12	7	8	12	12	21
FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT/FAILURE TO BALANCE BUDGET	8	18	8	12	6	10	2	8	9	8	4	4
ECONOMY	7	9	3	6	6	5	9	14	9	6	4	10
CRIME	5	3	5	3	3	6	8	2	5	4	6	6
POVERTY, HUNGER	5	2	3	6	3	6	2	6	9	7	1	4
(NUCLEAR) WAR THREAT/FEAR OF	4	1	5	4	1	6	3	6	5	4	2	4
HIGH COST OF LIVING/INFLATION	4	2	3	3	4	4	8	4	1	4	6	5
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, POLICY, INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS	3	3	3	5	4	1	2	4	3	2	1	4
MORAL/RELIGIOUS	2	6	5	1	5	2	1	0	2	2	2	*
TRADE DEFICIT/ TRADE RELATIONS/ BALANCE OF TRADE	2	4	2	3	3	*	2	3	0	2	*	1
NONE/DON'T KNOW	3	3	2	1	2	6	4	4	1	4	6	1
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Question 109: What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

Satisfaction with the Way Things are Going in Personal Life

In contrast to their concern over national trends, four in five (80%) adults say they are satisfied with the ways things are going in their personal life, while only 16% are dissatisfied in this regard. These sentiments are virtually identical to those obtained in Gallup Polls conducted in September, 1986 and again in September, 1987.

Expressions of satisfaction with personal life tend to characterize all demographic and political groups, regardless of the objective economic circumstances of the individual. (Those with household incomes of less than 10,000, for example, express satisfaction by a better than two-to-one margin). An undercurrent of personal dissatisfaction does exist, however, in three significant electoral groups: the Partisan Poor (35% dissatisfied), God & Country Democrats (25%), and the Disaffecteds (25%). Even for these groups, however, levels of personal dissatisfaction are substantially lower than those expressed with regard to the country.

SATISFACTION WITH PERSONAL LIFE

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	BY- STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
SATISFIED	80%	92%	90%	89%	72%	73%	69%	83%	90%	90%	69%	59%
DISSATISFIED	16	6	6	8	25	21	20	12	8	7	25	35
DON'T KNOW	4	2	4	3	3	7	10	5	2	3	6	6
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Question 111: In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in your personal life?

Outlook For Personal Financial Situation One Year From Now

Americans' satisfaction with their personal lives is matched by considerable optimism about their personal financial prospects for the coming year. Just over half (54%) expect to be better off financially a year from now, while only one in ten (10%) expects to be worse off than now (31% volunteer that they expect no change). The proportion expecting a downturn in their standard of living is now significantly lower than in the "post-crash" climate of January's interviews, when nearly one respondent in five (18%) expected to be worse off twelve months hence. (There has been a corresponding eight percentage point increase in those expecting their financial situation to improve).

The financial optimism of upper income groups is particularly pronounced; fully 70% of those in households earning \$50,000 or above expect to be even better off after the coming year. Nevertheless, even among the lowest income category (under \$10,000), financial outlook optimists (41%) widely outnumber pessimists (14%), while only about one in three expects no change (37%).

Among the typology groups, personal financial optimism is particularly high among the relatively well-off Enterprisers (65%) and Seculars (58%), and the younger-than-average Upbeats (70%). (Nearly three-fourths of those under age thirty expect their own financial situation to improve). But it is high also among 60's Democrats, two-thirds of whom (66%) expect to be better off a year from now. Among each of the other politically-active typology groups, the proportion expecting to be better off, while less than an outright majority, exceeds that expecting to be worse off by margins of three-to-one or better.

PERSONAL FINANCIAL EXPECTATIONS

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	BY- STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
BETTER OFF	54%	65%	50%	70%	45%	65%	45%	58%	66%	48%	43%	47%
WORSE OFF	10	5	9	7	15	6	8	8	8	11	14	14
SAME	31	27	38	22	36	25	35	28	24	38	34	28
DON'T KNOW	5	2	3	1	4	4	12	5	2	4	9	11
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Question 113: 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?

Outlook for Country's Economic Situation One Year From Now

The electorate's forecast for the national economy is mixed, but its outlook is slightly more positive than was the case in January (and somewhat more optimistic than that of most professional economic forecasters today). Nearly half (46%) of the public expects economic conditions a year from now to be about the same as at present, while roughly one in four (24%) expects the economy to improve and one in five (20%) expects a downturn. In January's "post-crash" interviewing climate, those expecting the nation to be worse off in 1989 slightly outnumbered those expecting improvement (by a margin of 26% to 22%).

Interestingly, partisanship per se bears no discernable relationship to short-term confidence in the economy: 27% of Democrats expect the economy to improve (as do 26% of Republicans), while 20% anticipate a decline (Republicans, 17%).

The typology, however, reveals a more complex pattern existing beneath the aggregate numbers. Three important Republican groups; Enterprisers, Moralists, and Upbeats, are markedly optimistic about the national economy's prospects for the coming year. However, their optimism is shared, at essentially equivalent levels, by three core Democratic groups; New Dealers, God & Country Democrats, and the Partisan Poor, and one Democratic-leaning group, the Followers. If these latter groups were to base their 1988 voting decision on their perception of the country's

short-term economic outlook, the prospects for defections to the Republican column (as in 1984) would be considerable. Yet, with the partial exception of the God & Country Democrats (and the less significant Followers), Bush's success to date in appealing to these groups has been minimal.

Conversely, there are two crucial "swing" groups (the Democratic-leaning Seculars and the Republican-leaning Disaffecteds) for whom pessimism about the nation's near-term economic prospects now outweighs optimism. This constitutes welcome news for the Democrats, since the Disaffecteds represent an important target group for defections from the Republican column, while the Seculars are a Democratic-leaning group vulnerable to defection to the GOP in times of high economic optimism.

FINANCIAL EXPECTATIONS FOR THE COUNTRY

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	BY-STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/CTRY	PART POOR
BETTER	24%	25%	27%	25%	16%	24%	31%	18%	17%	29%	29%	31%
WORSE	20	17	19	14	27	21	13	26	21	15	15	24
SAME	46	49	47	55	48	43	40	45	53	45	46	34
DON'T KNOW	10	8	7	5	8	12	16	11	10	11	10	12
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Question 114: 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?

National Concerns

The primacy of the drug issue was reflected in responses to a number of questions. In an effort to measure additional worries on the minds of voters, we tested level of concern on a diverse list of potential problems facing the United States. Interestingly, the only item which failed to elicit the concern of at least seven in ten Americans was the prospect of a military conflict with the Soviet Union, suggesting that concern over this issue is being defused by the recent improvement in relations between the two superpowers.

The degree of concern expressed for various specific items is as follows:

- 89% are concerned about a decline in the quality of education in the U.S. (including 53% who are "very concerned")
- 88% are concerned about a loss of U.S. jobs due to foreign competition (50% "very concerned")
- 84% are concerned about the growth of the federal budget deficit (44% "very concerned")
- 82% are concerned about a decline in the quality of American products relative to imports (40% "very concerned")
- 82% are concerned about the United States committing troops to combat in Central America (37% "very concerned")
- 79% are concerned about the growth of foreign investment in the United States (42% "very concerned")
- 75% are concerned about a loss of U.S. leadership in science and technology (33% "very concerned")
- 73% are concerned about possible energy shortages (26% "very concerned")
- 63% are concerned about a military conflict with the Soviet Union (27% "very concerned")

It should be noted that the two typology groups least likely to express strong concern over a possible conflict with the Soviet Union are Seculars (16% "very concerned") and Enterprisers (15%), no doubt because these two politically attentive groups view this event as highly unlikely. However, nearly half (48%) of all Seculars describe themselves as very concerned about a U.S. military role in Central America -- a rate of concern greater than that expressed by any other typology group except 60's Democrats (59%). This suggests the "peace issue" remains important to Seculars, despite the recent easing of bilateral tensions.

More than half (53%) of those interviewed describe themselves as very concerned about a decline in the quality of education in this country. 60's Democrats (69%) are the most likely to express strong concern over this trend, but their apprehension is shared by substantial numbers of such Republican-oriented groups as Upbeats (53%), Moralists (49%) and Enterprisers (48%).

In addition to education, five of the other items tested also relate to the issue of America's future international economic competitiveness. For each of these items, (job losses due to foreign competition, growth in the federal budget deficit, direct investment by foreigners, declining product quality, and loss of leadership in science and technology), between one-third and one-half of those interviewed indicate a high level of concern about the future.

Apprehension about issues of competitiveness runs across the full range of typology groups, with a few noteworthy exceptions. Relatively few Enterprisers (34%) or Upbeats (34%) describe themselves as highly concerned over job losses due to foreign imports. However, for New Dealers (64%) and the Partisan Poor (67%), two groups with disproportionately large numbers of union members, this is an area of major concern. In regard to the effects of foreign investment, Seculars (33%) and Upbeats (29%) are less likely than other groups to express concern.

Despite these differences, it is worth noting that strong concern over the growing federal budget deficit is as likely to be expressed by core Democratic and Democratic-leaning groups as by core Republican typology groups.

For one important swing group, concern over competitive issues is particularly high. At least half of all Disaffecteds describe themselves as highly concerned over job losses due to foreign competition (59%), the growth of foreign investment (57%), and a decline in the quality of American goods (50%). Disaffecteds are also more likely than any other group to express strong concern over U.S. competitiveness regarding science and technology (44%).

Concern Over Long-Term Economic Outlook

In keeping with the high degree of concern expressed over issues relating to economic competitiveness, significant doubts are expressed about the nation's long-term economic viability. In fact, over a third of those interviewed take the extreme position that it is either likely (31%) or nearly certain (6%) that the U.S. economy will collapse in the next ten years due to foreign competition. Admittedly, this extraordinary view is less common among more educated and more attentive segments of the electorate; 80% of Enterprisers and 70% of Seculars view such a collapse as unlikely. Nevertheless, the fact remains that more than a third of the public now sees the nation's future economic viability imperiled.

In electoral terms, doubts such as these regarding the nation's long-term economic competitiveness may be expected to offset at least some of the relative optimism expressed about the country's short-term economic prospects. In addition, this concern helps reconcile the apparent contradiction between near-term economic optimism and the level of dissatisfaction expressed regarding "the way things are going in the U.S. at this time". To be successful in the fall, each candidate will clearly need to address the issue of how the nation's long-term economic viability can best be ensured.

CHANCES OF ECONOMIC COLLAPSE WITHIN THE NEXT 10 YEARS BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	BY-STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/CTRY	PART POOR
NEARLY CERTAIN TO HAPPEN	6%	1%	3%	2%	6%	10%	10%	2%	2%	6%	10%	10%
LIKELY TO HAPPEN	31	14	29	19	39	29	34	24	35	35	40	44
NOT LIKELY TO HAPPEN	46	64	52	61	41	35	33	62	46	45	29	35
ALMOST NO CHANCE AT ALL IT WILL HAPPEN	9	16	8	12	7	12	4	8	11	5	10	6
DON'T KNOW	8	4	8	6	7	14	18	4	6	9	12	5
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Question 604: How much of a chance is there in the next 10 years that the U.S. economy will collapse due to foreign competition? Would you say it is nearly certain to happen, likely to happen, not likely to happen, or there is almost no chance at all it will happen?

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PARTIES

The Democratic Party continues to hold a significant ten percentage point edge over the Republican Party in the proportion of the American electorate identifying with it (38% to 28%; 50% to 40% when "leaners" are included). In addition, by a margin of 46% to 33%, Americans currently say they are more likely to vote for a Democratic candidate than a Republican candidate in the 1988 presidential election. Significantly, a 39% to 27% plurality of voters also favors the Democratic Party over the Republican Party as the party best able to handle the problem they identify as the country's most important. As recently as January, the Democrats' edge on this last measure was a more modest 35% to 30%.

Despite its advantage as the country's "natural majority party", in recent years the Democratic Party has encountered problems convincing the electorate of its ability to produce strong candidates, its managerial competence, and its organizational skills and cohesion. On these attributes, it has often received less favorable ratings than the Republican Party, indicating that substantial numbers of independents (and even many Democrats) believe the Republicans outperform the Democrats in these areas. On other attributes, such as the ability to bring about necessary change and concern for the needs of average voters, the Democratic Party has been favored over the Republican Party by margins meeting or exceeding the ten-point edge it holds in party identification.

The findings of this most recent survey show Democrats increasing their already significant leads over Republicans as the party best able to bring about necessary changes (43% to 27%), and the party most concerned with the needs of "people like you" (51% to 23%). In the survey conducted in January, Democrats were favored by 37% to 28% on the first measure, and by 47% to 22% on the second. Republicans, in turn, are still generally viewed as being the better organized of the two major parties (39% to 23%).

On two key attributes, however, neither party currently holds a significant advantage and given the Democratic plurality, this indicates relative Republican strength in these areas. Statistically equivalent proportions now rate the Republicans (33%) and the Democrats (30%) as better able to manage the federal government. Opinion is also evenly divided over which party selects the better candidates for public office. (It should be noted that, in January's survey, Americans gave a 31% to 24% edge to the

Republican Party concerning the quality of the party's candidates; this advantage has disappeared coincident with the emergence of George Bush and Michael Dukakis as likely presidential nominees).

TREND IN ASSESSMENTS OF PARTY ATTRIBUTES

	<u>Republican*</u>	<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Sample Size</u>
Is well organized						
April/May, 1987	34%	19	25	13	9	(4244)
January, 1988	38%	20	19	14	9	(2109)
May, 1988	39%	23	15	14	9	(3021)
Selects good candidates for office						
April/May, 1987	27%	26	25	13	9	(4244)
January, 1988	31%	24	18	18	9	(2109)
May, 1988	28	30	13	19	10	(3021)
Able to manage Federal Government well						
April/May, 1987	24%	25	13	28	10	(4244)
January, 1988	30%	28	12	20	10	(2109)
May, 1988	33%	30	10	17	10	(3021)
Can bring about the kinds of changes the country needs						
April/May, 1987	26%	36	14	14	10	(4244)
January, 1988	28%	37	14	11	10	(2109)
May, 1988	27%	43	9	11	10	(3021)
Is concerned with the needs of people like me						
April/May, 1987	-	-	-	-	-	
January, 1988	22%	47	11	13	7	(2109)
May, 1988	23%	51	8	11	7	(3021)

The exact question wording is:

Now I am 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...?

Party Best Able to Solve the Country's Most Important Problem

As noted above, the Democratic Party has widened its advantage as the party perceived as better able to handle the country's most important problem. Its margin on this attribute now stands at twelve percentage points (38% to 26%), up from a five percentage point edge at the beginning of the campaign year (35% to 30%). A sizable one-third of the electorate appears to make no clear distinction between the two parties on this measure; 22% say there is no relative difference and 12% don't know which party can better address the problem they identify as the nation's most important.

The ratings provided by the typology groups largely correspond to their respective partisan tendencies, but several strongly contested groups show patterns worth noting. The Democratic-leaning Seculars heavily favor the Democratic Party (55% to 16%) as the party better able to solve the country's key problem, while Republican-leaning Upbeats are even stronger in their preference for the GOP (58% to 9%). The Republican-leaning Disaffecteds, however, are nearly evenly divided in their mentions of the Republican (27%) and Democratic (23%) parties, with a substantial 35% of Disaffecteds seeing no distinction between the two parties in this regard.

PARTY BETTER ABLE TO HANDLE THE NATION'S MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM

BASED ON RESPONDENTS WHO NAMED A PROBLEM

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	BY- STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
REPUBLICAN PARTY	26%	62%	60%	58%	27%	21%	14%	16%	5%	7%	19%	3%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	38	8	8	9	23	29	43	55	67	63	51	77
NO DIFFERENCE	22	22	22	24	35	28	21	17	21	21	16	10
DON'T KNOW	12	8	10	9	15	23	22	12	8	9	13	10
SAMPLE SIZE	2944	266	342	250	312	250	150	216	298	365	220	274

Question 110: 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?

It is important to note that the Democrats' twelve percentage point edge on this score is not primarily the result of the issue of drugs. In fact, among the 18% of Americans who identify drugs as the country's top problem, only 29% think the Democrats can better handle this issue, while a nearly equivalent 25% say the Republicans would do better. Should the Democratic Party succeed in increasing its relative credibility on this key issue (for example, if controversy over the Noriega connection builds), this would dramatically widen the Democrats' current edge as the party seen as better able to address key problems.

Among those who view issues other than drugs as being of paramount importance, the majority of these issues break in the Democrats' favor regarding competence and credibility. For example, among those who see issues of unemployment, recession and possible depression as the key challenge, 57% feel the Democrats can best handle this problem, while 18% favor the Republicans. Among those who make more general mention of the economy, Democrats outpoll Republicans by a 40% to 25% margin as the party better able to deal with this problem. In contrast, those who place utmost importance on the issue of the federal budget deficit favor Republicans (45%) more often than Democrats (31%) as the party which can best address this issue.

**PARTY BETTER ABLE TO HANDLE SPECIFIC TYPES OF PROBLEMS
BASED ON THOSE WHO NAMED A PROBLEM**

	<u>Most Important Problem:</u>			
	<u>Drug Abuse</u>	<u>Unemployment/ Recession/ Depression</u>	<u>Federal Budget Deficit</u>	<u>Economy (General)</u>
<u>Party Better Able to Handle</u>				
Republican	25%	18%	45%	25%
Democratic	29	57	31	40
No Difference	31	13	15	21
Don't Know	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	(542)	(312)	(274)	(198)

ATTRIBUTES AND IMAGES OF THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES

Ability to Manage the Federal Government

The electorate is divided over which party is better able to manage the federal government, with 33% citing the Republicans, 30% the Democrats, 27% saying "both" (10%) or "neither" (17%), and an additional 10% unsure. Not surprisingly, each party's adherents strongly favor their own party in this regard (although Democrats and Democrat-leaners are somewhat less vigorous on this score than are Republicans).

Among important "swing" voters, political independents, the Republicans maintain an advantage in perceptions of administrative competence. Independents mention the Republican Party (30%) more often than the Democratic Party (18%) as a party able to properly manage the federal government.

Voters under the age of 30, more than any other age group, have spent the greatest proportion of their adult lives under a Republican administration, and are particularly strong supporters of Reagan's performance. Each of these factors may help explain the fact that they give significantly higher marks for managerial competence to the Republican Party (41%) than to the Democratic Party (24%) -- the only age group to do so.

Within the typology, core Democratic and core Republican groups display a partisan pattern in response to this question, and the responses of the Democrat-leaning Seculars and Followers and the Republican-leaning Disaffecteds also run true to form. This last point is worth noting: although Bush shows considerable current weakness among the Disaffecteds, this group ranks the Republican Party's management capabilities better than those of the Democrats' by a 35% to 16% margin.

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

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

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

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	BY- STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
REPUBLICAN	33%	64%	67%	64%	35%	30%	17%	25%	14%	15%	20%	7%
DEMOCRATIC	30	2	4	7	16	25	40	37	39	52	47	69
BOTH	10	7	7	14	9	10	13	11	13	10	13	6
NEITHER	17	21	15	8	30	15	13	19	26	14	12	11
DON'T KNOW	10	6	8	8	9	21	16	8	7	9	9	8
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Question 119: 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?

Selection of Good Candidates

As with managerial competence, the electorate is essentially evenly divided over which party selects the better candidates for office; 30% prefer the Democrats on this score, 28% the Republicans, 32% say neither (19%) or both (13%), and an additional 10% don't know. By a 32% to 25% edge, women believe the Democratic Party selects better candidates, while younger voters (under age 30) give the edge to the Republicans by a margin of 35% to 27%. Unlike the issue of managerial competence, however, political independents make no distinction between the two parties regarding the quality of their candidates (Republicans 22%, Democrats 21%, both/neither 43%).

The appraisals of candidate quality offered by the various typology groups run in tandem with their respective partisan orientations, with one partial (and important) exception. Nearly one in four (23%) God & Country Democrats say the Republican Party generally offers better candidates, a rate of defection on candidate quality far higher than that of any other "core" groups. (Only four in ten (40%) God & Country Democrats say the Democratic Party offers better candidates). Seculars

are more likely to prefer the candidates of Democrats (34%) to Republicans (18%), while the reverse is true for Disaffecteds (18% and 27%, respectively).

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

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

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

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	BY- STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
REPUBLICAN	28%	56%	57%	53%	27%	25%	16%	18%	11%	14%	23%	6%
DEMOCRATIC	30	7	6	10	18	30	39	34	38	48	40	67
BOTH	13	11	12	21	11	11	22	12	16	10	15	10
NEITHER	19	22	16	10	36	15	12	30	28	17	10	8
DON'T KNOW	10	3	9	7	8	20	11	7	8	11	12	9
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Quality of Party's Organization

Far more Americans see the Republicans (39%) as being a well-organized party than mention the Democrats (23%) in this connection. This perception of Republicans' superior organization cuts across most demographic groups, and is particularly high among likely voters (43%). Those who report having contributed to a political party see the Republican Party as better organized than the Democrats by a 54% to 18% margin.

Even many Democrats view the Republicans' organizational strengths as superior. Among those who identify with or lean toward the Democratic Party, 26% cite the Republican Party as well-organized, while 38% mention the Democrats in this connection. (In contrast, only 8% of Republicans and Republican-leaners give an organizational edge to the Democrats). Within the typology, two Democratic-oriented groups, 60's Democrats and Seculars are more likely to associate strong party organization with the Republican Party than with the Democratic Party (60's Democrats 37% to 16%, Seculars 47% to 20%).

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

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

****IS WELL ORGANIZED****

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	BY- STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
REPUBLICAN	39%	66%	64%	60%	37%	28%	23%	47%	37%	25%	26%	16%
DEMOCRATIC	23	7	4	6	14	25	31	20	16	36	36	56
BOTH	15	10	13	23	13	14	22	14	18	13	12	12
NEITHER	15	12	11	6	28	13	6	14	21	16	15	10
DON'T KNOW	9	5	8	5	8	19	17	5	8	9	11	6
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Concern With the Needs of "People Like You"

The Democratic Party maintains a significant advantage in the proportion of voters who view it as being concerned with their particular needs. By a two-to-one margin, Americans identify the Democratic Party (51%) over the Republican Party (23%) as better described by the phrase "concerned with the needs of people like you".

Significantly, this perception is not limited to the relatively disadvantaged and less affluent sections of the electorate, but spans all categories of income, age, education, gender, and region, even those which constitute core constituencies for the Republican Party. Political independents apply this description to the Democratic Party by a margin of 43% to 18%. Substantial proportions of "not-strong Republicans" (27%) and "Republican-leaners" (26%) nonetheless mention the Democratic Party as the party which is concerned about the needs of people like them.

Among those Democratic-oriented typology groups which witnessed substantial defections to Reagan in 1984, there is a strong current consensus that the Democratic Party is more concerned with their needs than is the Republican Party. This sentiment is expressed by margins of 60% to 15% among God & Country Democrats, 79% to 5% by New Dealers, and 63% to 17% by Seculars. Among the two Republican-oriented swing groups, the Democratic Party demonstrates considerable success in establishing its image as a party concerned with the needs of the average voter. Roughly one in three Upbeats (32%) sees the Democrats rather than the Republicans

(40%) as fitting this description. Among Disaffecteds, the inroads are even more dramatic: 41% of this key group sees the Democrats as concerned with their needs, while only about one in four (23%) mention the Republicans.

**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 ****

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	BY- STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
REPUBLICAN	23%	51%	58%	40%	23%	20%	13%	17%	6%	5%	15%	2%
DEMOCRATIC	51	19	13	32	41	40	49	63	79	79	60	84
BOTH	8	11	10	17	5	10	11	5	6	5	9	4
NEITHER	11	15	12	7	23	12	17	12	6	7	7	5
DON'T KNOW	7	4	7	5	8	18	10	3	3	4	9	4
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Ability to Bring About the Kinds of Changes Needed By the Country

The Democratic Party has further consolidated its image as the party which can best bring about needed change, a perception which often proves crucial in those elections which follow two-term administrations. Statistical analysis indicates that this party perception, above all others is most related to voting intentions. Over two-fifths (43%) of those interviewed applied this description to the Democratic Party, up from 37% in the interviews conducted at the beginning of the year. Roughly one American in four (27%) favored the Republican Party in this regard, while 20% cited both (9%) or neither (11%) party, and an additional 10% were unsure.

The image of the Democrats as the party which can best implement necessary change is broadly held, but is particularly strong among low and moderate income groups. Interestingly, nearly a fourth (24%) of those who report having voted for Ronald Reagan in 1984 see the Democratic Party as best able to usher in the changes now needed, (while 45% prefer the Republicans on this score). Among political independents, a plurality of 34% to 21% sees this description as more applicable to the Democratic Party than to the Republican Party.

The issue of change is likely to be especially important for Disaffecteds. By a 66% to 30% margin, this group is dissatisfied with the way things are going in the U.S. at present. Despite this group's Republican orientation, only 28% cite the Republican Party as able to bring about the kind of changes currently needed by the country, while 32% mention the Democratic Party in this vein.

**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****

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	BY- STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
REPUBLICAN	27%	67%	61%	61%	28%	23%	14%	16%	3%	7%	18%	3%
DEMOCRATIC	43	7	9	13	32	33	47	61	71	67	53	85
BOTH	9	8	9	14	8	10	11	6	10	8	11	5
NEITHER	11	13	12	6	19	14	9	11	10	9	8	3
DON'T KNOW	10	5	9	6	14	19	19	5	6	8	11	4
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

THE REAGAN LEGACY AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

The American public is divided in its assessments of the Reagan administration's handling of important national problems, and his legacy in these terms has an effect on preferences for George Bush and Michael Dukakis in important electoral groups. While the Vice President will generally benefit from the electorate's positive evaluations of administration performance in dealing with economic issues and arms reductions, the budget deficit and issues of social justice and equity present problems for his campaign and areas in which the Dukakis team may be able to capitalize.

-Over the course of the last year, the public's evaluations of the Reagan administration have changed little - with two significant exceptions. On the positive side, more Americans are crediting the administration with progress on arms control. On the negative side, more Americans are faulting the administration for its policies for dealing with drug problems.

The public is generally satisfied with the personal economic prosperity which many have enjoyed, as well as with policies intended to control nuclear weapons and to reduce tensions with the Soviet Union. These are areas in which Bush can campaign on the basis of continuation of present policies.

At the same time, the public is looking for a redirection of several administration policies in order to address more effectively such pressing social issues as the gap between rich and poor, race relations, and the quality of public education in the United States. In two areas - U.S. policies in Central America and the budget deficit - large segments of the public believe the Reagan administration has created problems for the next president. These are areas in which Dukakis can campaign on the basis of needed change.

The public's evaluations of the Reagan administration's performance are generally most positive from Republican-oriented groups - with the frequent exception of Disaffecteds, who are more likely to feel that the administration tried to solve problems but failed. The Upbeats - who until recently have been on the periphery of the Republican party - are as positive in their evaluations of the Reagan administration's performance as are the Enterprisers, a core Republican group. The evaluations by Democratic-oriented groups are generally more negative, frequently seeing the administration as ignoring or creating problems.

Statistical analysis of which issues affect candidate preference in each

typology group shows that the greatest impact of the Reagan legacy on the presidential race can be found among four groups, while it is weak or nonexistent in the other six groups of voters. In each of these four groups the survey also shows greater than expected shifts in defection rates, relative to members' recent presidential voting behavior. For the Disaffecteds, and the Followers, this results in relatively strong support for Dukakis, while among Seculars, and God & Country Democrats this means relatively strong support for Bush.

-For Disaffecteds, their concerns about Reagan administration performance in a diverse set of policy areas including Central America, federal taxes, public education, the gap between rich and poor, and race relations are important factors in their defections to Dukakis. They are clearly interested in change.

-For the Followers, the most important issues are the trade imbalance and administration policy in Central America.

-For the Seculars, general satisfaction with the Reagan administration's handling of the economy is the factor explaining their relatively high defection rates to Bush. Their interests are in the continuation of administration policies which have benefited them personally.

-For the God & Country Democrats, economic issues, including unemployment, the economy, and farm problems, contribute to their high defection rates to Bush. Again, they can be expected to respond to calls for continuity of administration policies.

Overall Evaluations of Reagan Administration Performance

Respondents were asked for their evaluations of the Reagan administration's effectiveness in dealing with 12 areas of national interest. In their responses, they could indicate that the administration made progress in solving the problem, tried but failed to solve the problem, did not deal with the problem, or it actually created problems for the next president.

As the results in the table indicate, there are potential strengths and weaknesses for the Bush campaign which come from his association with certain administration policies.

OVERALL ASSESSMENTS OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S EFFECTIVENESS IN HANDLING IMPORTANT AREAS OF NATIONAL INTEREST

	Made Progress	Tried But Failed	Did Not Deal With	Created Problems	DK
Arms Control	48%	19	7	13	13
Unemployment	47%	21	13	12	7
The Economy	41%	28	8	16	7
Drug Problems	29%	42	14	9	6
Public Education	28%	22	28	9	13
The Trade Imbalance	17%	33	14	16	20
Problems of Farmers	14%	31	25	16	14
Federal Taxes	28%	27	11	22	12
Race Relations	22%	14	38	14	12
The Gap Between Rich and Poor	9%	18	40	23	10
The Budget Deficit	15%	39	11	25	10
U.S. Policy in Central America	15%	33	6	29	17

SAMPLE SIZE = 3021

Question 601: For each of these areas of national interest, tell me if you think the Reagan Administration has made progress in solving problems, tried but failed to solve problems, did not deal with problems or created problems for the next president.

In three areas, the administration gets uniformly high evaluations, as between four and five in ten said it made progress in dealing with arms control (48%), unemployment (47%), and the economy (41%). In dealing with the federal budget deficit and the problem of drugs, the administration is seen as having tried to deal with the problem but failed.

In two areas - U.S. policy in Central America, and federal taxes - as many are likely to see the creation of problems as see an unsuccessful attempt to deal with the issue. In two areas - race relations and the gap between rich and poor - large pluralities see problems which were not dealt with at all. And there are mixed assessments with heavily partisan overtones on the other three areas - problems of farmers, the trade imbalance, and public education.

The public's assessments of administration performance on most of these issues has not changed across the last year. But almost half say that Reagan made progress on arms control, compared to only one-third who cited progress last year (48% compared to 33%), while in the same time period there has been a significant drop in the proportion who feel the same way about the administration's handling of drug problems (29% compared to 42%).

**POPULAR PERCEPTIONS THAT THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION MADE PROGRESS
IN SOLVING A NATIONAL PROBLEM**

	April/ May <u>1987</u>	May <u>1988</u>	Difference in Percentage <u>Points</u>
Arms Control	33%	48%	+15
Unemployment	43%	47%	+ 4
Problems of Farmers	12%	14%	+ 2
The Budget Deficit	13%	15%	+ 2
The U.S. Policy in Central America	13%	15%	+ 2
Gap Between Rich and Poor	10%	9%	- 1
Public Education	30%	28%	- 2
Race Relations	25%	22%	- 3
The Trade Imbalance	20%	17%	- 3
Federal Taxes	35%	28%	- 7
Drug Problems	42%	29%	-13
Sample Size	(4244)	(3021)	

Arms Control

Half of those interviewed in the latest Times Mirror/Gallup survey (48%) indicate that the Reagan administration has made progress on arms control issues, a significant increase from one year ago when 33% indicated progress had been made. The signing of the INF treaty and a more general reduction in tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union are achievements which will boost the Bush candidacy in the fall.

While there is general agreement on Reagan administration success in this area, there are differences by groups in these assessments.

-Republican-oriented groups are the most likely to give the administration high marks for progress: 80% of Enterprisers, 70% of Upbeats, and 66% of Moralists believe Reagan made progress in this area.

-While pluralities of all Democratic-oriented groups indicate progress was made, significant minorities of the Partisan Poor (29%) and God & Country Democrats (26%) indicate a belief that the administration tried but failed to make progress in this area.

-And 27% of the 60's Democrats think the Reagan administration created problems in this area.

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S HANDLING OF ARMS CONTROL

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	BY-STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/CTRY	PART POOR
MADE PROGRESS	48%	80%	66%	70%	49%	32%	32%	48%	39%	44%	34%	36%
TRIED BUT FAILED	19	7	13	10	22	20	21	21	21	19	26	29
DID NOT DEAL WITH PROBLEM	7	5	5	4	6	6	9	4	8	7	12	9
CREATED PROBLEMS	13	4	6	8	10	12	17	19	27	15	13	16
DON'T KNOW	13	4	11	9	12	30	21	8	4	15	15	11
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Administration Handling of the Economy

Even though evaluations of performance with regard to the economy are generally positive, popular perceptions of how the Reagan administration has dealt with this problem illustrate the nature of the coalitions which are forming for the fall campaign and how their structure is influenced by policy evaluations. This is the domestic policy area from which George Bush is most likely to benefit from the legacy of the Reagan administration. Four in ten respondents (41%) indicated administration progress and one in six (16%) believe that problems were created.

-Republican-oriented groups are much more likely to see progress made in this area: 74% of Enterprisers, 63% of Upbeats, and 62% of Moralists feel this way.

-Members of core Democratic groups are much more likely to see problems created in this area: 27% each of Seculars, 60's Democrats, and the Partisan Poor feel this way.

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S HANDLING OF THE ECONOMY

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	BY-STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/CTRY	PART POOR
MADE PROGRESS	41%	74%	62%	63%	45%	34%	27%	33%	27%	33%	30%	22%
TRIED BUT FAILED	28	18	25	19	27	32	35	27	33	34	32	31
DID NOT DEAL WITH PROBLEM	8	3	4	3	5	8	11	8	9	8	12	16
CREATED PROBLEMS	16	3	4	10	16	13	13	27	27	18	16	27
DON'T KNOW	7	3	5	5	7	13	14	5	4	6	10	4
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

The Federal Budget Deficit

This is an area in which it is generally realized that administration policy has been ineffective. In the January survey, more respondents attributed blame for this problem to the Congress (47%) than to the President (27%), suggesting the broad outlines of the general election campaign debate on this issue.

In the latest survey, four in ten respondents (39%) indicated that Reagan tried but failed to deal with the problem while one-quarter (25%) think that a problem was created for the next president. Furthermore, eight in ten respondents (84%) are concerned about future problems arising from the deficit.

These distinctions are sharply differentiated in the perceptions of members of the typology groups.

-A majority of Enterprisers (54%) feel the administration tried but failed to deal with the federal budget deficit.

-One-quarter of Moralists (26%) and Upbeats (27%) feel the administration made progress and four in ten feel it tried but failed (45% and 43%, respectively).

-At the same time, 48% of the 60's Democrats and 43% of Seculars feel the administration created problems for the next president in this area.

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S HANDLING OF THE BUDGET DEFICIT

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	BY-STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/CTRY	PART POOR
MADE PROGRESS	15%	19%	26%	27%	10%	15%	10%	5%	12%	13%	15%	9%
TRIED BUT FAILED	39	54	45	43	39	33	40	35	29	39	38	39
DID NOT DEAL WITH PROBLEM	11	9	6	5	14	12	16	14	8	12	13	12
CREATED PROBLEMS	25	14	12	14	29	18	17	43	48	27	23	31
DON'T KNOW	10	3	11	11	8	22	17	3	3	9	10	9
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

U.S. Policy in Central America

This is an issue area in which equal proportions of respondents feel the administration created problems (29%) or tried but failed in its policies (33%). And this view is as likely to be held by Enterprisers (26%) and Disaffecteds (28%) as by New Dealers (25%) and the Partisan Poor (34%).

Only one-seventh (15%) feel that progress has been made. And eight in ten respondents (82%) are concerned about the prospects of the United States committing troops to combat in Central America.

-Republican-oriented groups are more likely to see progress made (26% of Upbeats, 25% of Moralists, and 23% of Enterprisers) as well as to see unsuccessful attempts to deal with this issue (44% of Enterprisers and 43% of Moralists).

-Six in ten Seculars and 60's Democrats (59%) believe that the administration created problems in this area.

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S HANDLING OF THE U.S. POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	BY-STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/CTRY	PART POOR
MADE PROGRESS	15%	23%	25%	26%	10%	16%	15%	5%	8%	12%	15%	10%
TRIED BUT FAILED	33	44	43	33	39	21	30	24	25	36	28	35
DID NOT DEAL WITH PROBLEM	6	2	3	4	9	6	9	4	3	8	9	7
CREATED PROBLEMS	29	26	12	22	28	21	21	59	59	25	21	34
DON'T KNOW	17	6	17	14	14	36	26	8	6	19	26	14
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Drug Problems in the United States

There are significant potential campaign problems for Vice President Bush on the issue of drugs because he was given an assignment in this area by President Reagan. A majority of respondents (56%) see the Reagan administration as having tried but failed to deal with this issue (42%) or not having dealt with it at all (14%).

One year ago, only 32% felt that administration attempts at solving the problem had failed, a figure which has since increased by ten percentage points. During the same period there has been a thirteen percentage point drop in the proportion saying the Reagan administration made progress on this issue (42% to 29%).

-Upbeats (47%), Moralists (44%), and Enterprisers (38%) are the most likely to see progress made.

-60's Democrats (18%) and Seculars (14%) are more likely than the population as whole (9%) to see problems created in this area.

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S HANDLING OF DRUG PROBLEMS

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	BY- STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
MADE PROGRESS	29%	38%	44%	47%	24%	28%	22%	14%	22%	28%	25%	26%
TRIED BUT FAILED	42	51	39	35	49	36	39	47	36	42	41	42
DID NOT DEAL WITH PROBLEM	14	5	9	12	16	14	15	19	20	18	15	13
CREATED PROBLEMS	9	2	3	2	6	9	12	14	18	8	12	13
DON'T KNOW	6	3	5	4	5	13	12	5	3	5	7	5
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Public Education

This a policy area in which George Bush is attempting to stake out a special niche because of broad public concern about the quality of education in the United States. Nine in ten respondents (89%) are concerned about a decline in the quality of education in the United States, including a majority (53%) who are "very concerned."

But the latest Times Mirror survey shows that many members of Democratic-oriented groups - some of whom he will need to forge an electoral majority - believe that the Reagan administration has ignored this issue or created problems here.

Overall, 28% of the respondents believe that progress has been made here. But an equal number believe that the Reagan administration did not deal with this problem, and these views discriminate members of Democratic and Republican-oriented groups.

-Members of Republican-oriented groups are much more likely than the population as a whole to see progress in this area: 44% of Upbeats, 41% of Moralists, and 40% of Enterprisers.

-60's Democrats (39%), Seculars (36%), and the Partisan Poor (35%) are much more likely to see this area as ignored.

-And Seculars (18%) and 60's Democrats (19%) are twice as likely as the general population (9%) to believe that the Reagan administration created problems here.

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S HANDLING OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	BY-STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/CTRY	PART POOR
MADE PROGRESS	28%	40%	41%	44%	24%	32%	15%	15%	20%	29%	26%	18%
TRIED BUT FAILED	22	17	22	19	28	20	25	22	15	21	32	23
DID NOT DEAL WITH PROBLEM	28	29	21	21	28	23	27	36	39	29	15	35
CREATED PROBLEMS	9	6	3	6	9	5	7	18	19	9	12	12
DON'T KNOW	13	8	13	10	11	21	25	9	7	11	14	11
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

SOCIAL PROBLEMS REQUIRING GOVERNMENT ACTION (SOCIAL JUSTICE ISSUES)

In assessing various social problems, the public displays general consensus in its selection of the issues it sees as worthy of governmental attention. However, substantial disagreement exists over the range of social programs which should be undertaken should taxes rise as a consequence.

For only one issue reported on below (a government guarantee on the affordability of a college education) does anything less than an outright majority view the problem as deserving of government action. For only three additional issues (guaranteeing full employment, protecting workers from sudden layoffs, and ensuring equal job opportunities) do fewer than two-thirds of all Americans agree that the issue warrants a commitment by government.

The sharpest discriminator of public opinion on these issues is not whether the respondent perceives a problem, but rather whether the problem should be addressed even at the expense of higher taxes.

Electoral Groupings

Democratic and Democratic-leaning typology groups are, on balance, more willing to endorse government initiatives on social issues than are their Republican counterparts. However, this general pattern masks some important internal differences within each party's core constituencies.

On the Democratic side, 60's Democrats and Seculars offer significantly greater support for government action on a wide range of social issues (assuming it requires new taxes) than do other Democratic groups, particularly God & Country Democrats. Indeed, even New Dealers and the Partisan Poor list only a modest number of programs (drugs, the elderly, medical care) for which majorities are willing to endure additional taxes. This tension poses a problem for the Democrats, both internally and with the electorate as a whole. They are faced with the challenge of developing a party platform which is sufficiently activist on social issues so that it appeals to Seculars and 60's Democrats, yet not so broadly ambitious that it raises concerns about its fiscal implications. No other groupings, Republican or Democratic, are as amenable as the relatively affluent Seculars and 60's Democrats to proposed social programs which are likely to require new taxes.

On the Republican side, Enterprisers and Moralists predictably have both a more limited agenda for government action and a greater aversion to programs which would require new taxes than does the electorate as a whole. Some differences in priorities exist even among these two core Republican groups, however. For Enterprisers, the most popular governmental initiatives (aside from the war against drugs), involve those which would improve the nation's "competitiveness", e.g., ensuring literacy and improving the quality of public education. (Enterprisers, in keeping with their economic ideology, are the least likely typology group to endorse full employment programs and safeguards against sudden layoffs). Moralists tend to restrict their governmental agenda to the basic issues of fighting drugs, ensuring a decent standard of living for the elderly, and (to a lesser extent) health care and education programs.

Interestingly, Upbeats stand apart from other Republican-oriented groups in their willingness to endorse governmental programs at rates comparable to those of the electorate as a whole. While Upbeats are strong supporters of Ronald Reagan, they largely lack his coalition's antipathy toward government social programs which require new taxes. In fact, they are actually more supportive of an active governmental social agenda (assuming it requires new taxes) than are God & Country Democrats.

Disaffecteds are an important electoral battleground, and a group among which the Democratic Party appears to be making some significant inroads. However, the Democrats' relative success among this group could falter if the party adopts a platform strongly influenced by social activism. Despite their strong dissatisfaction with the national course of events (66% dissatisfied), Disaffecteds are generally not strong supporters of an active governmental role on most social issues if that role is assumed to require new taxes. Majorities of Disaffecteds offer support only for the items of halting drug smuggling (65%) and providing a decent standard of living for the elderly (52%), if new taxes are deemed to be a necessary consequence.

GOVERNMENT ACTION ON SOCIAL ISSUES

(PERCENT MENTIONING)

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	<u>TTL</u>	<u>ENTP</u>	<u>MORA LIST</u>	<u>UP-BTS</u>	<u>DIS AFF</u>	<u>BY-STND</u>	<u>FOL LOW</u>	<u>SECU LARS</u>	<u>60'S DEMS</u>	<u>NEW DEAL</u>	<u>GOD/CTRY</u>	<u>PART POOR</u>
PERCENT FAVORING GOVERNMENT ACTION EVEN IF IT REQUIRES NEW TAXES												
HALTING THE SMUGGLING OF DRUGS INTO THE U.S.	66%	75%	72%	66%	65%	61%	50%	65%	75%	73%	54%	64%
PROVIDING A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING FOR THE ELDERLY	56%	40%	52%	60%	52%	55%	43%	71%	74%	62%	46%	55%
PROVIDING ADEQUATE MEDICAL CARE FOR ALL WHO NEED IT BUT CAN'T AFFORD IT	51%	43%	44%	49%	42%	55%	37%	65%	73%	54%	45%	49%
IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM	47%	47%	41%	62%	38%	40%	37%	64%	70%	44%	35%	48%
PROVIDING HEALTH INSURANCE FOR MAJOR ILLNESSES	45%	34%	44%	44%	38%	44%	35%	61%	59%	49%	40%	45%
INSURING EVERY AMERICAN HAS FOOD AND SHELTER	39%	27%	29%	36%	27%	36%	26%	60%	69%	44%	32%	42%
INSURING EVERY AMERICAN CAN READ AND WRITE	40%	49%	31%	42%	36%	34%	30%	58%	58%	39%	34%	34%
PROVIDING A JOB FOR EVERYONE WHO WANTS ONE	23%	10%	19%	17%	15%	23%	20%	32%	34%	27%	24%	29%

CONTINUED...

GOVERNMENT ACTION ON SOCIAL ISSUES (CONTINUED)

(PERCENT MENTIONING)

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BJS	DIS AFF	BY- STND	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
PERCENT FAVORING GOVERNMENT ACTION EVEN IF IT REQUIRES NEW TAXES												
INSURING THAT EVERY AMERICAN HAS EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR A JOB	23%	10%	17%	22%	12%	27%	21%	30%	36%	22%	23%	32%
PROTECTING WORKERS FROM SUDDEN LAYOFFS	18%	5%	13%	16%	14%	23%	27%	24%	19%	20%	21%	20%
INSURING EVERY AMERICAN CAN AFFORD TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO COLLEGE	18%	11%	14%	17%	17%	17%	21%	23%	29%	17%	19%	20%
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	265	156	222	301	373	232	278

Question 301: I am going to read you a list of problems facing the United States, and for each one, please tell me whether you think it is not much of a problem, is a problem but no government action is required, is a problem that requires government action but only if no new taxes are needed, or is a problem that requires government action even if new taxes are needed?

Specific Issues

Americans cite drugs more than any other issue as the greatest problem facing the country today. Not surprisingly, more voters view efforts to halt the importation of illegal drugs as an appropriate government priority than is the case for any other social issue listed. This issue is unique in that consensus for government action cuts across all major political, demographic and value groupings. Ninety percent of Americans view drug importation as a problem requiring government action, and two-thirds (66%) believe action should be taken even if this requires the imposition of new taxes. Even among such core Republican groups as Enterprisers (75%) and Moralists (72%), roughly three-fourths endorse programs to interdict drug shipments even under the assumption that such efforts will require new taxes.

For a variety of other social concerns, substantial proportions of the electorate (between two-fifths and three-fifths of those interviewed) also favor government action even at the expense of new taxes. Other priority items include ensuring a decent standard of living for the elderly (56%), providing adequate medical care for all (51%), improving the public educational system (47%), providing health insurance for major illnesses (45%), eliminating illiteracy (40%), and guaranteeing food and shelter for all Americans (39%). (All percentages shown assume the necessity of new taxes). A possible government guarantee to provide food and shelter for all Americans elicits particularly sharp divisions both within and across party coalition lines. Majorities of 60's Democrats (69%) and Seculars (60%) would support additional funding for this endeavor, but Republican-oriented groupings strongly oppose it and support from New Dealers (44%), Partisan Poor (42%) and God & Country Democrats (32%) is lukewarm at best.

For several more ambitious social initiatives, less than one quarter of those interviewed views the problem as sufficiently serious to warrant government programs which would include new taxes. These include proposals to have the government provide a job for everyone who wants one (23%), to ensure that every American has equal opportunities for a job (23%), to protect workers from sudden layoffs (18%), and to ensure that all families are able to send their children to college (18%). In fact, for each of these four items, a larger proportion sees the problem as

requiring no government action than favors any government action involving new taxes.

Negligible support is expressed for the notion that the government should be involved in improving the quality of television programming.

The Mood of the Nation and Election Preferences

It is satisfaction with the state of the nation and fear for about the Reagan administration are more highly correlated with election preferences than are US adult economic expectations. At this time, however, the financial outlook has failed to do so. In fact, the correlation between satisfaction with the nation and election preferences is positive, whereas the correlation between economic expectations and election preferences is negative. This suggests that voters are more concerned about the state of the nation than they are about their economic future.

THE NATIONAL MOOD AND ELECTION PREFERENCES
(CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

Personal Economic Expectations	Satisfaction with Personal Life	Satisfaction with the Nation	Reagan Approval	All Voters
0.01	0.02	0.21	0.25	Reagan Defers
0.13	0.00		0.23	Moralists
0.10	0.01	0.17	0.24	Updaters
0.12	0.01	0.24	0.40	Disaffecteds
0.04	0.03	0.04	0.48	Followers
0.10	0.09	0.41	0.66	Reactors
0.01	0.05	0.00	0.50	60's Democrats
0.02	0.08	0.14	0.30	New Defers
0.03	0.06	0.24	0.44	God's Country Democrats
0.02	0.08	0.21	0.38	Partisan Party

TECHNICAL APPENDIX

ANALYSIS

The Mood of the Nation and Election Preferences

1. Satisfaction with the state of the nation and feelings about the Reagan administration are more highly correlated with election preferences than are 12 month economic expectations. At this time, how one feels about economic expectations for the country or even one's own financial outlook has little to do with voting intentions. The exception is found among two Republican groups, Upbeats and Moralists, whose positive personal expectations translate into support for George Bush.

THE NATIONAL MOOD AND ELECTION PREFERENCES (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	<u>Reagan Approval</u>	<u>Satisfaction with the Nation</u>	<u>Satisfaction with Personal Life</u>	<u>Personal Economic Expectations</u>
All Voters				
Enterprisers	0.25	0.21	0.03	0.01
Moralists	0.52	0.20	0.00	0.23
Upbeats	0.24	0.17	0.01	0.20
Disaffecteds	0.49	0.24	0.01	0.13
Followers	0.49	0.34	0.03	0.03
Seculars	0.66	0.41	0.09	0.10
60's Democrats	0.39	0.00	0.02	0.01
New Dealers	0.30	0.14	0.08	0.02
God & Country Democrats	0.44	0.24	0.08	0.02
Partisan Poor	0.36	0.21	0.08	0.05

2. People who are dissatisfied with the state of the nation generally don't differ from those who are satisfied as to what are the nation's most important problems; however, the dissatisfied are much more likely to be alarmed about the impact of foreign competition on jobs than are those content with the state of the nation.

MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM CITED AMONG THOSE WHO ARE SATISFIED AND THOSE WHO ARE DISSATISFIED WITH THE STATE OF THE NATION

<u>Most Important Problem</u>	<u>State of Nation</u>	
	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>
Drug Abuse	18%	18%
Unemployment/Recession	8	13
Federal Budget Deficit	10	7
Economy	7	7
Crime	5	5
Poverty/Hunger	4	5

3. Satisfaction with the state of nation is largely based on feelings about the Administration, especially for Democratically-oriented groups. Satisfaction fell off precipitously after the Iran-Contra revelations in November 1986, and has really never recovered. Nonetheless, for certain Republican-oriented groups, beliefs about the state of the nation are fairly independent of opinions about the Administration. Both Moralists and Disaffecteds express a condemnation of the state of the nation that far exceeds their disapproval of Ronald Reagan. For the Democratic groups, the presidential approval rating and state of nation assessment are virtually the same thing.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REAGAN APPROVAL AND SATISFACTION WITH THE STATE OF THE NATION

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
APPROVE OF REAGAN'S JOB PERFORMANCE	48%	82%	77%	84%	51%	37%	32%	21%	32%	39%	23%
SATISFIED WITH THE STATE OF THE NATION	41	73	49	71	30	37	31	28	28	37	24
SAMPLE SIZE	3021	272	347	255	319	156	222	301	373	232	278

4. The impact of approval of Ronald Reagan's job performance is most evident in views about the Bush-Dukakis race among Moralists, Disaffecteds, Seculars, and God & Country Democrats. Analysis of the impact of opinion toward the Administration on election preferences reveals the following:

-For Disaffecteds, their concerns about Reagan administration performance on policy in Central America, federal taxes, public education, the gap between rich and poor, and race relations are the most salient factors and are undoubtedly related to their defections to Dukakis.

-For the Seculars, relative satisfaction with the Reagan administration's handling of the economy is the factor explaining their relatively high defection rates to Bush, for many Seculars may be well served by a continuation of administration policies which have benefited them personally.

-For the God & Country Democrats, positive evaluations of the Reagan administration's handling of a wide range of issues is the explanatory factor in their defection rates to Bush. In particular, satisfaction with the handling of the economy and unemployment is especially relevant. Again, they can be expected to respond to calls for continuity of administration policies.

-For Moralists, specific Reagan policy and performance evaluations are not as relevant to voting disposition as is overall approval, because the questionnaire did not focus on the social agenda issues that are of greatest interest to the Moralists. Evaluations of Reagan's performance on such social agenda issues are difficult to measure, since they have been more a matter of tone and rhetoric rather than specific policy initiatives.

Issues of Social Justice and Election Preferences

5. Social justice is the political value that correlates the most with preferences. Attitudes toward business, "militant anti-communism" and "alienation" are also meaningfully related to the voters' choice of Bush or Dukakis, but they are far less influential than one's attitude toward economic justice and fairness, which are the dominant elements in the social justice dimension. Similar findings were observed a year ago when we analyzed the Bush-Hart pairing.

VALUES AND ELECTION PREFERENCES (REGRESSION ANALYSIS)

	Explanatory Power	
	<u>Bush-Hart</u>	<u>Bush-Dukakis</u>
Social Justice	.23*	.22
Opinion of Business	.09	.13
Militant Anti-Communism	.12	.13
Alienation	.12	.11
Intolerance	.09	.06
All other values	insig.	insig.
R squared	.12	.13

* These coefficients reflect the relative explanatory power of the scales when they are simultaneously correlated with preference.

When we consider the same values along with party identification in explaining election preferences, we see, as we did a year ago, that party identification captures a lot of the impact of values on choice; but these value differences are still evident irrespective of party. The analysis also shows that feelings about being a Democrat is somewhat more correlated to choice than feelings about being a Republican. In light of the history of Democratic defections in presidential elections, this is noteworthy.

VALUES, PARTY ID AND ELECTION PREFERENCES (REGRESSION ANALYSIS)

	Explanatory Power	
	<u>Bush-Hart</u>	<u>Bush-Dukakis</u>
Republican	.31	.31
Democrat	.31	.36
Social Justice	.03	.06
Attitudes Toward Business	.03	.05
Militant Anti-Communism	.08	.06
Alienation	.05	.06
Intolerance	.06	.06
All other values	insig	insig
R squared	(.38)	(.45)

Opinions of the Parties and Election Choices

6. When opinions about the parties are considered in relation to preferences for Bush or Dukakis we see that one perception of the parties stands out - beliefs as to which party can bring about the changes the country needs. This evaluation of the parties is more than twice as important as any other single party evaluation.

OPINIONS OF THE PARTIES AND ELECTION PREFERENCES (REGRESSION ANALYSIS)

	<u>Explanatory Power</u>
Can Bring About Change	.35
Can Manage Federal Government	.18
Selects Good Candidates	.18
Concerned with Needs	.15
Well Organized	.05
R squared	(.48)

Parties, Presidential Approval and Election Choices

7. At this point in the race, preferences are more a consequence of underlying attitudes than specific opinions about the candidates. Our analysis indicates that trial heat choices can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy by only considering approval of Ronald Reagan, which party the respondent feels can do the best job of bringing about change and which party is seen as better able to manage the federal government. Presidential approval and the party best for change weigh in about equally - which is a good expression of the tension between a desire for change and a desire for continuity. Approval is especially crucial to the votes of Moralists, party for change means most to Seculars, and ability to manage is central to the election choices of Followers.

	<u>R Squared</u>	<u>Party Better Able to Manage</u>	<u>Party Better For Change</u>	<u>Reagan Approval</u>
All Voters	.51	.18	.37	.30
Enterprisers	.21	.19	.26	.18
Moralists	.35	.22	.14	.39
Upbeats	.22	.14	.34	.11
Disaffecteds	.38	.10	.36	.31
Followers	.33	.30	.04	.35
Seculars	.59	.11	.43	.36
60's Democrats	.22	.12	.22	.34
New Dealers	.22	.20	.26	.17
God & Country Democrats	.39	.14	.38	.24
Partisan Poor	.24	.09	.29	.30

Favorability ratings of Bush and Dukakis add to our ability to "predict" choices but not by a lot. Opinions of Bush only play a dominant role in the choices of Enterprisers. In none of the groups does opinion of Dukakis overshadow other factors. Note that "party better able to manage" plays a relatively greater role in the views of New Dealers and Followers, who defected from Carter and Mondale at high rates.

	<u>R Squared</u>	<u>Party Better Able to Manage</u>	<u>Party Better For Change</u>	<u>Reagan Approval</u>	<u>Favorability</u>	
					<u>Bush</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>
All Voters	.64	.11	.20	.16	.36	.23
Enterprisers	.58	.07	.12	.07	<u>.63</u>	.13
Moralists	.50	.14	.04	.22	.39	.19
Upbeats	.46	.11	.15	00	<u>.42</u>	<u>.33</u>
Disaffecteds	.60	.06	.17	.16	.43	.25
Followers	.50	.16	00	.22	.37	.32
Seculars	.74	00	.34	.12	.34	.32
60's Democrats	<u>.30</u>	.09	.18	.22	.27	.16
New Dealers	.42	<u>.17</u>	.18	.08	.31	.30
God & Country Democrats	.49	.15	.23	.16	.20	.29
Partisan Poor	.42	.05	.20	.19	.15	.41

THE COMPOSITION OF THE TYPOLOGY

For more than a year, the Gallup Organization has been conducting extensive interviews with Americans in order to learn more about the basic values and orientations that structure their political thinking. The overriding purpose of this effort was to develop a more meaningful way of describing the American electorate than the traditional concepts of "liberal" and "conservative", "Democrat" and "Republican." Although party affiliation remains the single best indicator of voters' candidate preferences as well as the best individual measure of political behavior, this research has found that political preference and opinions on issues are more fully understood when an individual's values and personal orientations are also taken into account.

Through extensive research and from analysis of the findings of a nationwide survey of over 4000 personal interviews, Gallup identified nine dimensions that animate public opinion. Three of these dimensions are basic personal orientations while six are values:

Personal Orientations

Religious Faith: a measure of belief in God.

Alienation: the degree of powerlessness, hopelessness, and the lack of trust in government people feel.

Financial Pressure: the degree of personal financial concern.

Values

Tolerance/Intolerance: the degree to which people value civil liberties and free speech and the extent to which they accept others who choose a different life style.

Social Justice: beliefs about social welfare, social class standing, and the role of the federal government in providing for the needy.

Militant Anti-Communism: perceptions about the threat of communism, militarism, ethnocentrism, and the use of force to further American interests.

Attitudes toward Government: beliefs about the size and effectiveness of government.

American Exceptionalism: a belief in America that combines patriotism with the view that the United States has a boundless ability to solve its problems.

Attitudes toward Business Corporations: beliefs about American "big business."

The Times Mirror typology was constructed by classifying people according to these nine basic values and orientations, by their party affiliation and by their degree of political involvement. A statistical technique called "cluster analysis" was used to identify these distinct groups of American voters. Two groups are solidly Republican, four are Democratic, and five are independent with two of them leaning Republican and two leaning Democratic.

The typology, then, consists of the following 11 groups:

CORE REPUBLICAN GROUPS

Enterprisers: Affluent, well-educated, and predominantly male. This classic Republican group is mainly characterized by its pro-business and anti-government attitudes. Enterprisers are moderate on questions of personal freedom, but oppose increased spending on most social programs.

Moralists: Middle-aged and middle-income, this core Republican group is militantly anti communist, and restrictive on personal freedom issues.

REPUBLICAN-LEANING GROUPS

Upbeats: Young and optimistic, the members of this group are firm believers in America and in the country's government. Upbeats are moderate in their political attitudes but strongly pro-Reagan.

Disaffected: Alienated, pessimistic, and financially pressured, this group leans toward the GOP camp, but it has had historic ties to the Democratic party. Disaffecteds are skeptical of both big government and big business, but are pro-military.

LOW INVOLVEMENT GROUP

Bystanders: The members of this group are young, predominantly white and poorly educated. They neither participate in politics nor show any interest in current affairs.

DEMOCRATIC- LEANING GROUPS

Followers: Young, poorly educated and disproportionately black. This group shows little interest in politics and is very persuadable and unpredictable. Although they are not critical of government or big business, Followers do not have much faith in America.

Seculars: This group is uniquely characterized by its lack of religious belief. In addition, Seculars are strongly committed to personal freedom and are dovish on defense issues. Their level of participation in politics, however, is not as high as one might expect given their education and their political sophistication.

CORE DEMOCRATIC GROUPS

60's Democrats: This well-educated, heavily female group has a strong belief in social justice, as well as a very low militancy level. These mainstream Democrats are highly tolerant of views and lifestyles they do not share and favor most forms of social spending.

New Dealers: Older, blue collar and religious. The roots of this aging group of traditional Democrats can be traced back to the New Deal. Although supportive of many social spending measures, New Dealers are intolerant on social issues and somewhat hawkish on defense.

God & Country Democrats: This group is older, poor, and disproportionately black, with high numbers concentrated in the South. The Passive Poor have a strong faith in America and are uncritical of its institutions. They favor social spending and are moderately anti-communist.

Partisan Poor: Very low income, relatively high proportions of blacks and poorly educated, this loyal Democratic group has a strong faith in its party's ability to achieve social justice. The Partisan Poor firmly support all forms of social spending, yet they are conservative on some social issues.

TYPOLOGY DISTRIBUTION

	<u>All Adults</u>			<u>Registered Voters</u>
	<u>April/May 1987</u>	<u>Jan. 1988</u>	<u>May 1988</u>	<u>May 1988</u>
Enterprisers	10%	10%	8%	10%
Moralists	11	11	11	12
Upbeats	9	9	8	8
Disaffecteds	9	9	11	11
Bystanders	11	10	11	3
Followers	7	6	6	6
Seculars	8	6	7	8
60's Democrats	8	8	10	11
New Dealers	11	13	11	13
God & Country Democrats	7	8	8	8
Partisan Poor	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Sample Size	(4244)	(2109)	(3021)	(2416)

SAMPLE SIZE OF THE TYPOLOGY GROUPS

	<u>All Adults</u>			<u>Registered Voters</u>		
	<u>April/May 1987</u>	<u>Jan. 1988</u>	<u>May 1988</u>	<u>April/May 1987</u>	<u>Jan. 1988</u>	<u>May 1988</u>
Enterprisers	438	227	272	394	195	244
Moralists	458	254	347	397	224	319
Upbeats	354	200	255	289	164	208
Disaffecteds	347	209	319	282	182	266
Bystanders	390	161	265	89	31	65
Followers	295	107	156	223	84	119
Seculars	332	158	222	290	135	193
60's Democrats	396	198	301	365	165	258
New Dealers	477	252	373	439	218	325
God & Country Democrats	317	154	232	270	127	189
Partisan Poor	440	189	278	367	163	229
Total	4244	2109	3021	3405	1688	2416

Partisanship Among the Typology Groups

Since identifying the voter groups in a survey conducted last May (1987), there have been some interesting changes in partisanship among several of the groups. On the Republican side, we find no change in party identification among the two core groups - the Enterprisers and the Moralists - but the Upbeats, a lean Republican group, show a consistent movement toward the Republican party. Only one-third of Upbeats (33%) self-identified as "Republican" a year ago, compared to more than six in ten (62%) who currently do so. During the same period, there has been a strengthening of identification with the GOP, with the proportion of Upbeats who are "strong Republicans" increasing from 5% to 26%.

The Upbeats constitute a key group of swing voters. Although they supported Reagan in large numbers in 1984, their vote was mainly driven by an attraction to Reagan and his optimistic message; as a group of young voters, they had yet to develop strong ties to the GOP. Current data, however, suggests that Reagan's imprint upon this group may be a lasting one, and translate into increased affiliation with the Republican party.

The Disaffecteds, another lean Republican group, do not show the same trend toward the Republican party. Although Disaffecteds affiliate with the Republican party by a two to one margin (24% vs. 11%) over the Democratic party, their links to the GOP are tenuous. The proportion of Disaffecteds who identify themselves as Republican has increased by only eight percentage points (16% to 24%) over the last year, and this marginal gain is offset by a drop in those leaning to the Republican party (28% to 24%).

TREND IN PARTY IDENTIFICATION AMONG THE REPUBLICAN TYPOLOGY GROUPS

	<u>Party Identification</u>			<u>Strength of Identification</u>		<u>Sample Size</u>
	<u>Repub- lican</u>	<u>Inde- pendent</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Strong Repub- lican</u>	<u>Strong Demo- crat</u>	
<u>Enterprisers</u>						
May, 1988	70	29	1	42	0	(272)
January, 1988	74	26	0	36	0	(227)
April/May 1987	77	23	*	39	0	(438)
<u>Moralists</u>						
May, 1988	92	8	*	54	0	(347)
January, 1988	94	6	0	57	0	(254)
April/May 1987	87	13	0	53	0	(458)
<u>Upbeats</u>						
May, 1988	62	36	2	26	0	(255)
January, 1988	52	42	6	14	1	(200)
April/May 1987	33	63	3	5	*	(354)
<u>Disaffecteds</u>						
May, 1988	24	65	11	2	0	(319)
January, 1988	16	74	9	3	*	(209)
April/May 1988	16	78	6	2	*	(347)

Turning to the Democrats, party affiliation among the 60's Democrats, the New Dealers, and the Partisan Poor has remained fairly constant over the course of the year, with a strengthening of identification among the Partisan Poor (53% to 64% "strong Democrats"). God & Country Democrats, on the other hand, have somewhat weaker ties to the Democratic Party than was observed one year ago. The decline in Democratic affiliation has systematically occurred over the last five months. In January 1988, more than six in ten identified as Democrats (62%), a proportion which has since dropped to 47%. During the same period, there has been a twelve percentage point increase in the number of Republicans within this group (1% to 13%).

On balance, a majority (66%) of Seculars are either Democrats (42%) or lean Democratic (24%), but members of this group have also shown some interesting shifts in party affiliation. During the nine month period from

Values

The nine value scales, identified through testing more than 70 predisposition items, have remained stable over the past year. A comparison of three independent measures of these scales (May 1987, January 1988, May 1988) reveal no significant change in voters' basic values and personal orientations.

TREND IN VALUE SCALES

	<u>May 1988</u>	<u>Jan. 1988</u>	<u>April/May 1987</u>
<u>Religious Faith</u>			
Low	26	26	25
2	21	24	25
3	25	22	25
High	28	28	25
<u>Intolerance</u>			
Tolerant	26	25	24
2	22	24	26
3	24	26	25
Intolerant	28	25	25
<u>Social Justice</u>			
Low	26	25	26
2	24	25	26
3	24	27	25
High	26	23	23
<u>Militant Anti-Communism</u>			
Low	24	25	25
2	24	25	25
3	26	24	25
High	26	26	25
<u>Alienation</u>			
Low	22	23	25
2	24	24	25
3	26	26	25
High	28	27	25
<u>Attitudes About Government</u>			
Pro-Government	24	22	26
2	23	24	24
3	19	20	21
Anti-Government	34	35	29

CONTINUED...

advantage of the United States (19% vs 11%) and "most of the countries that have gotten help from America end up resenting us" (32% vs 21%).

Other differences in measurements may be campaign-related. As the election approaches, the public becomes more interested and involved in national affairs. Compared to last May, Americans are more likely to completely agree that:

- I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote (56% vs 46%)
- I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs (39% vs 28%)
- It is time for Washington politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders" (26% vs 16%)
- I don't pay attention to whether a candidate calls himself a liberal or a conservative (24% vs 14%)

Similarly, there is a greater consensus that "our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed" (48% vs 37%).

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

For this Times Mirror Survey, face-to-face personal interviews were conducted among a nationally representative sample of 3,021 adults during the period from May 13 to 22, 1988. The margin of error due to sampling is ± 2 percentage points.

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.

* 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.

37, with the most likely figure the 33 obtained.

In comparing survey results in two samples, such as, for example, men and women, the question arises as to how large a difference between them must be before one can be reasonably sure that it reflects a real difference. In the tables below, the number of points which must be allowed for in such comparisons is indicated.

Two tables are provided. One is for percentages near 20 or 80; the other for percentages near 50. For percentages in between, the error to be allowed for is between those shown in the two tables.

Recommended Allowance for Sampling
Error of the Difference
20% and 80%
In Percentage Points
(at 95 in 100 confidence level)*

Size of Sample	3000	2500	2000	1500	1250	1000	750	500	250	100
3000	3									
2500	3	3								
2000	3	3	3							
1500	3	3	3	4						
1250	3	4	4	4	4					
1000	4	4	4	4	4	5				
750	4	4	4	5	5	5	5			
500	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	6		
250	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	8	9	
100	10	10	10	10	11	11	11	11	12	14

Recommended Allowance for Sampling
Error of the Difference
50% and 50%
In Percentage Points
(at 95 in 100 confidence level)*

Size of Sample	3000	2500	2000	1500	1250	1000	750	500	250	100
3000	3									
2500	3	4								
2000	4	4	4							
1500	4	4	4	5						
1250	4	4	5	5	5					
1000	5	5	5	5	5	6				
750	5	5	5	6	6	6	7			
500	6	6	6	7	7	7	7	8		
250	8	8	8	9	9	9	9	10	11	
100	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	14	15	18

*The chance are 95 in 100 that the sampling error is not larger than the figure shown.

Here is an example of how the tables would be used: Let us say that 50 percent of men responded a certain way and 40 percent of women respond that way also, for a difference of 10 percentage points between them. Can we say with any assurance that the 10 point difference reflects a real difference between the two groups on the question? Let us consider a sample which contains approximately 500 in each of these groups.

Since the percentages are near 50, we consult Table B, and since the two samples are about 500 persons each, we look for the number in the column headed "500" which is also the row designated "500". We find the number 8 here. This means that the allowance for error should be 8 points, and that in concluding that the percentage among men is somewhere between 2 and 18 points higher than the percentage among women, we should be wrong only about 5 percent of the time. In other words, we can conclude with considerable confidence that a difference exists in the direction observed and that it amounts to at least 2 percentage points.

If, in another case, responses among a group of 500 men amount to 22 percent and 24 percent in a group of 500 women, we consult Table A because these percentages are near 20. We look for the number in the column headed "500" which is also in the row designated "500" and see that the number is 6. Obviously, then, the two-point difference is inconclusive.

QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE



The Gallup Survey

SURVEY G.O. 8.174

DATE MAY, 1988

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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: _____

Q101. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?

	6/86*	9/87	9/87	1/88
48 A101. 1 [] Approve	64	47	50	50
432 [] Disapprove	26	44	43	41
90 [] Don't know	$\frac{10}{100}$	$\frac{9}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{9}{100}$
*GALLUP POLL TREND				

Q102. 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?

	4/87	9/87	1/88
33 A102. 1 [] Republican	30	33	33
462 [] Democratic	40	41	42
23 [] Other (VOL.)	2	1	1
114 [] IT DEPENDS (VOL.)	20	15	15
80 [] Don't know	$\frac{8}{100}$	$\frac{10}{100}$	$\frac{9}{100}$

Q103. Suppose the 1988 general election for President were being held today. If George Bush were the Republican candidate and Michael Dukakis were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?

38
A103. 1[]George Bush — GO TO Q.104
482[]Michael Dukakis
33[]Other (VOL.) — GO TO Q. 105
110[]Undecided/No answer
100

Q104. Do you support (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q103.) strongly or only moderately?

A104. 1[]Strongly — GO TO Q. 106
2[]Only moderately
0[]Don't know

Q105. As of today, do you lean more to Bush, the Republican, or to Dukakis, the Democrat?

2
A105. 1[]Bush — GO TO Q. 106
32[]Dukakis
90[]Undecided/No answer - GO TO Q. 108

Q106. Would you say your choice is more of a vote for (PREFERRED CANDIDATE) or more of a vote against (THE OPPONENT)?

A106. 1[]For candidate chosen
2[]Against other candidate
0[]Don't know/No answer

Q107. How much of a chance is there that you will vote for (THE OPPONENT) rather than (PREFERRED CANDIDATE): a good chance, some chance, or no chance whatsoever?

A107. 1[]Good chance
2[]Some chance
3[]No chance whatsoever
0[]Don't know

On another topic...

Q108. In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the U.S. at this time?

		9/86*	9/87*	1/88
41	A108. 1[]Satisfied	58	45	39
542	[]Dissatisfied	38	49	55
50	[]Don't know	4	6	6
100		100	100	100

IRIAL TEAI DEKED
- BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS -

103/104	<u>5/88</u>	<u>5/88*</u>
Bush	40	38
Strongly	12	15
Only Moderately	28	24
Dukakis	53	54
Strongly	14	19
Only Moderately	38	35
Other/Undecided	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{8}{100}$

103/105/106	<u>5/88</u>	<u>5/88*</u>	<u>4/88*</u>
Bush	40	38	45
Pro-Bush	26	27	36
Anti-Dukakis	11	7	6
Other/Undecided	3	4	3
Dukakis	53	54	43
Pro-Dukakis	23	26	22
Anti Bush	26	25	17
Other/Undecided	4	3	4

* GALLUP/CONUS TREND (May 13-15, April 21-23)

Q109. What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

A109. _____

Q110. 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?

	26	4/87	1/88
A110. 1	[] Republican Party	28	30
	38	2	3
	[] Democratic Party	38	35
	22	3	4
	[] NO DIFFERENCE (VOL.)	24	24
	14	10	11
	[] Don't know	$\frac{10}{100}$	$\frac{11}{100}$

Q111. In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in your personal life?

	80	9/86*	9/87*
A111. 1	[] Satisfied	84	83
	16	2	15
	[] Dissatisfied	14	15
	4	2	2
	[] Don't know	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$

Q112. What is the most important problem facing you in your life today?

A112. _____ * GALLUP POLL TREND

Q113. 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?

	54	6/87*	1/88
A113. 1	[] Better off	57	46
	10	17	18
	[] Worse off	17	18
	31	18	30
	[] SAME (VOL.)	18	30
	5	8	6
	[] Don't know	$\frac{8}{100}$	$\frac{6}{100}$

Q114. 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?

	24	1/84	1/88
A114. 1	[] Better	35	22
	20	13	26
	[] Worse	13	26
	46	49	45
	[] Same	49	45
	10	3	7
	[] Don't know	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$

Now on a completely different subject...

Q115. In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a <u>Republican</u> , a <u>Democrat</u> , an <u>Independent</u> , or what?	A115. ²⁸ 1[]Republican	^{1/88} 27
	382[]Democrat	39
	263[]Independent	26
	64[]No preference	6
	*5[]Other party	*
	² 0[]Don't know	² 100
Q116. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Republican or a <u>not very strong</u> Republican?	A116. ¹³ 1[]Strong	12
	152[]Not strong	15
	* DK	
Q117. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Democrat or a <u>not very strong</u> Democrat?	A117/91[]Strong	19
	172[]Not strong	19
	2 DK	
Q118. Would you say you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?	A118/21[]Republican	11
	122[]Democratic	13
	100[]Don't know	10

	<u>Rep and Leaner</u>	<u>Dem and Leaner</u>
current -	40	50
Yes -	38	52

Q.19. 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.)

A119. Describes the:

	Repub- lican	Demo- cratic	(VOL) BOTH	(VOL) NEITHER	DK
a. Is well organized	5/88- 39 1/88 - 38 4/87- 34	23 20 19	15 19 25	14 14 13	9=100 9=100 9=100
b. Selects good candidates for office	5/88- 28 1/88 - 31 4/87- 27	30 24 26	13 18 25	19 18 13	10=100 9=100 9=100
c. Is concerned with the needs of people like you	5/88- 23 1/88 - 22	51 47	8 11	11 13	7=100 7=100
d. Is able to manage the federal government well	5/88- 33 1/88 - 30 4/87- 24	30 28 25	10 12 13	17 20 28	10=100 10 10
e. Can bring about the kinds of changes the country needs	5/88- 27 1/88 - 28 4/87- 26	43 37 36	9 14 14	11 11 14	10=100 10 10

Q201. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD A) Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is...
 (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)

	A201. Com- pletely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Dis- agree	Com- pletely Dis- agree	Don't Know
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	16 4/87-14	39 38	33 34	11 12	1 = 1 2 = 10
b. Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly	26 4/87-22	50 51	19 21	3 3	2 = 1 3 = 10
c. Most elected officials care what people like me think	5 4/87-5	42 42	40 40	11 9	2 = 1 4 = 10
d. Voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things	26 4/87-23	49 55	18 15	5 4	2 = 1 3 = 10
e. Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control	13 4/87-8	28 30	37 41	19 16	3 = 1 5 = 10
f. Hard work offers little guarantee of success	11 4/87-7	21 22	40 44	26 24	1 = 10 3 = 10
g. The federal government should be able to overrule individual states on important matters	11 4/87-8	35 36	30 33	17 14	7 = 1 9 = 10
h. The strength of this country today is mostly based on the success of American business	25 4/87-16	54 60	14 16	3 3	4 = 10 5 = 10

CONTINUED....

Q201. CONTINUED

	A201. Com- pletely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Dis- agree	Com- pletely Dis- agree	Don't Know
i. Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good	17 4/87-12	40 43	31 30	4 4	8 = 10 11 = 100
j. When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful	24 4/87-19	42 44	26 27	3 4	5 = 10 6 = 100
k. The federal government should run <u>only</u> those things that cannot be run at the local level	30 4/87-22	48 53	15 16	3 3	4 = 10 6 = 100
l. The federal government controls too much of our daily lives	25 4/87-18	36 40	31 32	5 5	3 = 10 5 = 100
m. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	11 4/87-9	42 48	34 31	10 8	3 = 10 4 = 100
n. Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public interest	6 4/87-4	36 39	39 38	13 10	6 = 10 9 = 100
o. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	35 4/87-27	44 50	15 16	2 2	4 = 10 5 = 100
p. Business corporations make too much profit	25 4/87-21	40 44	25 24	4 4	6 = 10 7 = 100
q. It is time for Washington politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders	26 4/87-16	42 46	22 26	3 3	7 = 10 9 = 100
r. Dealing with a federal government agency is often not worth the trouble	20 4/87-14	43 44	27 29	4 3	6 = 10 10 = 100
s. As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	15 4/87-12	51 56	23 24	7 4	4 = 10 4 = 100

CONTINUED...

Q201. CONTINUED

	A201. Com- pletely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Dis- agree	Com- pletely Dis- agree	Don't Know
t. I don't believe that there are any real limits to growth in this country today	19 4/87-17	45 50	26 24	6 4	4 = 10 5 = 10
u. We need new people in Washington even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians	16 4/87-9	35 35	33 38	10 10	6 = 10 8 = 10
v. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal <u>opportunity</u> to succeed	48 4/87-37	43 53	6 7	1 1	2 = 10 2 = 10
w. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country	17 4/87-11	28 31	32 37	20 16	3 = 10 5 = 10
x. It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take of themselves	26 4/87-21	48 50	17 20	6 4	3 = 10 5 = 10
y. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	17 4/87-13	35 40	30 33	12 7	6 = 10 7 = 10
z. The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep	28 4/87-22	38 40	22 26	9 7	3 = 10 5 = 10
aa. I like political leaders who are willing to make compromises in order to get the job done	23 4/87-16	49 56	17 16	5 4	6 = 10 8 = 10
bb. I don't pay attention to whether a candidate calls himself a liberal or a conservative	24 4/87-14	41 47	21 26	9 7	5 = 10 6 = 10
cc. I am very patriotic	51 4/87-43	38 46	6 7	2 1	3 = 10 3 = 10
dd. In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country	12 4/87-8	25 28	41 45	18 14	4 = 10 5 = 10

CONTINUED

Q201. CONTINUED

	A201. Com- pletely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Dis- agree	Com- pletely Dis- agree	Don't Know
ee. I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other	21 4/87-13	28 35	18 22	28 24	5=10 6=11
ff. We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment	7 4/87-6	19 18	36 43	35 28	3=1 5=1
gg. Discrimination against blacks is rare today	7 4/87-6	25 28	41 43	24 18	3=1 5=10
hh. It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the United States	19 4/87-11	34 33	29 37	11 10	7= 9=
ii. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	22 4/87-14	37 40	25 30	12 10	4= 6=
jj. American lives are worth more than the lives of people in other countries	9 4/87-7	15 17	34 39	39 32	3= 5=
kk. We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	23 4/87-17	34 37	24 27	14 13	5= 6=
ll. I often worry about the chances of a nuclear war	28 4/87-23	33 39	25 27	12 0	2 2=
mm. Most of the countries that have gotten help from America end up resenting us	32 4/87-21	44 50	16 19	2 2	6= 8=
nn. It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs	47 4/87-32	43 55	6 7	1 1	3= 5=
oo. There is an international communist conspiracy to rule the world	23 4/87-22	32 38	23 21	10 7	12= 12=

CONTINUED...

Q201. CONTINUED

	A201. Com- pletely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Dis- agree	Com- pletely Dis- agree	Don't Know
pp. Communist and non-communist countries can learn to live together peacefully	28 4/87-18	46 50	15 18	6 6	5 = 100 8 = 100
qq. Communist countries are all alike	9 4/87-9	25 28	38 40	16 11	12 = 100 12 = 100
rr. Communists are responsible for a lot of the unrest in the United States today	19 4/87-17	34 39	28 27	11 8	8 = 100 9 = 100

Q202.

(INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT CARD B) 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....(CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)

	A202.	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard Of	Can't Rate
a. The Congress	5/88-	8	56	23	5	0	8 = 10
	1/88	6	58	25	4	0	7 = 10
	4/87	10	64	16	4	*	6 = 10
b. The daily newspaper you are most familiar with	5/88-	19	59	13	4	*	5 = 10
	1/88*	19	62	11	3	0	5 = 10
	4/87-	22	59	12	3	*	4 = 10
c. Network TV news	5/88-	20	58	14	4	*	4 = 10
	1/88*	12	69	13	3	0	3 = 10
	4/87	21	63	11	3	*	2 = 10
d. Ed Meese	5/88-	3	18	28	20	8	23 =
e. Dan Rather	5/88-	19	52	13	6	2	8 =
	1/88*	20	46	15	11	1	7 =
	4/87	24	60	6	2	3	5 =
f. Ronald Reagan	5/88-	16	40	22	18	7	3 =
	1/88	17	42	24	13	*	4 =
	4/87	21	41	22	14	*	2 =
g. Jesse Jackson	5/88-	11	35	27	19	1	7 = 10
	4/87-	13	38	24	17	2	6 =
h. George Bush	5/88-	11	40	25	17	1	6 =
	1/88*	11	41	26	13	*	9 =
	4/87	11	56	19	7	1	6 =
i. Michael Dukakis	5/88-	13	53	18	4	1	11 =
	9/87-	9	29	9	3	20	30 =
j. Peter Jennings	5/88-	24	53	6	1	4	12 =
	1/88*	23	55	6	1	2	13 =
	10/87-	25	49	5	2	4	15 =
k. Tom Brokaw	5/88-	22	54	6	1	5	12 =
	1/88*	22	57	6	1	2	12 =
	10/87	23	46	6	2	6	17 =

* POST RATHER/BUSH INTERVIEW

Q203. (INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT CARD C) Here are some other statements on variety of topics. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

	A203. Com- pletely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Dis- agree	Com- pletely Dis- agree	Don't Know
a. Prayer is an important part of my daily life	46 4/87-41	32 35	15 17	6 6	1 = 10 1 = 10
b. We all will be called before God at the judgment day to answer for our sins	52 4/87-52	28 29	8 9	6 5	6 = 10 5 = 10
c. Even today miracles are performed by the power of God	51 4/87-47	29 35	9 9	6 4	5 = 10 5 = 10
d. I am sometimes very conscious of the presence of God	46 4/87-41	35 39	11 12	5 4	3 = 10 4 = 10
e. I never doubt the existence of God	63 4/87-60	24 28	7 7	4 3	2 = 10 2 = 10
f. School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals	29 4/87-27	22 24	25 28	18 14	6 = 10 7 = 10
g. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	29 4/87-24	22 26	22 25	22 19	5 = 10 6 = 10
h. Nude magazines and X-rated movies provide harmless adult entertainment for those who enjoy them	15 4/87-14	30 34	28 26	23 21	5 = 10 5 = 10
i. Freedom of speech should not extend to groups like the Communist party or the Ku Klux Klan	17 4/87-16	20 23	32 36	26 19	5 = 10 6 = 10
j. The police should be allowed to search the houses of known drug dealers without a court order	31 4/87-25	23 26	21 27	22 18	2 = 10 4 = 10

CONTINUED...

Q203. CONTINUED

	A203. Com- pletely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly Dis- agree	Com- pletely Dis- agree	Don't Know
k. Women should return to their traditional role in society	11 4/87- 9	20 21	30 37	36 29	3 = 10 4 = 10
l. Too many children are being raised in day care centers these days	29 4/87- 23	40 45	19 22	7 5	5 = 10 5 = 10
m. The government ought to be able to censor news stories that it feels threaten national security	27 4/87- 19	38 42	19 21	12 13	4 = 10 5 = 10
n. The news media should be free to report on any stories they feel are in the national interest	30 4/87- 25	47 49	16 17	4 5	3 = 10 4 = 10
o. AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior	20 4/87- 17	24 26	20 22	28 25	8 = 10 10 = 10
p. I have old-fashioned values about family and marriage	50 4/87- 45	35 42	9 9	4 2	2 = 10 2 = 10
q. There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	38 4/87- 34	41 45	12 12	6 4	4 = 10 5 = 10
r. Labor unions are necessary to protect the working person	26 4/87- 19	43 40	19 26	7 7	5 = 10 8 = 10
s. Labor unions have too much power	20 4/87- 19	38 40	26 26	8 7	8 = 10 8 = 10
t. Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	34 4/87- 31	42 43	18 19	3 3	3 = 10 4 = 10
u. I can usually tell whether I'll have a lot in common with someone by knowing how much education he or she has	6 4/87- 5	24 23	44 49	23 18	3 = 10 5 = 10
v. I don't have much in common with people of other races	6 4/87- 3	19 20	46 54	26 18	3 = 10 5 = 10

CONTINUED...

Q203. CONTINUED

	A203. Com- pletely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Dis- agree	Com- pletely Dis- agree	Don't Know
w. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	17 4/87- 14	28 29	42 44	12 11	1 = 10 2 = 10
x. Money is one of my most important concerns	17 4/87- 13	35 34	35 39	12 12	1 = 10 2 = 10
y. I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially	13 4/87- 11	52 52	25 27	9 8	1 = 10 2 = 10
z. I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote	56 4/87- 46	32 39	7 9	2 3	3 = 10 3 = 10
aa. I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	39 4/87- 28	47 53	10 12	2 3	2 = 10 4 = 10
bb. I'm generally bored by what goes on in Washington	11 4/87- 8	37 34	38 41	12 13	2 = 10 4 = 10
cc. I'm pretty interested in following <u>local</u> politics	21 4/87- 16	51 54	22 22	5 4	1 = 10 4 = 10
dd. Most issues discussed in Washington don't affect me personally	7 4/87- 5	29 26	45 50	17 15	2 = 10 4 = 10
ee. I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	32 4/87- 25	37 41	18 22	8 6	5 = 10 6 = 10
ff. Sometimes I vote for a candidate without really knowing enough about him or her	12 4/87- 9	44 44	24 28	15 13	15 = 10 6 = 10

Q204. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD D)

Please look down this list and tell me which items you think apply to George Bush. Please read off your answer by number. (INTERVIEWER: CHECK ALL THAT APPLY UNDER FIRST COLUMN, THEN ASK:) And what about Michael Dukakis? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY UNDER SECOND COLUMN, THEN ASK:) And what about Jesse Jackson? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY UNDER THIRD COLUMN.)

A204.

	George Bush		Michael Dukakis		Jesse Jackson	
	5/88	7/88	5/88	7/88	5/88	7/88
1. Can get things done	29	28	29	28	17	18
2. Excites and inspires people	9	9	21	20	54	43
3. Honest and ethical	28	31	34	29	27	28
4. Strong and forceful	18	19	22	25	39	32
5. Has a fresh approach	9	9	35	26	32	24
6. Well informed	44	NA	33	NA	22	NA
7. Steady and dependable	33	39	26	26	13	16
8. Concerned about the needs of people like me	19	22	35	27	33	31
9. Has the record and experience for the job of President	51	NA	17	NA	5	NA
10. Too extreme on issues	13	NA	12	NA	45	NA
11. Can bring about the changes the country needs	19	NA	31	NA	17	NA
12. Thoughtful	25	NA	28	NA	26	NA
NONE	13		7		8	
DK	10		17		11	

Q301. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD E) I am going to read you a list of problems facing the United States, and for each one, please tell me whether you think it is not much of a problem, is a problem but no government action is required, is a problem that requires government action but only if no new taxes are needed, or is a problem that requires government action even if new taxes are needed?

A301.

	Not Much of a Problem	Problem but no government action	Problem requires gov't action, <u>only if</u> no new taxes	Requires gov't action, <u>even if</u> new taxes needed	DK
a. Insuring that every American has a place to sleep and food to eat	4	23	32	39	2 = 10
b. Insuring that the quality of TV programs improves	33	45	13	6	3 = 10
c. Providing a job for everyone who wants one	8	34	33	23	2 = 10
d. Providing adequate medical care for all who need it but can't afford it	2	13	32	51	2 = 10
e. Providing health insurance for major illnesses	4	17	32	45	2 = 10
f. Insuring that every American can read and write	5	27	25	40	3 = 10
g. Providing a decent standard of living for the elderly	2	11	29	56	2 = 10
h. Insuring that every American can afford to send their child to college	13	39	27	18	3 = 10
i. Improving the quality of education in the public school system	5	20	26	47	2 = 10
j. Insuring that every American has equal opportunities for a job	8	29	37	23	3 = 10
k. Protecting American workers from sudden layoffs	6	35	37	18	4 = 10
l. Halting the smuggling of drugs into the U.S. from other countries	2	6	24	66	2 = 10

TO BE RELEASED

Q302. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD F) Now I would like you to consider some specific aspects of your personal life. For each one that I read, tell me how satisfied you are, if at all, with it. First... (READ FIRST ITEM.) Are you very satisfied, mostly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with it? (CONTINUE WITH REST OF LIST. CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)

A302.

- a. The amount of money you earn?
- b. Your health?
- c. Your job?
- d. The sense of accomplishment in your work?
- e. The amount of leisure time you have?
- f. Your family life?
- g. Your ability to balance your job and your family life?

	<u>Com-pletely Satis-fied</u>	<u>Mostly Satis-fied</u>	<u>Mostly Dissatis-fied</u>	<u>Com-pletely Dissatis-fied</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	1	2	3	4	5	0
b.	1	2	3	4	5	0
c.	1	2	3	4	5	0
d.	1	2	3	4	5	0
e.	1	2	3	4	5	0
f.	1	2	3	4	5	0
g.	1	2	3	4	5	0

TO BE RELEASED

Q303. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD G) Now I would like you to consider some concerns that people may have. For each one that I read, tell me how concerned you are, if at all, that it will happen. First....(READ FIRST ITEM.) Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned that you will have enough money for your retirement? What about(CONTINUE WITH REST OF THE LIST. CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)

A303.

	<u>Very</u> <u>Con-</u> <u>cerned</u>	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Con-</u> <u>cerned</u>	<u>Not too</u> <u>Con-</u> <u>cerned</u>	<u>Not at</u> <u>all Con-</u> <u>cerned</u>	<u>Does</u> <u>not</u> <u>Apply</u> <u>to me</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. Having enough money for your retirement?	1	2	3	4	5	0
b. Saving enough money to put a child through college?	1	2	3	4	5	0
c. Being able to own your own home?	1	2	3	4	5	0
FOR HOMEOWNERS ASK:						
cc. Losing your home?	1	2	3	4	5	0
d. Having to care for a parent or relative?	1	2	3	4	5	0
e. Having a member of your family become involved with drugs?	1	2	3	4	5	0
f. Having a member of your family develop an alcohol problem?	1	2	3	4	5	0
g. Losing your job?	1	2	3	4	5	0
h. Having you or someone in your family get AIDS?	1	2	3	4	5	0
i. Becoming the victim of a crime?	1	2	3	4	5	0
j. Having adequate child care when you go to work?	1	2	3	4	5	0

TO BE RELEASED

- Q307a. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD I. RESPONDENT RETAINS CARD THROUGH Q307d.) Here is a list of ways in which government revenues could be increased or government expenses could be cut. Please circle the number for each action, if any, that you would support in order to reduce the federal deficit. Then just read me the numbers you circled. (PROMPT: ANY OTHERS? CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY. RECORD RESPONSES UNDER FIRST COLUMN.)
- Q307b. Which one of the ways you mentioned do you favor most strongly? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. RECORD UNDER SECOND COLUMN.)
- Q307c. Which one do you favor second most strongly? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. RECORD UNDER THIRD COLUMN.)
- Q307d. Are there any of these ways of reducing the federal budget deficit that you would strongly oppose? (PROMPT: ANY OTHERS? CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY. RECORD RESPONSES UNDER FOURTH COLUMN.)

	<u>Q307a</u>	<u>Q307b</u> Most Favored	<u>Q307c</u> Second Most Favored	<u>Q307d</u> Strongly Oppose
1. Increasing income taxes for those earning more than \$80,000 per year	1	1	.1	1
2. Cutting spending for defense	2	2	2	2
3. Ending price supports for farmers	3	3	3	3
4. Increasing taxes on tobacco products	4	4	4	4
5. Cutting spending on programs that assist blacks and other minorities	5	5	5	5
6. Increasing taxes on gasoline	6	6	6	6
7. Cutting spending for public education	7	7	7	7
8. Turning the management of federal prisons over to private companies to operate for a fee	8	8	8	8
9. Cutting spending for scientific research	9	9	9	9
10. Increasing taxes on alcoholic beverages	10	10	10	10

TO BE RELEASED

Q307a, b, c, d. CONTINUED

A307a, b, c, d.

	<u>Q307a</u>	<u>Q307b</u> Most Favored	<u>Q307c</u> Second Most Favored	<u>Q307d</u> Strongly Oppose
11. Freezing all federal spending at current levels until the budget is balanced	11	11	11	11
12. Freezing all federal spending at current levels, except for a few "vital" programs like education and AIDS research until the budget is balanced	12	12	12	12
13. Eliminating automatic cost of living increases in payments to Social Security beneficiaries	13	13	13	13
14. Eliminating the space shuttle program	14	14	14	14
15. Cutting back Medicare benefits	15	15	15	15
16. Turning the management of the U.S. Postal Service over to private companies to operate for a fee	16	16	16	16
17. Removing American troops from Korea and Europe	17	17	17	17
18. Eliminating the Strategic Defense Initiative or "Star Wars" program	18	18	18	18
19. Establishing a national sales tax	19	19	19	19
20. Eliminating the Food Stamp program	20	20	20	20
NONE	21	21	21	21
DON'T KNOW	0	0	0	0

↓

IF "NONE" OR "DON'T KNOW" IN Q. 307a, GO TO Q. 307d ON PRECEDING PAGE.
ALL OTHERS CONTINUE WITH Q. 307b, 307c, AND 307d ON PRECEDING PAGE.

TO BE RELEASED

308. I am going to read you a number of new proposals that have been suggested for increasing government revenues in order to reduce the federal budget deficit. For each one, please tell me whether you favor or oppose it. First...**(READ FIRST ITEM. CONTINUE WITH REST OF LIST.)**

- a. Legalizing marijuana and taxing its sale the same as cigarettes
- b. Selling the National Parks
- c. Creating a national lottery
- d. Legalizing gambling
- e. Selling the Strategic Petroleum Reserves
- f. Selling the National Wilderness areas

A308.

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	1	2	0
b.	1	2	0
c.	1	2	0
d.	1	2	0
e.	1	2	0
f.	1	2	0

Q501. 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.)

- a. Watched a debate between Presidential candidates?
- b. Contributed money to a Presidential candidate?
- c. Contributed money to a political party organization?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
a.	5/88 - 59	40	1 = 100
	1/88 - 60	38	2 = 100
b.	5/88 - 11	88	1 = 100
	1/88 - 12	36	2 = 100
c.	5/88 - 11	87	2 = 100
	1/88 - 14	84	2 = 100

Q502. 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?

	10/87	1/88
A502. 47% [] Too much influence	59	5
42% [] Too little influence	5	4
41.3% [] About the right amount	31	3
8.0% [] Don't know	5	10
	100	

Q503. So far, do you think news organizations are giving too much coverage to the 1988 presidential campaign, too little coverage to the campaign, or the right amount?

	10/87
A503. 24% [] Too much	21
72% [] Too little	16
62.3% [] Right amount	58
7.0% [] Don't know	5
	100

02.

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD L) I am going to read you a list of potential problems facing the United States. For each one please tell me how concerned you are that it will happen. First... (READ FIRST ITEM.) Would you say you are very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned that this will happen? (CONTINUE WITH REST OF LIST. CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)

A602.

	Very Concerned	Somewhat Concerned	Not too Concerned	all Concerned	DK
a. A military conflict with the Soviet Union?	27	36	30	5	2 = 10
b. The United States committing troops to combat in Central America?	37	45	13	2	3 = 10
c. The loss of jobs in the U.S. because of foreign competition?	50	38	9	1	2 = 10
d. A decline in the quality of American products compared to imported products?	40	42	13	2	3 = 10
e. The loss of U.S. leadership in science and technology?	33	42	18	3	4 = 11
f. The growth of foreign investment in the United States?	42	37	14	3	4 = 10
g. Energy shortages?	26	47	22	3	2 = 1
h. A decline in the quality of education in the United States?	53	36	8	1	2 =
i. The growth of the federal budget deficit?	44	40	11	2	3 =

Q904. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD N) Which of these is your position in the household?

- A904. 1[] Male/Female head of household
- 2[] Son/Daughter of head of household
- 3[] Father/Mother of head of household
- 4[] Other male/female

Q905. What was the last grade or class you completed in school?

- A905. 1[] None, or grades 1-4
- 2[] Grades 5, 6, 7
- 3[] Grade 8
- 4[] High school, incomplete
- 5[] High school graduate, grade 12
- 6[] Technical, trade or business
- 7[] College, University, incomplete
- 8[] College, University, graduate

Q906. Are you now employed full-time, part-time, or not employed?

- A906. 1[] Full-time
- 2[] Part-time
- 3[] Not employed

Q907. Are you the chief wage earner?

A907. 1[]Yes - GO TO Q. 909

2[]No

IF "NO," ASK:

Q908. Is the chief wage earner now employed full-time, employed part-time, or not employed?

A908. 1[]Full-time

2[]Part-time

3[]Not employed

Q909. Are you, or is your spouse, a member of a labor union?

A909. 1[]Yes, respondent is

2[]Yes, spouse is

3[]Yes, both are

4[]No, respondent is not

5[]No, respondent and spouse are not

0[]Don't know

Q909a. Do you own or rent your home?

A909a. 1[]Own

2[]Rent

3[]Other arrangement

0[]Don't know

Q910. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD O) Would you please give me the letter of the group which best represents the total annual income before taxes, of all the members of your immediate family living in your household?

- A910. 1[]A
- 2[]B
- 3[]C
- 4[]D
- 5[]E
- 6[]F
- 7[]G
- 8[]H
- 9[]I
- 0[]J
- 1[]K

Q910a. This answer is:

- A910a. 1[] Respondent's answer
- 2[] Interviewer's estimate

ASK PERSONS WHOSE INCOME IS IN GROUP K:
\$20,000 OR MORE:

Q911. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD P) Now we are asking those whose income is in Group K, the letter of the group listed on this card that best represents the total annual income, before taxes, of all members of your immediate family living in your household.

- A911. 1[]A
- 2[]B
- 3[]C
- 4[]D
- 5[]E
- 6[]F
- 7[]G
- 0[] Not stated

Q912. Compared with American families in general, would you say your family income is:

- A912. 1[]Far below average
2[]Below average
3[]Average
4[]Above average
5[]Far above average
0[]Don't know

Q913. And what is your age? (RECORD ACTUAL AGE)

- A913.
- | <u>FIRST DIGIT</u> | <u>SECOND DIGIT</u> |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 2 |
| 3 | 3 |
| 4 | 4 |
| 5 | 5 |
| 6 | 6 |
| 7 | 7 |
| 8 | 8 |
| 9 | 9 |
| | 0 |

(ANY AGE IN EXCESS OF 99 IS CODED "99")

NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP.

Q914. In your family, were you the oldest child, the youngest child, or did you have both older and younger brothers or sisters?

- A914. 1[]Oldest
2[]Youngest
3[]Had older and younger brothers or sisters
4[]Only child
0[]Don't know

Q915. At the time you were 16, were you living with both your own mother and father? (IF NOT: With whom were you living?)

- A915. 1[] Both own mother and father
- 2[] One parent and a step parent
- 3[] Mother only
- 4[] Father only
- 5[] Some other arrangement
- 0[] Don't know/No answer

Q916. Did your parents own or rent their home?

- A916. 1[] Own
- 2[] Rent
- 3[] Other
- 0[] Don't know

Q917. Is your father now living or is he deceased?

A917. 1[] Living
2[] Deceased

Q917a. (IF LIVING ASK:) What is your father's age?
(IF DECEASED ASK:) How old would your father be if he were alive?

A917a.

<u>FIRST DIGIT</u>	<u>SECOND DIGIT</u>
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
	0

(ANY AGE IN EXCESS OF 99 IS CODED "99")

Q918. Is your mother now living or is she deceased?

A918. 1[]Living
2[]Deceased

Q918a. (IF LIVING ASK:) What is your mother's age?
(IF DECEASED ASK:) How old would your mother be if she were alive?

A918a.

<u>FIRST</u> <u>DIGIT</u>	<u>SECOND</u> <u>DIGIT</u>
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
	0

(ANY AGE IN EXCESS OF 99 IS CODED "99")

Q919. When you were growing up, did your mother work for pay outside the home?

A919. 1[]Yes
2[]No
0[]Don't know

Q920. Thinking about the time when you were 16 years old, compared with American families in general then, would you say your family income was far below average, below average, average, above average, or far above average? (PROBE: JUST YOUR BEST GUESS)

A920. 1[]Far below average
2[]Below average
3[]Average
4[]Above average
5[]Far above average
0[]Don't know

Q921. CHECK RESPONDENT'S RACE:

A921. 1[]White

2[]Black

3[]Other (SPECIFY): _____

Q922. CHECK RESPONDENT'S SEX:

A922. 1[]Male

2[]Female

Q923. Are you of Hispanic origin or descent such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or other Spanish background?

A923. 1[]Yes

2[]No

0[]Don't know

ASK EVERYONE:

Q924. What is your religious preference --
- Protestant, Roman Catholic,
Jewish, Mormon, or an Orthodox
Church such as the Greek or Russian
Orthodox Church?

A924. 1[]Protestant (Include
Baptist, Christian Church,
Episcopal,
Jehovah's Witness,
Lutheran, Methodist,
Presbyterian, etc.)

2[]Roman Catholic

3[]Jewish -- GO TO Q. 926

4[]Mormon (Include The
Church of Jesus Christ
of Latter Day Saints)

5[]Orthodox Church

6[]Other (SPECIFY): _____

0[]None

Q925. Would you describe yourself as a "born-again" or evangelical Christian, or not?

- A925. 1[]Yes, would
- 2[]No, would not
- 0[]Don't know

ASK EVERYONE:

Q926. Do you go to (church/synagogue) every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

- A926. 1[]Every week
- 2[]Almost every week
- 3[]Once or twice a month
- 4[]A few times a year
- 5[]Never
- 0[]Don't know

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT SMOKING.

Q927. Would you favor or oppose a law that would limit smoking to designated areas in public places such as stores, schools, offices, work places, and auditoriums?

- A927. 1[]Favor
- 2[]Oppose
- 0[]Don't know

Q928. Do you now smoke?

- A928. 1[]Yes - GO TO Q. 930
- 2[]No
- 0[]Don't know

Q929. Did you ever smoke?

- A929. 1[]Yes
- 2[]No
- 0[]Don't know

Q930. We are interested in finding out how often people are at home to watch TV or to listen to the radio. Would you mind telling me whether or not you happened to be at home yesterday (last night, last Saturday, last Sunday) at this particular time? (INTERVIEWER: SEE INTERVIEWER'S BULLETIN FOR HANDLING THIS QUESTION)

A930. 1[]Yes, at home
2[]No, not at home

Q931. How about the day (night, Saturday, Sunday) before at this time?

A931. 1[]Yes, at home
2[]No, not at home

Q932. And how about the day (night, Saturday, Sunday) before that at this time? That was _____.

A932. 1[]Yes, at home
2[]No, not at home

ASK EVERYONE:

Q933. Do you own a television set?

A933. 1[]Yes
2[]No — GO TO Q. 935
0[]Don't know

Q934. Are any of the TV sets in this household hooked up to a cable TV system where you pay a monthly fee and a cable much like a telephone line is run to your home and attached to your TV set?

A934. 1[]Yes
2[]No
0[]Don't know

ASK EVERYONE:

Q935. So that at my office can check my work in this interview, if it wants to, may I have your name, home mailing address, and telephone number, please?

A935.

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY & STATE: _____

ZIP CODE: _____

TELEPHONE:

AREA CODE: _____ NUMBER: _____

- TELEPHONE: 1[]Unlisted
2[]Refused telephone number
3[]No telephone

I HEREBY ATTEST THAT THIS IS A TRUE AND HONEST INTERVIEW.

(INTERVIEWER'S SIGNATURE)

DATE: _____

PLACE BADGE LABEL HERE