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THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS, & POLITICS  
SURVEY V  
PRE-ELECTION TYPOLOGY SURVEY

Conducted for:  
TIMES MIRROR

Conducted by:  
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## INTRODUCTION

This is the fifth in a series of national 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 provide a better understanding of 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 voter's assessments of the Bush - Dukakis race in the general election phase of the 1988 presidential campaign. It utilizes the Times Mirror typology to gauge opinions of the candidates, important issues facing the nation, the Reagan Presidency, and the overall mood of the electorate.

For this survey, telephone interviews were administered to a nationally representative sample of 2,001 adults during the period from September 9-14, 1988. Over the course of the past year, three other major surveys involving personal interviewing in the home have been conducted, as well as a telephone survey assessing public reaction to press coverage of Senator Dan Quayle. The first of the personal interview studies was fielded April 25 - May 10, 1987 with a national sample of 4,244 adults. This was followed by a survey of 2,109 Americans, conducted January 8-17, 1988, and a survey of 3,021 adults conducted from May 13-22, 1988. The press survey involved 1,000 telephone interviews conducted between August 24-25, 1988.

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

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

George Bush has seized the momentum in this contest because his campaign has changed voter perceptions of Michael Dukakis and improved Bush's personal image. But Bush has also benefited because the balance within the electorate between a desire for continuity and a desire for change is now tipping slightly in the direction of continuity. While the campaign may be somewhat responsible for this, clearly, it has been helped by a resurgence of confidence in the Reagan administration that has been developing since the June Summit. In fact, the race first narrowed in June when Reagan's approval ratings climbed into the mid fifties. Since then, the trial heat measures have either been near even or a Bush advantage - except for the polls that were taken right after the Democratic Convention.

Recent Republican success and Reagan resurgence notwithstanding, the contest remains close. Consider the following:

- \* Neither candidate has a current advantage in the character of his public image.
- \* Both candidates have about equally large groups of people who don't like them.
- \* Preferences for both candidates are not strongly held and about equal numbers for each candidate say they might switch to his opponent.
- \* Each candidate has stung the other with charges and criticisms that resonate with the voters; but, neither candidacy is fatally flawed by any charge.

The Times Mirror Typology provides a clear perspective on how Bush has gained the momentum since mid-summer and points to the types of voters who are likely to decide this close contest in November. The Bush forces have waged a successful campaign to portray Michael Dukakis as a liberal. The net effect

of that has been to polarize the electorate. In so doing, the Republicans now have support from their core groups - Enterprisers and Moralists at the 90% level. At the same time they have made an appreciable dent in capturing a greater share of the support of the pivotal Disaffected voters who have been, and continue to be, the most equivocal of the major voting blocs.

On the Democratic side, Bush has made some gains as well but he has also lost considerable ground among the sophisticated Seculars who were pointing toward the Republican ticket in May and increased the resolve of the other liberal bloc, the 60's Democrats. The major success for the Republicans among Democratic-oriented voters has been in attracting increased defections among older New Dealer Democrats and maintaining a high level of defection among God and Country Democrats.

For all the ink that the "Reagan Democrats" have gotten, our analysis suggests that the trend toward Bush is on balance more a consequence of core Republicans and Disaffecteds moving toward the Vice President than it has been of increased Democratic defections. So far the Republicans have only been able to make inroads among two categories of Democrats - the most conservative.

The defining of Michael Dukakis in ideological terms is quite dramatic. In late May only 31% of American voters rated the Massachusetts Governor as liberal, as compared to the 46% who described him as a liberal in the current survey. This is an appreciably more liberal cast than was given to Walter Mondale by Newsweek/Gallup sampling four years ago when only 39% of voters rated the then Democratic candidate as liberal.

At a time when voters have come to see Dukakis as liberal, Bush's personal standing with the public has improved markedly. In fact, voters have

a more positive opinion of George Bush today than they have had at any point since he announced his candidacy. In the current survey 59% gave Bush a favorable rating while 36% rated him unfavorably. In contrast, Michael Dukakis' favorability ratings have steadily eroded throughout the summer. In June 15% had an unfavorable view of him, in July 30% and currently, more voters have an unfavorable opinion of Dukakis (42%) than feel that way about Bush - quite a turn around from just six weeks ago when the "Bush negatives" loomed so large.

The first increase in Dukakis' negatives was identified in a July Gallup Poll as stemming from the prison furlough controversy. The current survey reveals that voters continue to feel that this charge is the most damning one made against the Democratic candidate by the Republicans. But, the Pledge of Allegiance decision is also one that reaches many voters. Forty-seven percent of those questioned said they were less likely to vote for Dukakis because of it. This charge, and that of being weak on defense were especially salient to New dealers, God and Country Democrats, and Disaffecteds, along with Republican-oriented groups.

Not unexpectedly, the pledge and defense charges have had relatively little impact on 60's Democrats and Seculars. In fact, they may be creating a bit of a backlash among them. Between May and September strong support for Dukakis among Seculars increase by 18% points, while among 60's Democrats strong support for the Massachusetts Governor increased from 17 to 36% during that period.

The survey also found that Bush continues to be vulnerable on Noriega and charges of lying about Iran/Contra. These are persuasive arguments against Bush, especially to the pivotal Disaffecteds. Certainly, the survey

gives no indication that the Bush handicaps are any less relevant; but, what's new is that Dukakis now has at least as many points of vulnerability as his Republican rival.

Dukakis' clear advantage and the achilles heel of the Republicans is Quayle. While confidence in Bentsen's capabilities has increased over the summer, doubts about the Republican nominee have grown even greater. In this survey, evaluations of Quayle are much less positive than they were following the convention. And these doubts about Quayle could undermine the Bush campaign even in the places where it has recently succeeded. Only one-third of the American public feel Quayle is qualified to serve as President if necessary (34%), compared to four in ten (41%) who felt that way three weeks earlier. The seriousness of this is amplified by the fact that doubts about Quayle and greater confidence in Bentsen exist even in the core Republican groups who have recently gravitated back to Bush.

Only about half of the Enterprisers (53%), Upbeats (52%), and Moralists (48%) think he is qualified, compared to only 37% of the Disaffecteds. On the other hand, a majority of all the groups, except the Moralists, feel that Lloyd Bentsen is qualified to serve as President if necessary. This includes six in ten of the Disaffecteds (63%) and the Upbeats (64%), and more than seven in ten of the Enterprisers (75%). At least two-thirds of all the Democratic-oriented groups feel Bentsen is qualified.

Despite the Quayle problem, the current survey shows that George Bush has made significant progress in improving the nature of his public image. There have been two significant shifts in the electorate's relative assessments of George Bush and Michael Dukakis. The first is that Bush is now as likely to be seen as an agent of change as Dukakis, 45% vs. 46%

respectively. And while Dukakis remains the more likely candidate to be seen by respondents as "concerned about the needs of people like me," the gap between the two has narrowed significantly, to a 66% to 53% advantage. Dukakis remains more likely to be seen as "strong and forceful," by a 58% to 43% margin. Bush has even made progress in getting Disaffected voters to have a more positive personal image of him - Bush is now seen by this crucial group as more likely than Dukakis to bring about change, but he still trails his Democratic challenger in being perceived as caring about the needs of Disaffected voters.

With regard to perceived job performance capabilities, voters give the edge to Dukakis on the social issues such as handling of education and dealing with the problems of the elderly. Bush is seen as more capable with regard to dealing with Gorbachev, reducing the deficit, keeping the country competitive and combatting crime. About equal numbers select each candidate as most capable in dealing with the drug problem and for creating good economic conditions for people like me. However, analysis of the impact of these attitudes reveals that creating good economic conditions is hands down the dominant evaluation that effects candidate choice. It is three times more correlated with choice than any other evaluation.

In effect, while voter preferences may not have crystallized, the performance standard by which voters will judge a candidate has.

Given the economic expectations of voters recorded in this survey, this should be regarded as good news for George Bush. The American electorate remains optimistic about economic outlook - including both personal economic expectations and prospects for the national economy. While there is somewhat greater concern about how the economy will look one year from now compared to



five years from now, most of those surveyed expect to be at least as well off in the future.

The major change since earlier in the year is that Americans are now more likely to be satisfied with the way things are going in the country than dissatisfied. Both of these factors are working to diminish the electorate's appetite for change.

The most significant change in the national mood since last May's survey is that more Americans (50%) are now satisfied with the way things are going in the country than are dissatisfied (45%). Only four months ago, there were more Americans dissatisfied than satisfied (55% to 40%).

It should be kept in mind that while this trend points in the direction of continuity and not change, the public is still basically divided on the state of the nation. However, at this point the issue for the campaign may be less a matter of voters general views about the country's direction and more an issue of the perceived abilities of the candidates to handle specific issues.

Looking to the future, the typology gives us a basis by which to examine the possibilities of further change:

The core Republican groups, Enterprisers and Moralists seem the most decided of all voters.

Relatively few swing voters here - only Quayle seems capable of driving them to Dukakis in any numbers.

Upbeats are 85% for Bush but as many as 35% are in the swing category.

Continued good times and the positive mood of the nation will make it difficult for Dukakis to make inroads.

Disaffecteds continue to be the group with the most potential for change - 44% are swing voters.

If Dukakis can undermine Bush's competency image, particularly on the economy, "elitist" Bush could lose a lot of support.

Although Seculars have bucked the trend and headed toward Dukakis, a high rate of swing voters among this group could make it problematic for Dukakis.

Suspicious about Democratic economic policy could lead these voters to forget their ideology.

Sixties Democrats and the Partisan Poor are Dukakis's safest blocs.

While there has been minimal drift toward Bush, the prison furlough controversy may have inhibited higher support levels for Dukakis.

Nearly four in ten New Dealers and God and Country Democrats are swing voters.

Bush made gains on the basis of the ideological coloring of Dukakis, but many of these voters also choose Bush to handle the economy.

## THE STANDING OF THE CANDIDATES

This survey assessed the strength of the presidential candidacies of George Bush and Michael Dukakis in three ways: by obtaining a head-to-head trial heat measure, by looking at each candidate's overall favorability rating, and by assessing the personal image of each man.

George Bush bests his challenger in the horse race question and in overall favorability. And he has drawn even with Michael Dukakis in public evaluations of his personal image. This is a stunning turn around from our previous assessment, and the Times Mirror typology illuminates the nature of these changes in voter opinion.

The Bush resurgence is a consequence of:

- The coalescing of members of two core Republican groups (the Enterprisers and Moralists) behind Bush at levels of support which they gave to Ronald Reagan in 1984.

- More positive evaluations and increased support among the Disaffecteds, a key Republican-oriented group which has given strong support to Ronald Reagan in the past.

- Increased defections among two groups of conservative Democrats - the older New Dealers and the God & Country Democrats.

At the same time, the stridency of Bush's attack on conservative social issues has solidified Dukakis's support among two well-educated and politically sophisticated groups of Democrats - the Seculars and the 60's Democrats.

### Favorability

Voters have a more positive opinion of George Bush today than they have had at any point since he announced his candidacy. In the current survey, 59% gave Bush a favorable rating while 37% rated him unfavorably. Looking at the trend line, it is clear that Bush has been able to hold on to the boost in public favorability that he achieved at the time of the Republican convention. In contrast, Michael Dukakis has not only been unable to maintain his post convention lift in personal popularity, he has experienced a precipitous decline in favorability in the first two weeks of September.

Currently, more voters have an unfavorable opinion of Dukakis (42%) than feel that way about Bush (37%) - quite a turn around from just six weeks ago when the "Bush negatives" loomed so large.

**TREND IN FAVORABILITY RATINGS OF BUSH AND DUKAKIS**

<u>Survey Date</u>	Favorability Rating of:		<u>Difference in percentage points</u>
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>	
April/May, 1987	68%	--	--
May 13-22, 1988	50%	68%	-18
June 10-12, 1988*	53%	70%	-17
July 8-10, 1988*	52%	57%	- 5
August 18-19, 1988**	60%	55%	5
August 24-25, 1988	65%	59%	6
September 9-14, 1988	59%	51%	8

\*Gallup/Conus

\*\*Newsweek

Since May, Bush's favorability ratings have increased among virtually all voting groups, but the greatest improvements for the vice president have occurred among the pivotal Disaffecteds. In the same period, however, there has been no equivalent boost in his favorability among Seculars and God & Country Democrats. Previously, these two groups had held more favorable opinions of the Republican candidate than other Democratically-oriented groups.

**TREND IN FAVORABILITY RATING FOR GEORGE BUSH, IN PERCENT**

	<u>TOTL</u>	<u>ENTP</u>	<u>MORA LIST</u>	<u>UP-BTS</u>	<u>DIS. AFF</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>
<u>GEORGE BUSH</u>											
April/May, 1987	67%	85%	88%	86%	72%	61%	52%	50%	54%	63%	52%
May, 1988	50	84	85	84	53	38	32	20	32	46	24
September, 1988	59	94	94	92	70	47	32	29	42	37	23
Difference in Percentage Points	+9	+10	+9	+8	<u>+17</u>	+9	<u>0</u>	<u>+9</u>	<u>+10</u>	<u>-9</u>	-1

Unlike the findings from the May survey, Michael Dukakis's favorability ratings among core Democratic groups are not as high as Bush's are among core

Republican groups. And they have declined substantially among one of the conservative Democratic groups - the New Dealers - as well as among all of the Republican-oriented groups.

TREND IN FAVORABILITY RATING FOR MICHAEL DUKAKIS, IN PERCENT

	TOTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
<u>MICHAEL DUKAKIS</u>											
May, 1988	68%	55%	43%	52%	59%	68%	82%	84%	86%	74%	84%
September, 1988	51	11	15	25	36	57	79	84	72	74	87
Difference in Percentage Points	-17	-44	-28	-27	-23	-11	-3	0	-14	0	+3

One further change which has more than a little consequence for the campaign is that popular evaluations of Ronald Reagan have become more positive across the same period as well. From a relative low point of a 56% favorability rating in January, 1988, Reagan's ratings rose to a high of 67% after the Republican convention and stand at 61% in the latest survey.

-At least nine in ten of the members of the core Republican groups have a favorable opinion of Reagan. But only two-thirds (68%) of the Disaffecteds are favorably inclined toward him.

-While less than three in ten of the 60's Democrats (29%) and Partisan Poor (26%) give him a favorable rating, 44% of the New Dealers and 43% of the God & Country Democrats are favorably disposed toward Reagan.

FAVORABILITY RATINGS OF RONALD REAGAN

	<u>TTL</u>	<u>ENTP</u>	<u>MORA LIST</u>	<u>UP- BTS</u>	<u>DIS AFF</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>
<u>OPINION</u>											
FAVORABLE (TOTAL)	61%	96%	94%	93%	68%	47%	28%	29%	44%	43%	26%
VERY FAVORABLE	29	54	61	50	31	15	3	7	13	22	5
MOSTLY FAVORABLE	32	42	33	43	37	32	25	22	30	21	21
UNFAVORABLE (TOTAL)	36	3	5	6	26	48	71	68	51	53	68
MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	17	2	2	4	15	23	31	36	24	24	32
VERY UNFAVORABLE	19	1	3	2	12	25	40	32	27	30	36
NEVER HEARD OF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CAN'T RATE	3	1	1	2	6	5	1	3	5	3	6
SAMPLE SIZE	2001	276	249	243	230	105	166	222	166	134	180

Question 7: I'd like your overall opinion of some political figures. First, is your overall opinion of (INSERT NAME) very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable? Next, what is your overall opinion of...?

In a related measure, the September Gallup Poll found 57% approving of the President's job performance. Since the Summit, Reagan's approval rating has consistently been in the mid-fifties, and it peaked at 60% after the Republican convention.

TREND IN RONALD REAGAN'S APPROVAL RATING

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	<u>APPROVE</u>	<u>DISAPPROVE</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	<u>SAMPLE SIZE</u>
January 22-24, 1988	47%	36	17	(1210)
March 10-12	52%	39	9	(1211)
May 13-15	46%	42	12	(1204)
June 10-12	55%	38	7	(1005)
June 24-26	54%	37	9	(1210)
July 8-10	56%	39	5	(1001)
August 5-7	52%	40	8	(1004)
August 19-21	60%	35	5	(1000)
September 9-11	57%	36	7	(1003)

## Personal Image

Compared to what we observed in May, voters now have a fuller personal image of both candidates. However, since that time George Bush has been able to improve his image more substantially than has Michael Dukakis.

In the previous Times Mirror survey, the less well known Dukakis was more positively evaluated on a variety of dimensions than was Bush. Today on balance, neither candidate has a clear advantage in how he is perceived by the public.

These conclusions are drawn from answers to a question in which respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they felt each of eight personal traits applied to George Bush and Michael Dukakis. For six of the eight, a majority indicated they applied to Bush. At the top of the list, just as it was in the May survey, is "has the record and experience for the job of President" (75%). Bush has consistently enjoyed an advantage over Dukakis as a result of his service as vice president, and this is also reflected in the item "appears presidential" (64%). About as many respondents feel he is "steady and dependable" (68%). For six of the eight issues, a majority also feel they apply to Michael Dukakis. He has consistently been rated highly on the items "strong and forceful" (58%) and "concerned about the needs of people like me" (58%).

CANDIDATE IMAGE  
(Percent Mentioning Each Item Applies)

	<u>George Bush</u>	<u>Michael Dukakis</u>
Has the record and experience for the job of President	75%	40%
Steady and dependable	68%	63%
Appears presidential	64%	53%
Will be careful in the way he brings about the changes the country needs	62%	57%
Can get things done	57%	62%
Concerned about the needs of people like me	53%	66%
Can bring about the changes the country needs	45%	46%
Strong and forceful	43%	58%

Sample Size = 2001 Registered Voters

Question 13: I am going to read you a list of phrases to get your views about George Bush. As I read each phrase, please tell me whether or not you feel it applies to Bush... And what about Michael Dukakis?

Comparatively, there have been two significant shifts in the electorate's relative assessments of George Bush and Michael Dukakis. The first is that Bush is now as likely as Dukakis to be seen as an agent of change, 45% vs. 46% respectively. And while Dukakis remains the more likely candidate to be seen by respondents as "concerned about the needs of people like me," the gap between the two has narrowed significantly, to a 66% to 53% advantage. Dukakis remains more likely to be seen as "strong and forceful," by a 58% to 43% margin, and he has closed the gap in terms of convincing the public that he has the ability to serve as President.

Differences in the ways in which these groups view the candidates explain their relative levels of support and defection.



-Disaffecteds are more likely to think than other Republican-oriented groups that Dukakis "appears presidential" and "will be careful in the way he brings about changes the country needs." At the same time, they are less likely to credit Bush with these attributes than other core Republicans, as well as to see him "bringing about the changes the country needs," "being strong and forceful," and "concerned about the needs of people like me." Importantly, Bush is now seen by this crucial group as more likely than Dukakis to bring about change, and just as likely to be concerned about the needs of Disaffected voters.

-New Deal Democrats are less likely to think Dukakis "can get things done," "can bring about the changes the country needs," and "has the record and experience for the job of President" than most other core Democratic groups. At the same time, they are somewhat more likely to credit Bush with these attributes.

-God & Country Democrats and New Dealers are less likely than other Democrats to think that Dukakis has the record and experience for the job of president.

CANDIDATE IMAGE BY THE TYPOLOGY GROUPS

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
HAS THE RECORD AND EXPERIENCE FOR THE JOB OF PRESIDENT											
BUSH	75%	95%	93%	93%	75%	69%	57%	60%	67%	63%	58%
DUKAKIS	40	10	17	22	31	40	55	64	51	55	72
STEADY AND DEPENDABLE											
BUSH	68	96	93	91	76	52	48	50	62	45	39
DUKAKIS	63	45	37	50	53	68	77	80	81	79	83
APPEARS PRESIDENTIAL											
BUSH	64	87	89	86	62	62	37	42	59	46	46
DUKAKIS	53	27	24	44	44	54	69	71	72	73	79
WILL BE CAREFUL IN THE WAY HE BRINGS ABOUT THE CHANGES THE COUNTRY NEEDS											
BUSH	62	92	90	90	64	52	40	36	49	42	32
DUKAKIS	57	30	26	42	49	64	74	77	75	80	79
CAN GET THINGS DONE											
BUSH	57%	86%	87%	84%	54%	47%	32%	34%	44%	46%	27%
DUKAKIS	62	44	39	55	55	61	72	82	69	79	84
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE ME											
BUSH	53	85	86	87	55	29	26	27	39	39	23
DUKAKIS	66	45	46	64	53	68	80	84	77	79	85

CONTINUED...

CANDIDATE IMAGE BY THE TYPOLOGY GROUPS (CONTINUED)

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
CAN BRING ABOUT THE CHANGES THE COUNTRY NEEDS											
BUSH	45	75	75	78	44	30	16	21	32	37	14
DUKAKIS	46	19	15	23	37	42	66	72	61	73	80
STRONG AND FORCEFUL											
BUSH	43	60	67	59	42	36	17	23	36	43	26
DUKAKIS	58	43	44	51	50	56	59	66	73	75	72
SAMPLE SIZE	2001	276	249	243	230	105	166	222	166	134	180

Question 13: I am going to read you a list of phrases to get your views on George Bush. As I read each phrase, please tell me whether or not you feel it applies to Bush. First... And what about Michael Dukakis?

Candidate Preferences

Trial heat measurements taken across the last eight weeks, in the period which encompasses both nominating conventions and each candidate's recent campaign activities, demonstrate a volatility in the electorate as well as a decided trend toward Bush since the Republican Convention. Half of the registered voters in this survey (50%) say they would vote for George Bush if the election were being held today, while 44% say they would vote for Michael Dukakis. The Republican candidate has not only maintained his post Convention bounce, but he has widened his lead over Dukakis since late August.

TREND IN TRIAL HEAT MEASURES

	March 10-12	April 21-23	May 13-22	June 24-26	July 8-10	July 22-24	Aug. 5-7	Aug. 19-21	Sept. 9-14
Bush/Quayle	52%	45%	40%	41%	41%	37%	42%	48%	50%
Dukakis/Bentsen	40	43	53	46	47	54	49	44	44
Other/Undecided/ No Answer	8	12	7	13	12	9	9	8	6
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	(625)	(1204)	(3021)	(1210)	(1001)	(1001)	(1004)	(1000)	(2001)

Support for each candidate remains soft, and current preferences will continue to change. This potential volatility was measured in a number of different ways: strength of support for a preferred candidate, whether the support is "for" a candidate or "against" an opponent, prior preference for the opponent, and self-described likelihood of switching support by election day.

-Less than half of those who express a preference for a candidate feel strongly about their choice. Bush supporters are somewhat more likely to feel strongly about him than Dukakis supporters do about him.

-Bush supporters are twice as likely to indicate they prefer him rather than oppose Dukakis (31% vs 15%). The Dukakis supporters are evenly divided between their preference for him and their opposition to Bush (21% vs 19%).

-Almost one in six of those interviewed say they have preferred the other candidate at some prior point in the campaign.

-In what was the best indicator of the volatility of the primary electorates, one in four of each candidate's supporters say there is at least some chance they could end up voting for the opponent. In the primaries we observed that reports of likely switching were better indicators of the electorate's potential for change than strength of support because these candidates do not evoke strong feelings under any circumstance.

At the equivalent point in the 1984 presidential campaign, the electorate felt more strongly about its choices, especially those who preferred Reagan. A majority (57%) of those who preferred the Republican ticket of Reagan and Bush felt strongly about their choice, and almost half (44%) of those who preferred Mondale and Ferraro felt strongly about their choice.

CANDIDATE PREFERENCES: BUSH VS. DUKAKIS

	<u>May 13-22</u>	<u>Sept. 9-14</u>
<u>Strength</u>		
Bush	40%	50%
Strongly	12	26
Only Moderately	28	24
Dukakis	53%	44%
Strongly	14	19
Only Moderately	38	25
 <u>Direction</u>		
Bush	40%	50%
Pro-Bush	26	31
Anti-Dukakis	11	15
Undecided	3	4
Dukakis	53%	44%
Pro-Dukakis	23	21
Anti-Bush	26	19
Undecided	4	4
 <u>Prior Support</u>		
Bush	40%	50%
Preferred Opponent	NA	9
Never Preferred Opponent	NA	39
Don't Know	NA	2
Dukakis	53%	44%
Preferred Opponent	NA	6
Never Preferred Opponent	NA	37
Don't Know	NA	1
 <u>Switching</u>		
Bush	40%	50%
Good Chance	4	3
Some Chance	11	10
No Chance Whatsoever	23	35
Don't Know	2	2
Dukakis	53%	44%
Good Chance	5	2
Some Chance	10	10
No Chance Whatsoever	35	31
Don't Know	3	1
Sample Size	(2416)	(2001)

The general patterns of each candidate's support remain the same as in past surveys, allowing for the shifts in preference which have taken place.

-A significant gender gap still exists in the electorate, with support for Bush being much greater among men. But women are now evenly divided in their preferences, while men prefer Bush over Dukakis by 16 percentage points.

-Bush now has a significant lead among whites (54% to 40%), which is offset by his minimal support among blacks (10%).

-The race remains close among young voters and those over 60 years of age, but Bush has opened a wide lead among those between 30 and 60 years of age. This age pattern is somewhat anomalous since prior surveys have consistently shown Bush to be stronger among young voters.

-Bush now leads in two regions of the country - the South and the Midwest - while Dukakis retains a lead in the West. The East is now a toss up.

-Socioeconomic status is related to vote choice in the standard way. The best educated and most affluent respondents are the most likely to support Bush.

-Republicans have now lined up solidly behind Bush (92%), and almost as great a proportion of Democrats are supporting Dukakis (81%). But Independents currently lean toward Bush, whereas they clearly preferred Dukakis in the May survey.

-Three out of four Reagan voters in 1984 are staying with Bush, while Dukakis is getting the support of 85% of those who voted for Mondale.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF CANDIDATE SUPPORT

	Preference		Sample Size (2001)
	Bush	Dukakis	
All Voters	50%	44	(2001)
<u>Sex</u>			
Male	56%	40	(1005)
Female	45%	47	( 996)
<u>Race</u>			
White	54%	40	(1797)
Black	10%	79	( 124)
<u>Age</u>			
Under 30	50%	47	( 399)
30-39	46%	48	( 496)
40-49	56%	40	( 372)
50-59	52%	37	( 288)
60 and over	49%	43	( 435)
<u>Region</u>			
East	47%	47	( 492)
Midwest	50%	41	( 555)
South	55%	37	( 625)
West	46%	52	( 328)
<u>Education</u>			
College Graduate	56%	40	( 679)
Some College	50%	44	( 440)
High School Graduate	50%	44	( 690)
Less than High School	41%	48	( 182)
<u>Income</u>			
Under \$10,000	34%	58	( 138)
\$10,000 - \$19,999	43%	47	( 379)
\$20,000 - \$29,999	52%	44	( 442)
\$30,000 - \$39,999	52%	43	( 312)
\$40,000 - \$49,999	51%	42	( 226)
\$50,000+	62%	33	( 392)
<u>Party ID</u>			
Republican	92%	6	( 658)
Independent	48%	42	( 725)
Democrat	13%	81	( 618)
<u>1984 Vote</u>			
Voted Reagan	74%	19	(1185)
Voted Other	9%	85	( 577)
Non-Voter	41%	54	( 239)

George Bush has made substantial progress in solidifying his support among all Republican groups, but Disaffecteds still trail in their level of support for the vice president.

-Nine in ten of the members of the core Republican groups - Enterprisers (95%) and Moralists (94%) - indicate they would vote for him if the election were held today.

-Upbeats - a group of young optimistic Republican-leaning voters - support Bush at virtually the same level (85%).

-Disaffecteds now support Bush over Dukakis by more than a two-to-one margin (61% to 27%). In the last survey they were almost evenly divided.

-He continues to attract large numbers of defectors among two core Democratic groups who have conservative views on social issues - older New Dealers (23%) and the patriotic God & Country Democrats (20%).

Dukakis, on the other hand, receives high levels of support from two core Democratic groups and one important group of Democratic-oriented independents.

-Eight in ten of the Partisan Poor (85%) and the 60's Democrats (81%) say they would vote for Dukakis if the election were held today.

-And three-quarters of the Seculars (77%) - a group of liberal, politically sophisticated independents - indicate support for Dukakis.

-The May Times Mirror survey found high rates of Secular defection to Bush despite Dukakis's strong showing at that time. Since then the Massachusetts Governor has consolidated his position with this critical group.

-Only six in ten of the New Dealers (63%) - the group which defected to Ronald Reagan at the highest rate in 1984 - say they intend to support Dukakis in 1988.



CANDIDATE PREFERENCE BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Sample Size</u>
Total Sample	50%	44	6	100	(2001)
Enterprisers	95%	3	2	100	( 276)
Moralists	94%	4	3	100	( 249)
Upbeats	85%	10	5	100	( 243)
Disaffectededs	61%	27	12	100	( 230)
Followers	39%	53	8	100	( 105)
Seculars	17%	77	6	100	( 166)
60's Democrats	15%	82	3	100	( 222)
New Dealers	23%	63	14	100	( 166)
God & Country Democrats	20%	70	10	100	( 134)
Partisan Poor	9%	85	6	100	( 180)

The effectiveness of the Bush campaign efforts can be evaluated by looking at his support in two ways - the relative increase in support he receives among the groups and the contribution each group makes to the 10 percentage point increase in preference for him.

In relative terms, there has been an almost uniform increase in his support among seven of the ten typology groups most likely to go to the polls in November. His support has declined significantly among only one group - the Seculars; and it remains unchanged among the God & Country Democrats and the Partisan Poor.

For all the talk of the importance of the Reagan Democrats, this analysis suggests that the most significant dynamic in recent weeks has been the return of Republicans to the fold - with Disaffecteds showing the largest proportionate swing.

CHANGES IN SUPPORT FOR GEORGE BUSH BY TYPOLOGY GROUP: 1987 to 1988

	May 87		May 88		September 88		Latest Bush Change
	Bush	Hart	Bush	Dukakis	Bush	Dukakis	
All registered voters	39%	52%	40%	53%	50%	44%	+10
Enterprisers	83	13	83	13	95	3	+12
Moralists	80	12	82	14	94	4	+12
Upbeats	46	42	75	19	85	10	+10
Disaffecteds	42	44	47	43	61	27	+14
Followers	28	53	28	55	39	53	+11
Seculars	23	70	24	72	17	77	- 7
60's Democrats	13	82	8	86	15	82	+ 7
New Dealers	17	76	14	80	23	63	+ 9
God & Country Democrats	25	65	25	63	20	70	- 5
Partisan Poor	12	82	8	85	9	85	+ 1

NOTE - The "change" measure for Bush is September - May.

These changes are even more evident in the trend in the strength of support for each candidate. Among each of the Republican-oriented groups,

there has been a dramatic increase in the proportion who say they support Bush "strongly." And since May, one Democratic-oriented group - New Dealers - are now more likely to support Bush strongly (10% vs 2%).

However, there have been relatively minor increases in "strong" support for Dukakis, with the Seculars (38% vs 20%) and 60's Democrats (36% vs 17%) being the most likely to support Dukakis more strongly now than in May.

#### SHIFTS IN STRONG SUPPORT FOR BUSH AND DUKAKIS BY GROUP

(PERCENT DESCRIBING THEIR SUPPORT AS "STRONG")

	<u>BUSH</u>		<u>DUKAKIS</u>	
	<u>Strong Support May 1988</u>	<u>Support Sept. 1988</u>	<u>Strong Support May 1988</u>	<u>Support Sept. 1988</u>
Registered Voters	12	26	14	19
Enterprisers	24	68	2	*
Moralists	37	60	1	1
Upbeats	24	48	2	*
Disaffecteds	5	19	8	5
Followers	8	9	14	16
Seculars	4	2	20	38
60's Democrats	2	2	17	36
New Dealers	2	10	26	31
God & Country Democrats	9	5	22	33
Partisan Poor	3	2	33	44

Looking at the composition of the 10 percentage point shift, it is clear that the main effect of the Bush efforts has been to solidify his base among Republican-oriented groups. This is also the area in which Dukakis has lost most of his ground.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE SHIFTING SUPPORT FOR BUSH AND DUKAKIS  
BY TYPOLOGY GROUP, MAY TO SEPTEMBER 1988

	SUPPORT FOR BUSH			SUPPORT FOR DUKAKIS		
	May	Sept.	Change	May	Sept.	Change
Enterprisers	8%	11%	+ 3	1	*	- 1
Moralists	10	12	+ 2	2	*	- 2
Upbeats	6	9	+ 3	2	1	- 1
Disaffecteds	5	7	+ 2	5	3	- 2
Followers	2	2	0	3	3	0
Seculars	2	1	- 1	6	6	0
60's Democrats	1	2	+ 1	10	9	- 1
New Dealers	2	2	0	10	6	- 4
God & Country Democrats	2	2	0	5	6	+ 1
Partisan Poor	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>+ 1</u>
TOTAL	40%	50%	+10	53%	44%	- 9

Looking to the future course of the campaign and defining the "swing vote" as those who say there is a "good chance" or "some chance" that they will vote for the candidate other than the one they now prefer, the highest proportion found among Republican-oriented groups is in the Upbeats and the Disaffecteds, and the highest proportions among the Democratic-oriented groups is among the New Dealers and God & Country Democrats.

PROPORTION OF SWING VOTERS BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
Swing Vote	32%	15%	18%	35%	44%	39%	36%	27%	37%	40%	30%

## THE MOOD OF THE ELECTORATE

George Bush's resurgence coincides with a generally more positive mood in the American electorate. This optimism can be credited to some more positive evaluations of the Reagan administration, and Bush has been successful in linking himself to them - especially economic prosperity. In turn, the balance in the public's mood has now tipped slightly in the direction of continuity and away from change. This has both hurt the Dukakis campaign strategy and strengthened the Bush position.

The American electorate remains optimistic about economic concerns - including both personal economic expectations and prospects for the national economy. While there is somewhat greater concern about how the economy will look one year from now compared to five years from now, most of those surveyed expect to be at least as well off in the future as they are now.

The major change since earlier in the year is that Americans are now more likely to be satisfied with the way things are going in the country than dissatisfied. Both of these factors are working to diminish the electorate's appetite for change and to increase its interest in continuing important elements of what are perceived to be the successes of the Reagan administration.

### Satisfaction with the Way Things Are Going in the United States

The most significant change in the national mood since last May's survey is that more Americans (50%) are now satisfied with the way things are going in the country than are dissatisfied (45%). Only four months ago, there were more Americans dissatisfied than satisfied (55% to 40%). The latest reading represents a second important reversal of a trend line for the Reagan administration. By the end of his first term, Reagan was able to overcome concerns about the state of the nation which he had inherited from the Carter administration. Americans then remained optimistic until the time of the Iran-Contra disclosures, when their confidence in the Reagan administration was shaken by the questions raised about who was in control in the White House and the manner in which foreign policy decisions were being made. The latest survey shows that on balance a slim majority of Americans are satisfied.

While Republicans remain more satisfied than Democrats, this increased satisfaction is generally felt across all groups in the electorate. However, the increase is particularly great among two key groups in the Republican coalition - Moralists and Disaffecteds.

-Disaffecteds are now only slightly more dissatisfied (51%) than satisfied (43%) with the way things are going. In May, however, two-thirds (67%) were dissatisfied and only 29% were satisfied.

-In the latest survey, a majority of Moralists are now satisfied (73%), while in May they were evenly divided on this issue (49% satisfied and 46% dissatisfied).

-God & Country Democrats represent the one group in which satisfaction levels have decreased since the last survey.

#### TREND IN SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING IN THE U.S.

##### BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

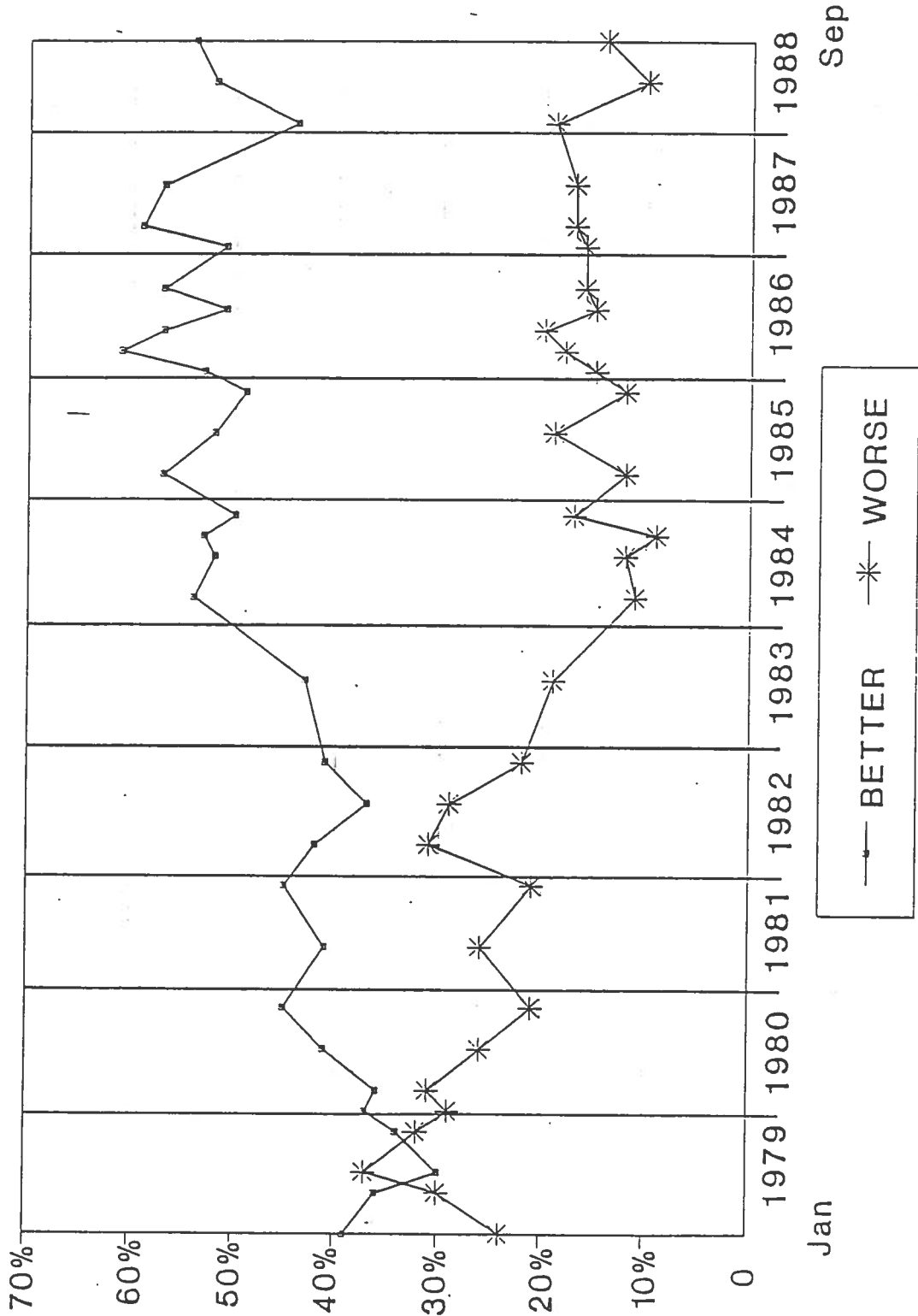
	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
May, 1988	39%	72%	49%	71%	29%	37%	29%	26%	27%	35%	22%
September, 1988	50%	85%	73%	84%	43%	41%	41%	35%	32%	30%	21%
Difference in Percentage Points	+9	+12	+23	+13	+13	+4	+10	+7	+4	-7	+3

#### Outlook for Personal Financial Situation One Year from Now

Americans are as optimistic about their personal economic prospects for the next year as they were in May, and more so than they were in January. Just over half (54%) expect to be better off financially a year from now, while only one in seven (14%) expects to be worse off; 29% volunteer that they expect no change. In January, only 44% expected to be better off one year from then.

While Republicans are only somewhat more likely to be optimistic about their personal economic condition than Democrats (59% expect to be better off compared to 52% of Democrats), there are significant differences by group.

# TREND IN PERSONAL FINANCIAL EXPECTATIONS







-Upbeats are most optimistic about their personal finances (71% expect to be better off one year from now), closely followed by 60's Democrats (65%), and Enterprisers (61%).

-Seculars (41%), and New Dealers (43%), and to a lesser extent the Partisan Poor (49%) and the Disaffecteds (46%), are the least likely to be optimistic. The Partisan Poor and the Seculars are the most likely to expect to be worse off in a year (22% and 21% respectively), while significantly higher numbers of New Dealers (40%) expect to be the same.

### PERSONAL FINANCIAL EXPECTATIONS FOR THIS TIME NEXT YEAR

#### BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
<u>PERSONAL FINANCES</u>											
BETTER OFF	54%	61%	50%	71%	46%	54%	41%	65%	43%	56%	49%
WORSE OFF	14	7	13	4	18	22	21	12	12	17	22
SAME	29	27	34	22	34	20	35	22	40	24	26
DON'T KNOW	3	5	3	3	2	4	3	1	5	4	3
SAMPLE SIZE	2001	276	249	243	230	105	166	222	166	134	180

Question 10: 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?

In the May survey, satisfaction with the way things are going was a more significant predictor of support for George Bush than the respondents' expectations for their personal financial situation one year from now. In this survey, that relationship is even stronger. The significant difference from May is that there are now more people who are satisfied than dissatisfied, while the reverse was true then.

-Among those who are satisfied with the way things are going now, Bush is preferred by 73% of those who expect to be better off in one year, 77% of those who expect to be the same, and 58% of those who expect to be worse off.

-Among those who are dissatisfied, Bush is preferred by 26% of those who expect to be better off, 22% of those who expect to be the same, and 29% of those who expect to be worse off.

## Outlook for Country's Economic Situation

Americans remain reserved about the prospects for the nation's economy in the next year, but they are bullish on the long term. Compared to last January (26%) and May (20%), voters in the latest survey are less likely (16%) to expect economic conditions to be worse in one year. Thinking about the national economic conditions five years from now, four in ten (44%) expect them to be better and only 19% expect them to be worse.

While there is no difference in the proportion of Democrats and Republicans who expect to be better off one year from now, Democrats are twice as likely to expect to be worse off than Republicans (19% compared to 9%). Independents are less optimistic than partisans.

But there are other important differences by typology group. Members of most groups are more optimistic than pessimistic. But both the Seculars and the Followers - two swing voter groups - have more members who are pessimistic than optimistic.

-Members of the God & Country Democrats (32%), the Partisan Poor (30%), the New Dealers (29%), and the Moralists (28%), are the most likely to expect national economic conditions to improve.

-Seculars (33%), 60's Democrats (25%), and Followers (25%) are the most likely to expect economic conditions to worsen.

-Upbeats (58%) and Disaffecteds (58%) are the most likely to expect similar economic conditions.

### ECONOMIC EXPECTATIONS FOR THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE ONE YEAR FROM NOW

	<u>TTL</u>	<u>ENTP</u>	<u>MORA LIST</u>	<u>UP- BTS</u>	<u>DIS AFF</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>
<u>FUTURE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS</u>											
BETTER	24%	23%	28%	25%	17%	17%	9%	24%	29%	32%	30%
WORSE	16	8	11	6	16	25	33	25	12	15	22
SAME	51	56	52	58	58	43	52	44	47	46	40
DON'T KNOW	9	13	8	10	9	15	6	7	11	7	9
SAMPLE SIZE	2001	276	249	243	230	105	166	222	166	134	180

Question 11: 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?

Looking farther out, more than four in ten Americans (44%) expect national economic conditions to be better in five years than they are now, while one-fifth (19%) expect them to be worse. Democrats are more optimistic than Republicans (52% expect better conditions compared to 41%), reflecting the fact that those with lower incomes are more optimistic.

-In typological terms, this is reflected in the Partisan Poor being most optimistic (55% expect better economic conditions and only 19% expect worse economic conditions).

-The Moralists (36%), Disaffecteds (35%), and Seculars (30%) are the least likely to be optimistic.

ECONOMIC EXPECTATIONS FOR THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE  
FIVE YEARS FROM NOW

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	<u>TTL</u>	<u>ENTP</u>	<u>MORA LIST</u>	<u>UP- BTS</u>	<u>DIS AFF</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>
<u>FUTURE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS</u>											
BETTER	44%	43%	36%	52%	35%	39%	30%	46%	50%	52%	55%
WORSE	19	14	14	9	29	25	31	23	13	15	19
SAME	17	19	21	22	22	9	20	13	14	15	6
DON'T KNOW	20	24	28	17	14	27	19	17	23	18	20
SAMPLE SIZE	2001	276	249	243	230	105	166	222	166	134	180

Question 12: How about five years 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?

## CAMPAIGN ISSUES

### The Significance of the Vice Presidential Candidates

In a Times Mirror survey conducted after the Republican convention, the electorate evaluated Lloyd Bentsen much more favorably than Dan Quayle on two counts. Bentsen was more likely to be seen as qualified to serve as President if necessary. And his choice increased the likelihood of support for Dukakis, while Quayle's selection decreased the likelihood of support for Bush.

In the latest survey, evaluations of Quayle are even less positive than they were following the convention. Only one-third of the American public feel Quayle is qualified to serve as President if necessary (34%), compared to four in ten (41%) who felt that way three weeks earlier. Respondents with the highest levels of education and those who are most likely to follow public affairs are the most likely to think that Quayle is not qualified to serve as President. While there are partisan differences in the assessments of Quayle, only bare majorities of Republicans believe he is qualified.

- Only about half of the Enterprisers (53%), Upbeats (52%), and Moralists (48%) think he is qualified, compared to less than four in ten (37%) of the Disaffecteds.

-Majorities of all Democratic groups, particularly the Seculars (79%) and the 60's Democrats (69%), feel he is not qualified.

### DAN QUAYLE'S QUALIFICATION TO SERVE AS PRESIDENT IF NECESSARY

	<u>TTL</u>	<u>ENTP</u>	<u>MORA LIST</u>	<u>UP-BTS</u>	<u>DIS AFF</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>
<u>DAN QUAYLE</u> QUALIFIED TO BE PRESIDENT	34%	53%	48%	52%	37%	22%	12%	19%	26%	28%	20%
NOT QUALIFIED TO BE PRESIDENT	47	30	26	29	43	55	79	69	50	52	61
DON'T KNOW	19	17	25	19	20	23	8	12	24	20	19
SAMPLE SIZE	2001	276	249	243	230	105	166	222	166	134	180

Question 18: Based on what you know about the Republican vice presidential nominee, Dan Quayle, do you think he is qualified to serve as President if it becomes necessary, or not?

On the other hand, a majority of all the groups, except the Moralists, feel that Lloyd Bentsen is qualified to serve as President if necessary. This includes six in ten of the Disaffecteds (63%) and the Upbeats (64%), and more than seven in ten of the Enterprisers (75%). At least two-thirds of all the Democratic-oriented groups feel Bentsen is qualified.

#### LLOYD BENTSEN'S QUALIFICATION TO SERVE AS PRESIDENT IF NECESSARY

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
<u>LLOYD BENTSEN</u> QUALIFIED TO BE PRESIDENT	68%	75%	52%	64%	63%	56%	87%	73%	73%	68%	68%
NOT QUALIFIED TO BE PRESIDENT	16	14	26	19	21	18	7	14	7	15	16
DON'T KNOW	16	11	22	17	16	27	6	13	19	17	16
SAMPLE SIZE	2001	276	249	243	230	105	166	222	166	134	180

Question 19: Based on what you know about the Democratic vice presidential nominee, Lloyd Bentsen, do you think he is qualified to serve as President if it becomes necessary, or not?

Two out of three respondents indicate that the choice of the running mates doesn't make much difference in their presidential choice. But by a three to one margin (27% to 8%) voters say that the choice of Quayle makes them less likely, rather than more likely, to vote for Bush, while the choice of Bentsen makes them more likely to support Dukakis (25% to 9%).

-The Quayle choice has its greatest negative effect on Seculars (54% of whom say it make them less likely to support Bush). Relatively speaking, among the Republican-oriented groups, it impacts the Disaffecteds the most (26% of whom say it makes them less likely to vote for Bush).

-The Bentsen choice has its greatest positive impact on New Dealers (40% of whom say it makes them more likely to support Dukakis) and the God & Country Democrats (33% of whom say it makes them more likely to support Dukakis).

-The selection of Bentsen does not have a significant negative impact on any of the voter groups, for no more than one in eight of either the Republican or Democratic-oriented groups says it makes them less likely to support Dukakis.

INFLUENCE OF VICE PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE ON  
PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
<u>INFLUENCE OF QUAYLE CHOICE</u>											
MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR BUSH	8%	10%	13%	11%	9%	4%	3%	6%	6%	4%	5%
LESS LIKELY TO VOTE FOR BUSH	27	16	12	16	26	32	54	40	31	32	34
<u>INFLUENCE OF QUAYLE CHOICE</u>											
MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR DUKAKIS	25	26	13	15	21	24	31	28	40	33	27
LESS LIKELY TO VOTE FOR DUKAKIS	9	9	12	9	11	7	10	10	3	6	10
SAMPLE SIZE	2001	276	249	243	230	105	166	222	166	134	180

Question 20: Does George Bush's choice of Dan Quayle as his running mate make you more likely to vote for Bush, less likely to vote for Bush, or doesn't it make much difference?

Question 21: Does Michael Dukakis's choice of Lloyd Bentsen as his running mate make you more likely to vote for Dukakis, less likely to vote for Dukakis, or doesn't it make much difference?

The Role of Ideology in the Campaign

While Michael Dukakis has declared that this campaign is about competence and not ideology, George Bush has set about the task of portraying his opponent as too liberal for the American electorate. Bush has clearly

been more successful here, as the survey shows that the public perceives Dukakis to be a liberal and out of sync with the mainstream of their ideological leanings. At the present time, more Americans rate Michael Dukakis as a liberal (46%) than perceived Walter Mondale in this fashion (39%) at the equivalent point in the 1984 presidential campaign.

#### POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

	<u>GEORGE BUSH</u>		<u>MICHAEL DUKAKIS</u>		<u>SELF</u>	
	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Sept.</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Sept.</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Sept.</u> <u>1988</u>
Liberal	16%	9%	31%	46%	18%	21%
Moderate	29	35	39	35	56	46
Conservative	37	47	10	9	18	27
Don't know	<u>18</u> <u>100</u>	<u>9</u> <u>100</u>	<u>20</u> <u>100</u>	<u>10</u> <u>100</u>	<u>8</u> <u>100</u>	<u>6</u> <u>100</u>
Sample Size	(1204)	(2001)	(1204)	(2001)	(1204)	(2001)

Question 8: If "6" represents someone who is very liberal in politics and "1" represents someone who is very conservative, where on this scale of 6 to 1 would you rate each of the presidential candidates and yourself? First, where would you place George Bush? Where would you place Michael Dukakis? Where would you place yourself?

The problem for Dukakis is that the American electorate has traditionally described itself as moderate to conservative. One-quarter of the respondents (27%) place themselves at the "conservative" end of a scale and one-fifth (21%) at the "liberal" end, while 46% placed themselves in the middle. When asked to place Dukakis on the same scale, 46% classified him as "liberal" and only 9% as "conservative;" an additional one-third (35%) placed him in the middle, and 10% said they could not place him. For Bush, on the other hand, 47% placed him at the "conservative" end and only 9% at the "liberal" end. Nine percent did not know where to place him.

Allowing for a tendency of partisans to see their own candidate in less extreme ideological terms and the opposition party's candidate in somewhat

more extreme ideological terms, there is a great deal of consistency in the public perceptions of the ideological positions of the two candidates. The significance of ideology is the relationship between perceptions of where the candidates are in relation to how the voters see themselves. While half the respondents (48%) see themselves as more conservative than Dukakis (including 35% who see themselves as much more conservative), it is also true that four in ten (42%) see themselves as more liberal than Bush (including 24% who see themselves as much more liberal). These relative perceptions are important explanations of both candidate support among partisans and defection among those who identify with the other party.

-Bush's staunch support among Republicans can be explained by the fact that Enterprisers and Moralists are the most likely to see themselves as having the same ideology as Bush (47% and 44% respectively) and to be much more conservative than Dukakis (72% and 60% respectively).

-Even though there are few liberals among Disaffecteds, they are the least likely Republicans to see themselves as ideologically similar to Bush (26%), and one-third (32%) see themselves as more liberal than he is. But on balance a 53% majority see themselves as more conservative than Dukakis.

-Almost half (47%) of the Upbeats place Bush at the same ideological position as themselves, while 37% describe themselves as more liberal.

-Strong Dukakis support among two key Democratic-oriented groups can be explained by the fact that half of the Seculars (46%) and 60's Democrats (50%) describe themselves as much more liberal than Bush, while large pluralities describe their own ideology as the same as Dukakis's (30% and 36%, respectively).

-Defections among the New Dealers are a function of the fact that one-quarter describe themselves as much more conservative than Dukakis (23%) and indicate they share the same ideological position as Bush (22%). And 14% of the God & Country Democrats indicate they share an ideological position with Bush.

-Four in ten of the Partisan Poor (42%) describe themselves as much more liberal than Bush, while one-quarter indicate they are more liberal than Dukakis. One-third (31%) put themselves at the same place as Dukakis.



COMPARISON OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
<u>SELF-BUSH</u> MUCH MORE LIBERAL	24	5	8	10	17	31	46	50	17	29	42
SOMEWHAT MORE LIBERAL	18	20	13	27	15	20	22	21	17	16	15
SAME	27	47	44	47	26	22	13	7	22	14	10
SOMEWHAT MORE CONSERVATIVE	12	17	21	9	14	9	7	7	12	7	7
MUCH MORE CONSERVATIVE	8	8	8	2	14	6	5	6	9	12	9
UNDESIGNATED	11	2	7	6	14	13	7	9	23	21	18
<u>SELF-DUKAKIS</u> MUCH MORE LIBERAL	9	8	8	6	8	12	8	11	9	8	12
SOMEWHAT MORE LIBERAL	10	3	6	6	8	17	16	18	13	5	13
SAME	21	2	6	13	13	17	30	36	26	47	31
SOMEWHAT MORE CONSERVATIVE	13	10	7	20	11	21	22	15	11	10	14
MUCH MORE CONSERVATIVE	35	72	60	45	42	20	19	13	23	14	13
UNDESIGNATED	12	5	13	11	18	13	5	8	18	17	16
SAMPLE SIZE	2001	276	249	243	230	105	166	222	166	134	180

The Candidates' Attempts to Structure Evaluations of Their Opponent

Both George Bush and Michael Dukakis have tried to structure the public's evaluations of their opponent by leveling charges against him. The survey assessed the relative impact of a selected list of charges by asking whether or not each would make voters less likely to vote for a candidate.

Analysis suggests that each presidential nominee has scored some points with the public by raising these issues.

In terms of ideology, Bush's charge that Dukakis is too liberal is having more impact on the electorate than the Democratic candidate's charge that Bush is too conservative. This is consistent with the analysis of relative ideological positioning presented above.

In terms of their relative impact, Bush has been most effective in making charges about Dukakis's involvement in the furlough program in Massachusetts that lets convicts take weekend leaves before their sentences are completed (61% say this would make them less likely to vote for Dukakis) and that he is weak on defense (57% say this would make them less likely to vote for Dukakis). Almost half (47%) say that Dukakis's veto of the Pledge of Allegiance bill makes them less likely to vote for him, while four in ten feel that his liberal ideology (42%) has that effect. One-third (35%) indicate the charge that he does not deserve credit for the economic recovery in Massachusetts makes them less likely to vote for Dukakis.

While there are expected partisan differences in how these charges affect voters, the three most salient issues are having an important effect on the two Democratic-oriented groups with the highest defection rates to Bush.

-A majority of God & Country Democrats (58%) and New Deal Democrats (52%) say that Dukakis's support of the furlough program makes them less likely to vote for him. Half of the Partisan Poor (50%) also feel this way.

-Four in ten of the God & Country Democrats (44%), the New Dealers (40%), and the Partisan Poor (39%) say the charge that Dukakis is weak on defense decreases their likelihood of voting for him. This issue has an especially strong effect upon Enterprisers and Moralists (87% and 85% respectively).

-More than four in ten of the New Dealers (45%) and only a slightly smaller proportion of God & Country Democrats (38%) say Dukakis's veto of the Pledge of Allegiance Bill has this effect. This also impacts the Moralists the most (78%).

Seculars and 60's Democrats stand out as unmoved by the Pledge of Allegiance charges and the general charge that Dukakis is too liberal. Nonetheless, over a third of each group are less likely to vote for Dukakis as a consequence of the "Willie Horton" issue about prison furloughs.

-The charge that Dukakis is too liberal affects New Dealers and God & Country Democrats most negatively (28% and 27% indicating it makes them less likely to vote for him, respectively). It has a strong effect upon Enterprisers and Moralists as well.

-The charge that Dukakis does not deserve credit for the economic recovery in Massachusetts affects God & Country Democrats (30%) the most among all Democratic-oriented groups, and the Enterprisers (60%) and the Moralists (58%) among Republican-oriented groups.

Michael Dukakis has raised a set of charges which resonate well with the Disaffecteds, the Republican-oriented group with the greatest rate of defections; and at the same time, he has been able to solidify his Democratic base.

-Nearly two-thirds of the Disaffecteds (62%) say that support for negotiations to drop drug charges against General Noriega makes them less likely to vote for Bush. This compares to almost half of the membership of other Republican-oriented groups and at least seven in ten of the membership of Democratic-oriented groups.

-Half of the Disaffecteds indicate that concerns about Bush not being in touch with the needs of ordinary people (54%) and about his role in the Iran-Contra affair (46%) make them less likely to vote for him. This is almost twice the level of concern among members of other Republican-oriented groups. Charges about elitism have a particular impact on the Partisan Poor among the core Democratic groups, as 87% indicate this makes them less likely to support Bush.

-The charge that Bush lacks leadership concerns Disaffecteds relatively more than other Republican-oriented groups, as does the charge Bush is too conservative. But the significance of these issues is not as great as is the first three.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES THAT WOULD MAKE YOU LESS LIKELY  
TO VOTE FOR MICHAEL DUKAKIS, IN PERCENT

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
<u>MICHAEL DUKAKIS</u>											
HE HAS SUPPORTED SUPPORTED A FURLOUGH PROGRAM IN MASSACHUSETTS THAT LETS CONVICTS TAKE WEEKEND LEAVES BEFORE THEIR SENTENCES ARE COMPLETED	61	84	79	75	70	46	38	37	52	58	50
HE IS WEAK ON DEFENSE	57	87	85	79	65	38	25	29	40	44	39
HE VETOED A BILL TO REQUIRE THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE IN MASSACHUSETTS' PUBLIC SCHOOLS	47	69	78	58	52	26	19	23	45	38	29
HE IS TOO LIBERAL	42	82	72	56	52	23	19	14	28	27	17
HE DOES NOT DESERVE CREDIT FOR THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS	35	60	58	43	40	22	22	19	17	30	14
SAMPLE SIZE	2001	276	249	243	230	105	166	222	166	134	180

Question 16: Here is a list of charges that Republicans have made against the Democratic presidential candidate, Michael Dukakis. As I read each one, tell me whether or not it would make you less likely to vote for Michael Dukakis.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES THAT WOULD MAKE YOU LESS LIKELY  
TO VOTE FOR GEORGE BUSH

<u>GEORGE BUSH</u>	<u>TTL</u>	<u>ENTP</u>	<u>MORA LIST</u>	<u>UP-BTS</u>	<u>DIS AFF</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>
HE HAS SUPPORTED NEGOTIATIONS TO DROP DRUG CHARGES AGAINST GENERAL NORIEGA	64%	48%	39%	51%	62%	69%	77%	77%	74%	78%	77%
HE IS NOT IN TOUCH WITH THE NEEDS OF ORDINARY PEOPLE	56	23	20	28	54	66	73	82	73	81	87
HE HAS NOT TOLD THE TRUTH ABOUT HIS ROLE IN THE IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR	54	25	25	31	46	61	75	79	70	73	81
HE IS NOT A STRONG LEADER	46	24	19	24	45	60	57	67	57	69	65
HE IS TOO CONSERVATIVE	32	7	10	11	22	40	49	50	39	53	57
SAMPLE SIZE	2001	276	249	243	230	105	166	222	166	134	180

**The Role of Issues in the Campaign**

On the issues about which the public is most interested in hearing more, their assessments of which candidate could best address them is almost evenly divided. And those voter groups which the survey identifies as most volatile are among those most interested in hearing more discussion - the Disaffecteds, the New Dealers, and the God and Country Democrats. This indicates considerable potential for the candidates to add to their current coalition by addressing these interests.

When offered a list of specific issues, at least three out four indicated they had not heard enough discussion and wanted more. In one area - dealing with Soviet Premier Gorbachev - almost as many say they have heard enough as say they want to hear more. The relative lack of significance of

this issue is of course a tribute to the Reagan administration's improved relations with the Soviet Union and a result of the atmosphere of relative calm in these relations since last May's Summit Meeting.

Leading the list of concerns about which the public would like to hear more are five important domestic issues - improving the quality of education in the public schools (85%), providing a decent standard of living for the elderly (85%), creating good economic conditions for people like me (83%), dealing with the drug problem (80%), and dealing with crime (79%). For the first three issues, both candidates have described specific programs and policies which the public is currently evaluating.

On the drug issue, Dukakis has put Bush somewhat on the defensive because of his attacks on Reagan administration policies in this area. On the crime issue, Bush has put Dukakis on the defensive because of references to the Massachusetts furlough program for convicted criminals.

RELATIVE RANKING OF ISSUES THE PUBLIC WANTS DISCUSSED MORE

Improving the quality of education in the public schools	85%
Providing a decent standard of living for the elderly	85%
Creating good economic conditions for people like me	83%
Dealing with the drug problem	80%
Dealing with crime	79%
Keeping the U.S. economy competitive with Japan's and Western Europe's	74%
Dealing with the federal budget deficit	72%
Dealing with Soviet Premier Gorbachev	54%

Sample Size = 2001 Registered Voters

Question 14: I am going to read you a list of important issues being discussed in this year's presidential campaign. For each one, tell me whether you would like to hear more discussion of this issue by the candidates, or whether you've heard enough from the candidates on this issue.

The groups in the electorate which are most volatile and which are currently experiencing some of the highest defection rates are also those which are most interested in hearing more discussion of the issues from the candidates. Using an index based upon how many issues they want to hear more about, it is the Disaffecteds among the Republican-oriented groups and the New Dealers, God & Country Democrats, and the Partisan Poor who are most interested in hearing more.

INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT THE ISSUES, BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

	<u>TTL</u>	<u>ENTP</u>	<u>MORA</u>	<u>UP-</u>	<u>DIS</u>	<u>FOL</u>	<u>SECU</u>	<u>60'S</u>	<u>NEW</u>	<u>GOD/</u>	<u>PART</u>
	7%	12%	5%	6%	7%	12%	7%	3%	5%	7%	9%
NOT MUCH MORE											
SOMEWHAT MORE	46	47	46	50	37	42	50	58	42	42	42
A GOOD DEAL MORE	47	42	48	44	56	46	43	40	53	51	49

NOTE: An index was constructed based upon how many of eight issues respondents wanted to hear more about. The category "not much more" corresponds to 0 to 3 issues, "somewhat more" to 4 to 6 issues, and "a good deal more" to 7 or 8 issues.

On specific issues, however, the desire of group members to hear more discussion varies.

-The 60's Democrats (93%) and New Dealers (89%) are most likely to want to hear more about providing a decent standard of living for the elderly. Enterprisers are least likely to want to hear more (69%).

-The Seculars are most likely to want to hear more about improving the quality of education in the public schools (88%).

-The Disaffecteds (87%) and members of Democratic-oriented groups like the 60's Democrats (90%), God & Country Democrats (92%), and the Partisan Poor (90%) are most likely to want to hear more about creating good economic conditions for people like them. Enterprisers are least likely to want to hear more about this (68%).

-Followers and Seculars are least likely to want to hear more about the drug issue (74% and (72%, respectively).

-Seculars are also least likely to want to hear more about dealing with crime (71%).

-Enterprisers are most likely to want to hear more about keeping the U.S. economy competitive with Japan's and Western Europe's (82%), while God & Country Democrats are least likely to want to hear more about this (66%).

In terms of the relative rankings of which issues the voters want to hear more about, which are essentially the most important domestic issues, Michael Dukakis is now generally judged as more likely to do the best job of addressing each. As for those issues about which the electorate has heard relatively enough, Bush is judged to be more likely to be effective in dealing with them - and by a larger margin.

#### PERCEPTIONS OF WHICH CANDIDATE COULD BEST ADDRESS EACH ISSUE

<u>ISSUE AREA</u>	<u>WHO COULD BEST ADDRESS IT:</u>		
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Improving the quality of education in the public schools	38%	48	14
Providing a decent standard of living for the elderly	37%	52	11
Creating good economic conditions for people like me	46%	44	10
Dealing with the drug problem	41%	43	16
Dealing with crime	49%	36	15
Keeping the U.S. economy competitive with Japan's and Western Europe's	54%	33	13
Dealing with the federal budget deficit	49%	37	14
Dealing with Soviet Premier Gorbachev	64%	25	11

Sample Size = 2001 Registered Voters



The single most important issue explaining current voter preference, taking all the others into account, is the voters' perceptions of which candidate can best "create good economic conditions for people like me." And this is one of the two issues on which the public is evenly divided about which candidate can better deal with it. Insuring personal economic prosperity ranks far above a second tier of issues which includes "keeping the U.S. economy competitive with Japan's and Western Europe's," "improving the quality of education in the public schools," "dealing with crime," and "dealing with the drug problem."

In general, one would have to say that Bush has been more effective in getting his message out to date, because the public sees Bush as relatively more effective in dealing with issues they are more likely to think they have heard enough about. But there is also more of a chance for Dukakis to appeal to Democratic-oriented voters to come home and to attract defecting Republicans on those issues about which they want to hear more.

-For example, Dukakis is perceived as somewhat better able to address improving the quality of public education than Bush (by a 48% to 38% margin), an issue which most Americans want to hear discussed in greater detail. This narrow margin comes about because 27% of the God & Country Democrats and 20% of New Dealers think Bush can address this problem better than Dukakis, twice the rate at which other Democratic-oriented groups feel Bush can. At the same time, Disaffecteds give Bush only an 9 percentage point plurality here (44% to 35%), compared to at least a 30 percentage point plurality among other Republican-oriented groups.

-On the issue of providing a decent standard of living for the elderly, three in ten God & Country Democrats (29%) and one in five New Dealers (22%) think Bush could better address this issue, compared to roughly one in ten of other Democratic-oriented groups. At the same time, Disaffecteds are evenly divided in their assessments of which candidate could best address this issue.

-In assessing who could create good economic conditions for people like them, God & Country Democrats (27%) and New Dealers (22%) are the most likely Democratic-oriented groups to think Bush could do this, while the Disaffecteds are least likely among the Republican oriented groups to believe he can (48%).

-Slightly more than one-quarter of New Dealers (28%) and God & Country Democrats (26%) think Bush could better address the drug problem than Dukakis, compared to no more than 19% of members of other core Democratic groups. At the same time, Disaffecteds give Bush a plurality by only 45% to 31%.

-On the crime issue, Republican-oriented groups are generally more confident that Bush could address this issue better than his opponent than members of Democratic-oriented groups are that Dukakis could do better than Bush.

-In general, Republican-oriented groups are more confident of Bush's ability to keep the U.S. economy competitive with the foreign economies than the Democrats are that Dukakis could maintain this advantage. This is also true of perceptions of each man's ability to deal with the budget deficit.

-As for dealing with Gorbachev, there are only two Democratic groups -- the Partisan Poor and the God & Country Democrats -- who feel Dukakis would do better; and they give him only a slight margin (47% vs 38% and 49% vs 43%).

#### CANDIDATES SEEN AS BETTER ABLE TO HANDLE ISSUES

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS (85)											
BUSH	38	65	73	63	44	28	13	11	20	27	9
DUKAKIS	48	19	15	26	35	58	77	78	64	61	78
PROVIDING A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING FOR THE ELDERLY (85)											
BUSH	37	56	71	58	39	-26	11	14	22	29	10
DUKAKIS	52	31	17	32	40	52	82	79	68	63	84
CREATING GOOD ECONOMIC CONDITIONS FOR PEOPLE LIKE ME (83)											
BUSH	46	89	82	79	48	32	19	15	22	27	8
DUKAKIS	44	5	9	13	36	52	71	77	68	65	82

CANDIDATES SEEN AS BETTER ABLE TO HANDLE ISSUES

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
DEALING WITH DRUG PROBLEM (80)											
BUSH	41	64	75	66	45	26	14	19	28	26	13
DUKAKIS	43	19	11	22	31	53	66	68	58	66	72
DEALING WITH CRIME (79)											
BUSH	49	78	82	73	53	40	28	25	32	25	20
DUKAKIS	36	12	8	15	26	39	54	58	52	59	66
KEEPING THE U.S. ECONOMY COMPETITIVE WITH JAPAN'S AND WESTERN EUROPE'S (74)											
BUSH	54	92	84	80	55	41	32	32	35	33	24
DUKAKIS	33	2	8	12	25	34	59	56	46	56	60
DEALING THE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT (72)											
BUSH	49	80	81	72	54	34	30	29	28	29	22
DUKAKIS	37	6	9	19	27	42	58	60	53	60	67
DEALING WITH SOVIET PREMIER GORBACHEV (54)											
BUSH	64	91	89	88	71	53	51	42	48	43	38
DUKAKIS	25	4	5	4	15	32	32	46	34	49	47
SAMPLE SIZE	2001	276	249	243	230	105	166	222	166	134	180

Question 15: Regardless of how you might vote in November, which candidate - George Bush OR Michael Dukakis - do you think would do the best job of addressing each of the following issues?



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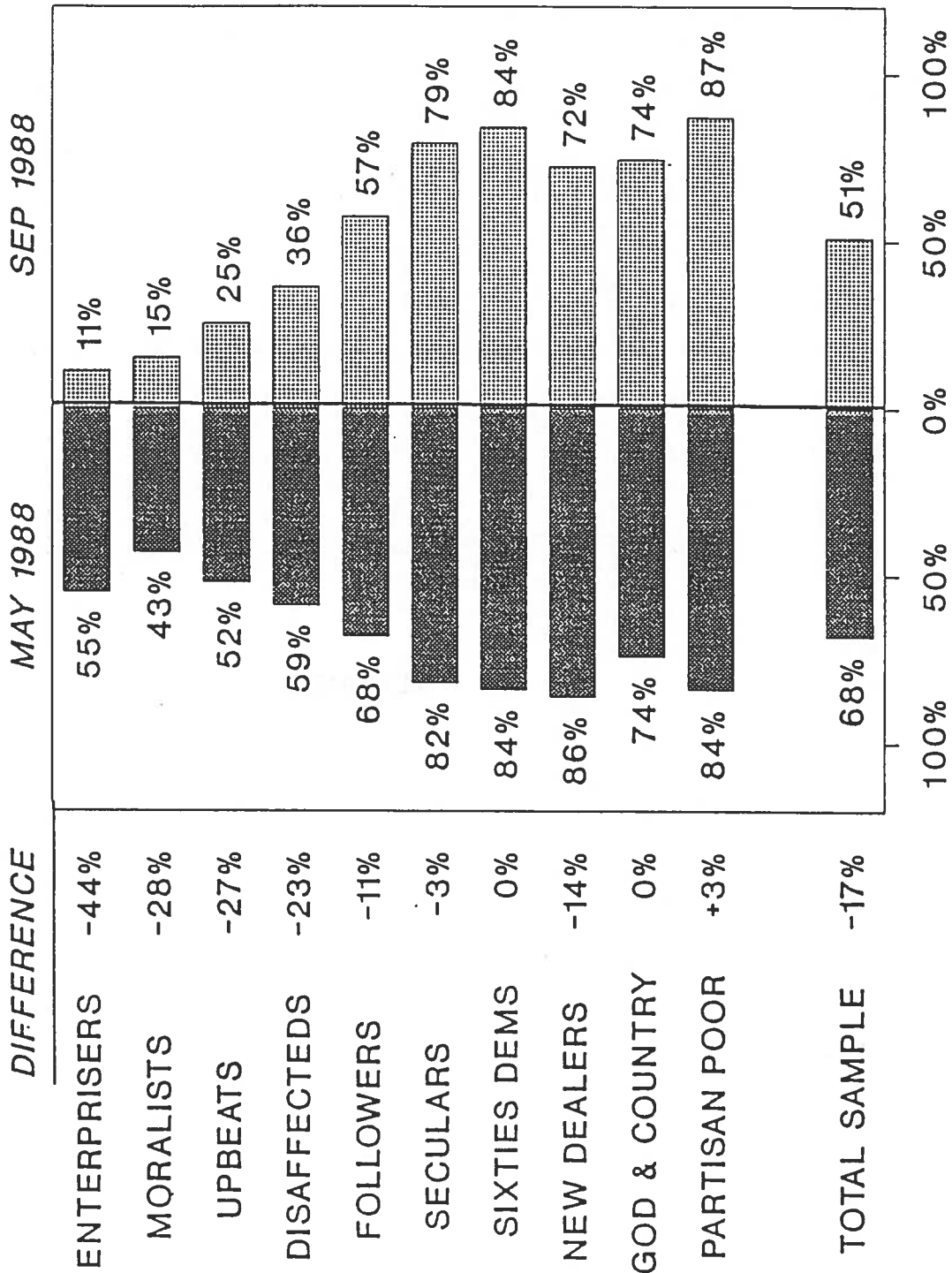
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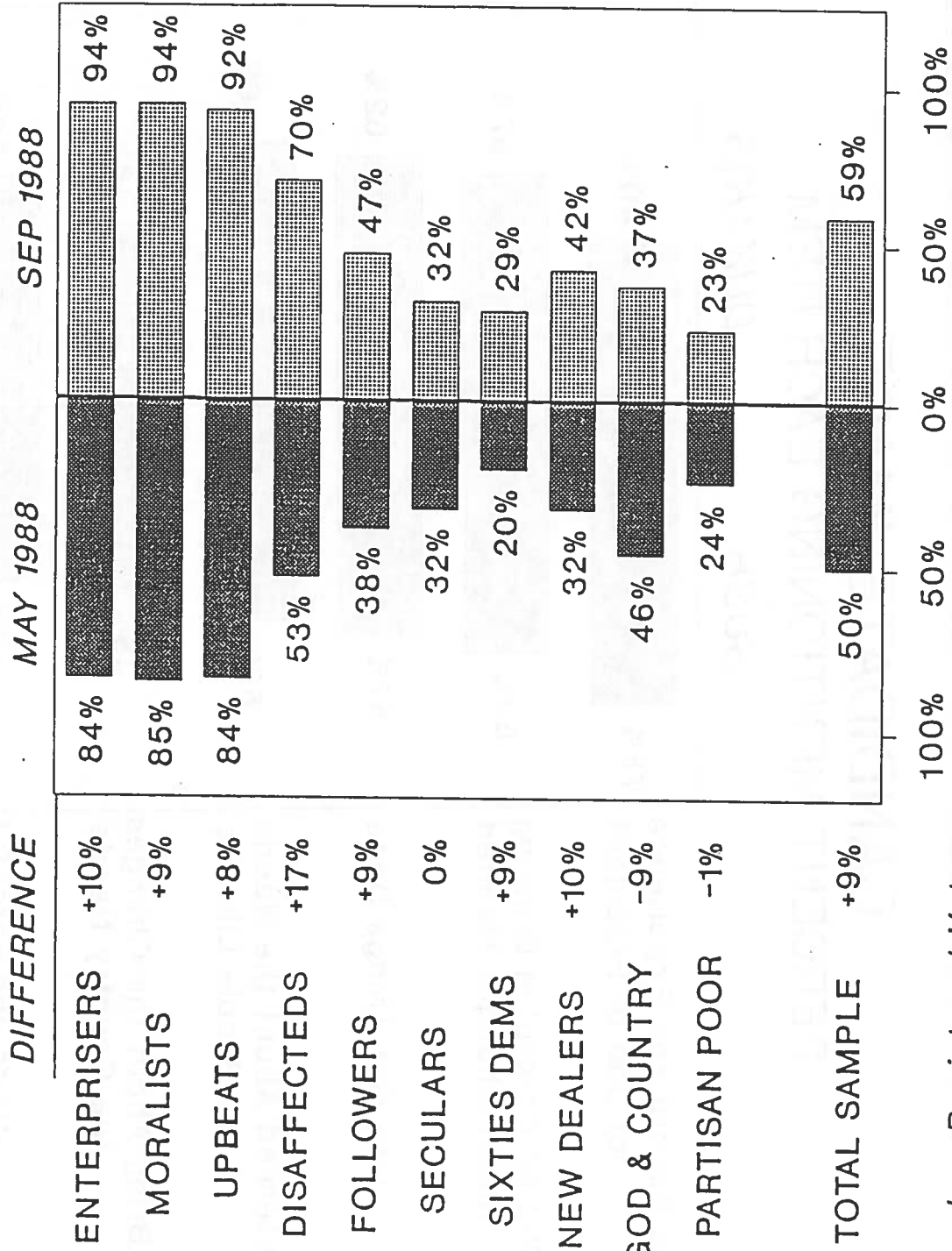
KEY GRAPHS

# DUKAKIS FAVORABILITY RATINGS - TREND



\* Based on Registered Voters

# BUSH FAVORABILITY RATINGS - TREND

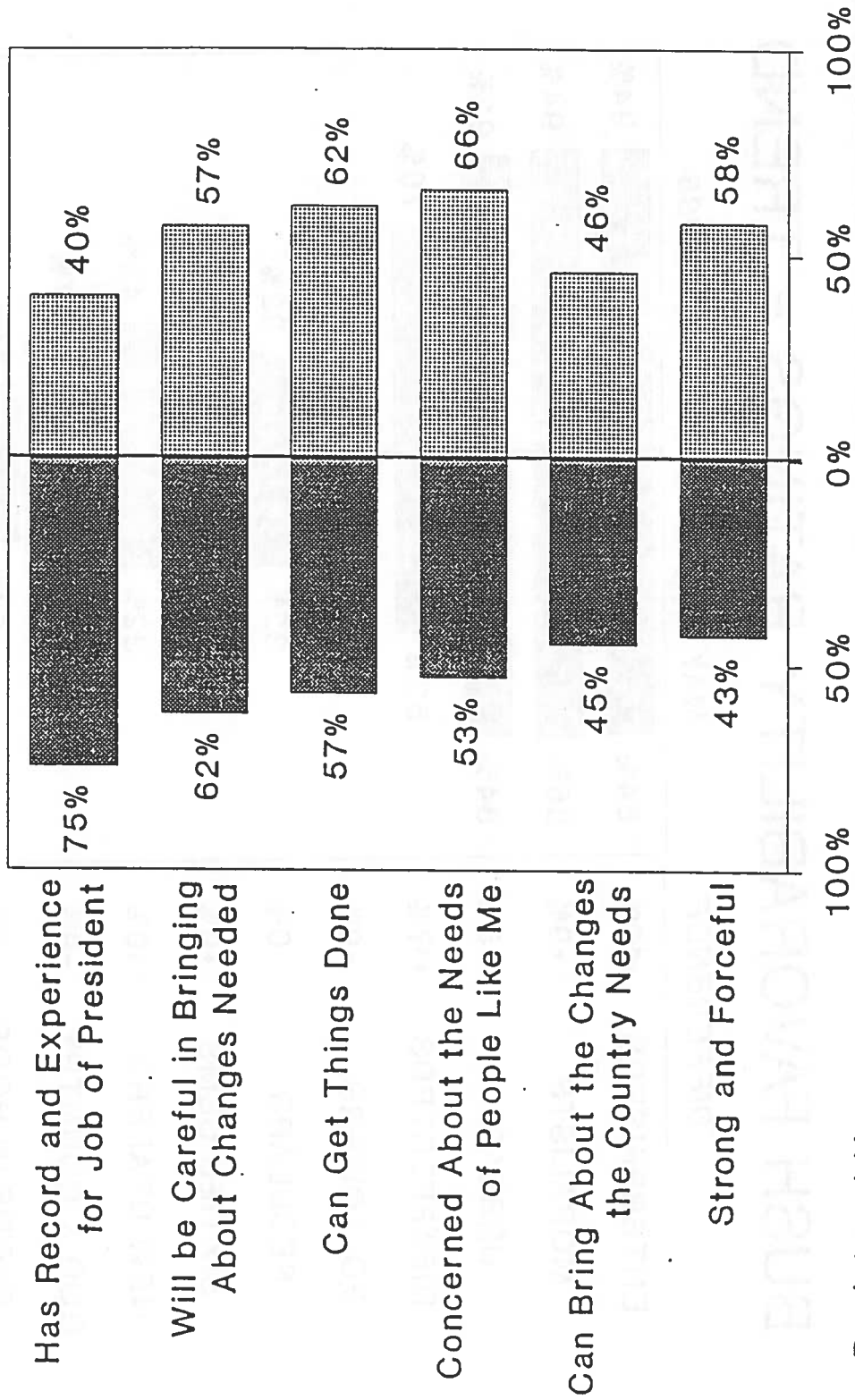


\* Based on Registered Voters

# CANDIDATE IMAGE

## PERCENT MENTIONING EACH ITEM

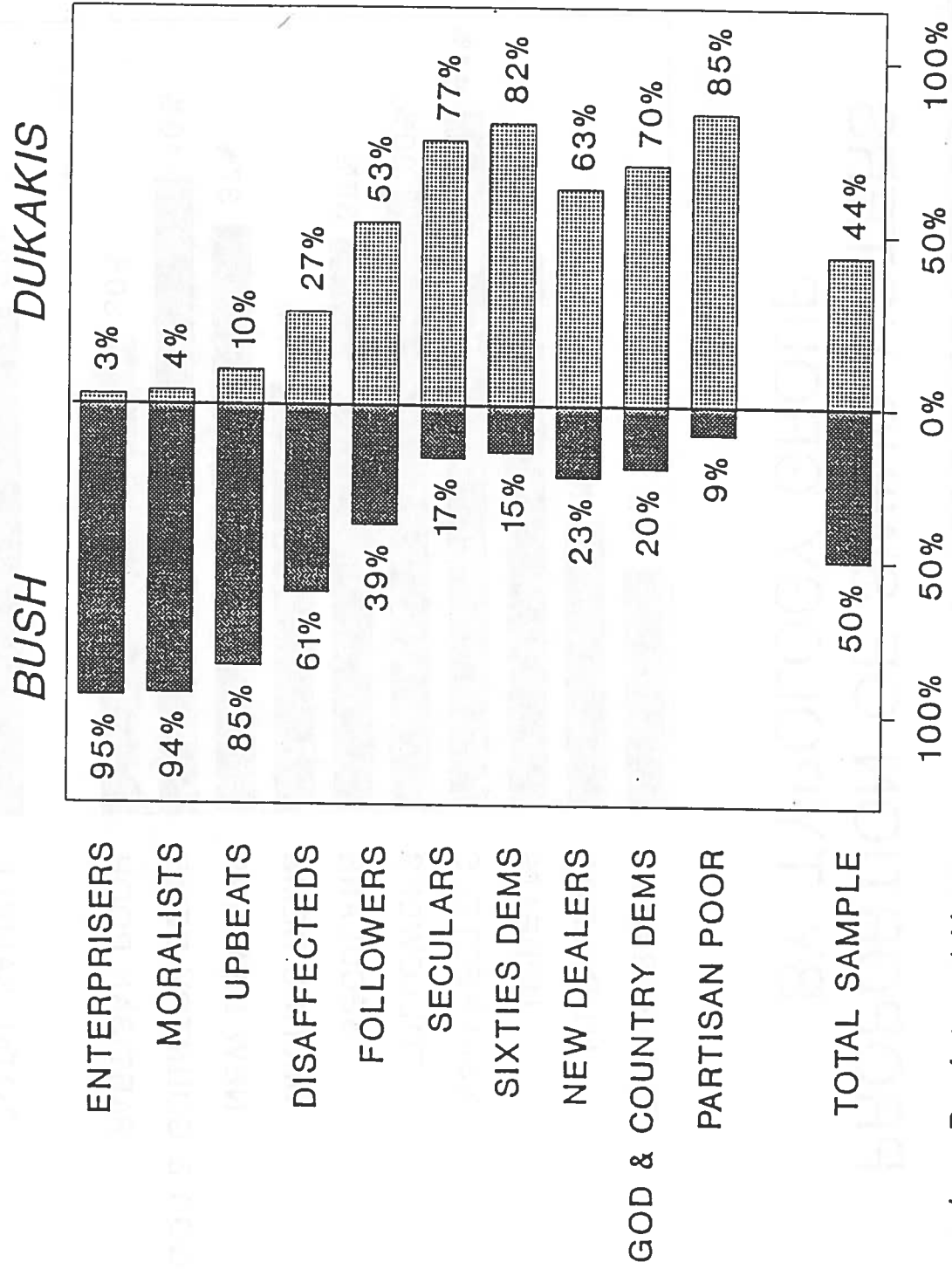
BUSH DUKAKIS



\* Registered Voters

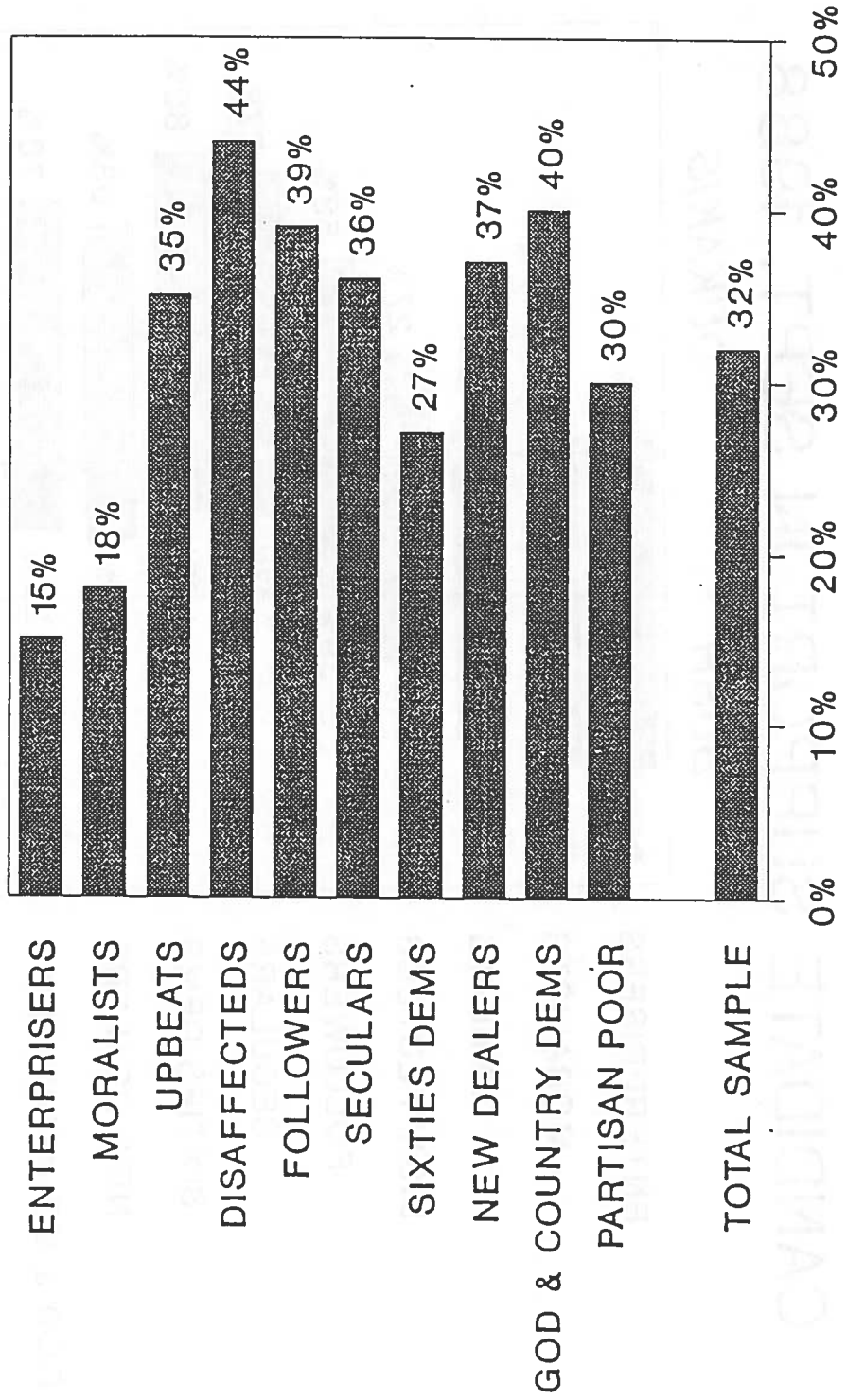


# CANDIDATE SUPPORT IN SEPT. 1988



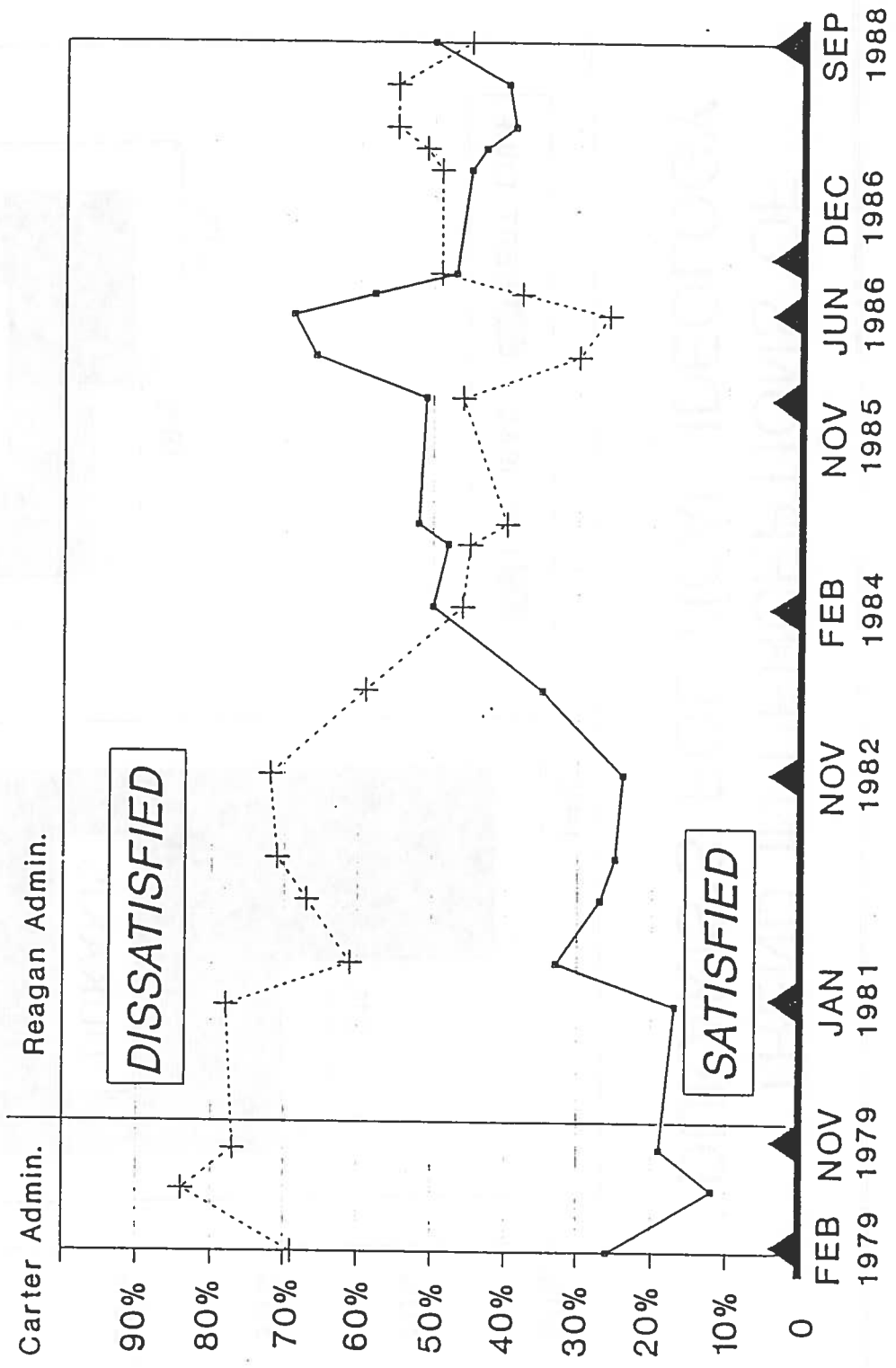
\* Based on Registered Voters

# PROPORTION OF SWING VOTERS BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

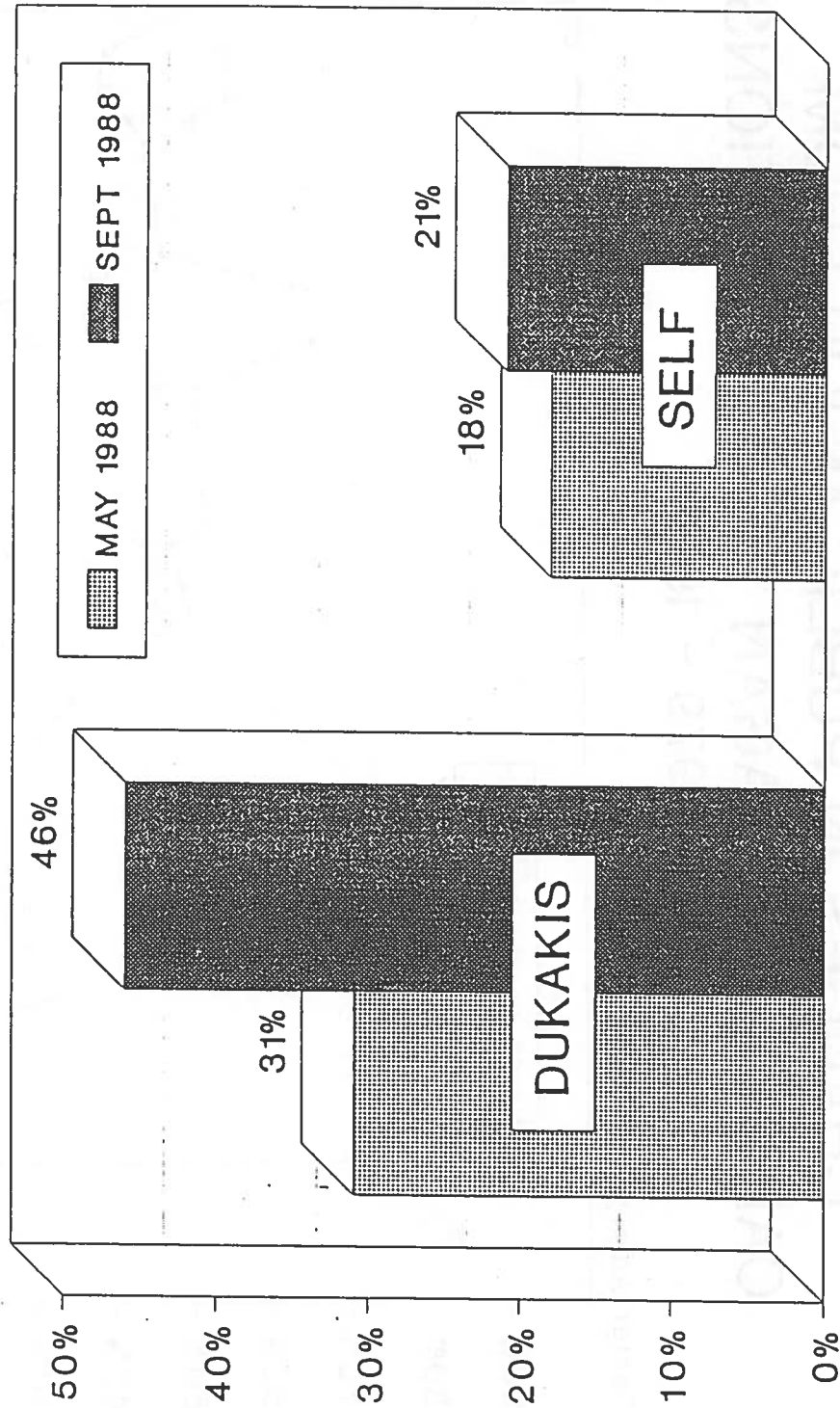


\* Based on Registered Voters

# CHANGES IN PUBLIC MOOD FROM CARTER TO REAGAN ADMINISTRATIONS 1979 - 1988



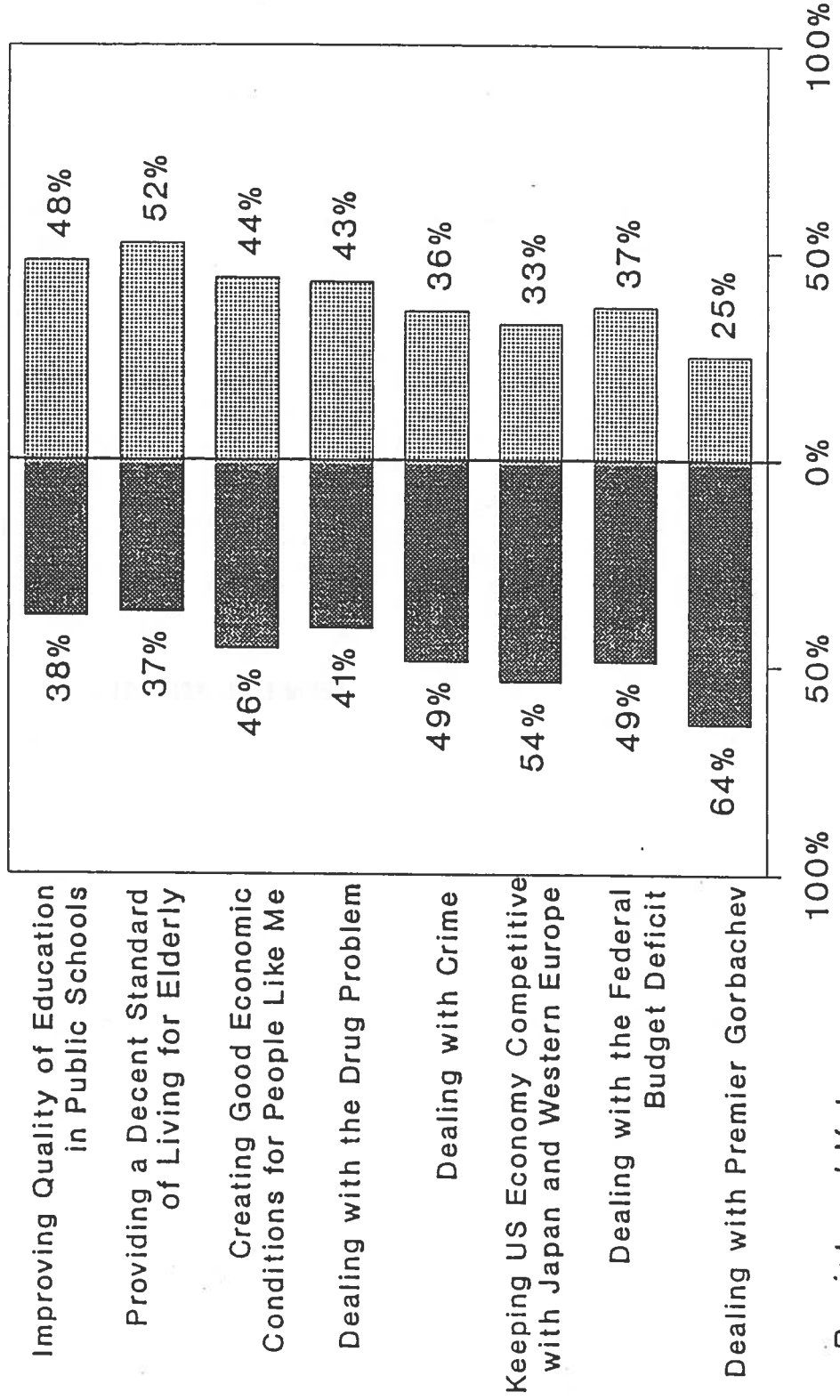
# TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF DUKAKIS'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGY



PERCENT RATED LIBERAL

# PERCEPTIONS OF WHICH CANDIDATE COULD BEST ADDRESS EACH ISSUE

*BUSH* *DUKAKIS*



\* Registered Voters

1	...	...
2	...	...
3	...	...
4	...	...
5	...	...
6	...	...
7	...	...
8	...	...
9	...	...
10	...	...

TECHNICAL APPENDIX

ВЕРХНИЙ ПОЯС

СТАЦИОНАРНО-ПОДВИЖНО-ПЕШЕХОДНО-ВЕЛОСИПЕДНО-САМОХОДНО-МОТОРНО-АВТОМОБИЛЬНО-МАШИНОСТРОИТЕЛЬНЫЕ ПРЕДПРИЯТИЯ

## 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.

Disaffecteds: 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.

SAMPLE SIZE OF THE TYPOLOGY GROUPS

	Registered Voters			
	April/May <u>1987</u>	Jan. <u>1988</u>	May <u>1988</u>	Sept. <u>1988</u>
Enterprisers	394	195	244	276
Moralists	397	224	319	249
Upbeats	289	164	208	243
Disaffecteds	282	182	266	230
Bystanders	89	31	65	30
Followers	223	84	119	105
Seculars	290	135	193	166
60's Democrats	365	165	258	222
New Dealers	439	218	325	166
God & Country Democrats	270	127	189	134
Partisan Poor	367	163	229	180
Total	3405	1688	2416	2001

TYPOLOGY DISTRIBUTION

	January <u>1988</u>	May <u>1988</u>	September <u>1988</u>
Enterprisers	10%	10%	12%
Moralists	12	12	12
Upbeats	10	8	11
Disaffecteds	10	11	12
Bystanders	3	3	2
Followers	6	6	6
Seculars	7	8	8
60's Democrats	9	11	10
New Dealers	14	13	9
God & Country Democrats	8	8	8
Partisan Poor	11	10	10
Sample Size	(1688)	(2416)	(2001)

## RDD TELEPHONE SAMPLE

For this survey, The Gallup Organization used a standard unclustered random digit dial (RDD) telephone sample. Gallup purchases these samples, which are based on a proportionate stratified sampling design, from Survey Sampling, Incorporated.

Because the interviewing was conducted on the telephone, this survey employed a shortened form of the battery of questions used to construct the voter typology. The combination of the difference between samples of telephone households and samples of all households and the difference between the long and short forms of the typology questionnaire may lead to differences in the size and composition of the resulting groups. Continuous methodological research and testing has been devoted to this issue in order to minimize these differences.

The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias. According to the most recent estimates from the Bureau of the Census, there are 87.5 million households in the United States, and just over 92% of them contain one or more telephones. Telephone directories only list about 74% of such "telephone households," and numerous studies have shown that households with unlisted telephone numbers are different in several important ways from listed households. Moreover, nearly 15% of listed telephone numbers are "discontinued" due to household mobility and directory publishing lag, and it is reasonable to assume that a roughly equal number are working residential numbers too new to be found in published directories.

In order to avoid these various sources of bias, a random digit procedure designed to provide representation of both listed and unlisted (including not-yet-listed) numbers is used. The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange (the first three digits of a seven digit telephone number), and bank number (the fourth and fifth digits).

The selection procedure produces a sample that is superior to random selection from a frame of listed telephone households, and the superiority is greater to the degree that the assignment of telephone numbers to households is made independently of their publication status in the directory. That is, if unlisted numbers tend to be found in the same telephone banks as listed numbers and if, in general, banks containing relatively few listed numbers also contain relatively few unlisted numbers, then the sample that results from the procedure described below will represent unlisted telephone households fully as well as it represents listed households. Random number selection within banks ensures that all numbers within a particular bank (whether listed or unlisted) have the same likelihood of inclusion in the sample, and that the sample so generated will represent listed and unlisted telephone households in the appropriate proportions.

The first eight digits of the sample telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, and bank number) are selected after geographic pre-stratification of a database of listed telephone numbers, so that state, county, and telephone exchange within county are all represented in their appropriate proportions. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given exchange is proportional to that exchange's share of listed telephone households in the set of exchanges from which the sample is drawn.

Only working banks of numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential telephone listings. By eliminating non-working banks of numbers from the sample, the likelihood that any sampled telephone number will be associated with a residence increases from only 20% (where all banks of numbers are sampled) to between 60% and 70%.

The sample of telephone numbers produced by this method is thus designed to produce an unbiased random sampling of telephone households in the continental United States.

## TELEPHONE PROCEDURES AND WEIGHTING

Interviewers were instructed to make up to three calls to each telephone number in order to attempt to complete an interview in that household. Interviewers used a systematic selection method designed to provide a sample of respondents that conforms closely to Census Bureau information about the age and gender characteristics of the adult population of the Continental United States.

Interviewers screened selected respondents to ascertain whether they were registered to vote, and only attempted to complete the entire interview with those who answered in the affirmative. For those who claimed not to be registered, or not to know whether they were registered, interviewers were instructed to ask a short series of demographic questions, to be used in weighting the final dataset.

The assignment of weights to individual respondents was undertaken to minimize the effects of possible sample biases in the analysis of data. In order to achieve this goal, the demographic characteristics of the total sample including registrants and non-registrants were compared to the most recently available demographic parameters for the adult population living in households with access to a telephone in the Continental United States. These parameters are drawn from the Census Bureau's March 1987 Current Population Survey. In particular, age, gender, race, education, and region of the country were examined, and weights were assigned to individual respondents to ensure a close match to the Census distributions for these variables. Once this weighting was accomplished, the registered voters were extracted for analysis.

This procedure is designed to correct for demographic biases in the cross-section data (i.e., the data that includes the demographics of both registrants and non-registrants) that may result from both random error (i.e., sampling error) and systematic error (i.e., non-response bias). The procedure is designed to ensure that when the sample of registered voters is extracted from this more inclusive cross-section, they will be weighted to represent the demographic characteristics of the sub-population of registered voters.

COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE  
FOR THE PRINCIPAL SURVEY

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Weighted Percentage</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Male	48.7	( 1005)
Female	<u>51.3</u>	( 996)
	100.0	
 <u>Race</u>		
White	88.0	(1797)
Black	9.0	( 124)
Other	2.9	( 79)
Undesignated	<u>.1</u>	( 1)
	100.0	
 <u>Age</u>		
18-29 years	19.8	( 399)
30-49 years	39.7	( 868)
50 years and older	39.9	( 723)
Undesignated	<u>.6</u>	( 11)
	100.0	
 <u>Education</u>		
College graduate	24.6	( 679)
Other college	21.3	( 440)
High school graduate	38.1	( 690)
Less than high school graduate	15.4	( 182)
Undesignated	<u>.6</u>	( 10)
	100.0	
 <u>Region</u>		
East: Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, Connecticut, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia	24.8	( 492)
Midwest: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri	25.1	( 555)
South: Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana	30.0	( 625)
West: Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Nevada, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, California, Washington, Oregon, Alaska, Hawaii	<u>20.3</u>	( 328)
	100.0	

## SAMPLING TOLERANCES

In interpreting survey results, it should be borne in mind that all sample surveys are subject to sampling error, that is, the extent to which the results may differ from what would be obtained if the whole population had been interviewed. The size of such sampling errors depends largely on the number of interviews.

The following tables may be used in estimating the sampling error of any percentage in this report. The computed allowances have taken into account the effect of the sample design upon sampling error. They may be interpreted as indicating the range (plus or minus the figure shown) within which the results of repeated samplings in the same time period could be expected to vary, 95 percent of the time, assuming the same sampling procedures, the same interviewers, and the same questionnaire.

The first table shows how much allowance should be made for the sampling error of a percentage:

	Recommended Allowance for Sampling Error of a Percentage								
	In Percentage Points (at 95 in 100 confidence level) <sup>1</sup>								
	Sample Size								
	2000	1750	1500	1250	1000	750	500	250	100
Percentages near 10	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	4	6
Percentages near 20	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	5	9
Percentages near 30	2	2	3	3	3	4	4	6	10
Percentages near 40	2	3	3	3	3	4	5	7	10
Percentages near 50	2	3	3	3	3	4	5	7	11
Percentages near 60	2	3	3	3	3	4	5	7	10
Percentages near 70	2	2	3	3	3	4	4	6	10
Percentages near 80	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	5	9
Percentages near 90	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	4	6

<sup>1</sup>The chances are 95 in 100 that the sampling error is not larger than the figures shown.



The table would be used in the following manner: Let us say a reported percentage is 33 for a group which includes 1000 respondents. Then we go to row "percentages near 30" in the table and go across to the column headed "1000." The number at this point is 3, which means that the 33 percent obtained in the sample is subject to a sampling error of plus or minus 3 points. Another way of saying it is that very probably (95 chances out of 100) the true figure would be somewhere between 30 and 36, 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 must be before one can be reasonably sure that it reflects a real difference. The tables below indicate the number of points which must be allowed for such comparisons.

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.

Size of Sample	Recommended Allowance for Sampling Error of the Difference 20% and 80%									
	2000	1750	1500	1250	1000	750	500	250	100	
2000	3									
1750	3	3								
1500	3	3	3							
1250	3	3	3	3						
1000	3	3	3	4	4					
750	4	4	4	4	4	4				
500	4	4	4	5	5	5	5			
250	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	8		
100	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	10	12	

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

Size of Sample	2000	1750	1500	1250	1000	750	500	250	100
2000	3								
1750	3	4							
1500	4	4	4						
1250	4	4	4	4					
1000	4	4	4	5	5				
750	5	5	5	5	5	6			
500	5	5	6	6	6	6	7		
250	7	7	7	7	8	8	8	10	
100	11	11	11	11	11	11	12	13	15

\*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 7 here. This means that the allowance for error should be 7 points, and that in concluding that the percentage among men is somewhere between 3 and 17 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 5. Obviously, then, the two-point difference is inconclusive.

...the number of ... group of 10 ...  
...of persons in a ...  
...the number of ...  
...the number of ...

## QUESTIONNAIRE

1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female

Time Start: \_\_\_\_\_

Time End: \_\_\_\_\_

Total Length: \_\_\_\_\_

G088175

Interviewer I.D.#

\_\_\_\_\_

Interviewer Name:

\_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Replicate: \_\_\_\_\_

Page: \_\_\_\_\_

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am \_\_\_\_\_ calling for the Gallup Organization of Princeton, New Jersey. I would like to ask a few questions of the youngest male 18 years of age or older who is now at home. (IF NO MALE IN HOUSEHOLD AVAILABLE, SAY: I WOULD LIKE TO ASK SOME QUESTIONS OF THE OLDEST FEMALE 18 YEARS OR OLDER WHO IS AT HOME).

A. Are you now registered to vote in your precinct or election district?

A. 1[ ]Yes

2[ ]No, not sure -- NON-VOTER SKIP AHEAD TO 0.32, PAGE 16

SEE NEXT PAGE

- Q.1 If the presidential election were being held today, would you vote for the Republican ticket of George Bush and Dan Quayle or for the Democratic ticket of Michael Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen?
- A.1 1[ ]George Bush - GO TO Q.2  
2[ ]Michael Dukakis  
3[ ]Other (VOL.) - GO TO Q.3  
0[ ]Undecided/No answer
- Q.2 Do you support (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.1) strongly or only moderately?
- A.2 1[ ]Strongly  
2[ ]Only moderately - GO TO Q.4  
0[ ]Don't know
- Q.3 As of today, do you lean more to Bush and Quayle, the Republicans, or to Dukakis and Bentsen, the Democrats?
- A.3 1[ ]Bush - GO TO Q.4  
2[ ]Dukakis  
0[ ]Undecided/No answer - GO TO Q.7
- Q.4 Would you say your choice is more of a vote for (CHOICE FROM Q.1/3) or more of a vote against (THE OPPONENTS)?
- A.4 1[ ]For candidate chosen  
2[ ]Against other candidate  
0[ ]Don't know/No answer
- Q.5 How much of a chance is there that you will vote for (THE OPPONENTS) rather than (CHOICE FROM Q.1/3): a good chance, some chance, or no chance whatsoever?
- A.5 1[ ]Good chance  
2[ ]Some chance  
3[ ]No chance whatsoever  
0[ ]Don't know
- Q.6 At any point in the campaign had you preferred (THE OPPONENT) over (CHOICE FROM Q.1/3)?
- A.6 1[ ]Yes, preferred opponent  
2[ ]No, never preferred opponent  
0[ ]Don't know

TREND IN CANDIDATE SUPPORT  
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	5/13-22	7/8-10*	7/22-24*	8/5-7*	8/19-21*	9/9-11*	9/9-14
<u>Strength of Support</u>							
George Bush	40	41	37	42	48	49	50
Strongly	12	15	15	18	27	22	26
Only Moderately	28	26	22	24	21	27	24
Michael Dukakis	53	47	54	49	44	41	44
Strongly	14	15	22	18	18	16	19
Only Moderately	38	32	32	31	26	25	25
Other/Undecided	7	12	9	9	8	10	6
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Direction of Support</u>							
George Bush	40	41	37	42	48	49	50
Pro-Bush	26	27	23	27	33	27	31
Anti-Dukakis	11	11	11	12	12	18	15
Undecided	3	3	3	3	3	4	4
Michael Dukakis	53	47	54	49	44	41	44
Pro-Dukakis	23	22	33	26	25	19	21
Anti-Bush	26	22	18	19	17	19	19
Undecided	4	3	3	4	2	3	4
Other/Undecided	7	12	9	9	8	10	6
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Switching</u>							
George Bush	40						50
Good chance	4						3
Some chance	11						10
No chance whatsoever	23						35
Undecided	2						2
Michael Dukakis	53						44
Good chance	5						2
Some chance	10						10
No chance whatsoever	35						31
Undecided	3						1
Other/Undecided	7						6
	100						100
George Bush							50
Preferred Opponent							9
Never Preferred							39
Opponent							2
Undecided	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	44
Michael Dukakis							6
Preferred Opponent							37
Never Preferred							1
Opponent							6
Undecided							1
Other/Undecided							6
Number of Interviews	(2416)	(1001)	(1001)	(1004)	(1000)	(1003)	(2001)

Q.7 I'd like your overall opinion of some political figures. First, is your overall opinion of (INSERT ITEM . START AT 'X') very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable? (CIRCLE RESPONSE.) Next, what is your overall opinion of (INSERT NEXT ITEM)?

	<u>Very favor-able</u>	<u>Mostly favor-able</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavor-able</u>	<u>Very Unfavor-able</u>	<u>NEVER HEARD OF</u>	<u>CAN'T RATE</u>
George Bush						
Michael Dukakis						
Ronald Reagan						
Dan Quayle						
Lloyd Bentsen						

SEE NEXT PAGE

Q.8 If "6" represents someone who is very liberal in politics and "1" represents someone who is very conservative, where on this scale of 6 to 1 would you rate each of the presidential candidates and yourself? First, where would you place George Bush? (CIRCLE RESPONSE BELOW) Where would you place Michael Dukakis? (CIRCLE RESPONSE) Where would you place yourself? (CIRCLE RESPONSE)

	CONSERVATIVE					LIBERAL		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	0	DK
George Bush								
Michael Dukakis								
Self								

SEE NEXT PAGE

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

A.9	<u>50</u> [ ] Satisfied	<del>100</del> 38	<del>5/88</del> 40
	<u>45</u> [ ] Dissatisfied	56	55
	<u>5</u> [ ] Don't know	<u>6</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100
	<u>100</u>		

Q.10 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?

A.10	<u>54</u> [ ] Better off	<del>100</del> 44	<del>5/88</del> 52
	<u>14</u> [ ] Worse off	19	10
	<u>29</u> [ ] SAME (VOL.)	31	33
	<u>3</u> [ ] Don't know	<u>6</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100
	<u>100</u>		



TREND IN FAVORABILITY RATINGS  
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never Heard of/ Can't Rate</u>
<b>George Bush</b>					
Sept. 9-14, 1988	19	40	20	17	4 = 100
Sept. 9-11*	20	39	22	13	6 = 100
Aug. 24-25	25	40	18	12	5 = 100
Aug. 18-19**	20	40	20	13	7 = 100
July 8-10*	12	40	14	26	8 = 100
May 13-22	11	39	26	18	6 = 100
April/May, 1987	12	56	20	8	4 = 100
<b>Michael Dukakis</b>					
Sept. 9-14, 1988	18	33	23	19	7 = 100
Sept. 9-11*	15	38	25	15	7 = 100
Aug. 24-25	17	42	22	11	8 = 100
Aug. 18-19**	20	35	19	13	13 = 100
July 8-10*	16	41	24	7	12 = 100
May 13-22	13	55	17	5	10 = 100
<b>Ronald Reagan</b>					
Sept. 9-14, 1988	29	32	17	19	3 = 100
Sept. 9-11*			NOT ASKED		
Aug. 24-25	28	39	17	13	3 = 100
Aug. 18-19**	30	35	14	18	3 = 100
July 8-10*	19	40	16	21	4 = 100
May 13-22	16	40	23	18	3 = 100
<b>Dan Quayle</b>					
Sept. 9-14, 1988	9	32	17	15	27 = 100
Sept. 9-11*	9	37	23	15	16 = 100
Aug. 24-25	12	38	19	9	22 = 100
Aug. 18-19*	11	27	12	7	43 = 100
<b>Lloyd Bentsen</b>					
Sept. 9-14, 1988	11	39	15	7	28 = 100
Sept. 9-11*	13	39	20	5	23 = 100
Aug. 24-25	12	36	13	5	34 = 100
Aug. 18-19**	10	32	15	5	38 = 100
July 21-22*	10	30	11	4	45 = 100

\* Gallup/Conus

\*\* Gallup/Newsweek

TREND IN POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

	Conservative					Liberal	DK 0
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	
<u>George Bush</u>							
Sept., 1988	17	30	23	12	6	3	9 = 100
May, 1988	13	24	19	10	10	6	18 = 100
Sept., 1984 (Ronald Reagan)	29	21	16	10	7	9	8 = 100
<u>Michael Dukakis</u>							
Sept., 1988	5	4	13	22	22	24	10 = 100
May, 1988	4	6	17	22	21	10	20 = 100
Sept., 1984 (Walter Mondale)	8	6	17	20	18	21	10 = 100
<u>Self</u>							
Sept., 1988	13	14	27	19	11	10	6 = 100
May, 1988	8	10	32	24	11	7	8 = 100
Sept., 1984	15	9	29	18	11	12	6 = 100

Q.11 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	<u>1/88</u>	<u>5/88</u>
A.11 1 [ ] Better	23	24
16 2 [ ] Worse	26	20
51 3 [ ] Same	45	46
9 0 [ ] Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100

Q.12 How about five years 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?

44	1
A.12 1 [ ] Better	
19 2 [ ] Worse	
17 3 [ ] Same	
20 0 [ ] Don't know	
	100

Q.13 I am going to read you a list of phrases to get your views on George Bush. As I read each phrase, please tell me whether or not you feel it applies to Bush. First.....  
 (INTERVIEWER: START AT 'X.' READ LIST AND CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY UNDER Q.13A, THEN ASK:) And what about Michael Dukakis? (START AT 'X.' REREAD LIST AND CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY UNDER Q.13B).

Q.13A	Q.13B
George	Michael
Bush	Dukakis

	Applies		Applies	
	8/24-25	Current	8/24-25	Current
1. Can get things done	56	57	58	62
2. Steady and dependable	NA	68	NA	63
3. Strong and forceful	47	43	54	58
4. Appears presidential	NA	64	NA	53
5. Concerned about the needs of people like me	56	53	65	66
6. Has the record and experience for the job of President	NA	75	NA	40
7. Can bring about the changes the country needs	NA	45	NA	46
8. Will be careful in the way he brings about the changes the country needs	NA	62	NA	57

Q.14 I am going to read you a list of important issues being discussed in this year's presidential campaign. For each one, tell me whether you would like to hear more discussion of this issue by the candidates, or whether you've heard enough from the candidates on this issue.  
(START AT 'X')

A.14

	<u>Would Like to Hear More</u>	<u>Heard Enough</u>	<u>DK</u>
1. Keeping the U.S. economy competitive with Japan's and Western Europe's	74	24	
2. Dealing with Soviet Premier Gorbachev	54	42	
3. Dealing with the drug problem	80	19	
4. Providing a decent standard of living for the elderly	85	14	
5. Improving the quality of education in the public schools	85	14	
6. Dealing with the federal budget deficit	72	26	
7. Dealing with crime	79	20	
8. Creating good economic conditions for people like me	83	16	

Q.15 Regardless of how you might vote in November, which candidate - George Bush OR Michael Dukakis - do you think would do the best job of addressing each of the following issues: (START AT 'X')

A.15

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
1. Keeping the U.S. economy competitive with Japan's and Western Europe's	54	33	13 = 10
2. Dealing with Soviet Premier Gorbachev	64	25	11 = 10
3. Dealing with the drug problem	41	43	16 = 10
4. Providing a decent standard of living for the elderly	37	52	11 = 10
5. Improving the quality of education in the public schools	38	48	14 = 10
6. Dealing with the federal budget deficit	49	37	14 = 10
7. Dealing with crime	49	36	15 = 10
8. Creating good economic conditions for people like me	46	44	10 = 10

Q.16 Here is a list of charges the Republicans have made against the Democratic presidential candidate, Michael Dukakis. As I read each one, tell me whether or not it would make you less likely to vote for Michael Dukakis. (INSERT ITEM. START AT 'X') Would that make you less likely to vote for Michael Dukakis? (CONTINUE WITH REST OF LIST)

- a. He is too liberal
- b. He vetoed a bill to require the Pledge of Allegiance in Massachusetts' public schools
- c. He is weak on defense
- d. He does not deserve credit for the economic recovery in Massachusetts
- e. He has supported a furlough program in Massachusetts that lets convicts take weekend leaves before their sentences are completed

A.16

Less Likely to  
vote for  
Michael Dukakis

All Other  
Responses

42

47

57

35

61

Q.17 Here is a list of charges the Democrats have made against the Republican presidential candidate, George Bush. As I read each one, tell me whether or not it would make you less likely to vote for George Bush. (INSERT ITEM. START AT 'X') Would that make you less likely to vote for George Bush? (CONTINUE WITH REST OF LIST)

- a. He supported negotiations to drop drug charges against General Noriega
- b. He is not in touch with the needs of ordinary people
- c. He is too conservative
- d. He is not a strong leader
- e. He has not told the truth about his role in the Iran-Contra affair

A.17

Less Likely to  
vote for  
George Bush

All Other  
Responses

64

56

32

46

54

Q.18 Based on what you know about the Republican vice presidential nominee, Dan Quayle, do you think he is qualified to serve as President if it becomes necessary, or not?

A.18 <sup>34</sup> 1[ ] Yes, qualified to be President 8/24-25 41  
47 2[ ] No, not qualified to be President 40  
19 0[ ] Don't know 19  
100 100

Q.19 Based on what you know about the Democratic vice presidential nominee, Lloyd Bentsen, do you think he is qualified to serve as President if it becomes necessary, or not?

A.19 <sup>68</sup> 1[ ] Yes, qualified to be President 8/24-25 62  
16 2[ ] No, not qualified to be President 16  
16 0[ ] Don't know 22  
100 100

Q.20 Does George Bush's choice of Dan Quayle as his running mate make you more likely to vote for Bush, less likely to vote for Bush, or doesn't it make much difference?

A.20 8 1[ ] More likely to vote for Bush  
27 2[ ] Less likely to vote for Bush  
64 3[ ] Doesn't make much difference  
1 0[ ] Don't know  
100

Q.21 Does Michael Dukakis's choice of Lloyd Bentsen as his running mate make you more likely to vote for Dukakis, less likely to vote for Dukakis, or doesn't it make much difference?

A.21 <sup>25</sup> 1[ ] More likely to vote for Dukakis  
9 2[ ] Less likely to vote for Dukakis  
64 3[ ] Doesn't make much difference  
2 0[ ] Don't know  
100

Q.22 In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

A.22 <sup>31</sup> 1[ ] Republican - GO TO Q.23  
32[ ] Democrat - GO TO Q.24  
33[ ] Independent  
24[ ] No preference - GO TO Q.25  
\*5[ ] Other party  
10[ ] Don't know  
00

Q.23 Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

A.23 1[ ] Strong - GO TO Q.26  
2[ ] Not strong  
0[ ] Don't know

Q.24 Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

A.24 1[ ] Strong - GO TO Q.26  
2[ ] Not strong  
0[ ] Don't know

Q.25 Would you say you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

A.25 1[ ] Republican  
2[ ] Democratic  
0[ ] Don't know

Republican + Lean Repub 46  
Strong Republican 18  
Not Strong Republican 13  
Lean Republican 15

Democrat + Lean Democrat 47  
Strong Democrat 18  
Not Strong Democrat 15  
Lean Democrat 14



Q.27 Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

A.27 <sup>58</sup> 1 [ ] Most of the time  
 32 [ ] Some of the time  
 8 3 [ ] Only now and then  
 2 4 [ ] Hardly at all  
 \* 0 [ ] Don't know  
100

Q.28 In the election in November 1984, when Ronald Reagan ran against Walter Mondale, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? For whom?

A.28 <sup>57</sup> 1 [ ] Reagan  
 27 2 [ ] Mondale  
 1 3 [ ] Other  
 2 4 [ ] Voted, don't remember for whom  
 12 5 [ ] Did not vote  
 1 0 [ ] Don't remember if voted  
100

Q.29 How often would you say you vote -- always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

A.29 <sup>51</sup> 1 [ ] Always  
 40 2 [ ] Nearly always  
 6 3 [ ] Part of the time  
 2 4 [ ] Seldom  
 1 5 [ ] Other \_\_\_\_\_  
 \* 6 [ ] NEVER VOTE (VOL.)  
 \* 0 [ ] Don't know  
100

Q.30 Some people are so busy that they don't get to read a newspaper every day. How about you - do you get a chance to read a newspaper just about every day or not?

A.30	<sup>71</sup> 1 [ ] Yes	<u>8/24-25</u> 68
	29 [ ] No	32
	* 0 [ ] Don't know	*
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.31 How often, if at all, do you watch the national news on TV - every day, three or four times a week, once or twice a week, or less than once or twice a week?

	57	<u>8/24-25</u>
A.31 1[ ] Every day		53
272[ ] Three or four times a week		28
113[ ] Once or twice a week		13
44[ ] Less than once or twice a week		5
15[ ] Never (VOL.)		1
*0[ ] Don't know		0
		<hr/> 100%

AND NOW, JUST A FEW QUESTIONS FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY.....

Q.32 What is the last grade you completed in school?

- A.32 1[ ] None, grades 1-4
- 2[ ] Grades 5,6,7
- 3[ ] Grade 8
- 4[ ] High School, Incomplete
- 5[ ] High School, Graduate
- 6[ ] Technical, Trade or Business School
- 7[ ] College, University; Incomplete
- 8[ ] College, University; Complete
- 0[ ] Other/No answer

Q.33 Are you, or is your (husband/wife) a member of a labor union?

- A.33 1[ ] Yes, respondent is
- 2[ ] Yes, spouse is
- 3[ ] Yes, both are
- 4[ ] Neither is
- 0[ ] Don't know/No answer