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THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS, & POLITICS

SURVEY VII

NOVEMBER POST-ELECTION TYPOLOGY SURVEY

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by:

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INTRODUCTION

This is the seventh 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 how voters decide about 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.

This survey deals with the choices voters made on November 8. It utilizes the typology to gauge opinions of the candidates, important campaign and policy issues that determined vote choice, and assessments of the campaign.

For this survey, telephone interviews were administered in the days after the election to 2,022 registered voters who had previously been interviewed in September and October and 303 registered voters who were interviewed in January. A total of 146 non-voters were interviewed.

Over the course of the past eighteen months, three major surveys involving face-to-face personal interviewing in the home were conducted, as well as three telephone surveys in August and September. The first of the face-to-face 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 telephone surveys involved interviews with 1,000 registered voters conducted between August 24-25, 1988 with 2,001 registered voters fielded September 9-14, 1988, and with 2,006 registered voters between October 23-26, 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

For all intents and purposes George Bush's winning coalition was in place by the second week in September. While our surveys showed a fair degree of offsetting change within Democratic groups between September and October, the overall patterns of support first identified in September persisted through Election Day. The Bush campaign succeeded because it achieved the following strategic goals among Republican-oriented groups at the very outset of the general election campaign and reinforced them throughout October:

*It solidified its backing among the core Republican groups. Bush's support increased from 83% of the Enterprisers in May to 96% in late October - with most of that vote in place by early September. Similarly, his support among Moralists increased from 82% to 93% in the pre-election period, and 96% reported voting for him. Both groups of core Republicans voted "for" Bush rather than against Dukakis. But, for Moralists, issues and ideology were relatively more salient, while among Enterprisers party loyalty played the greatest role.

* Upbeats showed the most persistent movement toward the Republicans over the past 18 months. In 1987 a significant proportion of this young, moderate group was leaning toward Democratic candidates. However, in every survey thereafter a significantly larger percentage reported support for the GOP and its standard bearer. In May, Bush's support among the Upbeats was relatively high (75%), and he increased it across the campaign to 83% of those who went to the polls.

* The most reluctant of the Republican-oriented groups were the alienated, anti-elitist Disaffecteds who were evenly divided in their voting intentions in May. In many respects, the campaign had its greatest effect on these skeptical voters. By September, their opinions of Dukakis had moved from luke warm to highly critical, and 61% expressed support for Bush. Ultimately, 68% said they voted for him in the post-election survey. Compared to other Republican oriented groups, Disaffecteds more often reported voting "against" Dukakis rather than "for" Bush, and they resembled Democratic defectors in saying that the issues mattered in voting against Dukakis.

Most of the volatility and indecision in the later stages of the campaign occurred among Democratically-oriented voters. They decided later and they did so with more reservations than Republicans. Among those who decided

in the last week of the campaign, support tipped to Dukakis 60% to 40% but for the vast majority of voters who decided earlier in the campaign, the division of opinion was just the opposite -- 58% for Bush and 42% for Dukakis. In that regard, our re-interview analysis showed that about equal percentages of voters switched horses when we consider their reported vote relative to the preferences they expressed in September and October. But those who switched to Dukakis did so in the final days, while most Bush switchers decided earlier in the campaign.

On balance, Bush did not make as many inroads as Reagan did in 1984 among most Democratic groups, and the nature of his campaign and the selection of Quayle as his running mate prevented the most ideologically consistent Democrats from defecting at greater rates.

- * Bush did as well as Reagan among two large blocs of Democrats - securing defections from three in ten of the New Dealers (27%) and one in five members of the Partisan Poor (19%).

- * And he did better than Reagan among the group of conservative Democrats known as the God & Country Democrats, where he received the benefit of defections from almost four in ten (38%) compared to Reagan's three in ten (31%).

Democratic defectors from these groups were more apt than other Bush supporters to say that Dukakis' positions on issues mattered, especially New Dealers; and among those who remained loyal much of the Dukakis vote was anti-Bush.

- * But Bush did less well than Reagan among independents who lean Democratic, including the Followers and the well-educated and politically sophisticated Seculars, whose support for Dukakis increased markedly in the final week of the campaign. Quayle hurt Bush more among Seculars than with most voters.

- * Similarly, fellow liberal 60's Democrats gave Bush less support than Reagan (12% compared to 25%). However, throughout the campaign their level of support was more unwavering than that of the Seculars. In fact, 60's Democrats were the only group to have a majority of its members voting pro-Dukakis.

While there are distinct patterns of voter motivation by type of voter, it's clear that issues mattered more to Bush voters and the vast majority were voting "for" Bush rather than against Dukakis. On the other hand, Dukakis

voters tended to be less positive in their support and more often his supporters said they were motivated by party loyalty rather than by issues. The highest rates of dissatisfaction with the campaign, the candidates and all aspects of the process were expressed by Dukakis voters who were voting against Bush rather than for Dukakis.

In looking at the campaign issues that mattered the most to supporters of both candidates, we find that the success of the Bush campaign was based on making liberalism, the Pledge of Allegiance and the prison furlough controversies salient, while at the same time making Bush vulnerabilities of less relative importance to key voter groups. The response of specific voter groups to various campaign issues is illustrative of the effectiveness of the Bush effort. To the well informed Enterprisers, Dukakis' liberalism and Bush's conservatism were the campaign issues that mattered the most. The specific Pledge of Allegiance and prison furlough charges were especially important to the less well informed and more socially conservative Moralists, Disaffecteds, New Dealers and God and Country Democrats. Among the more moderate Upbeats these issue mattered, but to a lesser degree than general beliefs about each candidate's ideology. To all Bush supporters, Republican and Democratic defectors alike, feelings about Iran-Contra and the Noriega issue had little bearing on voting choice.

Among Dukakis voters, the most important campaign issues were the allegations about Bush's involvement in Iran-Contra, the Reagan administration's dealings with General Noriega, and the selection of Dan Quayle, in that order. Attaching little importance to the prison furlough program was also significant.

Dealing with drugs, reducing the deficit, improving the quality of education and reducing crime were policy issues that were of importance to more than seven in ten voters regardless of their partisanship or voting choice. That crime would rank with these issues is another measure of the effectiveness of Bush's campaign efforts. By comparison, the Dukakis campaign was unable to capitalize on its most effective issues, as evidenced by the fact that social issues such as creating a national health care plan and increasing the availability of child care ended up in the second tier of the policy concerns that were on the minds of voters as they went to the polls on

November 8th.

Our re-interview of a small sample of voters first questioned in January provides an interesting overview on the campaign. First, party pre-dispositions at the beginning of the year operated about equally for the Democrats and Republicans. Of the 303 voters roughly one third told us in January they were likely to vote for a Democratic candidate and did so in November. About the same number followed through on their GOP voting intentions. The early GOP deciders were more apt than their Democratic counterparts to report that issues mattered as well as party.

A third of the January sample decided later or changed their minds. This group of "convinced" voters on balance supported Bush. "Convinced" voters of both persuasions said that issues and ideology, not party, were the dominant motivating factors; but voters who came around to Bush were also much more likely than Dukakis supporters to say they voted on the basis of the candidates personal characteristics and abilities. For example 17% of the voters that Bush convinced said they voted because of a positive opinion of him. Compared to only 4% who made a similar statement about Dukakis.

As found in our pre-election polls, our re-interview with voters showed significant levels of discontent with the candidates and the campaign process. While a clear majority of American voters (62%) were satisfied with their choice of presidential candidates, almost four in ten (37%) were not.

Nearly a third (30%) said it was likely that they would have cast a vote of "no confidence" in the presidential candidates running for office, if they had been given a chance to. However, this was smaller than the 39% who expressed this view near the end of the campaign in 1980.

A majority (59%) also felt that they learned enough about the candidates and the issues during the campaign to make an informed choice between Bush and Dukakis, but 39% found it difficult to choose because they did not learn enough from the campaign.

While supporters of both candidates expressed at least some discontent with the campaign and the candidates, the highest levels of discontent were found among voters who supported Michael Dukakis, especially those who supported him because they disliked George Bush. For example, only 16% of Bush supporters were dissatisfied with the choice of candidates and 30% felt

they didn't learn enough from the campaign to make an informed choice. Among Dukakis supporters, however, 63% were dissatisfied with the candidates and 49% felt the campaign was not informative. Fully 57% of Dukakis supporters who were anti-Bush said they did not learn enough to make an informed choice. Such sentiments were most often voiced by the more sophisticated Democratic groups - the Seculars and 60's Democrats.

When asked to assign letter grades to various participants in the process for their conduct, voters gave themselves the highest grades (49% A or B). George Bush was graded more highly than Michael Dukakis, and the Republican party was graded more highly than the Democratic party. Pollsters were graded about as highly as the Republican party and more highly than either the Democratic party or Michael Dukakis. Bush supporters gave pollsters better reviews than Dukakis supporters.

The press and campaign consultants received the lowest assessment. One in six respondents gave the press a grade of "Fail" (16%), and the press was the only non-partisan group that received less criticism from Dukakis supporters and more criticism from Bush supporters. Campaign consultants did not receive as many A and B grades as the press, but they did not receive as many lower grades either.

A majority of voters (57%) thought there was a reasonable amount of coverage of the presidential campaign in their local paper. About the same proportion said they would increase the coverage in 1992 (18%) as said they would decrease it (22%).

Although six in ten voters (56%) said they would devote an equal amount of space to coverage of state and local campaigns if they were editor, one-third (35%) said they would increase it and only 8% said they would decrease it.

Ninety-seven percent of voters who could recall both when they voted and when they first heard that Bush was the projected winner, told us that they voted before hearing about Bush's projected victory. In the West this figure was only slightly lower -- 93%. Among the small sample of non-voters interviewed, 69% said they first heard of the Bush projection before the actual time of the first network call (9:17 EST).

Opinions of the campaign and harsh assessments of George Bush by members of Democratic-oriented groups set the tone for voters' expectations of the

Bush presidency. One in ten (11%) expect him to be an "excellent" president and almost half (45%) a "good" one. But one-third (33%) expect him to be "only fair," while 8% expect him to be a "poor" one. Three percent are reserving judgement or don't know what to think.

But these evaluations are heavily shaped by partisanship and voting behavior. Eighty-three percent of the Bush voters think he will be an excellent or good president while 23% of the Dukakis voters feel this way. Majorities of all Republican oriented groups have positive expectations of George Bush, but Democratically-oriented have very low expectations. In fact, a majority of all them expect him to be "only fair" or "poor," with Seculars and 60's Democrats having the lowest expectations.

When asked to rank five issues in terms of their priorities for the new Bush administration, voters gave reduction of the federal budget deficit as the top priority for the Bush Administration -- 44% described it as such. It was followed by the protection of American jobs from foreign competition (20%) and increasing programs to meet the needs of families, such as child care and education (15%). Negotiating further arms reductions with the Soviet Union was the next most important (12%), followed by improving protection of the environment (8%).

The Bush Coalition and the Future

In building his winning coalition, George Bush combined the GOP's peace and prosperity advantage with a campaign emphasizing "symbolic issues" selected to win over voters among whom the good times carried less weight. The two typology groups that seem key to the Bush victory are the two Independent Republican leaning groups, the Upbeats and the Disaffecteds. While the Upbeats seem to have been largely delivered to Bush by peace and prosperity, the Disaffecteds seem to have been won over by the Bush campaign's emphasis on crime, the pledge, gun control and similar issues.

Support for Bush among the Upbeats has increased over the course of the year, following the rise in Ronald Reagan's approval ratings. The Moscow Summit appears to have signalled the point at which public perceptions of Reagan began to improve markedly. The current survey shows Upbeats rating arms negotiations above average in importance as a campaign issue. Past

research has shown this young group strongly associating the Republican Party with good economic times. Looking ahead, if the Bush Administrations presses ahead with further arms negotiations with the Soviet Union this will continue to build good will and GOP party loyalty among the Upbeats. On the other hand, if the economy turns down, Upbeats support for Bush and the party, not very strongly linked to values or ideology, may be seriously shaken.

Unlike the Upbeats, Disaffecteds don't place such a high value on better relations with the Soviets. And feeling significant financial pressure themselves, they are less attracted to Bush and the GOP on the prosperity issue. In effect, Bush succeeded in neutralizing the economic discontent of this group while making the case that Michael Dukakis and the Democrats were soft on crime and too liberal on issues like gun control. While Bush succeeded in winning a big majority of their votes, he faces potential problems among the Disaffecteds now that the election is over. Their dissatisfaction with the status quo may re-emerge and their criticism focus on Bush now that Dukakis is removed from the scene. In particular, Bush is vulnerable on economic issues among a group distrustful of business.

It should be noted that the same strategies that worked with the Disaffected also applied to defections among New Dealers and God & Country Democrats. In their case early disillusionment is equally likely.

CANDIDATE PREFERENCE

This survey provides the basis for analyzing the voters' support of George Bush and Michael Dukakis in three ways: by looking at each candidate's support in terms of the voter typology and comparing it to Ronald Reagan's coalition in the 1984 campaign; by looking at each candidate's support in personal, ideological, and issue terms; and by measuring the effectiveness of each candidate's campaign.

The Coalitional Basis of Support

In winning the largest post-war majority of any candidate seeking his first term as president, George Bush constructed a coalition very similar to Ronald Reagan's.

- He secured virtually unanimous support from the core Republican groups of Enterprisers (98% compared to Reagan's 96%) and Moralists (96% compared to Reagan's 97%).

- He received the support of eight in ten of the group of young, optimistic voters who lean Republican and are called the Upbeats (83%), virtually as much as Reagan (86%).

- Bush did as well as Reagan among the group of most loyal Democrats - securing defections from three in ten of the New Dealers (27%) and one in five members of the Partisan Poor (19%).

- And he did better than Reagan among the group of conservative Democrats known as the God & Country Democrats, where he received the benefit of defections from almost four in ten (38%), compared to Reagan's three in ten (31%).

- The Disaffecteds were identified in earlier Times Mirror surveys as a key element in the Reagan coalition in 1984 and a primary target of the Bush campaign in 1988. On election day, he received the support of two out of three (68%) of the Disaffecteds, a group of independents who lean Republican and were attracted to Reagan by his anti-Washington, outsider's stance. This was nevertheless a lower level of support than they gave Reagan in 1984 (81%).

-But Bush did less well than Reagan among independents who lean Democratic, including the well-educated and politically sophisticated Seculars (24% compared to 34%) and 60's Democrats (12% compared to 25%). He also did less well among the Followers, getting 40% of their support compared to Reagan's 54%.

**A COMPARISON OF THE 1984 REAGAN COALITION AND 1988 SUPPORT FOR BUSH,
BY TYPOLOGY GROUP**

	Reported '84 Vote			Reported Vote Nov. 9-10 1988		
	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Mondale</u>		<u>Bush</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>	
Enterprisers	96%	4	100%	98%	2	100%
Moralists	97%	3	100%	96%	4	100%
Upbeats	86%	14	100%	83%	17	100%
Disaffecteds	81%	19	100%	68%	32	100%
Followers	54%	46	100%	40%	60	100%
Seculars	34%	66	100%	24%	76	100%
60's Democrats	25%	75	100%	12%	88	100%
New Dealers	30%	70	100%	27%	73	100%
God and Country Democrats	31%	69	100%	38%	62	100%
Partisan Poor	19%	81	100%	19%	81	100%
TOTAL SAMPLE	58%	42	100%	55%	45	100%

The Times Mirror surveys since May, when the likelihood of a general election contest between George Bush and Michael Dukakis seemed clear, have traced the development of each candidate's coalition. As Bush moved from trailing Dukakis to the lead he assumed after the conventions, he accomplished several important strategic goals:

-He solidified his backing among the core Republican groups. His support increased from 83% of the Enterprisers in May to 96% in late October; and almost all of them (98%) reported voting for him. His support among Moralists increased from 82% to 93% in the pre-election period, and 96% reported voting for him.

-The Disaffecteds, who were evenly divided in their preferences in May, were a key part of the coalition. By the October survey 60% expressed support for Bush, and 68% said they voted for him in the post-election survey.

-Bush's early support among the Upbeats was relatively high (75%), and he increased it across the campaign to 83%.

-Bush made a concerted effort to court two groups of core Democrats with conservative positions on many issues. Beginning with the support of one in seven of the older New Dealers (14%), he eventually ended up with the votes of one in four (27%). And starting with the support of one in four of the God & Country Democrats (25%), he obtained the votes of almost four in ten (38%).

-The October survey showed a spurt in support for Bush among the most loyal group of Democrats - the Partisan Poor; and the post-election study showed that 19% voted for him.

-Bush received early support from about one in four of the members of two groups of independents who lean Democratic - the Followers (28%) and the Seculars (24%). The post-election survey shows he received the support of four in ten (39%) of the Followers who went to the polls. And after shifts in support across the campaign, 24% of the Seculars voted for him.

TREND IN SUPPORT FOR GEORGE BUSH

	Percent Who Preferred Bush			Percent Who Reported Voting For Bush
	<u>May 1988</u>	<u>Sept. 1988</u>	<u>Oct. 1988</u>	<u>Nov. 1988</u>
Enterprisers	83	95	96	98
Moralists	82	94	93	96
Upbeats	75	85	83	83
Disaffecteds	47	61	60	68
Followers	28	39	28	39
Seculars	24	17	33	24
60's Democrats	8	15	10	12
New Dealers	14	23	15	27
God & Country Democrats	25	20	25	38
Partisan Poor	8	9	18	19
TOTAL SAMPLE	40	50	50	55

The successes of the Bush campaign are mirrored in the failures of the Dukakis campaign. In some regards, the decline in his support was inevitable, as members of the core Republican groups, who preferred him in May, returned to support their party's nominee. Ultimately, his effort against George Bush was more successful than Walter Mondale's run against Ronald Reagan in 1984. But members of some of the core Democratic groups changed their opinions of him across the campaign, as did large numbers of Disaffecteds. And his coalition shrank in size.

-The most telling loses came among the New Dealers. In May, he was supported by eight in ten. But in November, barely six in ten (63%) voted for him.

-One group of Democrats - the God & Country Democrats - had reservations about him throughout the campaign. And in November only six in ten (62%) voted for him.

-The Seculars wavered in their support late in the campaign, but three out of four of those who went to the polls (76%) voted for him. This was also true of the Partisan Poor, one of the most loyal groups of Democrats.

-In May, the Disaffecteds were about equally divided in their preferences for Bush and Dukakis. But Bush was able to capture their support, and the post-election survey showed that only one in three members of this group who went to the polls (32%) voted for Dukakis.

Dukakis did not win the high level of support from core Democratic groups that Bush was able to earn from core Republicans.

-While nearly all members of the Enterpriser and Moralists reported voting for Bush, Dukakis' greatest support came from 60's Democrats (88%), 81% of the Partisan Poor, and 76% of the Seculars.

-At the end of the primaries, Dukakis had the support of one in seven members of the Enterprisers (13%) and the Moralists (14%). But by the start of the general election campaign, his support declined to less than one in twenty-five, where it stayed.

TREND IN SUPPORT FOR MICHAEL DUKAKIS

	Percent Who Preferred Dukakis			Percent Who Reported Voting For Dukakis
	May 1988	Sept. 1988	Oct. 1988	Nov. 1988
Enterprisers	13	3	2	2
Moralists	14	4	3	4
Upbeats	19	10	12	17
Disaffecteds	43	27	26	32
Followers	55	53	60	61
Seculars	72	77	61	76
60's Democrats	86	82	84	88
New Dealers	80	63	72	63
God & Country Democrats	63	70	62	62
Partisan Poor	85	85	74	81
TOTAL SAMPLE	53	44	42	45

The Valence of Candidate Support

Another way of looking at a candidate's vote is in terms of how much of it reflects positive support for the candidate compared to opposition to his opponent. For each candidate, a majority of his support was positive. But overall, the ratio of positive support to opposition was greater than 3 to 1 for Bush and less than 2 to 1 for Dukakis. For Bush, 39 percentage points of his vote reflected positive support for him and 12 percentage points was opposition to Dukakis. For the Democrat, on the other hand, 25 percentage points of Dukakis's vote reflected positive support for him and 16 percentage points was opposition to Bush. While this represented an improvement in this ratio from pre-election surveys, Dukakis's support never became as positive as Bush's.

TREND IN DIRECTION OF SUPPORT

<u>Direction</u>	<u>May 13-22</u>	<u>Sept. 9-14</u>	<u>Oct. 23-26</u>	<u>Nov. 9-10</u>
Bush	40%	50%	50%	53%
Pro-Bush	26	31	31	39
Anti-Dukakis	11	15	16	12
Undecided	3	4	3	2
Dukakis	53%	44%	42%	43%
Pro-Dukakis	23	21	23	25
Anti-Bush	26	19	15	16
Undecided	4	4	4	2

The strength of support for each candidate varied by typology group. And George Bush consistently received stronger support from voters than Dukakis did.

-Among Enterprisers, positive support for Bush outweighed opposition to Dukakis by 81% to 13%, and the equivalent data for Moralists was 76% to 16%.

-Among the Upbeats, the difference between positive support for Bush and opposition to Dukakis was 68% to 13%, and among the Disaffecteds it was 41% to 19%.

-The greatest differentiation between positive support for Dukakis and opposition to Bush is found among 60's Democrats (54% to 29%), the Partisan Poor (47% to 26%), New Deal Democrats (42% to 22%), and Followers (37% to 18%).

-Among God & Country Democrats, 37% of their support for the Democratic candidate was pro-Dukakis and 23% was anti-Bush.

-Among Seculars, only slightly more indicated positive support for Dukakis than opposition to Bush (39% to 31%).

DIRECTION OF 1988 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE, BY GROUP

DIRECTION OF VOTE	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/CTRY	PART POOR
GEORGE BUSH	53%	96%	94%	82%	64%	37%	23%	11%	25%	36%	19%
PRO-BUSH	39	81	76	68	41	15	15	8	14	24	12
ANTI-DUKAKIS	12	13	16	13	19	18	7	2	11	12	5
UNDESIGNATED	2	2	2	1	4	5	1	1	0	0	2
MICHAEL DUKAKIS	43	2	4	16	30	59	71	86	68	60	79
PRO-DUKAKIS	25	1	3	9	14	37	39	54	42	37	47
ANTI-BUSH	16	1	1	6	13	18	31	29	22	23	26
UNDESIGNATED	2	0	*	1	3	4	1	3	4	0	6
VOTED OTHER/ DIDN'T VOTE FOR PRESIDENT/REFUSED	4	2	2	1	6	4	6	3	7	4	2
SAMPLE SIZE	2022	310	254	243	246	109	197	233	165	91	174

Question 1: Did you happen to vote for Michael Dukakis or for George Bush for president?

Question 2: Would you say that your vote was more a vote for (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.1) or more against (THE OTHER CANDIDATE)?

The Demographic Basis of Candidate Support

The Bush coalition can also be analyzed in terms of its demographic composition in relation to Michael Dukakis's and to Ronald Reagan's in 1984. This analysis shows the following:

-The gender gap persists in men's and women's support for presidential candidates. While Bush received the support of a majority of both men (58%) and women (52%), his pluralities were 16 percentage points among men and only 4 among women.

-Black voters returned to their traditional support levels for the Democratic presidential candidate, as 91% said they voted for Dukakis.

-The Republicans continue to receive the votes of six in ten of those under 30 years of age. Bush received greater support among those 50 to 59 than Reagan (62% compared to 55%), but he did less well among those 60 and over (54% compared to 58%).

-Dukakis ran better in the East and the West than Mondale, but Republicans maintained a solid hold on the South and again did well in the Midwest.

-Bush generally did less well than Reagan among voters with higher levels of education, but he did run slightly ahead among those with less than high school education.

-While he won a majority of the votes of those with the highest income levels (\$40,000 a year or more), he ran behind Ronald Reagan in these groups.

-Bush's support was just as solid among Republicans as Reagan's was in 1984, but he did less well among self-described independents (55% compared to 70%) and Democrats (15% compared to 20%).

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF CANDIDATE SUPPORT

	1984 Vote	Bush Support	Dukakis Support	
	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Nov. 9-11</u>	<u>Nov. 9-11</u>	
All Voters	58%	55%	45	100%
<u>Sex</u>				
Male	62%	58%	42	100%
Female	55%	52%	48	100%
<u>Race</u>				
White	65%	59%	41	100%
Black	13%	9%	91	100%
<u>Age</u>				
Under 30	62%	59%	41	100%
30-39	58%	51%	49	100%
40-49	59%	52%	48	100%
50-59	55%	62%	38	100%
60 and over	58%	54%	46	100%
<u>Region</u>				
East	55%	50%	50	100%
Midwest	57%	55%	45	100%
South	59%	59%	41	100%
West	63%	54%	46	100%
<u>Education</u>				
College Graduate	60%	56%	44	100%
Some College	63%	55%	45	100%
High School Graduate	59%	56%	44	100%
Less than High School	49%	52%	48	100%
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$10,000	47%	42%	58	100%
\$10,000 - \$19,999	51%	53%	47	100%
\$20,000 - \$29,999	61%	56%	44	100%
\$30,000 - \$39,999	63%	57%	43	100%
\$40,000 - \$49,999	67%	55%	45	100%
\$50,000+	67%	59%	41	100%
<u>Party ID</u>				
Republican	96%	95%	5	100%
Independent	70%	55%	45	100%
Democrat	20%	15%	85	100%

Voter Volatility and Time of Decision

During the Times Mirror pre-election surveys, the strength of each candidate's support was relatively weak; and the size of the swing vote remained relatively high. As late as the third week in October there were still three in ten registered voters who could be classified as "swing voters" -- those who said there is some chance they might switch or who were still undecided about their preference. Those data suggested that there could be some late decision making by key segments of the electorate, and it was as likely to favor one candidate as the other.

PRE-ELECTION TREND IN PROPORTION OF SWING VOTERS BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

Swing Vote	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
September	32%	15%	18%	35%	44%	39%	36%	27%	37%	40%	30%
October	29%	13%	16%	26%	31%	47%	24%	30%	32%	38%	33%
Difference	-3	-2	-2	-9	-13	+8	-12	-3	-5	-2	+3

The prospect of late decisions about candidate preference by relatively large numbers of voters was confirmed in the post-election survey.

-One in five of the Followers (23%) and the God & Country Democrats (22%) who went to the polls decided on their choice between the last weekend and when they went into the voting booth. And one in three of members of these two groups decided within the last two weeks.

-Among the Democratic-oriented groups, one in four of the Seculars (25%), the New Dealers (25%), and the 60's Democrats (22%) decided within the last two weeks how they were going to vote.

-Among the Republican-oriented groups, one in four of the Disaffecteds (24%) and one in five of the Upbeats (20%) decided on their choice in the last two weeks.

-On the other hand, only one in six of the Enterprisers (18%) and the Moralists (17%) decided as late as after the vice presidential debate how they were going to vote.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VOTE CHOICE AND TIME OF DECISION

<u>TIME OF DECISION</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>
Last weekend to Election Day	11%	3%	3%	9%	13%	23%	14%	13%	12%	22%	12%
Last two weeks	10	6	8	11	11	12	11	9	13	15	8
After second Presidential debate	9	8	4	13	11	11	8	10	6	5	11
After V.P. debate	1	1	2	2	1	0	1	3	1	0	1
Since the Conventions	38	46	43	36	37	22	35	44	27	30	34
During the Primaries	20	22	25	20	16	24	20	13	18	16	21
Earlier	12	15	15	9	10	8	11	9	13	12	12
SAMPLE SIZE	1950	302	249	240	233	104	186	227	152	88	169

Question 7: When did you make up your mind definitely to vote for (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR)?

When we consider the voting intentions expressed in the September and October surveys compared to the respondents' reported vote, the switching which took place late in the campaign was equally divided among those who moved to Dukakis and those who moved to Bush. But almost half of those who switched to Dukakis did so in the last three or four days of the campaign, as opposed to three in ten of those who switched to Bush. And even among those who remained loyal to Dukakis throughout the campaign, twice as many firmed up their decision in the last two weeks of the campaign (20%) compared to those who consistently supported Bush (9%).

-One in ten of the voters made up their minds after the second presidential debate, including one in seven of those (14%) who switched to Bush.

-Virtually none of the voters reported making up their minds after the debate between the vice presidential candidates, however, this does not mean that voters didn't give the selection of running mates any weight in their decision. Those who were concerned about the selection of Dan Quayle reacted right after the Republican convention.

-There were equal proportions of voters who consistently supported either Bush or Dukakis who knew after the primaries and by the time the conventions were over whom they would support.

1988 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE RELATED TO PRIOR PREFERENCE

<u>Time of Decision</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>Consistently Democratic</u>	1988 Vote Turned Out to Be		
			<u>Switched to Dukakis</u>	<u>Switched to Bush</u>	<u>Consistently Republican</u>
Last weekend to Election Day	11%	11%	47%	30%	5%
Last two weeks	10	9	28	18	4
After second Presidential debate	9	8	8	14	9
After V.P. debate	1	1	1	1	2
Since the Conventions	38	39	14	22	41
During the Primaries	20	20	1	5	22
Earlier	12	11	1	3	14
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
SAMPLE SIZE	(1950)	(728)	(56)	(57)	(1014)

Time of vote decision was ascertained by the following question:

When did you make up your mind definitely to vote for (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR)?

The following definitions were used in this analysis:

A "Consistent Democratic" voter is one who indicated a preference for Dukakis in a pre-election interview and who reported voting for him.

A "Switched to Dukakis" voter is one who indicated a preference for Bush in a pre-election interview and who reported voting for Dukakis.

A "Switched to Bush" voter is one who indicated a preference for Dukakis in a pre-election interview and who reported voting for Bush.

A "Consistent Republican" voter is one who indicated a preference for Bush in a pre-election interview and who reported voting for him.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CANDIDATES' CAMPAIGNS

One central question in the post mortem assessments of the 1988 presidential election and George Bush's victory is how well each candidate's campaign was conducted. This can be measured in a number of ways, including its effectiveness in maintaining traditional support and attracting defections from the other party, in developing issues designed to appeal to voters, and in emphasizing specific policies.

In the 1988 presidential campaign, George Bush used his own ideology and political stands very effectively to solidify his core supporters and a depiction of Michael Dukakis's ideology to attract independents and defecting Democrats. He received more positive personal support than Dukakis as well. In his appeals to Democrats and independents, he selected a few themes which received continuous emphasis during his campaign.

For the Dukakis effort, on the other hand, a picture emerges of loyal Democrats casting votes for their party's nominee without developing strong attachments to him personally or to the issues which he espoused as his own. Particularly among those who decided to vote for him late in the campaign, there was more antipathy to George Bush and his campaign than warm feelings for Michael Dukakis. The selection of Dan Quayle was an important reason cited by members of Republican groups who defected to Dukakis, while virtually no Democratic defectors mentioned either of the vice presidential candidates.

In terms of effective campaign issues which were part of each candidate's strategy:

- Bush voters were much more likely to attach a good deal of importance to their candidate's conservatism, as well as Dukakis's liberalism. The Pledge of Allegiance and Massachusetts furlough program controversies were important to them. And for those who switched to Bush, the Pledge of Allegiance was most likely to be cited as an important reason for supporting him.

- The Dukakis voters were much more likely to attach a great deal of importance to allegations about Bush's role in the Iran-Contra affair and the Reagan administration's dealings with General Manuel Noriega, as well as to the vice presidential candidates.

As for policy issues, Dukakis supporters were most interested in areas of domestic policy such as national health insurance and child care than Bush voters. His supporters, on the other hand, attached more significance to defense.

TABLE 1. POLICY ISSUES MOST IMPORTANT TO VOTERS OF BUSH AND DUKAKIS

Issue	Bush	Dukakis
Defense	45	32
National Health Insurance	28	42
Child Care	25	38
Education	22	35
Environment	20	30
Foreign Policy	18	25
Other	15	20
Total	100	100

The Role of Partisanship and Personality

One way to assess the effectiveness of each candidate's campaign appeals is to look at the basis of his own support, in terms of partisanship, political stands, and personal appeal. Just prior to the election, George Bush's political stands were given much more importance than Michael Dukakis's. Supporters of George Bush were just as likely to mention the candidate's political stands as a reason for preferring him (42%) as his partisanship (40%). But supporters of Michael Dukakis were much more likely to mention party loyalty (53%) than his political stands (31%). For each candidate, his personality and personal ability was a factor for only about one in eight supporters, and the vice-presidential selections were barely cited at all.

MAJOR REASONS FOR PREFERRING GEORGE BUSH (BASED ON BUSH SUPPORTERS)

	Pre-Election	Post-Election
	<u>Nov. 3-6*</u>	<u>Nov. 9-10</u>
Party Loyalty/Preference	<u>40%</u>	<u>37%</u>
Pro-Republican	28	31
Anti-Democratic	12	6
Candidate's Political Stands	<u>42</u>	<u>40</u>
Pro-Bush	24	29
Anti-Dukakis	18	11
Personality/Personal Ability	<u>13</u>	<u>17</u>
Pro-Bush	8	14
Anti-Dukakis	5	3
VP Choice	**	<u>1</u>
Pro-Quayle		*
Anti-Bentsen		1
Undesignated	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	100%	100%

**MAJOR REASONS FOR PREFERRING MICHAEL DUKAKIS
(BASED ON DUKAKIS SUPPORTERS)**

	Pre-Election	Post-Election
	<u>Nov. 3-6*</u>	<u>Nov. 9-10</u>
Party Loyalty/Preference	<u>53%</u>	<u>49%</u>
Pro-Democratic	33	34
Anti-Republican	20	15
Candidate's Political Stands	<u>31</u>	<u>27</u>
Pro-Dukakis	17	20
Anti-Bush	14	7
Personality/Personal Ability	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
Pro-Dukakis	4	7
Anti-Bush	7	5
VP Choice	**	<u>8</u>
Pro-Bentsen		1
Anti-Quayle		7
Undesignated	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
	100%	100%

* Conus Trend

** Less than 0.5%

Data from the post-election study show that those who eventually voted for each candidate attached the same significance to these factors. But those who defected to each candidate were most likely to give political stands as the reason. While virtually no members of Democratic-oriented groups who defected to Bush cited the vice-presidential candidates as a reason, one in nine Republican defectors to Dukakis (11%) cited Bush's selection of Dan Quayle as the main reason.

Among Bush voters, equal proportions cited his political stands (40%) and their party loyalty (37%) as the basis for their support, while Dukakis voters were almost twice as likely to cite party loyalty (49%) as his political stands (27%) as the basis of their support for him.

Among the Republican-oriented groups, party loyalty was most often cited by the Enterprisers as a basis for voting for George Bush (49%), while one-third (32%) cited his political stands. This ratio was reversed for the Disaffecteds, as 32% gave party loyalty as the major reason and 46% cited his

political stands. The Moralists and Upbeats were each equally like to cite one of these two reasons as the basis of their votes for Bush.

The members of the Democratic-oriented groups were the least likely, of course, to cite party loyalty or preference as their reason for voting for George Bush. More than four in ten (42%) gave his stands on the issues as the reason, while one in four (28%) cited his personal ability. There were virtually no references to either vice-presidential choice as reason for defection.

**MAJOR REASONS FOR PREFERRING GEORGE BUSH
BASED ON BUSH SUPPORTERS**

<u>MAJOR REASONS</u>	<u>BUSH VOTERS</u>	<u>ENTER-PRISERS</u>	<u>MORA-LISTS</u>	<u>UP-BEATS</u>	<u>DISAFF-ECTEDS</u>	<u>DEMOCRATIC GROUPS</u>
PARTY LOYALTY	37%	49%	39%	39%	32%	25%
PRO-REPUBLICAN	31	44	34	34	26	17
ANTI-DEMOCRAT	6	5	5	5	6	8
ISSUES/IDEOLOGY	40	32	43	38	46	42
PRO-BUSH	29	26	33	31	27	25
ANTI-DUKAKIS	11	6	10	7	19	17
PERSONALITY/ PERSONAL ABILITY	17	15	14	14	13	28
PRO-BUSH	14	12	12	13	12	20
ANTI-DUKAKIS	3	3	2	1	1	8
VP CHOICE	1	1	0	2	2	1
PRO-QUAYLE	*	*	0	0	0	*
ANTI-BENTSEN	1	1	0	2	2	1
SAMPLE SIZE	1120	295	239	200	160	226

These categories were formed by combining responses to the following questions:

Question 2: Would you say that your vote was more a vote for (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.1) or more a vote against (THE OTHER TICKET)?

Question 3: Was your choice more of a vote for (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.1) personally or more of a vote for the (Republican/Democratic) party? **CONTINUED...**

Question 4: Did you support (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.1) more because of his personal characteristics and abilities or more because of what he stands for politically?

Question 5: Was your choice more of a vote against (CANDIDATE OPPOSED IN Q.1) personally, more of a vote against his running mate, or more of a vote against the (Republican/Democratic) party?

Question 6: Did you oppose (CANDIDATE OPPOSED IN Q.1) more because of his personal characteristics and abilities or more because of what he stands for politically?

A majority of the members of every Democratic-oriented group gave party loyalty as the main reason they supported Michael Dukakis, while only one in four or five cited his political stands as a basis. And one in fourteen (8%) gave George Bush's selection of Dan Quayle as their main reason.

-A total of 59% of New Dealers, 56% of God & Country Democrats, 53% of Seculars and the Partisan Poor, and 51% of the 60's Democrats gave party loyalty as the main reason for voting for Dukakis.

-One in ten of the God & Country Democrats (10%) and the Seculars (12%) gave the Quayle choice as their reason for voting for Dukakis.

Dukakis's stand on the issues was given by almost half of the members of Republican-oriented groups who voted for Dukakis as the main reason they did. And one in ten (11%) gave Bush's selection of Dan Quayle for vice president as the reason.

**MAJOR REASONS FOR PREFERRING DUKAKIS
(BASED ON DUKAKIS SUPPORTERS)**

<u>MAJOR REASONS</u>	<u>DUKAKIS VOTERS</u>	<u>60'S DEMS</u>	<u>NEW DEAL</u>	<u>GOD/ CTRY</u>	<u>PART POOR</u>	<u>SEC- ULARS</u>	<u>FOLL- OWERS</u>	<u>ALL REPUBLICAN GROUPS</u>
PARTY LOYALTY	49%	51%	59%	56%	53%	53%	56%	21%
PRO-DEMOCRAT	34	38	42	39	36	32	36	13
ANTI-REPUBLICAN	15	13	17	17	17	21	20	8
ISSUES/IDEOLOGY	27	24	21	22	25	26	29	45
PRO-DUKAKIS	20	16	17	14	20	20	26	33
ANTI-BUSH	7	8	4	8	5	6	3	12
PERSONALITY/ PERSONAL ABILITY	12	13	12	9	13	6	8	18
PRO-DUKAKIS	7	7	5	6	8	2	6	10
ANTI-BUSH	5	6	7	3	5	4	2	8
VP CHOICE	8	8	3	10	6	12	5	11
PRO-BENTSEN	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	*
ANTI-QUAYLE	7	7	2	10	5	11	5	11
SAMPLE SIZE	830	198	110	56	133	141	62	130

These categories were formed by combining responses to the following questions:

Question 2: Would you say that your vote was more a vote for (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.1) or more a vote against (THE OTHER TICKET)?

Question 3: Was your choice more of a vote for (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.1) personally or more of a vote for the (Republican/Democratic) party?

Question 4: Did you support (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.1) more because of his personal characteristics and abilities or more because of what he stands for politically?

Question 5: Was your choice more of a vote against (CANDIDATE OPPOSED IN Q.1) personally, more of a vote against his running mate, or more of a vote against the (Republican/Democratic) party?

Question 6: Did you oppose (CANDIDATE OPPOSED IN Q.1) more because of his personal characteristics and abilities or more because of what he stands for politically?

The Role of Campaign Issues in Vote Choice

The voters were asked about the importance of 10 campaign issues in their choice of candidates, and important differences emerged. Four of the issues were of relatively great importance to Bush voters but not to Dukakis voters, and an equal number of issues were of significance to Dukakis voters but not to Bush voters. And neither candidate's commercials were given much importance by the voters.

At the time of the Democratic convention, Michael Dukakis declared that the campaign would be about competence and not ideology. But Bush began a scathing attack on Dukakis's liberalism as soon as he was nominated. And the responses to this question show that ideology was an important issue for Bush voters - both their candidate's ideology, as well as his opponents'. Half of the Bush voters (50%) said Dukakis's liberalism was a "very important" reason in their deciding how to vote, and so was Bush's conservatism (47%). Only half as many of the Dukakis voters indicated ideology was very important to them (23% said his liberalism was and 28% said Bush's conservatism was).

-Michael Dukakis's liberalism was "very important" to 61% of the Enterprisers and 59% of the Moralists who voted for Bush. But it had this same significance for only one-third of the members of the Democratic-oriented groups who voted for him.

-George Bush's conservatism was "very important" to a majority of Enterprisers (59%) and Moralists (58%) who voted for him. And it was more important to the 60's Democrats who voted for Dukakis, than their choice's liberalism (36% compared to 25%).

Both the Pledge of Allegiance controversy and the Massachusetts's furlough program were important issues to Bush voters but carried little weight with Dukakis voters.

-The Pledge of Allegiance controversy was "very important" to 57% of the Moralists and 46% of the Disaffecteds who voted for Bush. It was "very important" to only 20% of the Dukakis voters.

-The Massachusetts's prison furlough program was "very important" to 37% of the Bush voters, including 46% of the Moralists who voted for him. But this issue only had this much significance for 14% of the Dukakis voters.

The Reagan administration's dealings with General Noriega and George Bush's role in the Iran-Contra affair were important issues to Dukakis voters but not to Bush voters.

-The dealings with General Noriega were "very important" to 64% of the Partisan Poor and more than half of the members of the other Democratic-oriented groups. But they carried this much weight with only 7% of the Enterprisers and 16% of the Upbeats.

-Allegations about George Bush's role in the Iran-Contra affair were "very important" to half of the members of the Democratic-oriented groups who voted for Dukakis. But it was "very important" to only 13% of the Moralists and less than one in ten of the Upbeats (9%) and Enterprisers (4%)

The selection of each of the vice-presidential candidates was important to large numbers of Dukakis voters. The Quayle selection was "very important" to 49% of them, and the Bentsen selection had the same significance for 43%. But these choices had the same level of importance to no more than one in six Bush voters (17% and 15% respectively).

-The selection of Dan Quayle was "very important" to two-thirds of the Seculars (67%) who voted for Dukakis.

-Lloyd Bentsen's selection carried equivalent importance for two-thirds of the God & Country Democrats (67%) who voted for Dukakis and half of the New Dealers (51%).

These issues were used in a multivariate analysis to predict voting for Bush and for Dukakis. Among those who voted for Bush, the most important issues were the prison furlough program and Dukakis's liberalism. At the same time, attaching little importance to the Iran-Contra allegations or to the

dealings with Noriega were also significant. Among Dukakis voters, the most important issues were the allegations about Bush's involvement in Iran-Contra, the Reagan administration's dealings with General Noriega, and the selection of Dan Quayle, in that order. Attaching little importance to the prison furlough program was also significant.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CAMPAIGN ISSUES TO VOTE CHOICE

Percent Indicating "Very Important" Among

<u>Campaign Issue</u>	<u>Bush Voters</u>	<u>Dukakis Voters</u>
Michael Dukakis's liberalism	50%	23%
George Bush's conservatism	47%	28%
The Pledge of Allegiance controversy	39%	20%
The Massachusetts's prison furlough program controversy	37%	14%
The Reagan Administration's dealings with General Noriega	14%	56%
Allegation's about George Bush's role in the Iran-Contra affair	8%	51%
The selection of Dan Quayle as a vice-presidential candidate	17%	49%
The selection of Lloyd Bentsen as a vice-presidential candidate	15%	43%
Michael Dukakis's commercials	8%	16%
George Bush's commercials	9%	23%

Question 9: I am going to read you a list of reasons some people have given as to why they voted for one candidate over the other. How important was each of the following reasons to you in deciding who you would vote for? Was it very important, somewhat important, or not important?

THE IMPORTANCE OF CAMPAIGN ISSUES TO BUSH VOTERS, BY GROUP

Percent Indicating "Very Important" Among

<u>CAMPAIGN ISSUES</u>	<u>BUSH VOTERS</u>	<u>ENTER-PRISERS</u>	<u>MORA-LISTS</u>	<u>UP-BEATS</u>	<u>DISAFF-ECTEDS</u>	<u>SOPHIS-TICATED DEMS</u>	<u>OTHER DEMS</u>
Dukakis's liberalism	50%	61%	59%	40%	52%	42%	41%
Bush's conservatism	47%	59%	58%	38%	47%	28%	39%
Pledge of Allegiance controversy	39%	28%	57%	31%	46%	13%	52%
Massachusetts's prison furlough controversy	37%	30%	46%	34%	41%	24%	40%
Selection of Quayle	17%	9%	22%	17%	17%	16%	20%
Selection of Bentsen	15%	12%	13%	17%	14%	16%	22%
Reagan Administration dealings with Noriega	14%	7%	20%	11%	18%	11%	22%
Bush's commercials	9%	6%	11%	5%	5%	6%	22%
Dukakis's commercials	8%	8%	9%	7%	7%	9%	10%
Bush's role in Iran-Contra	7%	3%	11%	6%	7%	6%	8%

* The designation of "Sophisticated Democrats" includes the Seculars and the 60's Democrats. The "Other Democrats" include the New Dealers, God & Country Democrats, and the Partisan Poor.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CAMPAIGN ISSUES TO DUKAKIS VOTERS, BY GROUP

Percent Indicating "Very Important" Among

<u>CAMPAIGN ISSUES</u>	<u>DUKAKIS VOTERS</u>	<u>PART POOR</u>	<u>GOD/ CNTRY</u>	<u>NEW DLRS</u>	<u>60'S DEMS</u>	<u>SECU LARS</u>	<u>FOL- LOWRS</u>	<u>DISAFF- ECTEDS</u>	<u>OTHER REPS</u>
Reagan Administration dealings with Noriega	55%	64%	54%	56%	58%	55%	50%	55%	35%
Bush's role in Iran-Contra	51%	52%	56%	54%	55%	53%	47%	40%	28%
Selection of Quayle	49%	40%	51%	45%	53%	67%	33%	44%	58%
Selection of Bentsen	43%	44%	67%	51%	44%	29%	28%	37%	30%
Bush's conservatism	28%	27%	28%	22%	36%	37%	21%	15%	17%
Dukakis's liberalism	23%	30%	31%	18%	25%	23%	15%	18%	7%
Bush's Commercials	23%	21%	25%	24%	25%	22%	18%	22%	28%
Pledge of Allegiance controversy	20%	24%	36%	26%	15%	8%	25%	19%	15%
Massachusetts's prison furlough controversy	14%	15%	24%	12%	11%	8%	20%	14%	16%
Dukakis's commercials	16%	18%	35%	18%	13%	3%	12%	17%	16%

* The designation "Other Republicans" includes Enterprisers, Moralists, and Upbeats.

Looking at the significance of important campaign issues and vote switching, those who eventually turn to Dukakis were more concerned than others about the selection of Dan Quayle. Those who switched to Bush were more concerned than others about the Pledge of Allegiance controversy and were more likely to attach importance to Bush's commercials.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VOTE CHOICE AND IMPORTANT CAMPAIGN ISSUES

<u>Campaign Factor</u>	<u>Vote Related to Prior Preference</u>				
	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>Consistently Democratic</u>	<u>Switched to Dukakis</u>	<u>Switched to Bush</u>	<u>Consistently Republican</u>
Dukakis's Liberalism	37%	24%	9%	31%	52%
Bush's Conservatism	38%	29%	22%	32%	49%
Reagan Admin. Dealings with Noriega	33%	58%	36%	20%	14%
Selection of V.P. Quayle	31%	51%	41%	29%	16%
Selection of V.P. Bentsen	28%	44%	30%	22%	15%
Pledge of Allegiance	31%	20%	22%	40%	39%
Mass. Prison Furlough	27%	14%	15%	24%	38%
Bush's Role in Iran-Contra	27%	53%	33%	10%	7%
Dukakis's Commercials	12%	16%	14%	8%	8%
Bush's Commercials	15%	24%	17%	24%	8%

*Entry is the proportion who said the factor was "Very Important" in deciding who to vote for.

CONTINUED...

Question 9: I am going to read you a list of reasons some people have given as to why they voted for one candidate over the other. How important was each of the following reasons to you in deciding who you would vote for? Was it very important, somewhat important, or not important?

A "Consistent Democratic" voter is one who indicated a preference for Dukakis in a pre-election interview and who reported voting for him.

A "Switched to Dukakis" voter is one who indicated a preference for Bush in a pre-election interview and who reported voting for Dukakis.

A "Switched to Bush" voter is one who indicated a preference for Dukakis in a pre-election interview and who reported voting for Bush.

A "Consistent Republican" voter is one who indicated a preference for Bush in a pre-election interview and who reported voting for him.

The Role of Policy Issues

Voters were also asked about the importance of 11 public policy areas in deciding how to vote. In many of these of these areas, the candidates had made different proposals, while in others they were in general agreement about what should be done but not about how to go about it.

In three of these issue areas - strengthening our country's defenses, creating a national health insurance plan, and increasing the availability of child care - there were significant differences in the importance which Bush and Dukakis voters attached to them.

- Three out of four Enterprisers (74%) and Moralists (79%) said strengthening our national defenses was "very important," as did two-thirds of the Upbeats (66%) and Disaffecteds (63%). Only among the New Dealers (60%) and the God & Country Democrats (60%) was this policy as important.

- Two-thirds of the God & Country Democrats (69%) and the Partisan Poor (67%) said the creation of a national health insurance plan was a "very important" issue for them, while only one in six Enterprisers (17%) felt this way.

- Increasing the availability of child care was important to six in ten God & Country Democrats (64%) and members of the Partisan Poor (60%). But only 16% of the Enterprisers attached this much significance to this policy.

In four policy areas there were smaller differences - improving the protection of the environment, improving the quality of public education, reducing the federal budget deficit, and the death penalty.

- Improving the protection of the environment was given the most importance by members of the God & Country Democrats (79%), the 60's Democrats (78%), and the New Dealers (75%). But only 45% of the Enterprisers said it was a "very important" issue.

- A majority in all groups said improving the quality of education in the public schools was "very important," but members of the God & Country Democrats (89%), the Partisan Poor (86%), and the New Dealers (84%) were the most likely to feel this way.

-Reducing the federal budget deficit was of greatest significance to the New Dealers (82% said it was "very important") and least to the Upbeats and Enterprisers (63% and 66% felt this way, respectively).

-The death penalty was of particular importance to the God & Country Democrats, the Moralists, and the Disaffecteds (63%, 62% and 60%, respectively said it was "very important"). But this was of little importance to the Seculars or the 60's Democrats, as only one-quarter (24% and 30%, respectively) felt this way.

And on four issues there were essentially no differences in stated importance for vote choice - reducing crime, abortion, reducing the supply of drugs that comes in to the United States, and negotiating further arms reductions with the Soviet Union.

-Negotiating further arms reductions with the Soviet Union was important to six in ten of each candidate's voters, and both candidate's advocated their interest in doing so. There were no significant differences in group attitudes on this policy.

-Reducing crime was a "very important" issue for approximately eight in ten of each candidate's voters. But it was most significant for the God & Country Democrats (94%) and least significant for the Seculars (63%) and the Followers (69%).

-Abortion was a "very important" issue for almost half of each candidate's voters, but it had this significance for 64% of the Moralists.

-Reducing the supply of drugs that comes into the United States was a "very important" issue for about eight in ten voters. But it was particularly significant for members of the God & Country Democrats (96%), Disaffecteds (92%), New Dealers (91%), and the Partisan Poor (90%). It carried relatively little significance for the Seculars, as 68% said it was "very important."

These policy issues were used in a multivariate analysis to predict voting for George Bush and Michael Dukakis. For Bush voters, the most important issue was strengthening our country's defense. Other important issues included two to which Bush voters attached little importance - creating a national health insurance plan and increasing child care. For Dukakis voters, the important policy issues were creating a national health plan and increasing the availability of child care.

THE IMPORTANCE OF POLICY ISSUES FOR VOTE CHOICE

Percent Indicating "Very Important" Among

<u>Policy Issue</u>	<u>Bush Voters</u>	<u>Dukakis Voters</u>
Strengthening our country's defense	72%	37%
Creating a national health plan	32%	62%
Increasing the availability of child care	28%	55%
Improving the quality of public education	73%	84%
Reducing the federal budget deficit	69%	78%
Improving protection of the environment	60%	78%
The death penalty	57%	38%
Reducing crime	81%	75%
Reducing the supply of drugs that comes into the U.S.	82%	86%
Negotiating further arms reductions with the Soviet Union	61%	60%
Abortion	48%	43%

Question 10: I am going to read you a list of important issues. As I read each one, please tell me how important that issue was to you in deciding who to vote for. Was it very important, somewhat important, or not important?

Overall, the most important policy issues for Bush voters in determining their choice were reducing the supply of drugs coming into the United States, reducing crime, improving public education, strengthening our country's defenses, and reducing the federal budget deficit.

-For Enterprisers, crime (77%), defense (76%) and drugs (74%) were seen as "very important."

-Moralists were more likely than the typical Bush voter to see policy issues as important, especially drugs, crime, education and defense.

-Upbeats attached the same level of importance to policy issues as the typical Bush voter.

-Disaffecteds were more likely than other Bush voters to see drugs (91%) and crime (89%) as important policy issues.

-Among the Seculars and 60's Democrats who voted for Bush, defense was a relatively unimportant issue, but drugs and crime were seen as important.

-Among the New Dealers, God & Country Democrats and Partisan Poor who voted for Bush, drugs, crime and education were important.

THE IMPORTANCE OF POLICY ISSUES TO BUSH VOTERS, BY GROUP

Percent Indicating "Very Important" Among

<u>POLICY ISSUES</u>	<u>BUSH VOTERS</u>	<u>ENTER- PRISERS</u>	<u>MORA- LISTS</u>	<u>UP- BEATS</u>	<u>DISAFF- ECTEDS</u>	<u>SOPHIS- TICATED DEMS</u>	<u>OTHER DEMS</u>
Reducing the supply of drugs that comes into the U.S.	82%	74%	86%	85%	91%	75%	86%
Reducing crime	81%	77%	89%	77%	89%	79%	82%
Improving the quality of public education	73%	62%	80%	72%	77%	69%	80%
Strengthening our country's defenses	72%	76%	80%	72%	74%	49%	65%
Reducing the federal budget deficit	69%	66%	73%	63%	78%	70%	70%
Negotiating further arms reductions with the Soviet Union	61%	56%	62%	67%	62%	59%	69%
Improving protection of the environment	60%	45%	67%	56%	69%	52%	75%
The death penalty	57%	51%	65%	56%	64%	41%	57%
Abortion	48%	40%	66%	44%	51%	22%	50%
Creating a national health plan	32%	18%	34%	26%	46%	26%	46%
Increasing the availability of child care	28%	17%	28%	28%	34%	24%	42%

The most important policy issues among Dukakis voters were drugs, education, the deficit, the environment and crime.

-The Partisan Poor who voted for Dukakis attached greatest importance to drugs, education and crime.

-God & Country Democrats who supported Dukakis were most concerned about drugs (97% said it was "very important").

-For New Dealers, the most important policy issues were drugs and crime.

-Among 60's Democrats and Seculars, policy issues were generally of less importance than for the typical Dukakis voters.

-For Disaffecteds who voted for Dukakis, drugs were the policy area of greatest importance. This was also true for members of the other Republican-oriented groups who voted for Dukakis, but to a lesser degree.

THE IMPORTANCE OF POLICY ISSUES TO DUKAKIS VOTERS, BY GROUP

Percent Indicating "Very Important" Among

<u>POLICY ISSUES</u>	<u>DUKAKIS VOTERS</u>	<u>PART POOR</u>	<u>GOD/ CNTRY</u>	<u>NEW DLRS</u>	<u>60'S DEMS</u>	<u>SECU LARS</u>	<u>FOL- LOWRS</u>	<u>DISAFF- ECTEDS</u>	<u>OTHER REPS</u>
Reducing the supply of drugs that comes into the U.S.	86%	92%	97%	95%	78%	65%	84%	95%	86%
Improving the quality of public education	84%	88%	93%	86%	80%	80%	77%	86%	78%
Reducing the federal budget deficit	78%	77%	80%	85%	77%	80%	76%	76%	66%
Improving protection of the environment	78%	76%	78%	76%	81%	77%	76%	79%	64%
Reducing crime	75%	82%	95%	89%	63%	57%	73%	80%	76%
Creating a national health insurance plan	62%	72%	76%	70%	59%	47%	64%	60%	40%
Negotiating further arms reductions	60%	58%	59%	60%	64%	64%	51%	60%	53%
Increasing the availability of child care	55%	66%	70%	52%	52%	46%	54%	52%	47%
Abortion	43%	37%	47%	38%	44%	52%	45%	44%	38%
The death penalty	38%	43%	63%	46%	27%	17%	40%	50%	32%
Strengthening our country's defenses	37%	42%	61%	52%	20%	19%	33%	43%	38%

EVALUATIONS OF THE CAMPAIGN

Respondents in the post-election survey were asked a variety of questions which solicited their evaluations of the campaign process, of the conduct of several actors in it, and of media coverage and the debates. Their answers indicate that they have some reservations about the process they have just been through.

-While a clear majority of American voters (62%) were satisfied with their choice of presidential candidates, almost four in ten (37%) were not.

-Two-thirds (68%) said they would not have cast a vote of "no confidence" in the presidential candidates running for office, if they had been given a chance to.

-Nevertheless, by a four to one margin (80% to 18%) voters oppose the repeal of the Twenty-second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would have permitted Ronald Reagan to seek a third term if he wanted. Opposition to a repeal increased by 16 percentage points since it was last recorded in a Gallup Poll conducted in September 1986 (64% to 80%).

-A majority (59%) also felt that they learned enough about the candidates and the issues during the campaign to make an informed choice between Bush and Dukakis, but 39% found it difficult to choose because they did not learn enough from the campaign.

-The voters were evenly divided in how helpful they thought the presidential debates were in deciding which candidate to vote for.

-When asked to assign letter grades to various participants in the process for their conduct, voters gave themselves the highest grades. George Bush was graded more highly than Michael Dukakis, and the Republican party was graded more highly than the Democratic party. Pollsters were graded about as highly as the Republican party and more highly than the Democratic party and Michael Dukakis. The press received lower assessments, and one in six respondents gave them a grade of "Fail." Campaign consultants did not receive as many higher grades as the press, but they did not receive as many lower grades either.

-A majority of voters (57%) thought there was a reasonable amount of coverage of the presidential campaign in their local paper. About the same proportion said they would increase the coverage in 1992 (18%) as said they would decrease it (22%).

-Although the same proportion (56%) said they would devote the same amount of space to state and local campaigns if they were editor, one-third (35%) said they would increase it and only 8% said they would decrease it.

Satisfaction with the Choice of Presidential Candidates

Six in ten of the voters (62%) were satisfied with the choice of presidential candidates in 1988, and 26% were "very satisfied." But Bush supporters were much more likely to be satisfied than Dukakis supporters, by 83% compared 36%. Three out of four Dukakis supporters (76%) who described themselves as "anti-Bush" were dissatisfied, compared to only one-third (35%) of the Bush supporters who described themselves as "anti-Dukakis."

Republicans were much more likely to be satisfied than Democrats, and there were significant differences by group.

-Almost nine in ten of the Enterprisers (87%) and the Moralists (88%) were satisfied, as were eight in ten of the Upbeats (83%) and six in ten of the Disaffecteds (62%).

-However, majorities of all the Democratic-oriented groups were dissatisfied, including at least one-quarter of every group who were "very dissatisfied." In particular, Seculars showed the highest level of dissatisfaction.

SATISFACTION WITH THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, BY GROUP

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
SATISFACTION WITH CANDIDATES:											
VERY SATISFIED	26%	42%	56%	41%	23%	14%	5%	8%	15%	17%	10%
SOMEWHAT SATISFIED	36	45	32	42	39	30	27	37	34	27	38
NOT VERY SATISFIED	20	10	8	13	21	26	36	31	25	22	26
NOT AT ALL SATISFIED	17	3	3	3	17	29	31	24	25	32	25
DON'T KNOW	1	*	1	1	*	1	1	0	1	2	1
SAMPLE SIZE	2022	310	254	243	246	109	197	233	165	91	174

Question 11: Now that the campaign is over, how satisfied were you with the choice of presidential candidates? Would you say that you were very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied?

Bush voters were much more likely than Dukakis voters to be satisfied with the choice of presidential candidates in the 1988 campaign. This was especially so for those who cast a ballot "for" Bush, compared to those who voted "for" Dukakis.

SATISFACTION WITH THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, BY VOTE CHOICE

<u>Satisfaction With Candidates</u>	Bush Voters			Dukakis Voters		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Pro-Bush</u>	<u>Anti-Dukakis</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Pro-Dukakis</u>	<u>Anti-Bush</u>
Very satisfied	44%	50%	25%	5%	6%	3%
Somewhat satisfied	40	40	40	31	37	20
Not very satisfied	12	8	23	31	27	37
Not at all satisfied	4	1	12	32	29	39
Don't know	1	1	1	1	1	1
SAMPLE SIZE	1120	847	237	830	480	316

Question 11: Now that the campaign is over, how satisfied were you with the choice of presidential candidates? Would you say that you were very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied?

The voters were asked whether they would have cast a vote of "no confidence" for the presidential candidates if they had been given a chance to, and two-thirds (68%) said it was "not at all likely" they would have. Equal proportions (15% each) said it was "very likely" they would have and "somewhat likely" they would have.

-Enterprisers were the most likely to reject this concept (88% said it was "not at all likely"), closely followed by Moralists (77%) and Upbeats (75%).

-God & Country Democrats (54%), Disaffecteds (59%), Followers (59%) and the Partisan Poor (60%) were the least likely to give this response.

**LIKELIHOOD OF CASTING A VOTE OF "NO CONFIDENCE"
FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, BY GROUP**

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
NO CONFIDENCE VOTE											
VERY LIKELY	15%	4%	9%	8%	20%	21%	19%	21%	18%	24%	16%
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	15	7	13	17	20	19	15	15	10	17	23
NOT AT ALL LIKELY	68	88	77	75	59	59	65	64	68	54	60
DON'T KNOW	2	1	1	*	1	1	1	0	4	5	1
SAMPLE SIZE	2022	310	254	243	246	109	197	233	165	91	174

Question 8: Suppose there had been a place on the ballot where you could have refused to vote for any of the candidates - a vote of "no confidence" in the presidential candidates running for office. How likely is it that you would have voted that way? Very likely, somewhat likely, or not at all likely?

Voters who indicated they were casting a ballot in opposition to one candidate rather than support of another were more likely to say they would have cast a vote of "no confidence." But those who voted "for" Dukakis were also more likely to feel this way than those who voted "for" Bush.

**LIKELIHOOD OF CASTING A VOTE OF "NO CONFIDENCE" FOR
THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, BY VOTE CHOICE**

<u>No Confidence Vote</u>	Bush Voters			Dukakis Voters		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Pro- Bush</u>	<u>Anti- Dukakis</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Pro- Dukakis</u>	<u>Anti- Bush</u>
Very likely	9%	4%	23%	20%	14%	30%
Somewhat likely	14	12	21	17	16	19
Not at all likely	76	83	55	62	68	51
Don't know	1	1	2	1	2	1
SAMPLE SIZE	1120	847	237	830	480	316

Question 8: Suppose there had been a place on the ballot where you could have refused to vote for any of the candidates - a vote of "no confidence" in the presidential candidates running for office. How likely is it that you would have voted that way? Very likely, somewhat likely, or not at all likely?

The Twenty-second Amendment limits Presidents to two terms of four years each. And were it not in effect, Ronald Reagan, one of the most personally popular individuals to serve as president, could have decided to seek another term.

By a four-to-one majority (80% to 18%), however, voters would oppose the repeal of this amendment so presidents could run for more than two terms. Opposition to repeal increased from the 64% recorded in a Gallup Poll conducted in September 1986, when one-third (33%) favored repeal.

Upbeats (28%) and Enterprisers (24%) were the most likely to favor repeal, while 60's Democrats (90%) were most likely to oppose it.

-Men, who have consistently evaluated Ronald Reagan more positively than women, were more likely to favor repeal than women, by a 21% to 14% margin.

-Voters under 30 years of age were almost twice as likely to favor repeal as those 60 and over, by a 27% to 15% margin.

-Republicans were twice as likely to favor repeal as Democrats, by a 25% to 11% margin. And even one-quarter of the Bush voters favor repeal (24%) compared to one-tenth of the Dukakis voters.

SUPPORT OR OPPOSITION TO REPEAL OF 22ND AMENDMENT, BY GROUP

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
<u>ATTITUDE TOWARD THE 22ND AMENDMENT</u>											
FAVOR REPEAL	18%	24%	18%	28%	20%	14%	14%	9%	14%	13%	14%
OPPOSE REPEAL	80	74	79	71	79	83	86	90	83	85	82
DON'T KNOW	2	2	3	1	1	3	*	1	3	2	4
SAMPLE SIZE	2022	310	254	243	246	109	197	233	165	91	174

Question 22: As you may know, the 22nd Amendment to the Constitution limits Presidents to two terms of four years each. Would you like to see this Amendment repealed so that Presidents could run for more than two terms, or not?

The Campaign as a Learning Experience

A clear majority of voters (59%) felt they had learned enough from the campaign about the candidates and the issues to make an informed choice between George Bush and Michael Dukakis. But four in ten (39%) did not feel this way. Again it was the Republicans and those who voted for George Bush who were most likely to feel they benefited from the campaign, while it is the Democrats and those who voted for Dukakis who are least likely.

-Those who voted for George Bush were more than twice as likely to say they learned enough from the campaign to make an informed choice as to say they did not (68% compared to 30%). However, Dukakis voters were evenly divided in this assessment of the value of the campaign (49% feeling each way).

-Enterprisers and Moralists were the most likely to say they learned from the campaign (78% and 71% respectively), and 61% of the Upbeats felt this way. The Disaffecteds were evenly divided (50% saying they learned enough compared to 48% saying they did not).

-Six in ten of the 60's Democrats (61%) and the New Dealers (59%) said they learned enough, as did a bare majority of the Seculars (54%) and the Followers (50%).

-The Partisan Poor were evenly divided on the value of the campaign (47% learned and 50% did not), while a majority of the God & Country Democrats (56%) said they did not learn enough.

LEVEL OF LEARNING FROM THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, BY GROUP

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP-BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
LEVEL OF LEARNING											
LEARNED ENOUGH TO MAKE AN INFORMED CHOICE	59%	78%	71%	61%	50%	50%	54%	61%	59%	44%	47%
DID NOT LEARN ENOUGH FROM THE CAMPAIGN	39	19	27	37	48	44	43	38	40	56	50
DON'T KNOW	2	3	2	2	2	6	3	1	1	0	3
SAMPLE SIZE	2022	310	254	243	246	109	197	233	165	91	174

Question 12: During this campaign, did you feel you learned enough about the candidates and the issues to make an informed choice between Bush and Dukakis, or did you find it difficult to choose because you felt you did not learn enough from the campaign?

The Presidential Debates as an Aid in Vote Choice

The voters were evenly divided as to how helpful the presidential debates were in deciding which candidate to vote for. One in eight (13%) found them "very helpful," and one in three (35%) found them "somewhat helpful." But one-quarter each said they were "not too helpful" (24%) or "not

helpful at all" (25%). There were few differences by group in these evaluations, although the Upbeats were the most likely to find the debates helpful (62% either "very helpful" or "somewhat helpful").

**HELPFULNESS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES IN DECIDING VOTE,
BY GROUP**

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES WERE:											
VERY HELPFUL	13%	12%	9%	19%	11%	11%	10%	12%	11%	14%	17%
SOMEWHAT HELPFUL	35	33	39	43	33	30	32	30	33	41	36
NOT TOO HELPFUL	24	25	23	18	25	22	26	32	25	17	25
NOT AT ALL HELPFUL	25	26	25	18	28	33	29	23	24	26	21
DIDN'T WATCH THE DEBATES	3	4	4	2	3	4	3	2	5	2	1
DON'T KNOW	*	*	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0
SAMPLE SIZE	2022	310	254	243	246	109	197	233	165	91	174

Question 13: How helpful were the presidential debates to you in deciding which candidate to vote for? Would you say they were very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful?

Grading Participants in the Campaign

The voters were asked to grade each of eight participants for the way they conducted themselves during the campaign on a scale from "A" to "D," allowing for a grade of "Fail." They assigned the highest grades to themselves and to George Bush, closely followed by the Republican Party. At the next level, they assigned approximately the same grades to "the pollsters" and to Michael Dukakis. Lower grades were assigned to "the campaign consultants," and the voters were divided into two groups in assigning grades to "the press."

-One in five (19%) of the voters gave themselves an "A" for the way they conducted themselves during the campaign, and an additional three in ten (30%) gave themselves a "B." Republicans graded themselves more highly than Democrats, as did Bush voters in comparison to Dukakis voters.

-Fifteen percent of the voters gave George Bush an "A" for his conduct during the campaign, and another third (34%) gave him a "B." At least one in four of the Enterprisers and Moralists gave him an "A." Only 7% of the Democrats and 4% of the Dukakis voters gave him the highest grade, and one in five "Failed" him.

-One in ten (9%) of the voters gave Michael Dukakis an "A," as did one in six (17%) of those who voted for him. Roughly 15% of most Democratic-oriented groups gave him the highest grade, but only 2% of the Seculars did. But only one in ten of the Republicans and the Bush voters "Failed" Dukakis.

-One in ten (11%) of the voters gave the Republican Party an "A," and another third (34%) gave him a "B." The Republicans, of course, are more likely than Democrats to give the GOP a higher grade. One in five of Democrats (19%) "Failed" the opposition party.

-The Democratic Party was given lower grades overall by the voters, as only 7% gave them it an "A" and one-quarter (26%) a "B." But the Democrats were harsher on their party than the Republicans were on their's. Only 14% of the Democrats gave their party an "A" and 33% gave it a "B." And only about half as many Republicans (11%) "Failed" the opposition party as did the Democrats. The Seculars were again the "hardest" of the Democratic-oriented groups in their evaluation of their party.

-One in eight of the voters (13%) gave "the pollsters" an "A" for their conduct during the campaign, and another three in ten gave them a "B." Republicans tended to assign higher grades than Democrats, as did Bush voters relative to Dukakis voters. Democrats and Dukakis voters were twice as likely to fail the pollsters as Republicans and Bush voters, 14% compared to 7%.

-Few voters assigned either very high or low grades to "the campaign consultants" for their conduct during the campaign, and there were few differences across the major voter groups. A total of 5% gave them an "A" and 8% graded them "Fail." Dukakis voters gave somewhat lower grades than Bush voters, but Democrats did not differ from Republicans. Seculars assigned the lowest grades. One in six of the voters could not assign a grade to the campaign consultants.

-The lowest grades were assigned to "the press," as one in six (16%) of the voters gave them a grade of "Fail." These grades seemed to reflect long standing negative attitudes toward the press, with members of the core Republican groups and Bush voters assigning lower grades than members of Democratic-oriented group and Dukakis supporters. One in five of the Moralists (21%) and the Enterprisers (22%), and slightly smaller proportions of Disaffecteds (18%), assigned a grade of "Fail."

THE VOTERS' GRADING OF CAMPAIGN PARTICIPANTS FOR THEIR CONDUCT

<u>Campaign Participant</u>	<u>Assigned Grade</u>					<u>Don't Know</u>	
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>Fail</u>		
The voters	19%	30	28	10	7	6	100%
George Bush	15%	34	26	13	11	1	100%
The Republican Party	11%	34	31	12	10	2	100%
The pollsters	13%	29	29	12	11	6	100%
Michael Dukakis	9%	29	40	13	7	1	100%
The Democratic Party	7%	26	45	13	7	2	100%
The campaign consultants	5%	20	37	14	8	16	100%
The press	8%	22	33	19	16	2	100%

Question 14: Students are often given the grades A, B, C, D, or Fail to describe the quality of their work. Looking back over the campaign, what grade would you give to each of the following groups for the way they conducted themselves in the campaign?

Assessments of the Quantity of Political Coverage in Newspapers

A majority of the voters were satisfied with the amount of political coverage in their local newspaper. If they were the editor four years from now, 57% said they would devote about the same amount of space to coverage of the presidential campaign and 56% gave the equivalent response for coverage of state and local campaigns. While they were divided about whether to increase or decrease the amount of coverage of the presidential race (18% compared to 22%), they clearly favored an increase rather than a decrease in the amount of coverage of state and local campaigns (by a 35% to 8% margin).

-God & Country Democrats and the New Dealers were the least likely to want to increase coverage of state and local campaigns, as more than six in ten (64% and 68%, respectively) were satisfied with the current amount of coverage.

Although there are few differences by group in the amount of newspaper coverage that should be devoted to the presidential campaign, nearly one-third of God & Country Democrats (31%) and Disaffecteds (30%) say they would decrease coverage of the presidential campaign if they were editor of their local newspaper.

ATTITUDES TOWARD AMOUNT OF NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
<u>PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS</u>											
INCREASE SPACE FOR CAMPAIGN COVERAGE	18%	15%	14%	20%	20%	15%	19%	20%	14%	23%	22%
DECREASE SPACE FOR CAMPAIGN COVERAGE	22	21	22	18	30	24	19	18	25	31	17
SAME AMOUNT OF SPACE FOR CAMPAIGN COVERAGE	57	62	59	61	48	60	58	61	53	46	58
DON'T KNOW	3	2	5	1	2	1	4	1	8	0	3
<u>STATE/LOCAL CAMPAIGNS</u>											
INCREASE SPACE FOR STATE AND LOCAL CAMPAIGN COVERAGE	35	41	36	40	32	34	41	38	20	21	38
DECREASE SPACE FOR STATE AND LOCAL CAMPAIGN COVERAGE	8	7	5	9	11	6	8	5	12	7	6
SAME AMOUNT OF SPACE FOR STATE AND LOCAL CAMPAIGN COVERAGE	56	51	59	51	55	59	49	57	64	68	55
DON'T KNOW	1	1	0	0	2	1	2	0	4	4	1
SAMPLE SIZE	2022	310	254	243	246	109	197	233	165	91	174

Question 15: If you were the editor of your local newspaper four years from now, would you increase, decrease, or devote about the same amount of space to coverage of the presidential campaign?

Question 16: How about the amount of space devoted to state and local campaigns? Would you increase it, decrease it, or leave it about the same?

PROSPECTS FOR THE BUSH PRESIDENCY

Expectations for the Bush Presidency

The tone of the campaign and harsh assessments of George Bush by members of Democratic-oriented groups have affected the voters' expectations of the Bush presidency. One in ten (11%) expect him to be an "excellent" president and almost half (45%) a "good" one. But one-third (33%) expect him to be "only fair," while 8% expect him to be a "poor" one. Three percent are reserving judgement or don't know what to think.

But these evaluations are heavily shaped by partisanship and voting behavior. One in five of the Bush voters (19%) think he will be an "excellent" president while 1% of the Dukakis voters feel this way. Less than 1% of the Bush voters think he will be a "poor" president while 16% of the Dukakis voters feel this way.

-One in four of the Enterprisers (25%) and the Moralists (27%) think George Bush will be an "excellent" president, and an additional six in ten think he will be a "good" one.

-Among the Upbeats, 13% think he will be an "excellent" president and 71% think he will be a "good" one.

-A majority of the Disaffecteds (51%) think he will be a "good" president and 9% think he will be an "excellent" one.

-But no more than 6% of the membership of any of the Democratic-oriented groups feel Bush will make an "excellent" president. In fact, a majority of all them expect him to be "only fair" or "poor."

-Seculars and 60's Democrats have the lowest expectations. Fourteen percent of the Seculars think Bush will be a "poor" president, and 58% think he will be "only a fair" one. One in nine of the 60's Democrats (11%) think he will be a "poor" president, and 60% think he will be "only a fair" one.

EXPECTATIONS FOR GEORGE BUSH AS PRESIDENT, BY GROUP

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
KIND OF PRESIDENT THINK BUSH WILL BE											
EXCELLENT	11%	25%	27%	13%	9%	7%	6%	1%	5%	2%	5%
GOOD	45	64	59	71	51	31	20	26	35	35	29
ONLY FAIR	33	9	10	13	32	40	58	60	43	46	49
POOR	8	*	1	1	5	19	14	11	10	12	14
DON'T KNOW	3	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	7	5	3
SAMPLE SIZE	2022	310	254	243	246	109	197	233	165	91	174

Question 18: What kind of a President do you think George Bush will make? An excellent President, a good one, only a fair one, or a poor one?

The Bush Mandate

The voters were asked to rank five issues in terms of their priorities for the new Bush administration when it takes office on January 20. Reduction of the federal budget deficit is clearly the top priority. It was followed by the protection of American jobs from foreign competition and increasing programs to meet the needs of families, such as child care and education. Negotiating further arms reductions with the Soviet Union was the next most important, followed by improving protection of the environment.

THE VOTERS' PRIORITIES FOR THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION

ISSUE SHOULD BE:

<u>Issue</u>	<u>A Top Priority</u>	<u>Second Priority</u>	<u>Third Priority</u>
Reducing the federal budget deficit	44%	18%	15%
Protecting American jobs from foreign competition	20	21	17
Increasing programs to meet the needs of families, such as child care and education	15	20	22
Negotiating further arms reductions with the Soviet Union	12	23	20
Improving protection of the environment	8	16	23
Don't Know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Question 17: George Bush/Michael Dukakis was just elected president. After he is inaugurated on January 20th, he'll face a number of important issues. I am going to read you a list of five issues, and I'd like you to tell me which one you think should be the top priority for the Bush/Dukakis administration. Which one should be the second priority? And which one should be the third priority?

The ranking of these issues varies by typology group, particularly with regard to the budget deficit, protection of American jobs, and increasing programs to meet the needs of families.

-Six in ten of the Enterprisers (61%) say reducing the federal budget deficit should be the top priority, while no more than half of any other group does. And only three in ten of Partisan Poor (31%) and the God & Country Democrats (29%) think this should be the top priority.

-Three in ten of the Partisan Poor (31%) and the New Dealers (29%) think that protection of American jobs should be the Bush administration's top priority. Only 12% of the Enterprisers and the 60's Democrats feel this way, as do 11% of the Seculars.

-One in four of the God & Country Democrats (27%) and the Partisan Poor (24%) think that increasing programs to meet the needs of American families should be the top priority. And one in three of the Partisan Poor think this should be the second priority. Enterprisers were least likely to name this as a top priority (6%).

-Negotiating further arms reductions with the Soviet Union was the second priority for one-third of the Enterprisers (35%), three in ten of the Moralists (28%) and the Upbeats (28%), and one-quarter of the New Dealers (26%).

-Three in ten of the Followers (28%) and the 60's Democrats (27%) feel increasing programs for the needs of families should be the second priority.

-Seculars were the most likely to name improving protection of the environment as a top priority (13%), and one-fifth of them felt this issue should be a second priority.

**RATING OF ISSUES AS TOP PRIORITY FOR BUSH ADMINISTRATION,
BY GROUP**

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
<u>TOP PRIORITY</u>	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
REDUCING THE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT	44%	61%	47%	42%	46%	38%	48%	45%	41%	29%	31%
PROTECTING AMERICAN JOBS FROM FOREIGN COMPETITION	20	12	22	16	27	24	11	12	29	24	31
INCREASING PROGRAMS TO MEET THE NEEDS OF FAMILIES	15	6	12	13	10	15	16	22	12	27	24
NEGOTIATING FURTHER ARMS REDUCTIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION	12	14	14	18	9	8	11	9	9	11	9
IMPROVING PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT	8	5	4	10	7	12	13	11	7	7	4
DON'T KNOW	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	2	1
SAMPLE SIZE	2022	310	254	243	246	109	197	233	165	91	174

Question 17: George Bush/Michael Dukakis was just elected president. After he is inaugurated on January 20th, he'll face a number of important issues. I am going to read you a list of five issues, and I'd like you to tell me which one you think...should be the top priority for the Bush/Dukakis administration.

**RATING OF ISSUES AS SECOND PRIORITY FOR BUSH ADMINISTRATION,
BY GROUP**

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
SECOND PRIORITY											
NEGOTIATING FURTHER ARMS REDUCTIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION	23%	35%	28%	28%	18%	16%	20%	23%	26%	14%	12%
PROTECTING AMERICAN JOBS FROM FOREIGN COMPETITION	21	21	18	20	21	22	18	16	23	28	25
INCREASING PROGRAMS TO MEET THE NEEDS OF FAMILIES	20	10	17	16	22	28	20	27	18	20	33
REDUCING THE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT	18	15	17	19	21	12	20	15	16	25	15
IMPROVING PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT	16	16	18	13	17	19	21	18	16	11	14
DON'T KNOW	2	3	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	2	1
SAMPLE SIZE	2022	310	254	243	246	109	197	233	165	91	174

Question 17: George Bush/Michael Dukakis was just elected president. After he is inaugurated on January 20th, he'll face a number of important issues. I am going to read you a list of five issues, and I'd like you to tell me which one you think...should be the second priority for the Bush/Dukakis administration.

**RATING OF ISSUES AS THIRD PRIORITY FOR BUSH ADMINISTRATION,
BY GROUP**

	TTL	ENTP	MORA LIST	UP- BTS	DIS AFF	FOL LOW	SECU LARS	60'S DEMS	NEW DEAL	GOD/ CTRY	PART POOR
<u>THIRD PRIORITY</u>											
IMPROVING PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT	23%	22%	26%	25%	20%	28%	26%	25%	18%	18%	20%
INCREASING PROGRAMS TO MEET THE NEEDS OF FAMILIES	22	22	22	21	24	19	23	20	25	21	20
NEGOTIATING FURTHER ARMS REDUCTIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION	20	19	18	18	26	18	21	18	21	19	23
PROTECTING AMERICAN JOBS FROM FOREIGN COMPETITION	17	22	15	18	17	15	14	20	15	14	15
REDUCING THE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT	15	10	16	16	10	12	15	16	18	20	21
DON'T KNOW	3	5	3	2	3	8	1	1	3	8	1
SAMPLE SIZE	2022	310	254	243	246	109	197	233	165	91	174

Question 17: George Bush/Michael Dukakis was just elected president. After he is inaugurated on January 20th, he'll face a number of important issues. I am going to read you a list of five issues, and I'd like you to tell me which one you think...should be the third priority for the Bush/Dukakis administration.

TURNOUT IN THE 1988 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Measuring voter turnout in post-election surveys of people who have been interviewed within the last six weeks and who described themselves as registered to vote will necessarily result in an overestimate of the electorate when compared to published aggregate estimates of the total vote cast.

In the post-election survey, the proportion of registered voters who said they voted is 93%. There are several reasons for this high rate of reported voting. First, only those who already reported they were registered were recontacted. And many of them had been interviewed within the past six weeks. Their willingness to be interviewed the first time and then to cooperate in a second interview suggests they have a greater interest in politics than the voting population as a whole. Furthermore, some survey respondents find it easier to give the socially desirable response that they voted when in fact they did not. And the post-election sample design specifically excluded the voter group known as Bystanders, consisting of approximately 10% of the adult population, virtually none of whom are registered to vote.

Nevertheless, a look at voter participation in the 1988 presidential campaign is important in two regards. It gives us one measure of overall interest in the campaign, particularly as it varied by voter group and it provides a perspective on how well the electoral system is working as measured by voter participation.

The Basics of Voter Turnout

By typology group, voter turnout varied from a high of 98% among the Enterprisers and the Seculars to a low of 84% among the God & Country Democrats. In general, turnout was highest among the most politically sophisticated groups and lowest among the groups whose members were younger and less well-educated.

VOTER TURNOUT, BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

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
YES, VOTED	93%	97%	95%	93%	88%	90%	97%	96%	96%	84%	96%
NO, DID NOT VOTE	7	3	5	7	12	10	3	4	4	16	4
SAMPLE SIZE	2146	318	266	260	275	121	202	240	172	109	183

Question A: A lot of people have been telling us they didn't get a chance to vote in the election on November 8. How about you - did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

The application of these differential turnout rates to the groups, taking their size into account, results in the typological composition of the 1988 presidential electorate. The survey suggests that the distribution of voters was somewhat different than earlier survey estimates indicated it would be. The proportion of the electorate that came from core Democratic and Republican groups was somewhat lower than expected, while the contributions of independent groups was somewhat greater.

-Among the core Republican groups, Enterprisers comprised slightly less of those who went to the polls than expected (12% compared to 16%), while on the Democratic side the proportion of New Dealers in the electorate was two-thirds the number expected (10% compared to 15%).

-Compensating for these shifts, there was a greater proportion of Disaffecteds in the electorate than expected (11% compared to 7%), as well as of Upbeats (12% compared to 9%).

These slight shifts nevertheless tended to work to George Bush's favor, as the independent groups which voted at slightly higher rates than expected contained relatively more of his supporters, according to pre-election

surveys, while those which were under represented tended to favor Michael Dukakis.

**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EXPECTED AND ACTUAL
COMPOSITION OF THE ELECTORATE**

PROPORTION OF:

Typology Group	<u>Expected Electorate</u>	<u>1988 Voters</u>
Enterprisers	16%	12%
Moralists	14	13
Upbeats	9	12
Disaffecteds	7	11
Bystanders	0	0
Followers	4	6
Seculars	9	8
60's Democrats	11	11
New Deal Democrats	15	10
God & Country Democrats	6	7
Partisan Poor	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
TOTAL	100%	100%

In terms of the demographics of the electorate, even allowing for the fact that all of the respondents reported they were registered, turnout was higher among whites than nonwhites (94% to 89%), among those who are the best educated (96%) relative to those with less than a high school education (89%), among older voters (94%) relative to those under 30 years of age (87%), and among those who earn \$50,000 a year or more (98%) compared to those who earn less than \$10,000 (86%). There were no significant differences in turnout by gender, region, or union membership, however.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF VOTER TURNOUT

	<u>Voter Turnout</u>
All Voters	93
<u>Sex</u>	
Male	95
Female	92
<u>Race</u>	
White	94
Nonwhite	89
<u>Age</u>	
Under 30	87
30-39	94
40-49	96
50-59	96
60 and over	94
<u>Region</u>	
East	94
Midwest	92
South	92
West	95
<u>Education</u>	
College Graduate	96
Some College	93
High School Graduate	93
Less than High School	89
<u>Income</u>	
Under \$10,000	86
\$10,000 - \$19,999	92
\$20,000 - \$29,999	93
\$30,000 - \$39,999	96
\$40,000 - \$49,999	94
\$50,000+	98
<u>1984 Vote</u>	
Voted Reagan	94
Voted Other	97
<u>Labor Union Membership</u>	
Self	97
Non-Union household	93

Among the nonvoters, the most frequently cited reason for not participating was an inability to get off work on election day. One in five respondents (20%) indicated this was a problem for them. The second most frequently cited reason was illness, as 16% indicated they either were sick on election day or physically unable to make it to the polls. Another 13% were away from home on election day and/or had not made arrangements to get an absentee ballot.

REASONS FOR NOT VOTING

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO DID NOT VOTE

Away from home, out of town on election day	13%
Not interested in the campaign	7%
Didn't like any of the candidates	8%
Illness	16%
Inconvenient	10%
Working/Couldn't get off from work	20%
New resident	5%
No particular reason	9%
Other	10%
Don't know	<u>2%</u>
TOTAL	100%

Question B: What was it that kept you from voting?

Among the respondents, the most frequently cited reason for not participating was an inability to get off work on election day. One in five respondents (20%) indicated this was a problem for them. The second most frequently cited reason was illness as few indicated they either work on election day or physically unable to vote if on the day. Another 32% were away from home on election day and/or had not received ballots as yet as illustrated below.

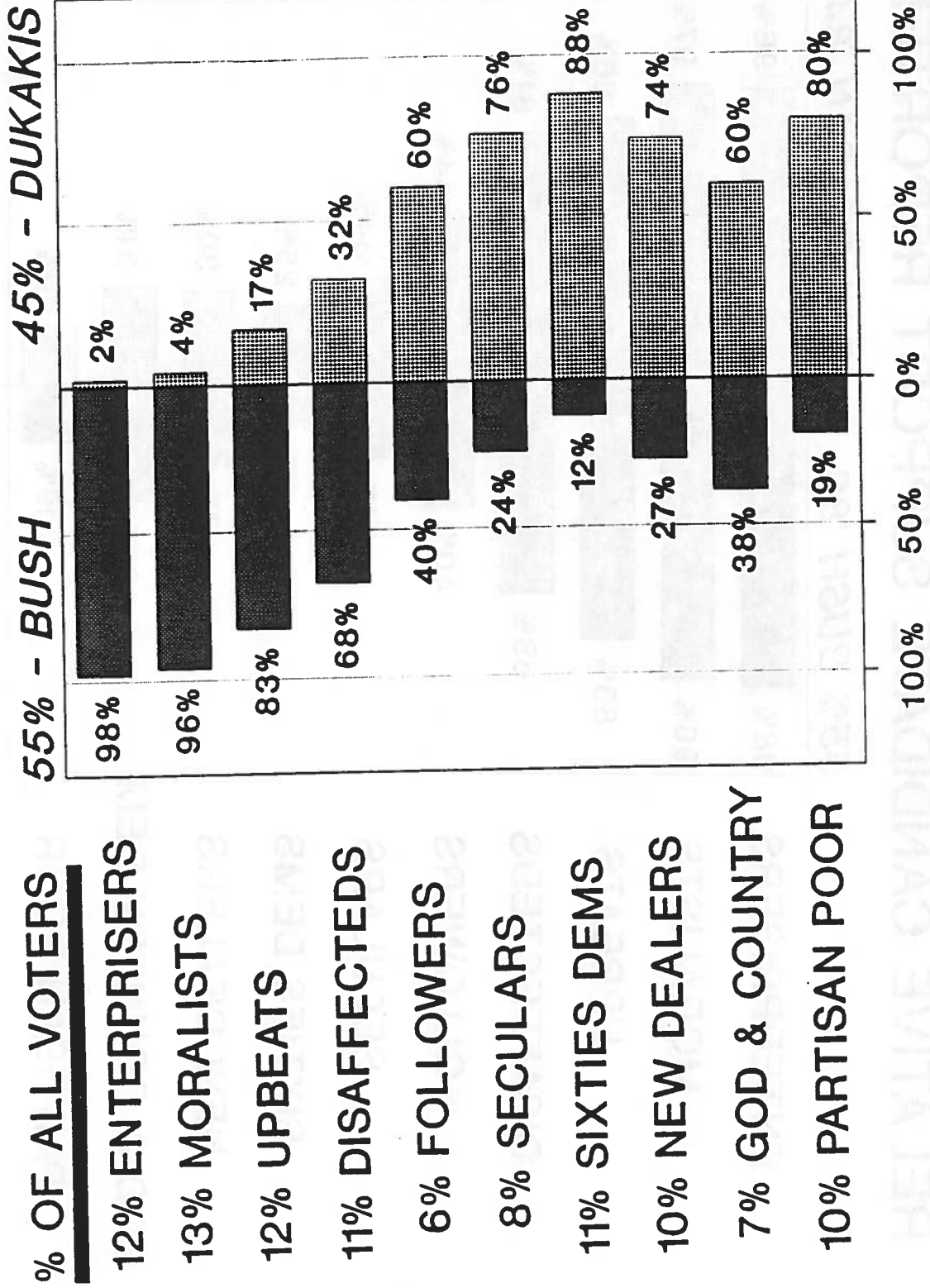
REASONS FOR NOT VOTING

REASON FOR REGISTERED VOTERS WHO DID NOT VOTE

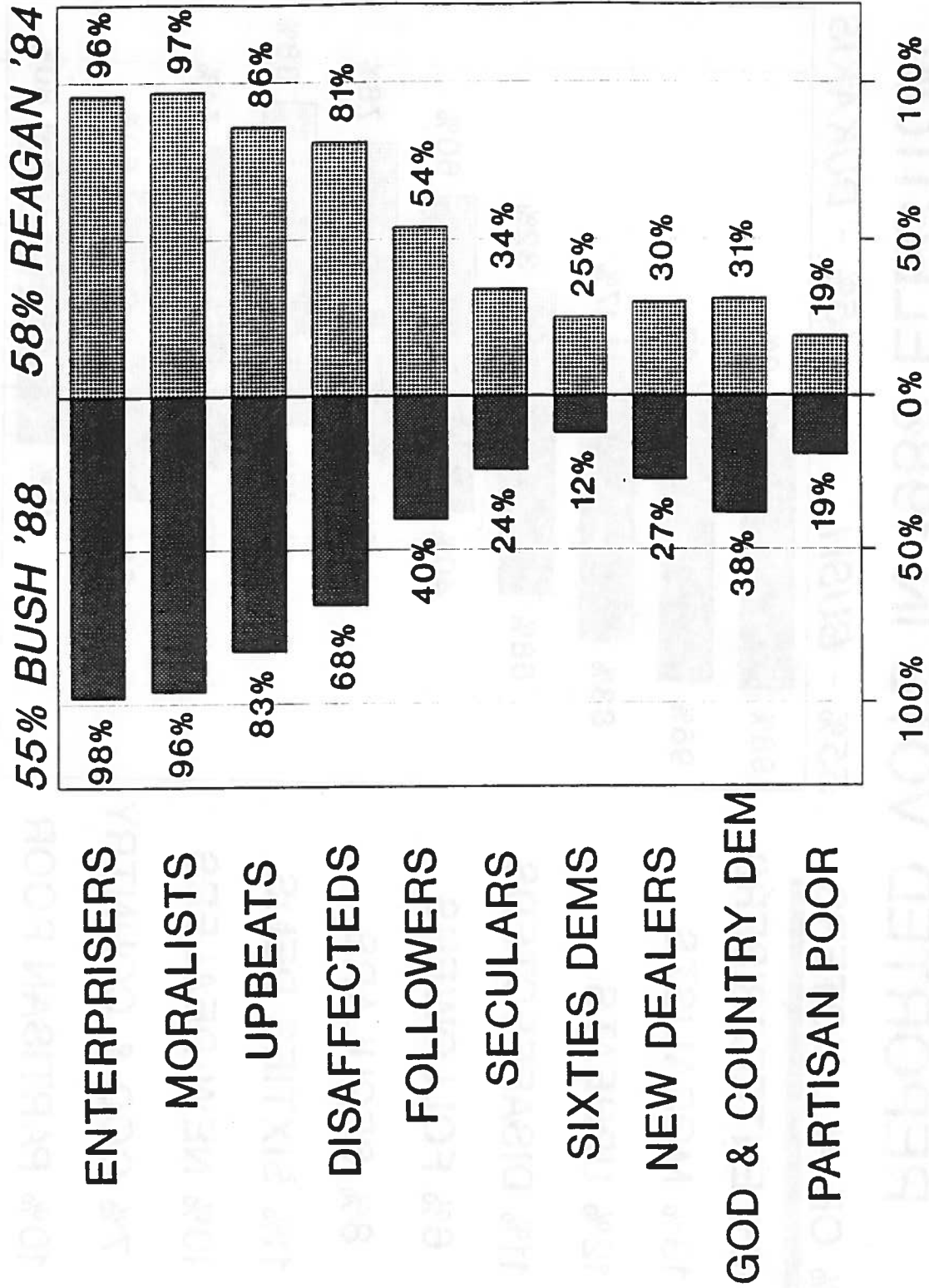
32%	Away from home on election day and/or had not received ballots as yet
20%	Inability to get off work on election day
18%	Illness
15%	Other reasons
12%	Not interested in the candidates
10%	Incumbent
8%	Unsure of candidates' positions
7%	New residents
5%	Did not participate in past elections
4%	Other
3%	Don't know
2%	Other

KEY GRAPHS

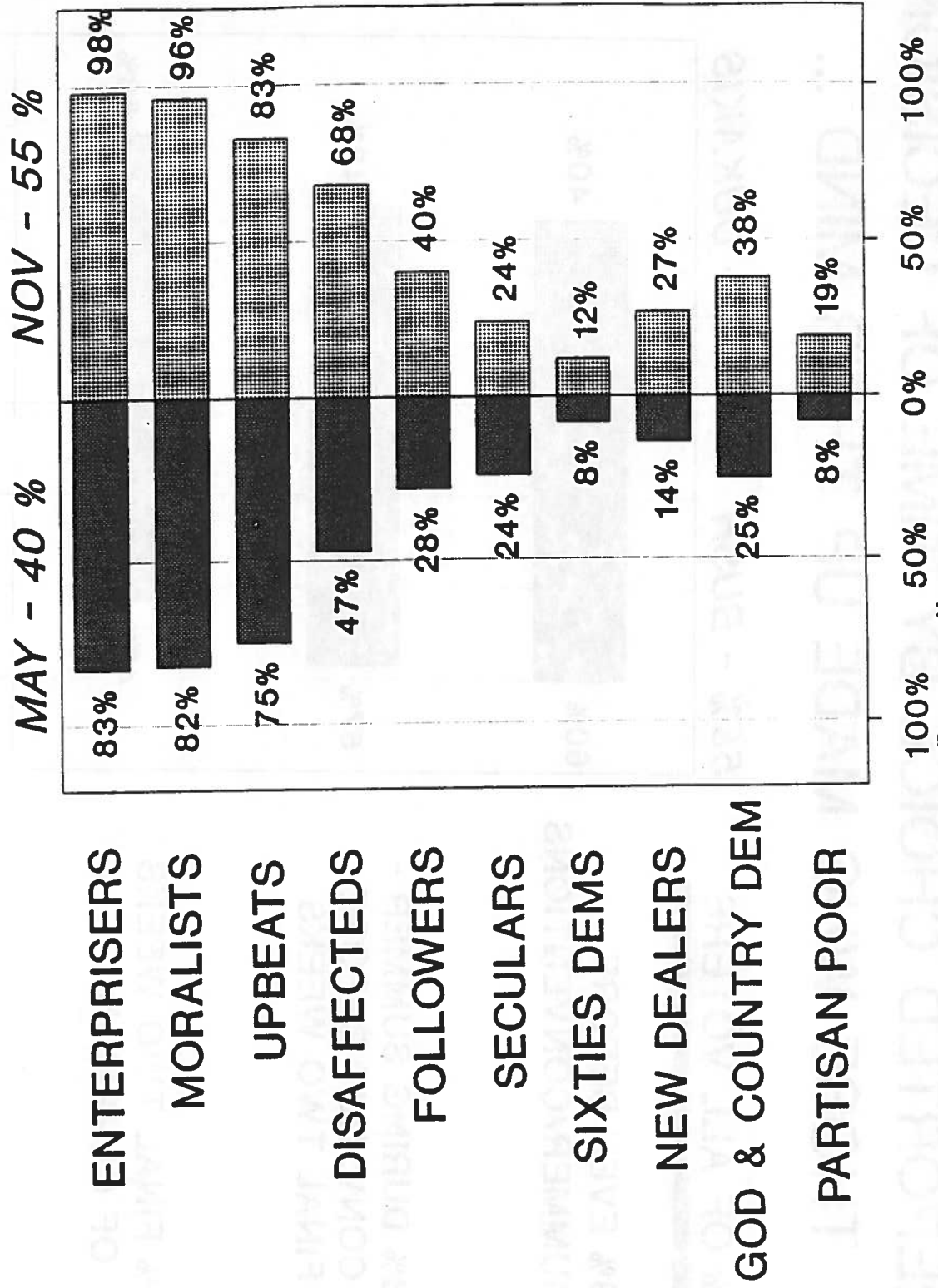
REPORTED VOTE IN 1988 ELECTION



RELATIVE CANDIDATE SUPPORT REPORTED

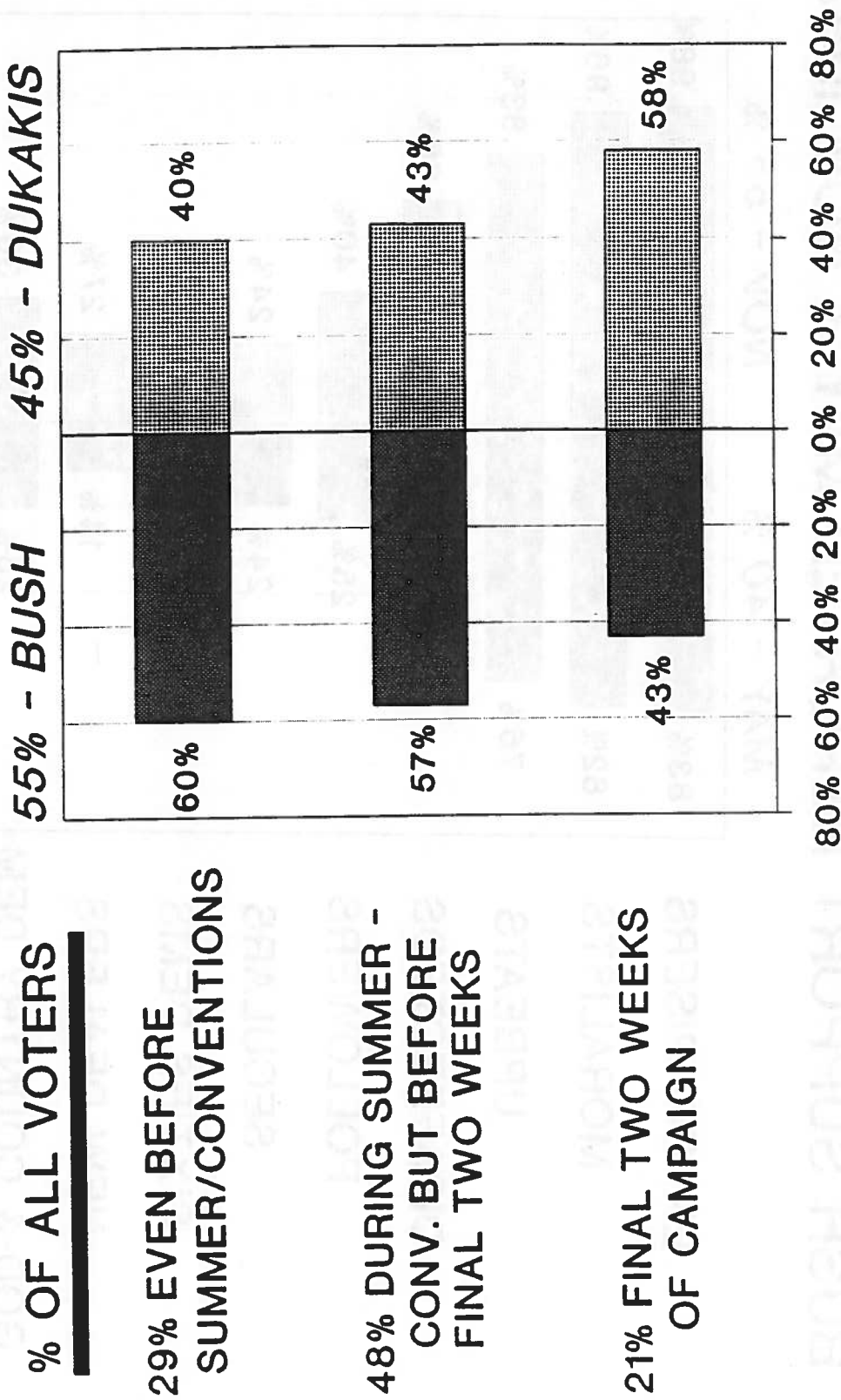


BUSH SUPPORT REPORTED MAY & NOV 1988

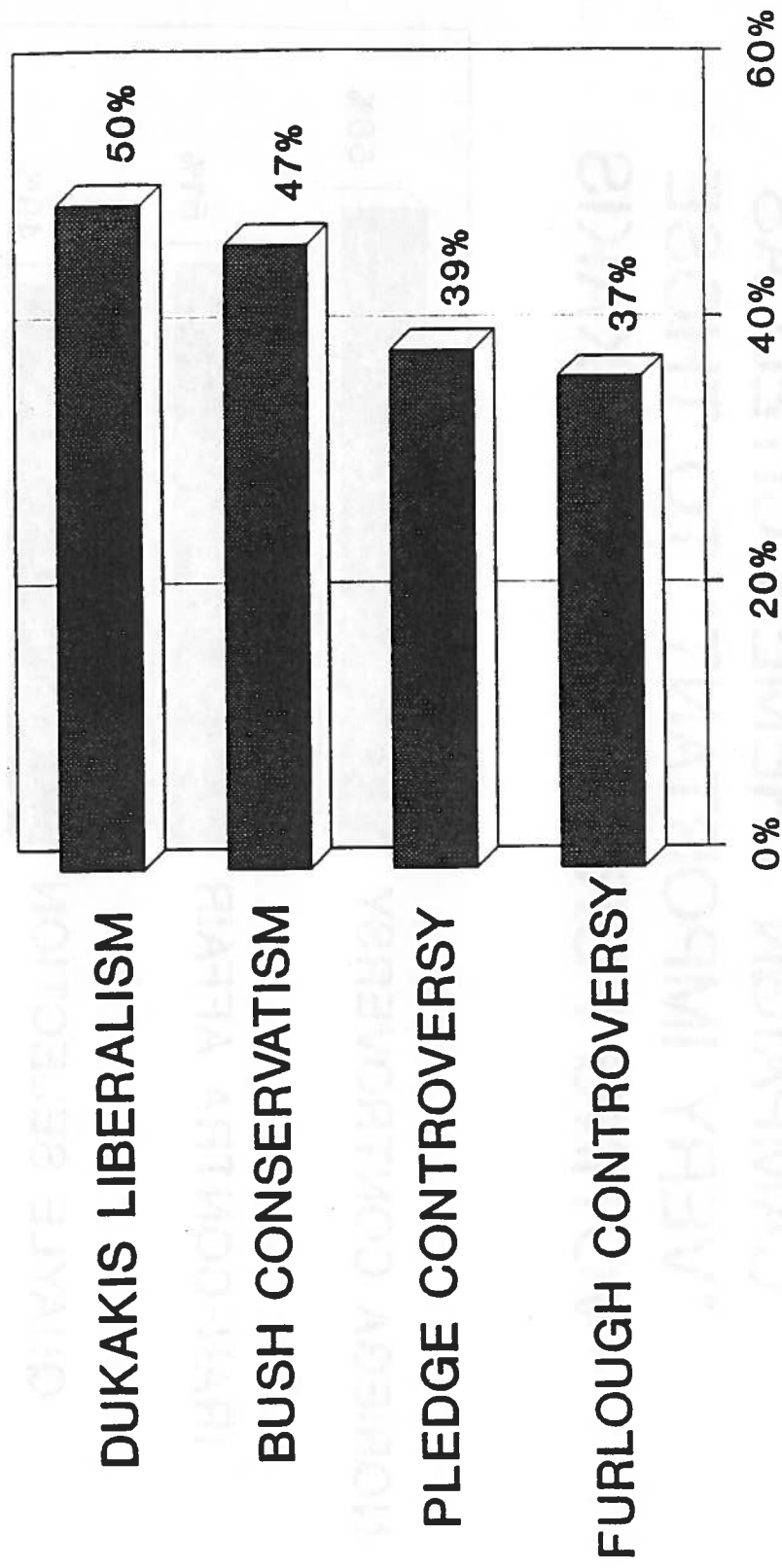


* Based on Registered Voters Responding

REPORTED CHOICE BY TIME OF DECISION THOSE WHO MADE UP THEIR MIND ...

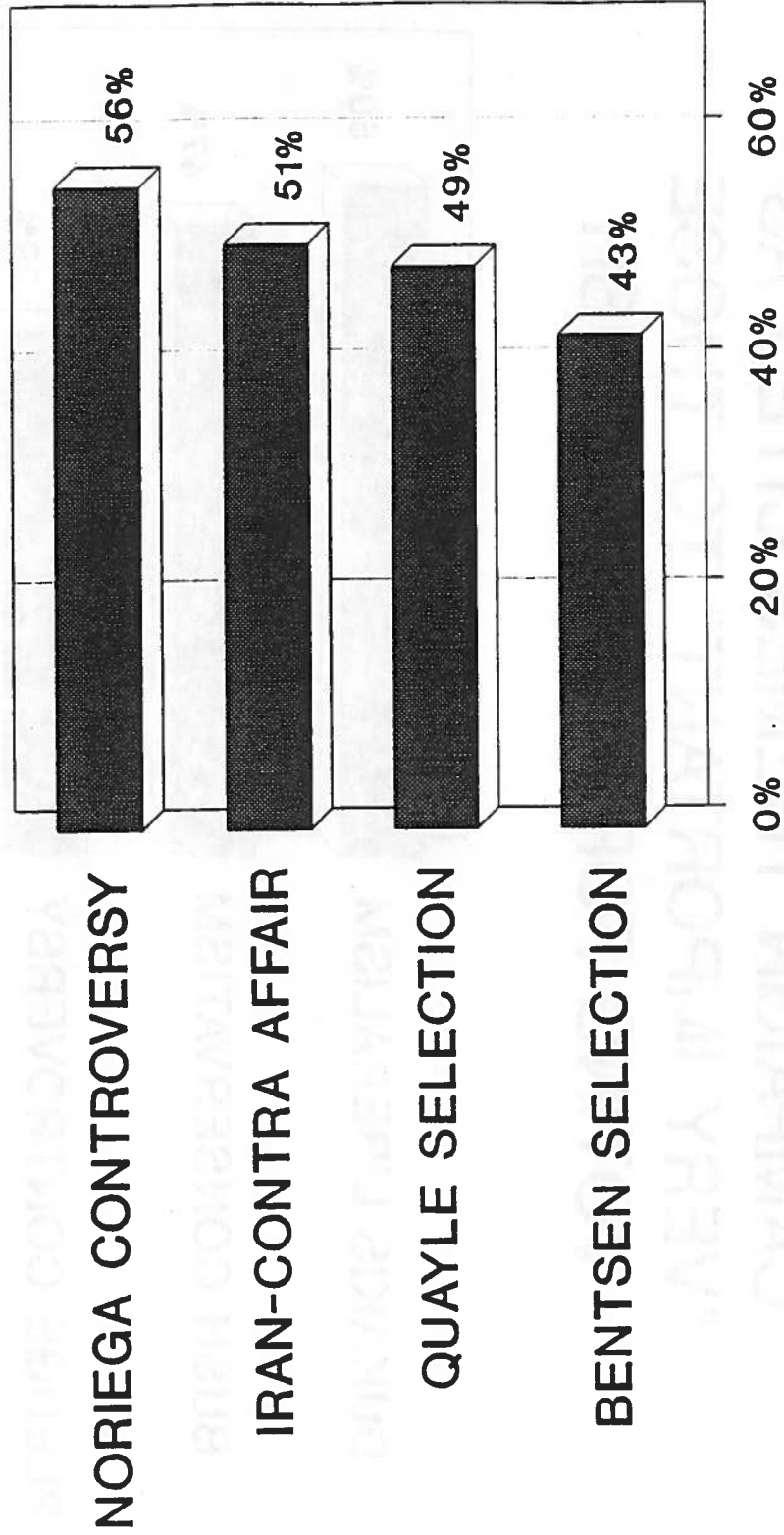


**CAMPAIGN THEMES CITED AS
"VERY IMPORTANT" TO THOSE
VOTING FOR GEORGE BUSH**



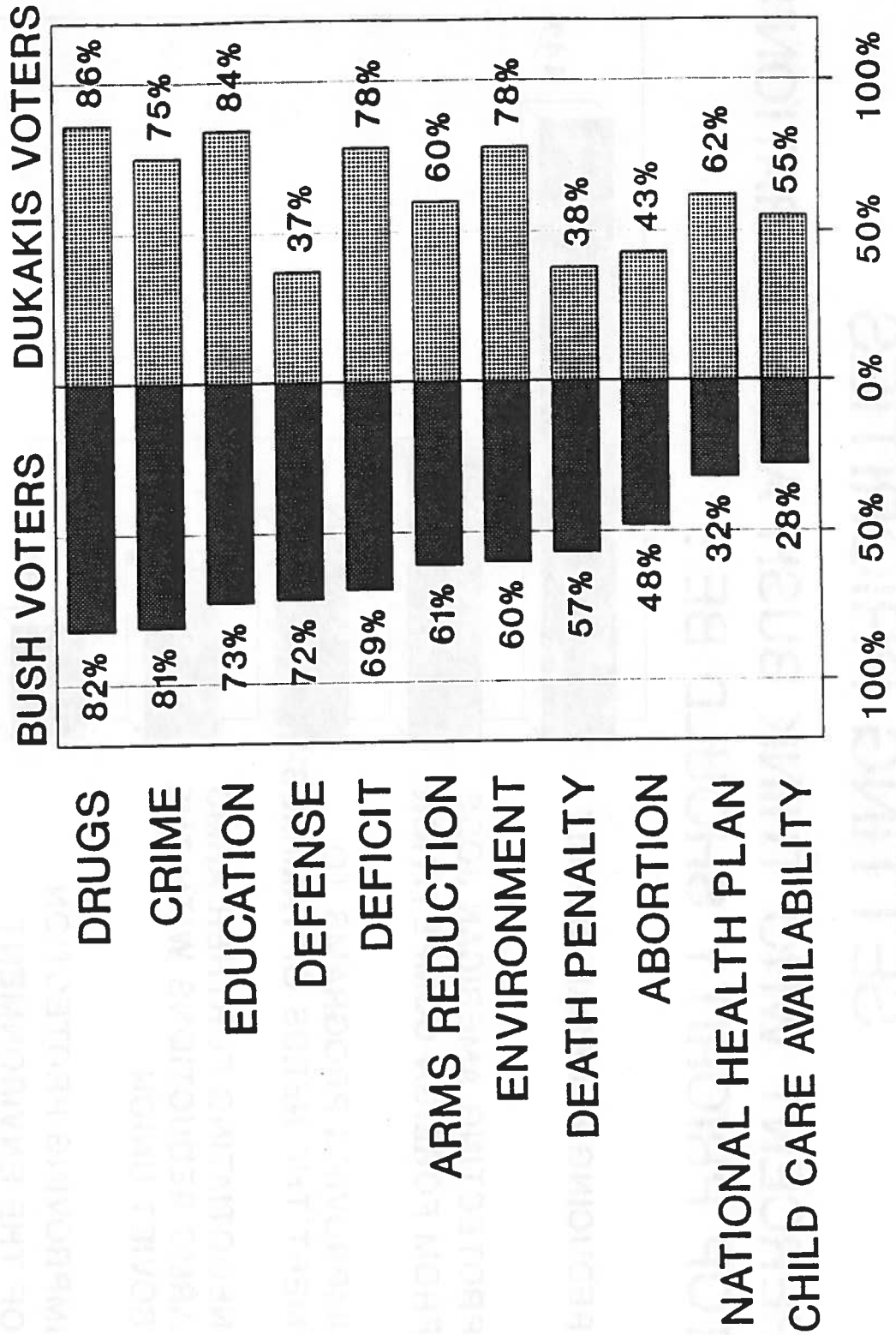
* FROM A LIST OF TEN ITEMS

**CAMPAIGN THEMES CITED AS
"VERY IMPORTANT" TO THOSE
VOTING FOR MICHAEL DUKAKIS**



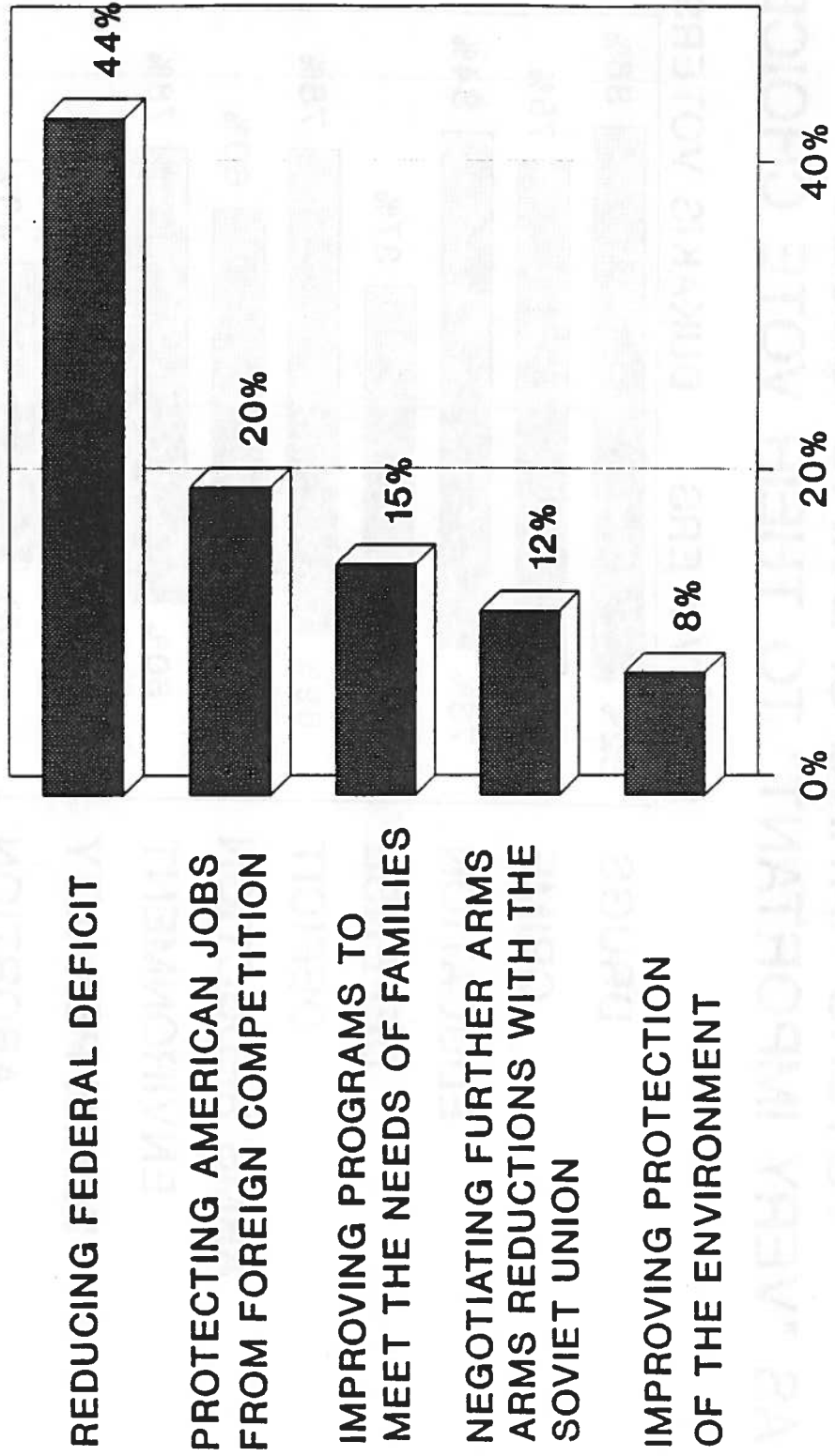
* FROM A LIST OF TEN ITEMS

VOTERS RATING SPECIFIC ISSUES AS "VERY IMPORTANT" TO THEIR VOTE CHOICE



SETTING PRIORITIES

PERCENT WHO THINK BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S TOP PRIORITY SHOULD BE :



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 classifying the American electorate than the traditional concepts of "liberal" and "conservative." Although many political scientists have long recognized the single best indicator of voters' candidate preferences is whether they identify themselves as "liberal" or "conservative," this research has found that political preferences 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 field analysis of the findings of a nationwide survey of over 4000 persons, interviews, Gallup identified two basic dimensions that ultimately guide voters' choices: "liberalism" and "conservatism." These dimensions are more precisely defined and related to the following:

TECHNICAL APPENDIX

Attention: the nature of conservatism, liberalism, and the lack of interest in government action. Attention: the nature of liberalism, conservatism, and the lack of interest in government action. Attention: the nature of liberalism, conservatism, and the lack of interest in government action. Attention: the nature of liberalism, conservatism, and the lack of interest in government action. Attention: the nature of liberalism, conservatism, and the lack of interest in government action. Attention: the nature of liberalism, conservatism, and the lack of interest in government action. Attention: the nature of liberalism, conservatism, and the lack of interest in government action. Attention: the nature of liberalism, conservatism, and the lack of interest in government action. Attention: the nature of liberalism, conservatism, and the lack of interest in government action. Attention: the nature of liberalism, conservatism, and the lack of interest in government action.

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

Personal Orientations

Religious Faith: a measure of belief in God.

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

Financial Pressure: the degree of personal financial concern.

Values

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CORE REPUBLICAN GROUPS

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

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

REPUBLICAN-LEANING GROUPS

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

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

LOW INVOLVEMENT GROUP

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

DEMOCRATIC-LEANING GROUPS

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

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

CORE DEMOCRATIC GROUPS

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

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

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

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

SAMPLE SIZE OF THE TYPOLOGY GROUPS

	<u>Registered Voters</u>					
	<u>April/May 1987</u>	<u>Jan. 1988</u>	<u>May 1988</u>	<u>Sept. 1988</u>	<u>Oct. 1988</u>	<u>Nov. 1988</u>
Enterprisers	394	195	244	276	242	310
Moralists	397	224	319	249	249	254
Upbeats	289	164	208	243	271	243
Disaffecteds	282	182	266	230	228	246
Bystanders	89	31	65	30	43	0
Followers	223	84	119	105	121	109
Seculars	290	135	193	166	159	197
60's Democrats	365	165	258	222	215	233
New Dealers	439	218	325	166	174	165
God & Country Democrats	270	127	189	134	137	91
Partisan Poor	367	163	229	180	167	174
TOTAL	(3405)	(1688)	(2416)	(2001)	(2006)	(2022)

TYOLOGY DISTRIBUTION

	<u>January 1988</u>	<u>May 1988</u>	<u>September 1988</u>	<u>October 1988</u>	<u>November 1988</u>
Enterprisers	10%	10%	12%	10%	12%
Moralists	12	12	12	12	13
Upbeats	10	8	11	13	12
Disaffecteds	10	11	12	11	11
Bystanders	3	3	2	3	0
Followers	6	6	6	7	6
Seculars	7	8	8	7	8
60's Democrats	9	11	10	10	11
New Dealers	14	13	9	10	10
God & Country Democrats	8	8	8	8	7
Partisan Poor	11	10	10	9	10
SAMPLE SIZE	(1688)	(2416)	(2001)	(2006)	(2022)

SAMPLE DESIGN

For this survey, a sample was drawn of respondents from three previous Times Mirror surveys who said they were registered and resided in telephone households for which numbers were available. These former respondents were stratified by Typology Group and time of first interview. All members of the Bystanders were deleted from the frame.

The classification of the respondents into Typology Group was done at the time of first interview. For respondents who were interviewed in September and October, this was based upon a shortened form of the series of questions used on the telephone to determine group assignments. For respondents from the January survey, the full set of questions used in personal interviews to classify respondents was employed.

The sample frame was divided into replicates based upon Typology Group and time of previous interview. Each replicate represented a random subsample of previous respondents, and they were employed sequentially until the overall quota of interviews was reached. Each designated respondent was called up to three times in order to obtain a new interview.

Each respondent was asked whether he or she voted or not. Those who said they had not were asked only a short series of questions about their reasons for not voting and their exposure to projections of the election outcome. Those who said they did vote were asked the full set of questions in the interview schedule which is attached to this report.

Upon completion of the interviewing, the marginal distribution of certain characteristics of those who were reinterviewed was compared to their distributions in the previous surveys. Weights were assigned to respondents to bring the new marginals into conformity with their former distributions. These weights were assigned primarily to account for possible nonresponse bias.

**COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE
FOR THE PRINCIPAL SURVEY**

	<u>Weighted Percentage</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
<u>Sex</u>		
Male	48.3	(998)
Female	51.7	(1024)
	100.0	
<u>Race</u>		
White	89.2	(1859)
Black	8.0	(97)
Other	2.4	(62)
Undesignated	.4	(4)
	100.0	
<u>Age</u>		
18-29 years	17.0	(298)
30-49 years	41.3	(952)
50 years and older	41.1	(763)
Undesignated	.6	(9)
	100.0	
<u>Education</u>		
College graduate	25.4	(756)
Other college	20.5	(421)
High school graduate	38.5	(677)
Less than high school graduate	15.1	(160)
Undesignated	.5	(8)
	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	24.7	(473)
Midwest: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri	25.9	(608)
South: Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana	29.2	(606)
West: Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Nevada, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, California, Washington, Oregon, Alaska, Hawaii	20.2	(335)
	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) ¹									
	Sample Size									
	2100	1800	1600	1400	1200	1000	800	600	400	200
Percentages near 10	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	5
Percentages near 20	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	4	6
Percentages near 30	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	5	7
Percentages near 40	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	5	7
Percentages near 50	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	5	8
Percentages near 60	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	5	7
Percentages near 70	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	5	7
Percentages near 80	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	4	6
Percentages near 90	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	5

¹The 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.

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

Size of Sample	2100	1800	1600	1400	1200	1000	800	600	400	200
2100	3									
1800	3	3								
1600	3	3	3							
1400	3	3	3	3						
1200	3	3	3	3	4					
1000	3	3	3	4	4	4				
800	4	4	4	4	4	4	4			
600	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5		
400	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	
200	6	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	7	9

Recommended Allowance for Sampling
Error of the Difference
50% and 50%

In Percentage Points
(at 95 in 100 confidence level)*

Size of Sample	2100	1800	1600	1400	1200	1000	800	600	400	200
2100	3									
1800	3	4								
1600	4	4	4							
1400	4	4	4	4						
1200	4	4	4	4	4					
1000	4	4	4	4	5	5				
800	4	5	5	5	5	5	5			
600	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	6		
400	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	8	
200	8	8	8	8	8	8	9	9	9	11

*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 600 persons each, we look for the number in the column headed "600" which is also the row designated "600". We find the number 6 here. This means that the allowance for error should be 6 points, and that in concluding that the percentage among men is somewhere between 4 and 16 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 4 percentage points.

If, in another case, responses among a group of 600 men amount to 22 percent and 24 percent in a group of 600 women, we consult Table A because these percentages are near 20. We look for the number in the column headed "600" which is also in the row designated "600" and see that the number is 5. Obviously, then, the two-point difference is inconclusive.

Recommended Allowance for Sampling
 Error of the Difference
 Form and 50%
 In Percentages Points
 (at 95 to 100 confidence level)

Size of Sample	100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900	1000
100	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
200	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
300	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
400	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
500	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
600	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
700	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
800	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
900	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
1000	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10

QUESTIONNAIRE

This is a study of how the word "lead" is used in the
 field of non-ferrous metals and 90 percent of which is used in
 the form of difference of 10 points between them. Can we say with
 any assurance that the 10 points difference reflects a real difference between
 the two groups on the question. Let us assume a sample which contains
 approximately 100 in each of these groups.
 Since the percentages are near 50, we consult Table B, and find the two
 groups are almost equal. Now, we look for the reason in the column headed
 "Why" to see the two groups differ. We find the number 6 in the
 column headed "Why" which is 6 points, and that in the column
 headed "Why" we find the number 6 points. We notice further that
 the two groups are not in the same position. We notice further that
 the difference between the two groups is only about 2 percent of the total.
 In other words, we are satisfied with the fact that the difference is a difference
 which is not a real difference but is a matter of at least a percentage
 point.
 If, in another study, we found a group of 100 and a group of 200
 and the 200 is in a group of 100, we would find a difference of 100
 percent, or 100. We find for this case in the column headed "Why"
 under it also we find the percentage 100 and we find the number 100
 in the column headed "Why" which is 100 percent.

FINAL RESULTS
N = 2022 (VOTERS)

SCREENER
TIMES MIRROR REINTERVIEW
G088177

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am _____, calling from The Gallup Organization. During the past year, we conducted an interview with a member of your household. I would like to speak to that same person again to ask a few questions about the presidential campaign. May I speak with the (READ SEX FROM LABEL) living in your household who is (READ AGE FROM LABEL) years old?

IF APPROPRIATE RESPONDENT IS NOT AVAILABLE, FIND OUT THE BEST TIME TO REACH HIM/HER; RECORD CALL-BACK INFORMATION IN BOX AT TOP OF CONTACT SHEET.

IF APPROPRIATE RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, CONTINUE WITH SCREENING QUESTIONS.

A. A lot of people have been telling us they didn't get a chance to vote in the election on November 8. How about you - did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

93 1 Yes, voted - SKIP TO Q.1

7 2 No, did not vote

0 0 Don't remember
100

B. What was it that kept you from voting? (DO NOT READ)

12 01 Not registered

11 02 Away from home, out of town on election day

6 03 Not interested in the campaign

7 04 Didn't like any of the candidates

14 05 Illness

9 06 Inconvenient

18 07 Working/Couldn't get off from work

4 08 New resident

8 09 No particular reason

9 10 Other _____

2 00 Don't know
100

C. If you had been able to vote, which candidate would you have voted for - George Bush or Michael Dukakis?

53 1 George Bush
34 2 Michael Dukakis
2 3 Other (VOLUNTEERED)
8 4 Would not have voted for any presidential candidate
3 0 Don't Know
100

D. What was the time on Election Day that you first found out that (Bush/Dukakis) had been projected the winner in the election? (RECORD ACTUAL TIME)

____ Hour
____ Minutes

E. As you may know, news people were conducting polls on Election Day by interviewing voters as they were leaving their polling place. On the day of the election, did you hear the results of any of these polls?

24 1 Yes
75 2 No _____
1 0 Don't Know _____ GO TO CLOSING STATEMENT
100

F. What time of day was that? (RECORD ACTUAL TIME)

____ Hour
____ Minutes

CLOSING STATEMENT: Thank you. Those are all the questions I have.

TIMES MIRROR REINTERVIEW
QUESTIONNAIRE
G088177

Q.1 Did you happen to vote for Michael Dukakis or for George Bush for president?

43 1 Michael Dukakis

53 2 George Bush

1 3 Other (VOLUNTEERED) - GO TO Q.8

1 4 Voted, but not for President (VOL.) - GO TO Q.8

2 0 Don't know/can't remember - GO TO Q.8

100

Q.2 Would you say that your vote was more a vote for (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.1) or more a vote against (THE OTHER TICKET)?

65 1 For the candidate supported

27 2 Against the other ticket - GO TO Q.5

4 0 Don't know

Q.3 Was your choice more of a vote for (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.1) personally or more of a vote for the (Republican/Democratic) party?

34 1 More for candidate personally

31 2 More for candidate's party - GO TO Q.7

* 3 Prefer the VP Candidate (VOLUNTEERED) - GO TO Q. 7

1 4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)

2 0 Don't know/No answer

Q.4 Did you support (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.1) more because of his personal characteristics and abilities or more because of what he stands for politically?

10 1 More because of his personal characteristics - GO TO Q.7

24 2 More because of what he stands for - GO TO Q.7

1 3 Neither (VOLUNTEERED) - GO TO Q.7

2 0 Don't know/no answer - GO TO Q.7

Q.5 Was your choice more of a vote against (CANDIDATE OPPOSED IN Q.1) personally, more of a vote against his running mate, or more of a vote against the (Republican/Democratic) party?

- 13 1 More against opponent personally
- 10 2 More against opponent's party - GO TO Q.7
- 4 3 More against opponent's running mate - GO TO Q.7
- * 4 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)
- * 0 Don't know/No answer

Q.6 Did you oppose (CANDIDATE OPPOSED IN Q.1) more because of his personal characteristics and abilities or more because of what he stands for politically?

- 4 1 More because of his personal characteristics and abilities
- 9 2 More because of what he stands for politically
- 1 3 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)
- * 0 Don't Know/No answer

DIRECTION OF SUPPORT
TREND

	Registered Voters					Likely Voters	NOV 9-10
	July* 22-24	Aug.* 5-7	Sept. 9-14	Oct. 23-26	Nov.* 3-6	Nov.* 3-6	
Bush/Quayle	37%	42%	50%	50%	50%	53%	53
Pro-Bush	23	27	31	31	29	32	39
Anti-Dukakis	11	12	15	16	18	18	12
Undesignated	3	3	4	3	3	3	2
Dukakis/Bentsen	54%	49%	44%	42%	42%	42%	43
Pro-Dukakis	33	26	21	23	21	21	25
Anti-Bush	18	19	19	15	18	18	16
Undesignated	3	4	4	4	3	3	2
Other/Undecided	9	9	6	8	8	5	4
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

*Conus

Q. 1-6

Major Reason For Preferring George Bush
Based on Bush Supporters

	<u>Nov 3-6*</u>	<u>NOV 9-10</u>
Party Loyalty/Preference	<u>40%</u>	<u>37%</u>
Pro-Republican	28	31
Anti-Democratic	12	6
Candidate's Political Stands	<u>42</u>	<u>40</u>
Pro-Bush	24	29
Anti-Dukakis	18	11
Personality/Personal Ability	<u>13</u>	<u>17</u>
Pro-Bush	8	14
Anti-Dukakis	5	3
VP Choice	**	<u>1</u>
Pro-Quayle		*
Anti-Bentsen		1
Undesignated	<u>5</u> 100%	<u>5</u> 100%

Major Reason For Preferring Michael Dukakis
Based on Dukakis Supporters

	<u>Nov 3-6*</u>	<u>NOV 9-10</u>
Party Loyalty/Preference	<u>53%</u>	<u>49%</u>
Pro-Democratic	33	34
Anti-Republican	20	15
Candidate's Political Stands	<u>31</u>	<u>27</u>
Pro-Dukakis	17	20
Anti-Bush	14	7
Personality/Personal Ability	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
Pro-Dukakis	4	7
Anti-Bush	7	5
VP Choice	**	<u>8</u>
Pro-Bentsen		1
Anti-Quayle		7
Undesignated	<u>5</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%

* Conus Trend

** Less than 0.5%

Q.7 When did you make up your mind definitely to vote for (CANDIDATE VOTED FOR)? (INTERVIEWER: GET TIME AS SPECIFICALLY AS POSSIBLE)

- 6 01 On Election Day
 - 3 02 On Monday
 - 2 03 Over the last week-end
 - 4 04 In the last week
 - 6 05 In the last two weeks
 - 9 06 After the Second Presidential Debate
 - 1 07 After the Vice-Presidential Debate
 - 5 08 After the first Presidential Debate
 - 17 09 In September, After the Conventions
 - 16 10 During the summer/around the Conventions
 - 20 11 This year, before the summer, during the primaries
 - 9 12 Before 1988
 - 2 00 Don't know/can't remember
- 100

Q.8 Suppose there had been a place on the ballot where you could have refused to vote for any of the candidates - a vote of "no confidence" in the presidential candidates running for office. How likely is it that you would have voted that way? Very likely, somewhat likely, or not at all likely?

- 15 1 Very Likely
 - 15 2 Somewhat Likely
 - 68 3 Not at all likely
 - 2 0 Don't Know
- 100

Newsweek
Oct, 1980
39%

Q.9 I am going to read you a list of reasons some people have given as to why they voted for one candidate over the other. How important was each of the following reasons to you in deciding who you would vote for? Was it very important, somewhat important, or not important? First...(START AT 'X')

		<u>Very Impor- tant</u>	<u>Some- what Important</u>	<u>Not Impor- tant</u>	<u>DK</u>	
a. Michael Dukakis' liberalism	B- 50 D- 23	25	34	24	1	= 100
b. The Pledge of Allegiance controversy	B- 39 D- 20	26	18	33	2	3
c. The Massachusetts' prison furlough program controversy	B- 37 D- 14	29	20	31	3	2
d. Michael Dukakis' commercials	B- 8 D- 16	20	33	70	2	1
e. The Reagan Administration's dealings with General Noriega	B- 14 D- 56	34	25	46	6	1
f. George Bush's conservatism	B- 47 D- 28	36	32	17	*	2
g. Allegations about George Bush's role in the Iran-Contra affair	B- 8 D- 51	25	28	65	2	2
h. George Bush's commercials	B- 9 D- 23	32	22	58	1	1
i. The selection of Dan Quayle as a vice-presidential candidate	B- 17 D- 49	36	18	46	1	1
j. The selection of Lloyd Bentsen as a vice-presidential candidate	B- 15 D- 43	23	34	60	2	2

B : Bush supporters
D : Dukakis supporters

Q.10 I am going to read you a list of important issues. As I read each one, please tell me how important that issue was to you in deciding who to vote for. Was it very important, somewhat important, or not important? First...(START AT 'X')

		<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Some-what Important</u>	<u>Not Important</u>	<u>DK</u>	
a. Improving protection of the environment	B-	60	35	4	*	=100
	D-	78	19	3	0	
b. Strengthening our country's defense	B-	72	24	4	*	
	D-	37	46	16	1	
c. Improving the quality of education in public schools	B-	73	23	4	*	
	D-	84	14	2	*	
d. Increasing the availability of child care	B-	28	44	27	1	
	D-	55	34	10	1	
e. Creating a National health insurance plan	B-	32	38	29	1	
	D-	62	29	8	1	
f. Reducing crime	B-	81	16	3	0	
	D-	75	21	4	0	
g. Reducing the supply of drugs that comes into the U.S.	B-	82	14	4	*	
	D-	86	11	3	*	
h. The death penalty	B-	57	33	10	*	
	D-	38	36	24	2	
i. Abortion	B-	48	28	2	2	
	D-	43	32	24	1	
j. Reducing the federal budget deficit	B-	69	26	4	1	
	D-	78	19	3	*	
l. Negotiating further arms reductions with the Soviet Union	B-	61	34	5	*	
	D-	60	30	10	*	

Q.11 Now that the campaign is over, how satisfied were you with the choice of presidential candidates? Would you say that you were very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied?

26	1	Very satisfied
36	2	Somewhat satisfied
20	3	Not very satisfied
17	4	Not at all satisfied
<u>1</u>	0	Don't know
100		

Q.12 During this campaign, did you feel you learned enough about the candidates and the issues to make an informed choice between Bush and Dukakis, or did you find it difficult to choose because you felt you did not learn enough from the campaign?

59	1	Learned enough to make an informed choice
39	2	Did not learn enough from the campaign
<u>2</u>	0	Don't Know
100		

Q.13 How helpful were the presidential debates to you in deciding which candidate to vote for? Would you say they were very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful?

13	1	Very helpful
35	2	Somewhat helpful
24	3	Not too helpful
25	4	Not at all helpful
3	5	DIDN'T WATCH THE DEBATES (VOL)
<u>*</u>	0	Don't know
100		

Q.14 Students are often given the grades A, B, C, D, or Fail to describe the quality of their work. Looking back over the campaign, what grade would you give to each of the following groups for the way they conducted themselves in the campaign? First... (START AT 'X')

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>Fail</u>	<u>DK</u>	
a. The press	8	22	33	19	16	2	= 100
b. The pollsters	13	29	29	12	11	6	
c. The campaign consultants	5	20	37	14	8	16	
d. The Republican party	11	34	31	12	10	2	
e. The Democratic party	7	26	45	13	7	2	
f. George Bush	15	34	26	13	11	1	
g. Michael Dukakis	9	29	40	13	7	1	
h. The voters	19	30	28	10	7	6	

Q.15 If you were the editor of your local newspaper four years from now, would you increase, decrease, or devote about the same amount of space to coverage of the presidential campaign?

18	1	Increase space for campaign coverage
22	2	Decrease space for campaign coverage
57	3	Same amount of space for campaign coverage
<u>3</u>	0	Don't know
100		

Q.16 How about the amount of space devoted to state and local campaigns? Would you increase it, decrease it, or leave it about the same?

35	1	Increase space for state and local campaign coverage
8	2	Decrease space for state and local campaign coverage
56	3	Same amount of space for state and local campaign coverage
<u>1</u>	0	Don't know
100		

Q.17 George Bush/Michael Dukakis was just elected president. After he is inaugurated on January 20th, he'll face a number of important issues. I am going to read you a list of five issues, and I'd like you to tell me which one you think should be the top priority for the Bush/Dukakis administration. (READ LIST. CIRCLE RESPONSE) Which one should be the second priority? (CIRCLE RESPONSE) And which one should be the third priority?

	<u>Top Priority</u>	<u>Second Priority</u>	<u>Third Priority</u>
a. Reducing the federal budget deficit	44	18	15
c. Negotiating further arms reductions with the Soviet Union	12	23	20
d. Improving protection of the environment	8	16	23
d. Increasing programs to meet the needs of families, such as child care and education	15	20	22
e. Protecting American jobs from foreign competition	20	21	17
DON'T KNOW	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$

Q.18 What kind of a President do you think George Bush will make? An excellent President, a good one, only a fair one, or a poor one?

11	1	Excellent
45	2	Good
33	3	Only fair
8	4	Poor
$\frac{3}{100}$	0	Don't Know

Q.19 What time of day did you vote? (IF NECESSARY, ASK WHETHER RESPONDENT VOTED IN THE MORNING OR AFTERNOON. CIRCLE A.M. OR P.M.)

___ Hour

___ Minutes

CIRCLE:

1 A.M.

2 P.M.

Q.20 What was the time on Election Day when you first found out that (Bush/Dukakis) had been projected the winner in the election, or didn't you hear about a projected winner? (RECORD ACTUAL TIME)

___ Hour

___ Minutes

0 Did not hear about a projected winner - GO TO Q.22

Q.21 As you may know, news people were conducting polls on Election Day by interviewing voters as they were leaving the polling place. Before you voted, did you hear the results of any of these polls?

7 1 Yes

93 2 No

$\frac{*}{100}$ 0 Don't Know

Q.22 As you may know, the 22nd Amendment to the Constitution limits Presidents to two terms of four years each. Would you like to see this Amendment repealed so that Presidents could run for more than two terms, or not?

18 1 Favor repeal of 22nd Amendment

33

80 2 Oppose repeal of 22nd Amendment

64

$\frac{2}{100}$ 0 Don't Know

$\frac{3}{100}$

* GALLUP POLL

Q.23 Some people say that the Soviet Union is undergoing major changes under Mikhail Gorbachev, while others say it is the same basic system being run by a different leader. Which view comes closer to your own?

65 1 Soviet Union is undergoing major changes

28 2 The same basic system being run by a different leader

$\frac{7}{100}$ 0 Don't know/can't tell

Q.24 Do you think that in the future the Soviet Union will be more likely or less likely to live in peace with its neighbors?

76 1 More Likely
16 2 Less likely
3 3 Changes won't make any difference (VOLUNTEERED)
5 0 Don't Know
100

Q.25 Do you think that during his administration, President Bush/Dukakis should make a special effort to help Mr. Gorbachev revive the Soviet economy or not?

47 1 Should make a special effort to help revive the Soviet economy
45 2 Should not make a special effort - GO TO Q.27
8 0 Don't know - GO TO Q.27
100

Q.26 Which of the following steps do you think he should take? (INTERVIEWER: RECORD ALL THAT APPLY AS LIST IS READ).

	<u>Should</u>	<u>Should Not</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. Offer to sell American agricultural products to the Soviet Union at the same discounted rates we charge our allies	75	20	5 = 100
b. Offer to buy Soviet products whenever possible, if their prices and quality are competitive	70	26	4
c. Encourage American businesses to establish trade agreements with the Soviet Union	83	12	5
d. Offer Soviet students scholarships so they can train at American universities	54	41	5.

Q.27 If you could buy a Soviet car that met all your needs and cost 10% less than any other car on the market, would you buy one or not?

20 1 Would buy a Soviet car
77 2 Would not buy a Soviet car
3 0 Don't Know
100

Q.28 In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

33 1 Republican - GO TO Q.30

34 2 Democrat - GO TO Q.30

30 3 Independent

2 4 No Preference

1 5 Other party

* 0 Don't Know
100

Q.29 Would you say you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

14 1 Republican

13 2 Democratic

6 0 Don't Know

One last question....

Q.30 As part of this project, some of the information in this survey will be used to prepare newspaper articles and ads. Would you be willing to talk about your views with another person from this project?

69 1 Yes, willing to talk about views

31 2 No, not willing to talk about views

