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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH



**DRAFT**

**U.S. NATIONAL POST ELECTION STUDY  
ANALYSIS REPORT**

Prepared for:

**Republican National Committee**

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Market Opinion Research  
and  
Republican National Committee

P88496  
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# US National Post Election Report

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## FOREWORD

### Purpose

This survey of the adult population of the 48 contiguous states was conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Republican National Committee. The major purposes of the study are outlined below:

- To analyze the voting patterns in the 1988 race for President and Congress
- To compare ~~the present~~ <sup>1984 and '88</sup> Republican presidential and congressional coalitions with those found in ~~1984~~ <sup>1984</sup>
- To assess the impact of ticket-splitting and time of vote decision <sup>in</sup> on the 1988 election ~~outcome~~
- To evaluate the perceived importance of ~~several~~ <sup>selected</sup> national issues
- To appraise public perceptions of the Republican Party
- To assess the mood of the electorate going into the Bush administration

*political and social characteristics of the*

This post-election study is part of a multi-component project designed to provide the Republican National Committee with a thorough analysis of the dynamics of the 1988 election, an assessment of where the Party stands going into the Bush administration and blueprints for party-building over the coming months.



**Research Design**

**Sample/Field**

Eighteen hundred (1800) telephone interviews were conducted between November 9th and 13th, 1988. They were administered to a probability-proportionate-to-size (PPS) sample of adults in the continental United States (excluding Alaska and Hawaii).

The sample is drawn using nine (9) independent samples, consisting of U.S. Census regional divisions.

Political Region	Adults, 1988	Number of Interviews
1. New England	5.2%	94
2. Middle Atlantic	16.0	288
3. East North Central	17.3	312
4. West North Central	7.0	126
5. South Atlantic	17.3	311
6. East South Central	6.1	109
7. West South Central	10.5	189
8. Mountain	5.4	97
9. Pacific	<u>15.2</u>	<u>273</u>
	100%	1800

**Sample Weights/Sampling Error**

The sample was checked against census and voting data. The sample was found to have a small underrepresentation of blacks and of adults under 25. Adjustment weights were applied by the program used in the subsequent analysis, i.e., fractional/machine weighing. The weighted N for the sample is eighteen hundred (1800).



The sample error for a simple random sample (N=1800) is  $\pm 2.3\%$  at the 95% level of confidence. This means that ninety-five out of one hundred simple random samples will have their estimate within plus or minus  $\pm 2.3\%$  of the population value.

governor and senators?

### Data Processing

Collapsed Scale

Full Scale

32%

The interviewing was done by MOR interviewers using the company's telephone facilities in Livonia, Michigan, South Bend, Indiana, and Las Vegas, Nevada. The interviews were validated, edited, coded and the data run in the home office of Market Opinion Research, Detroit, Michigan.

32%

32%

### Staff Participation

Study Design and Questionnaire: Frederick T. Steeper, Alexander P. Gage and Julie R. Weeks.

Analysis Report: Julie R. Weeks

The ticket-splitter should be considered as the most important target group as they can be more easily swayed by short-term influences such as candidate personalities and issues.





**Special Analysis Measures in the Report**

"Voter Type" in the analysis tables refers to the following data:

In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator?

	Full Scale	Collapsed Scale	
Straight Democratic	16%	Dem.	32%
Mostly Democratic	16		
A few more Democrats than Republicans	6		
About equally for both parties	20	T-S (Ticket-splitters)	33%
A few more Republicans than Democrats	7		
Mostly Republican	15	Rep.	25%
Straight Republican	10		
Other	*		
Never voted	8		
Don't know	2		
Refused/No answer	1		
	100%		

The ticket-splitters should be considered as the most important target group as they can be more easily swayed by short-term influences such as candidate personalities and issues.



"Status Groups" in the analysis tables refers to the following data:

Family Income	Education				
	Less Than High School Graduate	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate	Post Graduate
Less than \$15,000	LOWER	END			
\$15,000 - \$40,000		MIDDLE	CLASS	INTELLI - GENTSIA	
Over \$40,000	HIGH INCOME				

The above classification excludes the core Democratic social groups: blacks, Hispanics, and Jews. The latter groups are coded separately in the scale and are shown in the analysis tables only if there are enough cases for reliable analysis.

	Total
High income	21%
Intelligentsia	9
Middle class	30
Lower end	14
Jewish	4
Hispanic	5
Black	10
Not ascertained	8
	100%



"New Deal Groups" in the analysis tables refers to a regional, religious, and occupational segmenting of the electorate. These groups are found to have significantly different modes of political behavior. They are:

	Total
Northern (non-union) White Protestants	24%
Northern (non-union) White Catholics	14
Northern white union members	13
Southern whites (union and non-union)	24
Jewish	4
Black	10
Hispanic	5
All others	<u>7</u>
	100%

"Women's Typology" segments women by their age, marital status, and working status:

	Total
Housewives	8%
Working married	10
Working unmarried	8
Seniors	13
Others	<u>13</u>
	52%

"Voting Tendencies" is a compilation of several questions probing voters about whether or not they split their ticket this year and whether or not they had done so before.

	<b>Total</b>
Solid straight ticket Democrats	14%
Straight ticket Democrats	5
Mostly Democrats	16
More Democrats than Republicans	8
Pure ticket-splitters	15
More Republicans than Democrats	8
Mostly Republicans	17
Straight ticket Republicans	5
Solid straight ticket Republicans	10
Others	<u>3</u>
	100%

"Media Exposure" combines reported newspaper readership and TV news viewership during the last week of the election.

	<b>Total</b>
Low exposure (0-3 days)	15%
Moderate exposure (4-6 days)	42
High exposure (7 days)	<u>44</u>
	100%



QUESTION  
RESULTS



QUESTION RESULTS (chapter)

U.S. National Post Election  
Question Results

Q01. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Right direction	53%	61%
Wrong track	39	29
Don't know	8	9
Refused/NA	1	1
	(1800)	(3002)

Q02. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Strongly approve	29%	37%
Just somewhat approve	33	28
Just somewhat disapprove	15	11
Strongly disapprove	20	17
Don't know	2	5
Refused/NA	1	1

**Collapsed Responses**

Approve	62%	65%
Disapprove	35	29

Q03. Would you say that you and your family are better off financially or worse off or about the same as you were four years ago?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Better off	38%	42%
About the same	40	38
Worse off	20	18
Don't know	1	1
Refused/NA	*	*



QUESTION RESULT (b)(7)(D)  
 U.S. National Post Election  
 Q04. Thinking about people in your community, do you think they are generally better off, worse off, or about the same as they were four years ago?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Better off	30%	35%
About the same	41	34
Worse off	22	22
Don't know	7	8
Refused/NA	*	*

Thinking about the nation's economy . . .

Q05. Compared to a year ago, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Gotten better	25%	45%
Stayed about the same	41	33
Gotten worse	31	18
Don't know	3	4
Refused/NA	*	*

Q06. Thinking about a year from now, do you expect the national economy will be better or worse or about the same as now?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Better	26%	42%
About the same	39	29
Worse	28	22
Don't know	7	7
Refused/NA	*	*





Q07. Do you have more confidence in the policies and programs of (ROTATE: the Republican party or the Democratic party) to solve the problems facing the country?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Republican	45%	50%
Democratic	36	29
Both	3	4
Neither	10	10
Don't know	5	6
Refused/NA	1	1

Let's talk for a minute about the political campaigns this year . . .

Q08. Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say you have been very interested, somewhat interested, or not very interested in the political campaigns this year?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Very interested	46%	48%
Somewhat interested	38	37
Not very interested	16	15
Don't know	*	1
Refused/NA	*	*

Q09. Were any particular ISSUES important to you in this election?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Yes	67%	69%
No	32	17
Don't know	2	14
Refused/NA	*	*



(IF Q09=CODE 2, ASK:)

Q09A. Which ones? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

Selected responses

The national debt	16%	Education	9
Abortion	14	Creating jobs	7
The economy	14		
Defense policy	12		

(N=1197)

Q10. In talking with people, we found that some people weren't able to vote in the elections on November 8th. How about you, did you vote on November 8th or did something keep you from voting?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Did vote	80%	82%
Did not vote	20	18
Don't know	*	--
Refused/NA	*	*

Q11. In the election for President, did you vote for (ROTATE: George Bush and Dan Quayle, the Republicans or Michael Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen, the Democrats)?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. <sup>1</sup> 1984
George Bush/Dan Quayle	50%	56%
Michael Dukakis/Lloyd Bentsen	43	36
Don't know	2	7
Refused/NA	6	2
	(1442)	(2449)

<sup>1</sup>Reagan/Bush vs. Mondale/Ferraro.





Q11A. In the election for President, if you had voted, would you have voted for (ROTATE: George Bush and Dan Quayle, the Republicans or Michael Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen, the Democrats)?

Nov.  
1988

George Bush/Dan Quayle  
Michael Dukakis/Lloyd Bentsen

Don't know  
Refused/NA

Q12A. Would you say your vote was mainly a vote FOR George Bush and Dan Quayle or a vote AGAINST Mike Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen?

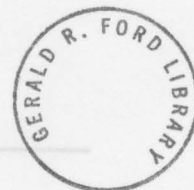
	Nov. 1988	Nov. <sup>1</sup> 1984
For Bush/Quayle	70%	79%
Against Dukakis/Bentsen	26	16
Don't know	3	3
Refused/NA	1	1
	(721)	(1381)

<sup>1</sup>Reagan/Bush vs. Mondale/Ferraro.

Q12B. Would you say your vote was mainly a vote FOR Mike Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen or a vote AGAINST George Bush and Dan Quayle?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. <sup>1</sup> 1984
For Dukakis/Bentsen	59%	53%
Against Bush/Quayle	38	43
Don't know	3	4
Refused/NA	*	1
	(614)	(877)

<sup>1</sup>Reagan/Bush vs. Mondale/Ferraro.



(IF Q11=CODES 1 OR 2, ASK:)

Q13. When would you say you finally made up your mind how you were going to vote for President -- (READ LIST SLOWLY -- ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM AND BOTTOM TO TOP)

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
On election day	6%	3%
A few days before election day	7	5
Last two weeks of October	9	8
First two weeks of October	11	6
In September	16	11
Before September	51	66
Don't know	1	1
Refused/NA	*	*
	(1335)	(2259)

Q14. For you personally, what were the most important issue differences between George Bush and Michael Dukakis in the Presidential campaign this year? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

<i>Combined responses</i> Social issues	32%	
Defense/Foreign policy	15	
Budget deficit/Economy	14	
Experience	12	
Strength/Trust	11	
Character	11	(N=1442)

Q15. In addition to the presidential race there were several other races on the ballot in (STATE NAME FROM SAMPLE PAGE). Did you vote in all, most, or a few of these other races on the ballot or did you vote just in the presidential race this year?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
All	72%	70%
Most	13	12
Few/One or two	8	7
Voted for President only	7	9
Don't know	*	*
Refused/NA	*	*
	(1442)	(2449)



Q16. Some states allow a voter to vote a straight party ticket, that is, for all the candidates of one party, by marking or punching one spot on the ballot or pulling one lever on a machine. Did you vote a straight party ticket this year or not?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Yes, straight party	34%	36%
No, did not	63	61
Voted in just one or two races	1	1
Not sure	1	1
Refused/NA	1	1
	(1442)	(2449)

Q17. Did you vote (ROTATE: straight Democratic or straight Republican)?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Democratic	55%	49%
Republican	42	49
Refused/NA	3	2
	(492)	(877)

Q18. Which of the following answers best describes how you voted in the races in (STATE NAME FROM SAMPLE PAGE) this year? (ALTERNATE CODES 1-5, TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Mostly Democratic	24%	23%
A few more Democrats than Republicans	12	10
About equally for both parties	22	24
A few more Republicans than Democrats	12	12
Mostly Republican	25	26
Don't know	2	--
Refused/NA	3	5
	(967)	(1539)



(IF Q17=CODE 1, ASK:)

Q19A. Is this the first time you've voted straight Democratic or have you voted straight Democratic before?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
First time	22%	18%
Never voted before	2	4
Not first time	75	76
Don't know Refused/NA	1 --	1 --
	(270)	(429)

(IF Q17=CODE 2, ASK:)

Q19B. Is this the first time you've voted straight Republican or have you voted straight Republican before?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
First time	29%	33%
Never voted before	3	3
Not first time	67	62
Don't know Refused/NA	2 --	2 --
	(205)	(430)

(IF Q17=CODE 1, ASK:)

Q20A. Why did you vote straight Democratic this year? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

*Combined responses*

<i>Partisanship</i>	34%
<i>Better candidates</i>	19
<i>Anti-Republican / Pres</i>	17
<i>Time for a change</i>	10
<i>For average person</i>	10

(N=268)





(IF Q17=CODE 2, ASK:)

Q20B. Why did you vote straight Republican this year? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Combined response  
Better candidates 25%  
Partisanship 23  
Anti-Dukakis/Democrat 15  
Status quo 7  
(207)

(IF Q16=CODES 2, 3, 4, OR F9, ASK:)

Q21. Compared to past elections, did you vote for more Republicans than you usually do, more Democrats than you usually do, or have you split your ticket like this before?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
More Republicans	19%	18%
Split before like this	58	66
More Democrats	15	10
First time voted	4	4
Don't know	4	2
Refused/NA	1	*
	(950)	(1462)

(IF Q21=CODE 1, ASK:)

Q22A. This year, why did you vote for more Republicans than you usually do? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Combined response  
Better candidates 37%  
Partisanship 25  
Anti-Dukakis/Democrat 14  
Status quo 7

(181)



(IF Q21=CODE 3, ASK:)

Q22B. This year, why did you vote for more Democrats than you usually do?  
(PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Common responses

Better candidates	34%
Anti-Bush/Republicans	16
Partisanship	14
Time for a change	8

Q23. In the election for U.S. Congress, this year, did you vote for (ROTATE: the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate) in your district?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Republican	40%	43%
Democratic	49	44
Other	2	1
Did not vote	4	6
Don't know	4	4
Refused/NA	2	3
	(1441)	(2449)

Q24A. Would you say that your vote was mainly FOR the Republican Party or candidate or AGAINST the Democratic Party or candidate?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
For the Republican Party	81%	80%
Against the Democratic Party	15	16
Don't know	2	3
Refused/NA	1	1
	(574)	(1042)



Q24B. Would you say that your vote was mainly FOR the Democratic Party or candidate or AGAINST the Republican Party or candidate?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
For the Democratic Party	83%	80%
Against the Democratic Party	11	16
Don't know	4	3
Refused/NA	1	1
	(704)	(1082)

Q25. When would you say you finally made up your mind how you were going to vote for U.S. Congress -- (READ LIST SLOWLY -- ROTATE READING TOP TO BOTTOM AND BOTTOM TO TOP)

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
On election day	9%	6%
A few days before election day	12	11
Last two weeks of October	15	14
First two weeks of October	9	8
In September	13	11
Before September	40	48
Don't know	2	2
Refused/NA	1	*
	(1305)	(2124)





Q26. How many national elections have you voted in before this year -- one, two, or more than two?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
1988 first time	4%	8%
One before 1988	8	
Two before 1988	13	13
Three or more before 1988	66	70
Never voted before	9	--
Don't know	1	1
Refused/NA	*	*
	(1800)	(2449)

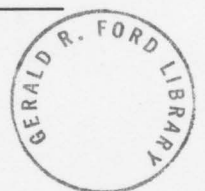
	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
On election day	9%	12
A few days before election day	12	13
Last two weeks of October	13	9
First two weeks of October	9	13
In September	13	40
Before September	40	
Don't know	2	2
Refused/NA	1	*
	(1208)	(2124)



I'd like you to rate your feelings towards some people and groups in politics using a zero to one hundred scale -- with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. If you don't have an impression about or have never heard of the person or group, just tell me and we'll go on to the next name. The first person/group is (READ AND ROTATE), how do you feel about him/them using a zero-to-100 scale?

(RANDOMIZE Q27-Q35)

	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	Avg. <sup>1</sup>
<b>Q27. Ronald Reagan</b>				
November, 1988	56%	17	27	58.9
November, 1984	61%	15	24	63.3
<b>Q31. Lloyd Bentsen</b>				
November, 1988	46%	33	22	57.3
<b>Q34. Democratic Party</b>				
November, 1988	45%	29	26	56.8
November, 1984	45%	31	24	57.0
<b>Q29. George Bush</b>				
November, 1988	52%	19	29	56.4
November, 1984	46%	25	29	54.0
<b>Q32. Republican Party</b>				
November, 1988	47%	27	26	56.1
November, 1984	53%	26	21	59.9
<b>Q28. Michael Dukakis</b>				
November, 1988	44%	22	34	52.6
<b>Q35. Conservatives</b>				
November, 1988	33%	40	27	51.8
<b>Q33. Liberals</b>				
November, 1988	23%	39	38	42.4
<b>Q30. Dan Quayle</b>				
November, 1988	27%	29	44	40.0



<sup>1</sup>Average computed on a 0-100° scale, where 0°=a very cold, unfavorable feeling and 100°=a very warm, favorable feeling.

Q36. NOT ASKED

(ROTATE Q37 AND Q38)

Q37. Which of these TWO statements about the Bush campaign do you think was more true?

(ROTATE)

Statement	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
The Bush campaign pointed out important differences between Bush and Dukakis.	37%	37%	37%	37%
(OR)				
The Bush campaign waged an unfair smear campaign against Mike Dukakis	48	48	48	48
Both	6	6	6	6
Neither	5	5	5	5
Don't know	4	4	4	4
Refused/NA	1	1	1	1



Q38. Which of these TWO statements about the Dukakis campaign do you think was more true?

(ROTATE)

			Nov. 1988
		The Dukakis campaign pointed out important differences between Bush and Dukakis.	49%
(OR)			
		The Dukakis campaign waged an unfair smear campaign against George Bush.	31
		Both	7
		Neither	9
		Don't know	4
		Refused/NA	1



Here are some things about the Republican Party that some people find attractive and other people do not like. For each one, please tell me if it tends to attract you to the Republican Party, pushes you away from the Republican Party, or has no effect on your opinion.

(RANDOMIZE Q39-Q51)

	Attracts	Pushes Away	No effect/ Don't know	PDI <sup>1</sup>
<b>Q47. Its approach toward the Soviet Union.<sup>2</sup></b>				
November, 1988	59%	14	27	+45
November, 1984	57%	21	22	+36
<b>Q41. Its support of a balanced budget amendment.</b>				
November, 1988	60%	16	24	+44
November, 1984	59%	13	28	+46
<b>Q49. Its position on nuclear arms control.</b>				
November, 1988	56%	21	23	+35
November, 1984	49%	28	23	+21
<b>Q43. Its support of voluntary school prayer.</b>				
November, 1988	55%	21	24	+34
November, 1984	50%	21	29	+29
<b>Q51. Its position on national defense.</b>				
November, 1988	58%	24	18	+34
November, 1984	57%	23	20	+34
<b>Q48. Its opposition to big government.</b>				
November, 1988	40%	24	35	+16
November, 1984	48%	19	33	+29
<b>Q42. Its opposition to a tax increase to reduce the deficit.</b>				
November, 1988	45%	34	21	+11
November, 1984	50%	28	22	+22



	Attracts	Pushes Away	No effect/ Don't know	PDI <sup>1</sup>
<b>Q50. Its position on Social Security.</b>				
November, 1988	39%	29	32	+10
November, 1984	43%	30	28	+13
<b>Q46. Its position on women's rights.</b>				
November, 1988	37%	28	35	+9
November, 1984	35%	27	38	+8
<b>Q45. Its support for military action to contain the communist influence in Central America.</b>				
November, 1988	41%	34	25	+7
November, 1984	43%	30	27	+13
<b>Q44. Its position on the environment.</b>				
November, 1988	36%	31	33	+5
November, 1984	36%	24	41	+12
<b>Q40. Its position on government spending.</b>				
November, 1988	36%	40	24	-4
November, 1984	45%	29	26	+16
<b>Q39. Its opposition to abortion.</b>				
November, 1988	35%	41	23	-6
November, 1984	29%	36	34	-7

<sup>1</sup>PDI: Percentage Difference Index=% Attracts minus % Pushes Away.

<sup>2</sup>Wording in 1984 was "tough-minded approach".

Q52. NOT ASKED



Q53. What do you think were the main themes or messages that George Bush and Republicans were trying to communicate to the voters during the campaign this year? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

		<u>Combined response</u>	
+10	32	Status quo	20%
+13	28	Anti-Dukakis	15
		Defense/Foreign policy	15
+9	22	Economy/Deficit	11
+8	28	Social issues	11

Q54. What do you think were the main themes or messages that Michael Dukakis and Democrats were trying to communicate to the voters during the campaign this year? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

		<u>Combined response</u>	
+7	25	Social issues	35%
+13	27	More govt spending/Programs/Involvement	32
		Time for a change	16
+2	23	Economy/Deficit	12
+13	11	Defense/Foreign policy	6





Now I'd like to ask a slightly different question . . .

I'd like you to rate the importance of some problems and issues in 1989 using a zero-to-ten scale. If you think an issue will deserve to receive a great deal of attention, you might rate it a ten or a number close to ten. If you think an issue will not require a great deal of attention from the federal government, you might give it a zero or a number close to zero. Of course, you can use any of the numbers from zero to ten, the higher the number, the more attention the federal government should give the problem compared to other problems next year.

Now, on a zero-to-ten scale, what priority would you give to . . .

(RANDOMIZE Q55-QAA)

	High	Midpoint	Low	DK/ Ref.	Avg. <sup>1</sup>
<b>QAA. Combatting illegal drugs</b>					
November, 1988	90%	3	5	2	8.9
<b>Q62. Improving the quality of public education</b>					
November, 1988	92%	4	3	1	8.9
November, 1984	86%	8	5	1	8.2
<b>Q56. Reducing waste in federal spending</b>					
November, 1988	91%	4	4	2	8.9
November, 1984	82%	9	8	1	8.1
<b>Q64. Reducing crime</b>					
November, 1988	90%	5	3	2	8.8
November, 1984	85%	8	5	1	8.3
<b>Q60. Reducing the federal budget deficit</b>					
November, 1988	88%	6	3	3	8.7
November, 1984	82%	9	6	2	8.2
<b>Q63. Protecting the environment<sup>2</sup></b>					
November, 1988	89%	6	3	2	8.6
November, 1984	84%	9	5	2	8.1



	High	Midpoint	Low	DK/ Ref.	Avg. <sup>1</sup>
<b>Q71. Helping the elderly and retired</b>					
November, 1988	90%	3	5	2	8.6
November, 1984	89%	6	3	1	8.4
<b>Q55. Controlling inflation</b>					
November, 1988	89%	6	4	2	8.5
November, 1984	80%	10	8	1	7.8
<b>Q57. Reaching a nuclear arms control agreement</b>					
November, 1988	86%	7	5	3	8.5
November, 1984	78%	11	9	2	8.0
<b>Q70. Reducing welfare fraud and abuse</b>					
November, 1988	85%	7	7	2	8.4
November, 1984	81%	8	9	1	8.1
<b>Q59. Maintaining a strong national defense</b>					
November, 1988	85%	8	6	2	8.3
November, 1984	79%	11	8	1	7.9
<b>Q58. Reducing unemployment</b>					
November, 1988	82%	8	8	2	8.1
November, 1984	85%	8	6	1	8.2
<b>Q67. Holding down taxes</b>					
November, 1988	81%	10	7	2	8.1
November, 1984	84%	10	5	1	8.2
<b>Q68. Passing a balanced budget amendment</b>					
November, 1988	77%	11	8	5	7.9
November, 1984	69%	13	12	6	7.3
<b>Q61. Increasing assistance to lower income families</b>					
November, 1988	68%	16	14	2	7.1
November, 1984	67%	15	16	1	7.0

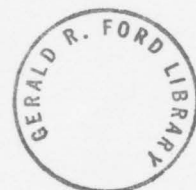


	High	Midpoint	Low	DK/Ref.	Avg. <sup>1</sup>
<b>Q65. Containing communist influence in Central America</b>					
November, 1988	62%	14	19	5	6.7
November, 1984	65%	15	15	6	7.0
<b>Q66. Allowing prayers in the public schools</b>					
November, 1988	55%	15	28	5	6.3
November, 1984	54%	15	29	3	6.2
<b>Q69. Making most abortions illegal</b>					
November, 1988	43%	13	41	4	5.1
November, 1984	40%	14	41	5	5.0

<sup>1</sup>Average based on a 0-10 scale, where 0=very low priority and 10=very high priority.  
<sup>2</sup>1984 wording: "Protecting the environment and controlling hazardous waste."

Q72. How many days IN THE PAST WEEK did you watch news programs on TV?

	Nov. 1988
1	3%
2	5
3	7
4	6
5	10
6	5
Every day	60
None	5
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	*



Q73. How many days IN THE PAST WEEK did you read a daily newspaper?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
1	6%	7%
2	7	7
3	7	4
4	4	6
5	6	3
6	3	55
Every day	55	11
None	11	*
Don't know	*	*
Refused/NA	*	*

(IF Q10=CODE 2, ASK:)

QAB. In the election November 8th, did you . . . (READ RESPONSES)

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Vote by absentee ballot	7%	9%
Vote at your polling place	93	90
Don't know	*	*
Refused/NA	*	*
	(1442)	(1052)

(IF QAB=CODE 1, ASK:)

QAC. How many days before the election did you mail in or drop off your absentee ballot?

11.7

(RECORD NUMBER OF DAYS)

(97)





Now, a few questions for statistical purposes . . .

QD1. (PARTYID) Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a REPUBLICAN, a DEMOCRAT, an INDEPENDENT or what?

Qa. (INTENSE) Would you call yourself a STRONG (Rep./Dem.) or a NOT VERY STRONG (Rep./Dem.)?

Qb. (LEAN) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Strong Democrat	19%	17%
Weak Democrat	16	13
Independent Democrat	11	11
Independent	8	10
Independent Republican	12	18
Weak Republican	15	13
Strong Republican	18	17

QD2. (VOTETYPE) In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 1 THROUGH 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

	Nov. 1988
Straight Democratic	16%
Mostly Democratic	16
A few more Democrats than Republicans	6
About equally for both parties	20
A few more Republicans than Democrats	7
Mostly Republican	15
Straight Republican	10
Other	1
Never voted	8
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	1





QD3. (REGISTER) Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Yes	86%	85%
No	12	12
Registered elsewhere	2	3
Don't know	*	*
Refused/NA	*	*

QD7A. (LIBCON2) On political issues do you consider yourself a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate?

QD7B. (LIBCON) Would you call yourself extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?

QD7C. (CLOSER) Do you think of yourself as closer to being liberal or being conservative?

	Nov. 1988
Extremely liberal	3%
Fairly liberal	9
Slightly liberal	3
Moderately liberal	15
Moderate	8
Moderately conservative	26
Slightly conservative	7
Fairly conservative	17
Extremely conservative	5

QD8A. (BIRTH) In what year were you born?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
18-24	15%	16%
25-34	24	23
35-44	19	19
45-54	13	13
55-64	12	12
65+	17	16

QD9. (EDOFR) What is the last grade of school you completed?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	5%	5%
Some high school (Grade 9-11)	7	10
Graduated high school	37	34
Vocational school/Technical school	3	2
Some college-2 years or less	15	15
Some college-more than 2 years	9	8
Graduated college	15	15
Post-graduate work	8	9
Refused	*	1

QD10. (WORKING) Are you currently. . .(READ 1-5 ANSWER ONLY)

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Employed and working full-time	50%	50%
Employed and working part-time	11	10
Unemployed	5	6
Retired	19	18
Housewife	10	11
Temporarily laid off	*	1
Student	3	--
Other	2	5
Don't know	*	*
Refused/NA	*	*

QD11. (MARITAL) What is your present marital status?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Single	26%	25%
Married	60	58
Divorced	5	6
Separated	1	1
Widow/Widower	8	8
Don't know	*	*
Refused/NA	*	1



QD19. (RES) Do you belong to a labor union or teachers' association?

QD19A. (OTHERM) Does anyone ELSE in your household belong to a labor union or teachers' association?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Union household	16%	14%
Teacher household	6	15
Non-union/teacher household	78	73

QX. Have you served in the U.S. armed forces, reserves, or national guard? Which one?

	Nov. 1988
U.S. Armed Forces	17%
Reserves	1
National guard	1
No	81
Don't know	--
Refused/NA	*

QY. When did you serve?

	Nov. 1988
Before 1940	3%
WWII/1941-1945	30
1946-1949	3
KOREAN WAR/1950-1952	10
1953-1965	18
VIETNAM WAR/1966-1975	17
1976-present	18
Refused/NA	*

(346)



QD21. (RELIGION) Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist etc.)	51%	55%
Roman Catholic	27	27
Jewish	4	3
Other Christian	10	8
Other non-Christian/Unspecified	3	2
Agnostic/Atheist	1	1
None	3	3
Don't know	*	*
Refused	*	1

QD21D. (GOCHURCH) Would you say you go to church . . .

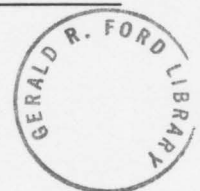
	Nov. 1988
Every week	29%
Almost every week	15
Once or twice a month	15
A few times a year	29
Never	12
Refused	*

(1588)

QD21E. (EVAN) Do you consider yourself an EVANGELICAL Christian, a FUNDAMENTALIST, or neither one?

	Nov. 1988
Evangelical	17%
Fundamentalist	6
Both	1
Neither	70
Don't know	5
Refused/NA	1

(1588)





QD24. (HOWLONG) How long have you lived at your present address?

	Nov. 1988
Less than 1 year	13%
1-5 years	28
6-10 years	13
Over 10 years	39
All my life	6
Don't know	*
Refused/NA	1

QD25. (INCOME) Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1987 before taxes? (JUST STOP ME WHEN I READ THE CORRECT CATEGORY)

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Under \$10,000	9%	15%
\$10,000-\$15,000 (14,999)	9	13
\$15,000-\$20,000 (19,999)	11	11
\$20,000-\$25,000 (24,999)	10	12
\$25,000-\$30,000 (29,999)	11	11
\$30,000-\$40,000 (39,999)	13	13
\$40,000-\$50,000 (49,999)	9	7
\$50,000-\$75,000 (74,999)	8	7
\$75,000 and over	6	na
Don't know	4	5
Refused	10	7

QD25A. (FAMINC) Would you please tell me if your family income was under or over \$40,000?

	Nov. 1988
Under \$40,000	27%
Over \$40,000	7
Don't know	17
Refused	50
	(257)





QD26. (RACE) (TRANSFER FROM NATIONALITY OR ASK:) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?

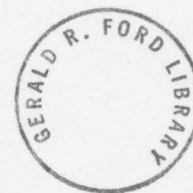
	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
White	82%	84%
Black	11	11
Hispanic/Spanish American/Chicano	5	4
Oriental	1	*
American Indian	*	*
Other	2	1
Not ascertained	*	*

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QD28. (SEX) Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

	Nov. 1988	Nov. 1984
Male	48%	48%
Female	52	52

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ANALYSIS



THE 1988 ELECTION

The Race for President

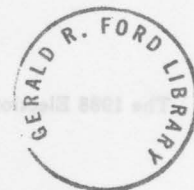
Voting Patterns

When all ~~was~~<sup>is</sup> said and done, the 1988 election was very similar in structure to the 1984 presidential election. A majority of voters cast their ballots in affirmation of the status quo and the current direction of things in the country, while voters who desired a change voted for the Democratic ticket. All told, the Republican ticket of George Bush and Dan Quayle bested the Democratic ticket of Michael Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen by a 54% to 46% margin.

The Bush/Quayle ticket won nationally by carrying 94% of the committed Republican vote, 63% of the ticket-splitting vote, and attracting 10% of the nation's Democrats to their column. The Republican ticket garnered a majority in every region of the country, with the exception of the New England and the Pacific states. The Bush/Quayle ticket did best in the Mountain, Deep South, and Mid-Atlantic regions, where they pulled 59%, 58% and 57% of the vote, respectively.

Demographically, the ticket did well among a variety of groups, garnering 70% of the vote among Southern whites, 68% of the vote among non-minority voters under the age of 30, 68% of the vote among non-minority voters earning \$40,000 a year or more, 69% of the vote among Vietnam era veterans, 66% of the vote among non-minority men, and 69% of the vote among non-working women.

The Democratic ticket, on the other hand, garnered a majority of the vote only among the following voter groups:



Highly partisan pattern

- Behavioral Democrats
- Voters in the Pacific and New England regions
- Blacks
- Hispanics
- Jewish voters
- Working women

*what % of all voters in this group?*

It is important to note also that the Dukakis/Bentsen ticket attracted a 56% vote share among Reagan Democrats. The 44% vote share for the Bush/Quayle ticket accounted for 16% of the 1988 Republican presidential coalition. This is only 5% less than the 21% coalition that Reagan Democrats represented in 1984. Thus, even though the Bush/Quayle ticket did not attract a majority of Reagan Democrats, the percentage they did attract is not too far different from the total number of Reagan Democrats in 1984.

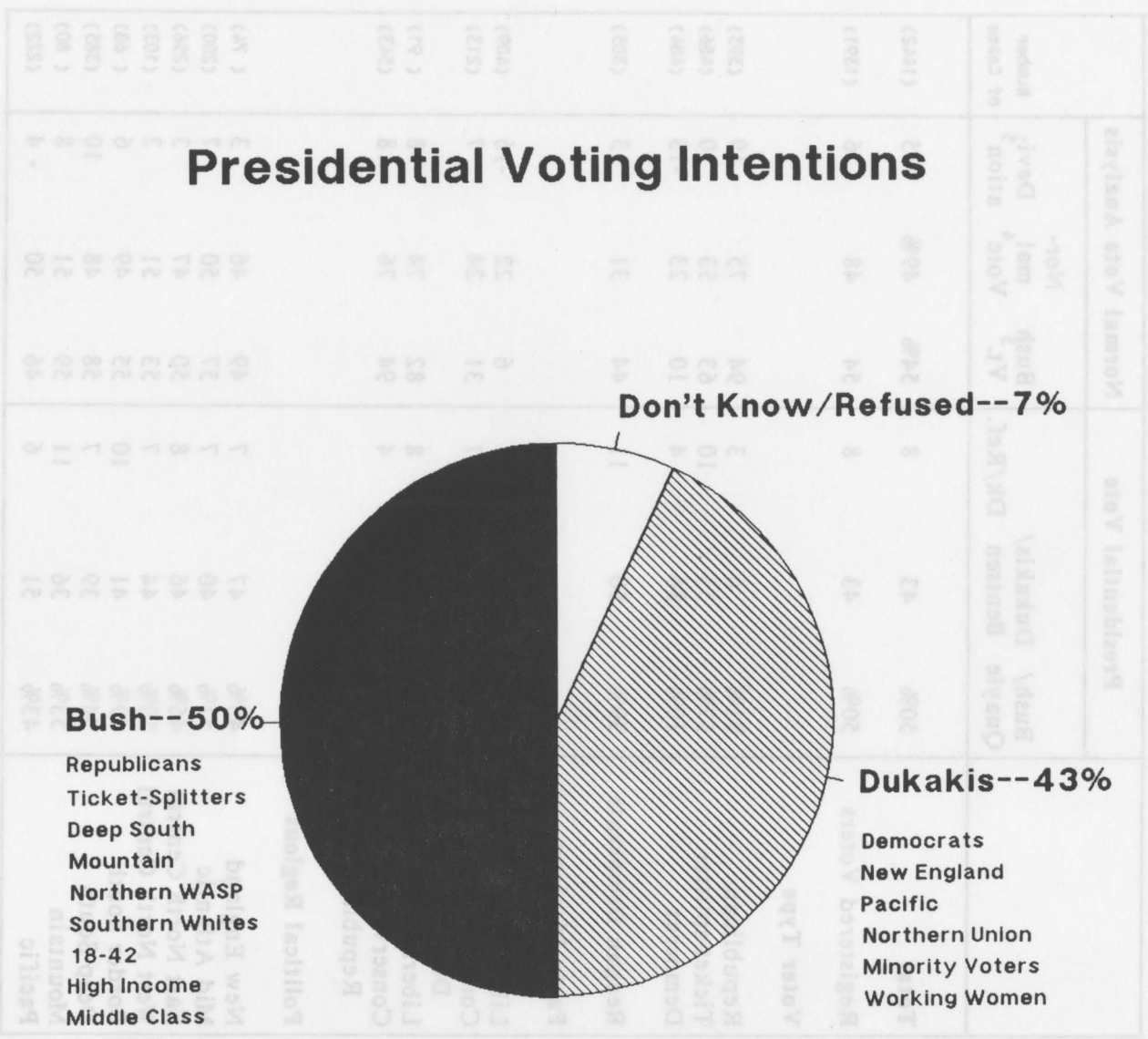
To further compare the 1988 and 1984 presidential coalitions, a demographic profile of each presidential coalition is presented in Table <sup>2.2</sup> X. The political, geographic, and demographic characteristics of each winning coalition are quite similar. In each instance, Republicans made up half of the winning Republican coalition, just under 40% were ticket-splitters, and the remainder were Democrats. There is also very little regional variation between the 1988 and 1984 Republican coalitions. The only major difference between the Bush/Quayle coalition and the Reagan/Bush coalition is a larger share for the current coalition of middle class voters. In 1984, one quarter (25%) of the Republican presidential coalition were middle class voters. Currently, one third (34%) of the presidential coalition are members of the middle class. In comparing other demographic characteristics, such as age, sex, religion, and union status, the 1984 and 1988 presidential coalition are very similar.







# Presidential Voting Intentions



- Bush--50%**
- Republicans
  - Ticket-Splitters
  - Deep South
  - Mountain
  - Northern WASP
  - Southern Whites
  - 18-42
  - High Income
  - Middle Class
  - Housewives
  - Veterans
  - Religious Voters

- Dukakis--43%**
- Democrats
  - New England
  - Pacific
  - Northern Union
  - Minority Voters
  - Working Women

STATISTICS OF REPORTED PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

TABLE 01

Market Opinion Research



Market Opinion Research

TABLE 0.1  
SUMMARY OF REPORTED PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

	Presidential Vote			Normal Vote Analysis			Number of Cases
	Bush/Quayle	Dukakis/Bentsen	Dk/Ref.	Bush Vt. <sup>3</sup>	Normal Vote <sup>4</sup>	Devi-ation <sup>5</sup>	
<b>Total</b>	50%	43	8	54%	49%	5	(1442)
Registered Voters	50%	43	8	54	48	6	(1391)
<b>Voter Type</b>							
Republican	91%	6	3	94	75	19	(393)
Ticket-splitter	57%	33	10	63	53	10	(486)
Democrat	10%	86	4	10	23	-13	(484)
<b>Reagan Democrats</b>	39%	50	11	44	31	13	(305)
<b>Party Ideology</b>							
Liberal Democrat	6%	88	7	6	22	-16	(409)
Conservative Democrat	29%	65	7	31	24	7	(213)
Liberal Republican	75%	17	8	82	74	8	( 91)
Conservative Republican	90%	6	4	94	76	18	(543)
<b>Political Regions</b>							
New England	45%	47	7	49	46	3	( 74)
Mid Atlantic	52%	40	7	57	50	7	(200)
East North Central	46%	46	8	50	47	3	(256)
West North Central	50%	44	7	53	51	2	(103)
Border South	49%	41	10	55	49	6	( 68)
Deep South	54%	39	7	58	48	10	(385)
Mountain	53%	36	11	59	51	8	( 80)
Pacific	43%	51	6	46	50	- 4	(222)



TABLE 0.1

SUMMARY OF REPORTED PRESIDENTIAL VOTE (cont'd.)

	Presidential Vote			Normal Vote Analysis			Number of Cases
	Bush/Quayle	Dukakis/Bentsen	Dk/Ref.	Bush Vt. <sup>3</sup>	Normal Vote <sup>4</sup>	Deviation <sup>5</sup>	
<b>Age<sup>1</sup></b>							
18-29	65%	31	4	68	60	8	(242)
30-42	57%	38	6	60	53	7	(357)
43-54	52%	37	11	59	53	6	(211)
55-64	53%	38	8	58	49	9	(168)
65+	57%	33	10	64	54	10	(216)
<b>Sex<sup>1</sup></b>							
Men	60%	31	9	66	57	9	(588)
Women	55%	40	6	58	51	7	(608)
<b>Socio-economic Status Group</b>							
High Income	64%	30	6	68	59	9	(328)
Intelligentsia	58%	38	4	60	55	5	(148)
Middle Class	57%	35	8	62	53	9	(437)
Lower End	51%	44	5	54	48	6	(167)
Jewish	21%	71	9	23	25	- 2	( 56)
Hispanic	32%	57	10	36	41	- 5	( 51)
Black	6%	89	5	7	17	-10	(139)
<b>New Deal Groups</b>							
Northern WASP	60%	34	6	64	56	8	(356)
Northern Catholic	54%	33	12	62	55	7	(192)
Northern Union	45%	51	4	47	50	- 3	(202)
Southern White	64%	28	7	70	55	15	(357)

*See page 13*

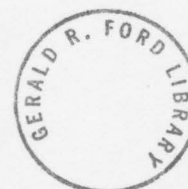


TABLE 0.1

SUMMARY OF REPORTED PRESIDENTIAL VOTE (cont'd.)

	Presidential Vote				Normal Vote Analysis			Number of Cases
	Bush/Quayle	Dukakis/Bentsen	Bush/Dk/Ref.	Bush Vt. <sup>3</sup>	Normal Vote <sup>4</sup>	Deviation <sup>5</sup>		
<b>Women</b>								
Housewives	68%	31	1	69	55	14	(111)	
Working married	45%	50	6	48	46	2	(154)	
Working unmarried	34%	63	3	35	38	- 3	(107)	
Seniors	46%	45	9	51	46	5	(194)	
<b>Demographic Target Groups</b>								
Veterans <sup>2</sup>	64%	29	7	69	59	10	( 75)	
Religious	78%	19	4	80	64	16	(169)	
<b>Vote Decision Made</b>								
Nov. 8	45%	55	--	45	43	2	( 77)	
Few days before	53%	47	--	53	48	5	( 93)	
Last 2 weeks Oct.	58%	42	--	58	52	6	(122)	
First 2 weeks Oct.	59%	41	--	59	48	11	(144)	
September or before	54%	46	--	54	50	4	(888)	

1 Non-Minority.  
 2 Vietnam era.  
 3 Committed Bush vote.  
 4 Vote expected of a Republican candidate if partisanship were the only factor.  
 5 Committed Bush vote minus normal vote.

*Handwritten signature: Mr. [unclear]*



TABLE 0.2

COMPARISON OF 1988 AND 1984 PRESIDENTIAL COALITIONS

	Presidential Coalition	
	1988	1984
<b>Voter Type</b>		
Republican	50%	52%
Ticket-splitter	38	39
Democrat	7	9
<b>Reagan Democrats</b>	16	21
<b>Party/Ideology</b>		
Liberal Democrat	3	--
Conservative Democrat	9	--
Liberal Republican	10	--
Conservative Republican	68	--
<b>Political Regions</b>		
New England	5	7
Mid Atlantic	15	15
East North Central	16	18
West North Central	7	8
Border South	9	8
Deep South	29	26
Mountain	6	6
Pacific	13	14
<b>Age</b>		
18-24	12	14
25-34	24	22
35-44	22	20
45-54	12	15
55-64	13	13
65+	18	16
<b>Sex</b>		
Men	51	51
Women	49	49





TABLE 0.2

COMPARISON OF 1988 AND 1984 PRESIDENTIAL COALITIONS (cont'd.)

	Presidential Coalition	
	1988	1984
<b>Age/Sex</b>		
Men 18-39	24	--
Men 40+	24	--
Women 18-39	19	--
Women 40+	26	--
<b>Socioeconomic Status Groups</b>		
High Income	29	32
Intelligentsia	12	10
Middle Class	34	25
Lower End	12	16
Jewish	2	2
Hispanic	2	3
Black	1	2
<b>New Deal Groups</b>		
Northern WASP	30	34
Northern Catholic	14	15
Northern Union	12	11
Southern White	32	31
<b>Women</b>		
Housewives	11	--
Working married	10	--
Working unmarried	5	--
Seniors	12	--





Time of Vote Decision

Fully half of the 1988 electorate say they made up their mind for whom to vote before the fall campaign got under way. Another 16% of the electorate say they made their minds up in September, 11% decided during the first two weeks of October, 9% decided during the last two weeks of October, 7% just a few days before election day, and 6% on November 3. This is quite similar to the results found after the 1984 election.

Clearly, the month of October was Bush's best campaign period. Voters who made their vote decision in the first two weeks of October split for Bush 39% to 41%, and those who made their vote decision during the last two weeks of October split 58% to 42% for Bush. Voters who made up their minds in September or before voted 34% to 46% for Bush. Those who decided just a few days before the election split 33% to 47%, which shows the race was tightening during the last week of the campaign. Those voters who made up their minds on election day actually split 55% to 45% for the Dukakis/Bentsen ticket, although these voters are disproportionately more Democratic to begin with. Even after factoring in the partisanship of these voter groups, however, it is clear that the race was at its widest point in early October, after which it began to tighten up. The committed Bush vote was 4 points ahead of the expected Republican vote among those deciding in September or before, rose to 11 points among those voters deciding in early October, fell to 6 points during the last two weeks of October, 2 points a few days before the election, and was only 2 points above the expected Republican vote on election day.



*Time of Vote Decision*

Fully half of the 1988 electorate say they made up their mind <sup>5</sup> for whom to vote before the fall campaign got under way. Another 16% of the electorate say they made their minds up in September, 11% decided during the first two weeks of October, 9% decided during the last two weeks of October, 7% just a few days before election day, and 6% on November 8. This is quite similar to the results found after the 1984 election.

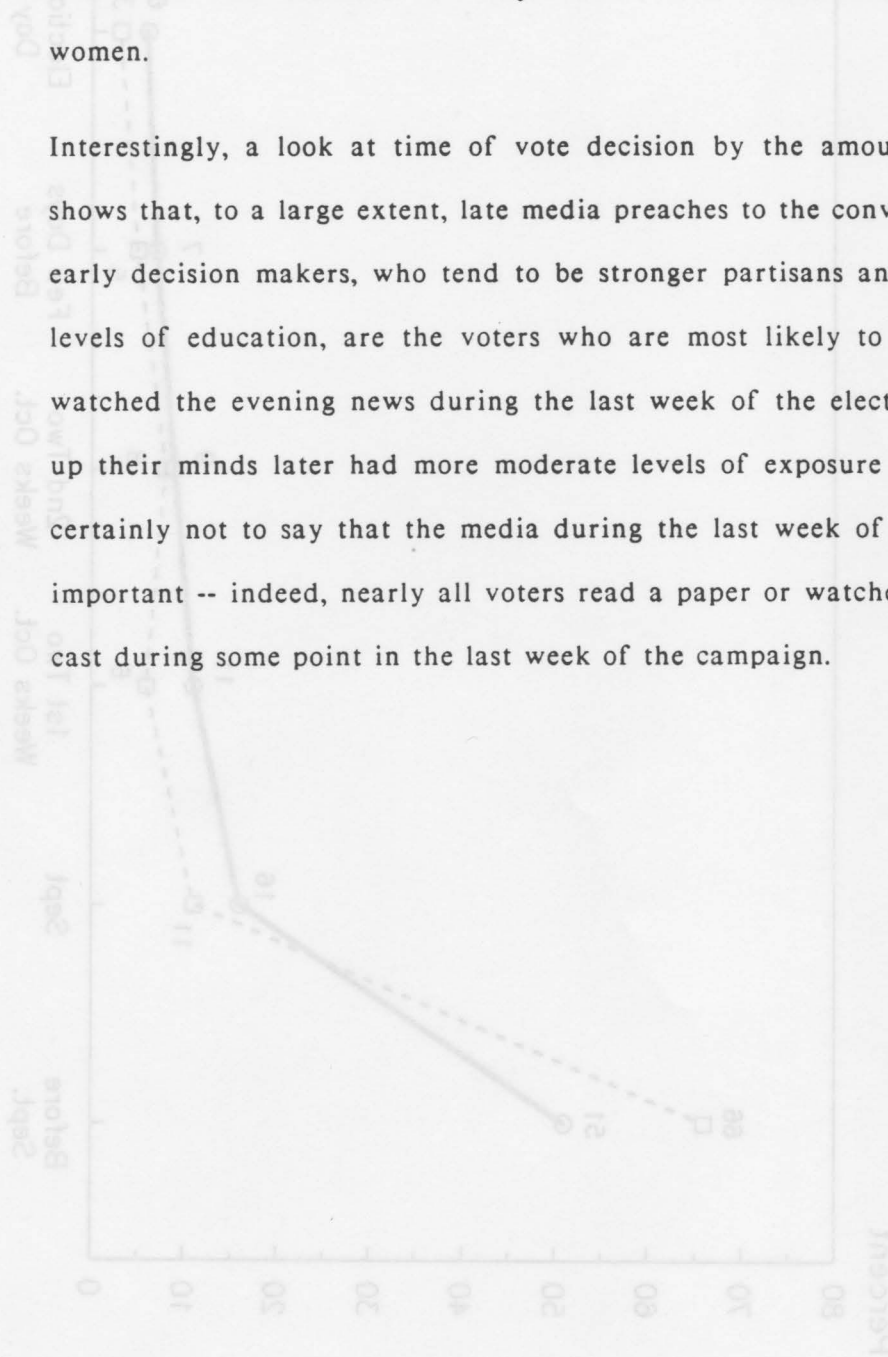
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11/05/88  
 11/05/88  
 Normal vote  
 11/05/88

## Market Opinion Research

Not unexpectedly, voters who make up their minds early tend to be stronger partisans than those who make up their minds later. In addition, older voters tend to make up their minds early, while younger voters decide later. It is also the case that those who decide a few days before or on election day are predominately women.

Interestingly, a look at time of vote decision by the amount of media exposure shows that, to a large extent, late media preaches to the converted. In other words, early decision makers, who tend to be stronger partisans and tend to have higher levels of education, are the voters who are most likely to have read a paper or watched the evening news during the last week of the election. Those who made up their minds later had more moderate levels of exposure to the media. This is certainly not to say that the media during the last week of the campaign was not important -- indeed, nearly all voters read a paper or watched the TV news broadcast during some point in the last week of the campaign.





## Time of Decision Making: Presidential Race

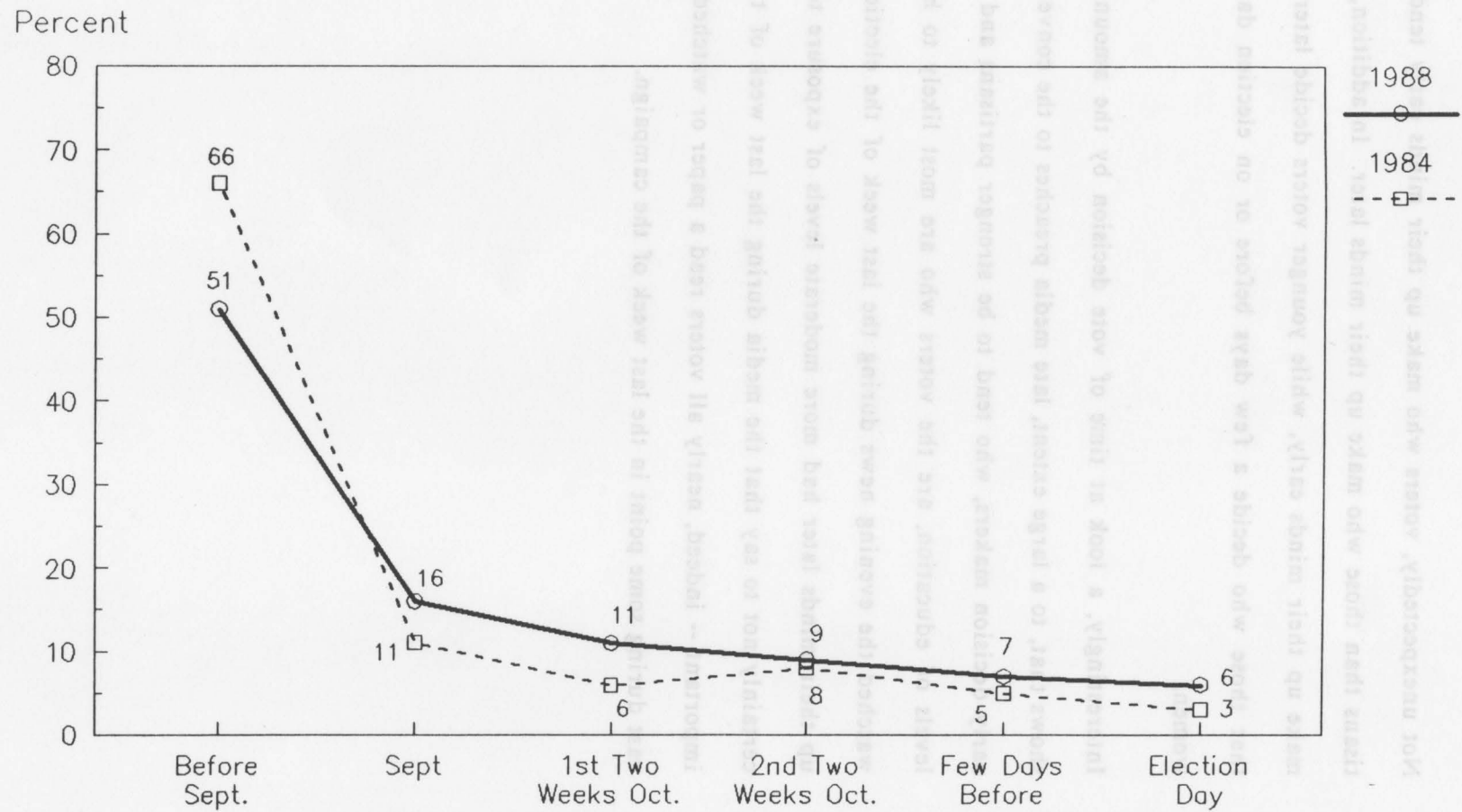


TABLE 0.3

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF PRESIDENTIAL VOTE DECISION

	Total	Vote Decision Made				
		Nov. 8	Few Days Before	Last 2 Wks Oct.	First 2 Wks Oct.	Sept. or Before
<b>Voting Tendencies</b>						
Straight ticket Democrats	19%	21%	10%	12%	11%	23%
Split ticket Democrats	24	26	37	27	29	21
Ticket-splitters	15	34	19	20	19	10
Split ticket Republicans	25	13	29	25	28	27
Straight ticket Republicans	14	6	8	12	12	17
<b>Political Region</b>						
New England	5	4	5	7	4	5
Mid Atlantic	16	13	15	16	10	15
East North Central	17	22	19	20	23	16
West North Central	7	10	6	9	5	7
Border South	8	10	6	6	10	8
Deep South	26	19	22	23	26	29
Mountain	5	4	5	4	5	6
Pacific	15	16	22	16	16	15
<b>Age</b>						
18-24	15	11	20	14	19	10
25-34	24	27	22	22	18	23
35-44	19	28	17	20	22	20
45-54	13	11	21	12	15	12
55-64	12	12	7	12	11	16
65+	17	10	12	19	15	18
<b>Sex</b>						
Men	48	35	37	52	44	49
Women	52	64	63	49	56	51

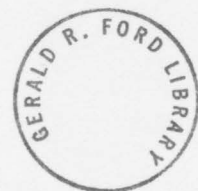




TABLE 0.3

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF PRESIDENTIAL VOTE DECISION (cont'd.)

	Total	Vote Decision Made				
		Nov. 8	Few Days Before	Last 2 Wks Oct.	First 2 Wks Oct.	Sept. or Before
<b>Socioeconomic Status</b>						
High Income	21	17	29	20	29	23
Intelligentsia	9	10	10	15	7	11
Middle Class	30	36	33	34	31	28
Lower End	14	16	12	14	9	12
Jewish	4	3	2	3	3	4
Hispanic	5	6	2	2	6	3
Black	10	9	4	7	8	11
<b>New Deal Groups</b>						
Northern WASP	24	18	25	30	26	25
Northern Catholic	14	18	24	13	8	11
Northern Union	13	18	16	20	17	13
Southern White	24	19	22	22	25	26
<b>Women</b>						
Housewives	8	5	9	11	10	8
Working married	10	14	22	10	13	9
Working unmarried	8	14	10	7	6	8
Seniors	13	13	11	13	13	13
<b>Media Exposure</b>						
Low	15	22	20	12	13	11
Moderate	42	48	43	42	40	38
High	44	29	37	46	47	51



Positive and Negative Voting

Despite the public outcry during the course of the fall campaign about negative advertising and anti-voting, most voters who cast a vote cast it for their respective presidential choice rather than against the other ticket. Among those voting for the Bush/Quayle ticket, 71% said their vote was mainly for Bush and Quayle, while only 29% were casting their vote against the Dukakis/Bentsen ticket. Among the Dukakis/Bentsen voters, 59% cast a positive vote, while 38% stated they were voting against Bush/Quayle.

Although there is a greater protest-vote among Democratic voters, the same was seen in the 1984 election. In 1984, 79% of Reagan voters were voting for the Republican ticket and only 16% voting against the Democratic ticket, while among Mondale voters 53% voted for Mondale and 43% were voting against the Reagan/Bush ticket. Thus, there is even less of an anti-Republican protest vote in 1988 than in 1984.

Anti-Bush sentiment did rise during the last few weeks of the campaign, however. Overall, 16% of the votes cast nationwide were anti-Bush votes. However, 23% of those who made up their minds a few days before the election cast an anti-Bush vote and 22% of those who voted on election day were voting against the Bush/Quayle ticket. The last week of the campaign did see an increase in anti-Bush sentiment, then, but it was not much larger than the anti-Bush sentiment which existed earlier in the campaign and was less than the anti-Reagan sentiment in

1984



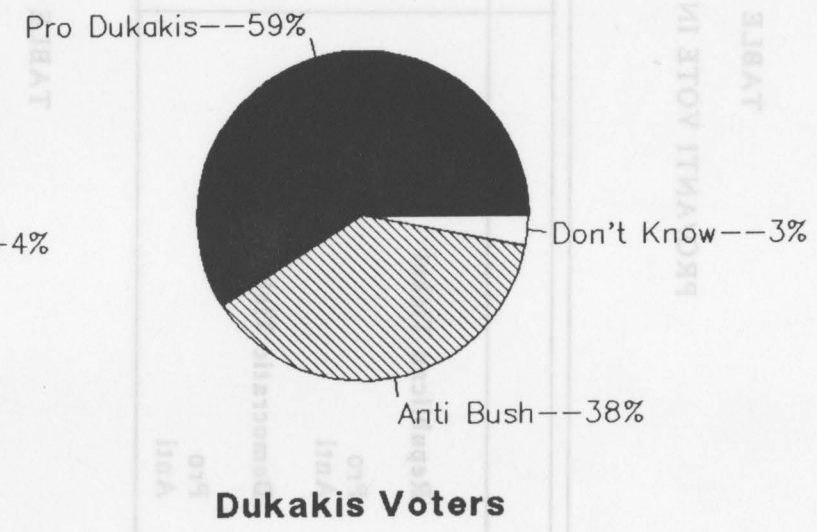
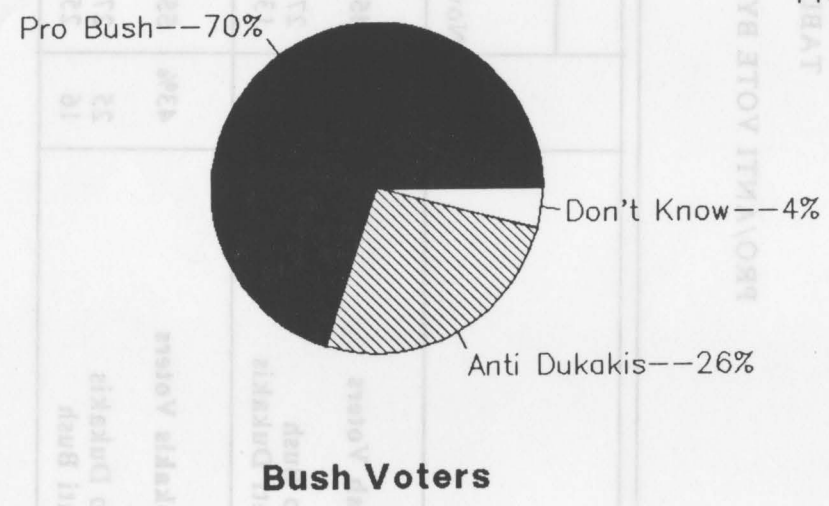
*Positive and Negative Voting*

Despite the <sup>media</sup> public outcry during the course of the fall campaign about negative advertising and anti-voting, most voters who cast a vote cast it for their respective presidential choice rather than **against** the other ticket. Among those voting for the Bush/Quayle ticket, 71% said their vote was mainly for Bush and Quayle, while only 26% were casting their vote against the Dukakis/Bentsen ticket. Among the Dukakis/Bentsen voters, 59% cast a positive vote, while 38% stated they were voting against Bush/Quayle.

Although there <sup>was</sup> is a greater <sup>anti-Bush voting</sup> protest vote among <sup>Dukakis</sup> Democratic voters, the same was seen in the 1984 election. In 1984, 79% of Reagan voters were voting for the Republican ticket and only 16% voting against the Democratic ticket, while among Mondale voters 53% voted for Mondale and 43% were voting against the Reagan/Bush ticket. Thus, there <sup>was</sup> is even less of an anti-Republican protest vote in 1988 than in 1984.

Anti-Bush sentiment did rise during the last few weeks of the campaign, however. Overall, 16% of the votes cast nationwide were anti-Bush votes. However, 23% of those who made up their minds a few days before the election cast an anti-Bush vote and 25% of those who voted on election day were voting against the Bush/Quayle ticket. The last week of the campaign did see an increase in anti-Bush sentiment, then, but it was not much larger than the anti-Bush sentiment which existed earlier in the campaign and was less than the anti-Reagan sentiment in 1984.

# Positive/Negative Voting



Market Opinion Research

TABLE 0.4  
PRO/ANTI VOTE IN 1988 AND 1984

	1988	1984
<b>Republican Ticket</b>		
Pro	71%	79%
Anti	26	16
<b>Democratic Ticket</b>		
Pro	59%	53%
Anti	38	43

TABLE 0.5  
PRO/ANTI VOTE BY TIME OF DECISION

	Total	Vote Decision Made				
		Nov.8	Few Days Before	Last 2 Wks Oct.	First 2 Wks Oct.	Sept. or Before
<b>Bush Voters</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>59%</b>	<b>54%</b>
Pro Bush	35	27	40	35	40	39
Anti Dukakis	13	13	13	18	17	13
<b>Dukakis Voters</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>46%</b>
Pro Dukakis	25	27	25	23	24	28
Anti Bush	16	25	23	18	16	17





TABLE 0.6

## STATEMENTS ABOUT BUSH/DUKAKIS CAMPAIGNS

	Total	Party/Ideology				Sex <sup>1</sup>	
		Lib Dem	Cons Dem	Lib Rep	Cons Rep	Men	Women
<b>Bush Campaign</b>							
Pointed out important differences between Bush and Dukakis	37%	16%	27%	44%	59%	44%	36%
Waged an unfair smear campaign against Mike Dukakis	48	76	61	40	24	40	47
Both (Vol.)	6	4	3	5	7	6	7
Neither (Vol.)	5	2	4	6	7	5	5
DK/Ref.	5	3	5	6	3	5	5
<b>Dukakis Campaign</b>							
Pointed out important differences between Bush and Dukakis	49%	69%	58%	38%	36%	47%	44%
Waged an unfair smear campaign against George Bush	31	14	31	46	38	32	33
Both (Vol.)	7	6	2	6	8	7	8
Neither (Vol.)	9	8	4	6	13	10	9
DK/Ref.	5	3	5	5	5	4	3

<sup>1</sup> Non-minority.

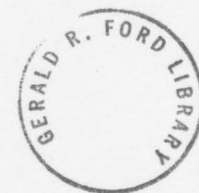


TABLE 06  
STATEMENTS ABOUT BUSH/DUKAKIS CAMPAIGNS

Sex	Party/Ideology				Total	
	Lib Dem	Cons Dem	Lib Rep	Cons Rep		
Men	16%	27%	44%	30%	37%	Pointed out important differences between Bush and Dukakis
Women	14%	24%	40%	40%	48%	Waged an unfair smear campaign against Mike Dukakis
	7	3	2	6	6	Both (Vol)
	2	4	6	3	3	Neither (Vol)
	2	2	6	3	3	DK/Ref.
	44%	38%	38%	47%	49%	Pointed out important differences between Bush and Dukakis
	32	46	31	38	31	Waged an unfair smear campaign against George Bush
	7	3	6	3	7	Both (Vol)
	9	4	6	13	9	Neither (Vol)
	3	2	2	2	3	DK/Ref.

Source: Survey



*Major Themes and Messages*

A majority of Americans were able to discern the major themes and messages of both the Bush and Dukakis campaigns. They got a somewhat more concise feeling <sup>messages</sup> from the Bush campaign -- 20% felt that the major theme was to carry on with the way things had been going, 15% said the major theme or message was anti-Dukakis, 15% cited defense and foreign policy as a theme, and 11% chose both the economy and the deficit and social issues.

Voters were not as able to pinpoint the main theme or message of the Dukakis campaign. Thirty-five percent (35%) mention some sort of a social issue, most commonly that Dukakis was more for the little guy, 32% mentioned increased government spending and more government involvement or more government programs, 16% mentioned time for a change, 12% offered the economy or the deficit, and 6% cited defense and foreign policy. Very few voters mentioned any sort of an anti-Bush theme or message.

Some of the verbatim comments in response to these two questions spell out the consensus of many voters:

**Bush Themes and Messages**

"That they were going to stay on the same course that Reagan set down. Don't rock the boat." (Male, born in 1959, Democrat, Bush/Quayle voters, residing in Maryland)"

"He appealed to the idea that most Americans are comfortable with things they way they are. He is probably the best known in terms of public service and no new tactics." (Male, born in 1947, Democrat, Bush/Quayle voter, Texas)

"Has experience to deal with the Russians, would be tough on crime and tough on drugs." (Male, born in 1947, Ticket-splitter, Bush/Quayle, Washington)



"His promises on no more taxes and for people who need help and are willing to work for it. Too much welfare and there are too many who don't want to work. People need an opportunity, but if possible they need to take more care of them." (Female, born in 1913, Republican, did not vote, Texas)

"All I saw was about a black man being let out of prison, and about the flag. That was ridiculous." (Female, born in 1919, Ticket-splitter, Dukakis/Bentsen, Pennsylvania)

"That he knew what government was about. He has been a good follower. He's going to do something about education, he would continue some of the good policies of Reagan." (Female, born in 1945, Republican, Bush/Quayle, Indiana)

"I think continuity. Give people hope. His experience and security." (Female, born in 1953, Ticket-splitter, Bush/Quayle, California)

"He was trying to say keep things way they are, continue Reagan's work, stir patriotic themes." (Female, born in 1959, Democrat, Dukakis/Bentsen, Wisconsin)

**Dukakis Themes and Messages**

"He's for the people, not just the rich, for the little people." (Male, born in 1910, Democrat, Dukakis/Bentsen, Ohio)

"To house the poor people, do away with this dope, make it a better America to live in." (Male, born in 1918, Democrat, Dukakis/Bentsen, Indiana)

"Back to old giveaway programs. Let's support everybody that doesn't do anything. Give to the people that don't work too much." (Male, born in 1919, Ticket-splitter, Bush/Quayle, Texas)

"Having trouble trying to figure out what his messages was. I guess the drug issue was one. Good management versus the government ethic. He wasn't loud and clear. A couple of times I wanted to tell him to read my lips." (Male, born in 1945, Democrat, Dukakis/Bentsen, California)

"To improve education and women's rights on abortion. Less defense." (Male, born in 1951, Democrat, Dukakis/Bentsen, Ohio)

"I think they were saying they would help the common and the middle class and also the low class people out." (Female, born in 1923, Ticket-splitter, Dukakis/Bentsen, Tennessee)

"He wanted to sincerely come in and help those who had fallen during the last eight years, the farmers and the poor. He was for the people obtaining an education, getting rid of drugs, and helping the homeless, getting people off the streets." (Female, born in 1936, Republican, Dukakis/Bentsen, Connecticut)



"He came across as a hard nose. He was ready to attack everything in order to balance the budget. He was going to balance the budget no matter what, yet he was ready to spend money on all these programs. I just did not understand him." (Female, born in 1951, Ticket-splitter, Bush/Quayle, Michigan)

"That they would change everything and make it better." (Female, born in 1963, Republican, did not vote, California)

The themes of time for a change, pay more attention to the common man, increase domestic spending, and take care of the deficit ~~will~~ seem to clash to some extent with the American public. These themes were ~~more diffuse~~ <sup>not as cogent</sup> and thus not as effective as the Bush themes of keep on the same course, maintain a strong defense, no new taxes and pointing out Dukakis as too liberal. Even though there was some complaint about the anti-Dukakis themes, they certainly seem to have driven home the point, which is agreed to by more voters than disagreed to, that Dukakis was just too liberal for the American people.

*need to dispell media interpretation that 1988 was an issueless election. Voters are able to articulate issue/message differences between the candidates*





"He came across as a hard nose. He was ready to attack everything in order to balance the budget. He was going to balance the budget no matter what, yet he was ready to spend money on all these programs. I just did not understand him." (Female, born in 1951, Ticket-splitter, Bush/Quayle, Michigan)

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The themes of time for a change, pay more attention to the common man, increase domestic spending, and take care of the deficit ~~seem to~~ seem to flash to some extent with the American public. These themes were more ~~diffuse~~ diffuse and thus not as effective as the Bush themes of keep on the same course, maintain a strong defense, no new taxes and pointing out Dukakis as too liberal. Even though there was some complaint about the anti-Dukakis theme, they certainly seem to have driven home the point, which is agreed to by more voters than disagreed to, that Dukakis was just too liberal for the American people.

*Handwritten notes:*  
just to keep the interpretation that  
1988 was a year for the liberal voters  
on the other side of the spectrum  
difference between the conservative



**Congressional Voting***Voting Patterns*

If the 1988 presidential election was a case of reaffirmation of support for the status quo, then that was certainly the case to an even larger extent at the congressional level. Among those who reported voting in congressional races this year, Republican candidates garnered an average 45% share, while Democrats enjoyed a 55% majority. This is somewhat worse than in 1984, when Republican congressional candidates garnered a 49% plurality of the vote. This average Republican vote, as we know, translated into a 3 seat loss in the House and a 1 seat loss in the Senate.

Voting at the congressional level in 1988 was more highly partisan than in 1984. Republicans threw 91% of their committed report behind the Republican congressional candidates this year, while only 86% of Republicans did so in 1984. Conversely, Democrats backed Democratic candidates with 94% of their committed support, while a lesser 87% did so in 1984. Ticket-splitting voters voted 47% for the Republican candidates this year and 49% in 1984.

Regionally, Republican support was strongest in the West North Central and Mountain states, where <sup>respective</sup> 55% and 51% <sup>ies</sup> Republican majority, <sup>weve</sup> ~~respectively,~~ was seen. A Generic Republican congressional support was lowest in the Border South and New England states, where Republican candidates garnered respective 39% and 40% vote shares.



Market Opinion Research

Market Opinion Research

Demographically, Republican candidates received majority support from voters under 30 and from senior citizens, Southern whites, Northern Catholics, and Northern Protestants. Democratic congressional candidates, conversely, received majority support from middle aged voters, women, Northern union members, and minority voters.

If the 1988 presidential election was a case of reaffirmation of support for the status quo, then that was certainly the case to an even larger extent at the congressional level. Among those who reported voting in congressional races this year, Republican candidates garnered an average 42% share, while Democrats enjoyed a 52% majority. This is somewhat worse than in 1984, when Republican congressional candidates garnered a 49% plurality of the vote. This average Republican vote, as we know, translated into a 3 seat loss in the House and a 1 seat loss in the Senate.

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Regionally, Republican support was strongest in the West North Central and Mountain states, where 52% and 51% Republican majority respectively was seen. Generic Republican congressional support was lowest in the Border South and New England states, where Republican candidates garnered respective 39% and 40% vote shares.



TABLE 0.7

TREND IN REPORTED CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

	Congressional Vote			Normal Vt. Analysis			Number of Cases
	Repub- lican	Demo- crat	Other/ DK/Ref	Comm. Vote <sup>4</sup>	Nor- mal Vote <sup>5</sup>	Devi- ation <sup>6</sup>	
<b>Total</b>							
November, 1988	40%	49	12	45%	49%	- 4	(1842)
November, 1984	43%	44	14	49	52	- 3	(2449)
<b>Voter Type<sup>1</sup></b>							
<b>Republican</b>							
November, 1988	84%	8	7	91	75	16	(393)
November, 1984	76%	12	11	86	81	5	(760)
<b>Ticket-splitter</b>							
November, 1988	40%	45	15	47	53	- 6	(486)
November, 1984	42%	43	15	49	54	- 5	(887)
<b>Democrat</b>							
November, 1988	6%	89	5	6	23	-17	(484)
November, 1984	12%	78	10	13	20	- 7	(776)
<b>Political Regions</b>							
<b>New England</b>							
November, 1988	37%	56	6	40	46	- 6	( 74)
November, 1984	48%	40	11	55	54	1	(151)
<b>Mid Atlantic</b>							
November, 1988	41%	49	10	46	50	- 4	(210)
November, 1984	44%	41	16	52	51	1	(394)

*We need this table for President 84 and '88*





TABLE 0.7

TREND IN REPORTED CONGRESSIONAL VOTE (cont'd.)

	Congressional Vote			Normal Vt. Analysis			Number of Cases
	Repub- lican	Democrat	Other/ DK/Ref	Comm. Vote <sup>4</sup>	Normal Vote <sup>5</sup>	Devi- ation <sup>6</sup>	
<b>East North Central</b>							
November, 1988	36%	52	12	41	47	- 6	(256)
November, 1984	43%	46	12	48	52	- 4	(468)
<b>West North Central</b>							
November, 1988	49%	40	11	55	51	4	(103)
November, 1984	47%	41	12	54	54	0	(183)
<b>Border South</b>							
November, 1988	33%	53	15	39	49	-10	( 68)
November, 1984	37%	48	15	43	52	- 9	(188)
<b>Deep South</b>							
November, 1988	38%	48	13	45	48	- 3	(385)
November, 1984	39%	45	15	46	50	- 4	(617)
<b>Mountain</b>							
November, 1988	46%	43	11	51	51	0	( 80)
November, 1984	45%	43	13	51	51	0	(113)
<b>Pacific</b>							
November, 1988	41%	51	8	44	50	- 6	(222)
November, 1984	44%	46	11	49	52	- 3	(335)
<b>Age<sup>2</sup></b>							
<b>18-29</b>							
November, 1988	48%	35	18	58	60	- 2	(242)



*Handwritten notes:*  
 We need this information for the November 88  
 8/24/88



TABLE 0.7

TREND IN REPORTED CONGRESSIONAL VOTE (cont'd.)

	Congressional Vote			Normal Vt. Analysis			Number of Cases
	Republican	Democrat	Other/DK/Ref	Comm. Vote <sup>4</sup>	Normal Vote <sup>5</sup>	Deviation <sup>6</sup>	
<b>30-42</b>							
November, 1988	43%	45	11	49	53	- 4	(357)
<b>43-54</b>							
November, 1988	46%	42	11	52	53	- 1	(211)
<b>55-64</b>							
November, 1988	44%	46	9	49	49	0	(168)
<b>65+</b>							
November, 1988	49%	41	10	55	54	1	(216)
<b>Sex<sup>2</sup></b>							
<b>Men</b>							
November, 1988	48%	39	13	55	57	- 2	(588)
November, 1984	45%	43	12	51	53	- 2	(1187)
<b>Women</b>							
November, 1988	44%	44	12	50	51	- 1	(608)
November, 1984	41%	45	14	47	50	- 3	(1263)
<b>Socioeconomic Status</b>							
<b>High Income</b>							
November, 1988	53%	36	11	60	59	1	(328)
November, 1984	54%	37	10	59	59	0	(612)



TABLE 0.7

TREND IN REPORTED CONGRESSIONAL VOTE (cont'd.)

	Congressional Vote			Normal Vt. Analysis			Number of Cases
	Republican	Democrat	Other/DK/Ref	Comm. Vote <sup>4</sup>	Normal Vote <sup>5</sup>	Deviation <sup>6</sup>	
<b>Intelligentsia</b>							
November, 1988	45%	44	10	51	55	- 4	(148)
November, 1984	46%	44	10	51	56	- 5	(230)
<b>Middle Class</b>							
November, 1988	45%	43	12	51	53	- 2	(437)
November, 1984	49%	39	12	56	54	2	(548)
<b>Lower End</b>							
November, 1988	39%	48	12	45	48	- 3	(167)
November, 1984	45%	41	14	52	50	2	(387)
<b>Jewish</b>							
November, 1988	12%	80	9	13	25	-12	( 56)
November, 1984	16%	70	15	18	40	-22	( 77)
<b>Hispanic</b>							
November, 1988	24%	69	6	26	41	-15	( 51)
November, 1984	33%	43	22	43	43	0	( 76)
<b>Black</b>							
November, 1988	5%	90	5	6	17	-11	(139)
November, 1000	7%	79	14	9	26	-17	(272)



TABLE 0.7

TREND IN REPORTED CONGRESSIONAL VOTE (cont'd.)

	Congressional Vote			Normal Vt. Analysis			Number of Cases
	Repub- lican	Demo- crat	Other/ DK/Ref	Comm. Vote <sup>4</sup>	Nor- mal Vote <sup>5</sup>	Devi- ation <sup>6</sup>	
<b>New Deal Groups</b>							
<b>Northern WASP</b>							
November, 1988	53%	36	12	60	50	4	(356)
November, 1984	57%	32	11	64	60	4	(705)
<b>Northern Catholic</b>							
November, 1988	45%	42	13	53	55	- 3	(192)
November, 1984	42%	44	13	49	51	- 2	(348)
<b>Northern Union</b>							
November, 1988	36%	55	9	40	50	-10	(202)
November, 1984	41%	49	11	46	51	- 5	(278)
<b>Southern White</b>							
November, 1988	46%	39	16	54	55	- 1	(357)
November, 1984	47%	38	14	56	57	- 1	(620)



TABLE 0.7

TREND IN REPORTED CONGRESSIONAL VOTE (cont'd.)

	Congressional Vote			Normal Vt. Analysis			Number of Cases
	Republican	Democrat	Other/DK/Ref	Comm. Vote <sup>4</sup>	Normal Vote <sup>5</sup>	Deviation <sup>6</sup>	
<b>Presidential Vote</b>							
<b>Republican Ticket</b>							
November, 1988	68%	21	11	77	68	9	(721)
November, 1984	67%	21	13	76	69	7	(1381)
<b>Democratic Ticket</b>							
November, 1988	10%	84	6	10	27	-17	(614)
November, 1984	9%	84	7	9	25	-16	(877)
<b>Undecided</b>							
November, 1988	19%	34	47	36	46	-10	(106)
November, 1984	23%	28	50	45	46	-1	(166)

<sup>1</sup> 1984 data was party identification.

<sup>2</sup> Non-minority (1988 only).

<sup>4</sup> Committed Republican vote.

<sup>5</sup> Vote expected of a Republican candidate if partisanship were the only factor.

<sup>6</sup> Committed-Expected Republican vote.





Time of Vote Decision

Congressional decision making occurs on a somewhat later time frame than presidential decision making. Forty percent (40%) of the electorate made up their minds on their congressional race before September (compared to 31% for the presidential contest). 13% made up their minds during the month of September, 9% during the first two weeks of October, 15% during the last two weeks of October, 12% a few days before election day, and 9% on election day. The vote decision curve is much the same as in the presidential race, but somewhat more delayed.

Additionally, this vote curve is nearly the same in 1988 as it was in 1984.

As with presidential decision making, those who decide early are more likely to be strong partisans, have higher levels of income and education and be older and male. Those who wait until the last minute before making their decision in their congressional races are much more likely to be of lower socioeconomic status,

younger, ticket-splitter and female.  
Positive and Negative Voting

There was virtually no negative voting of any kind at the congressional level. Fully 81% of Republican voters voted for the Republican party or candidate, while only 12% cast their vote against the Democratic party or candidate. 20, too, 83% of Democratic congressional supporters voted for the Democratic party or candidate, while only 12% voted against the Republican party or candidate. There is no substantial enclave of negative voting among any group of Republican or Democratic supporters. So, as the presidential contest also ended up being a largely positive one, congressional voting was to an even larger degree.



*Time of Vote Decision*

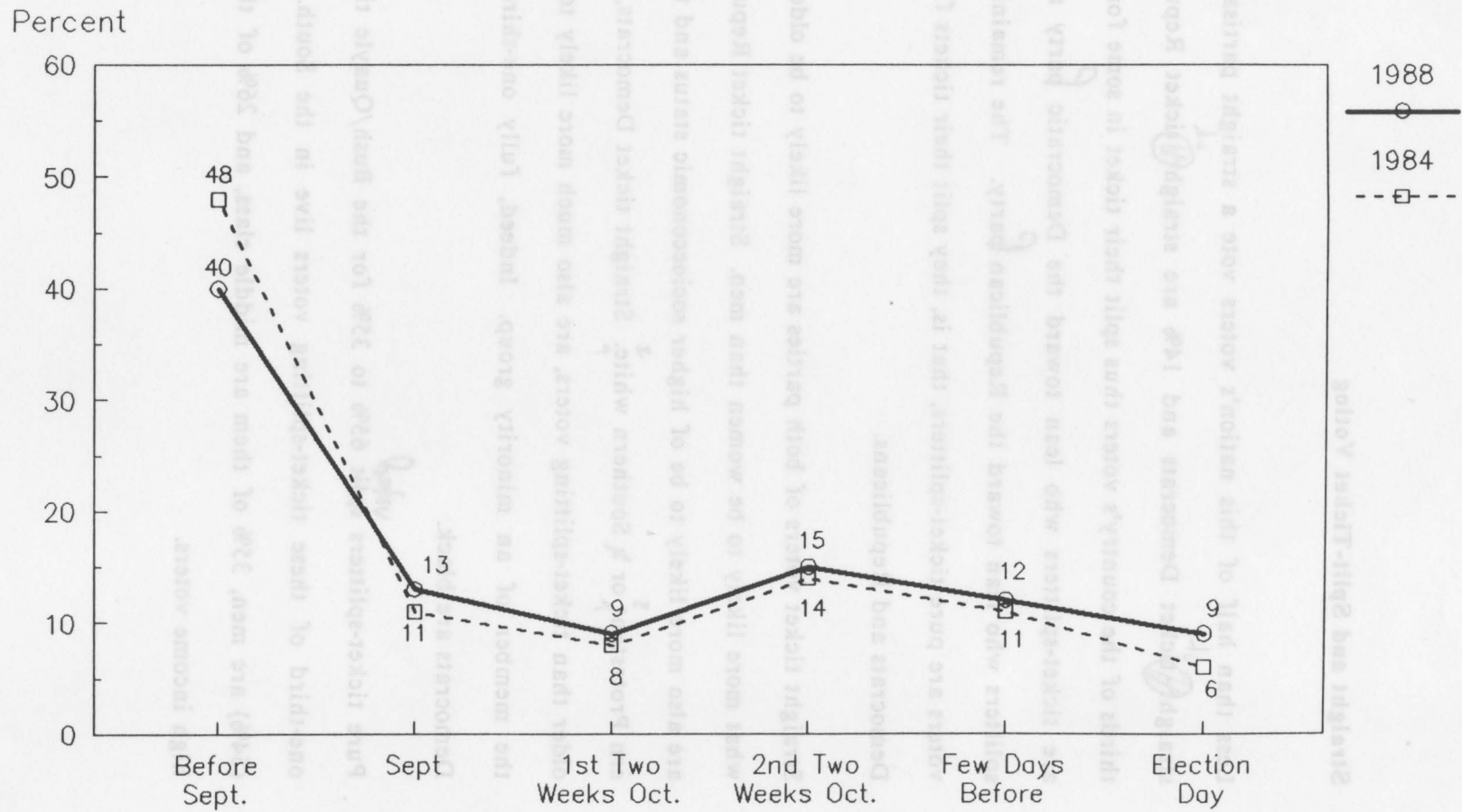
Congressional decision making occurs on a somewhat later time frame than presidential decision making. Forty percent (40%) of the electorate made up their minds <sup>about</sup> ~~on~~ their <sup>local</sup> congressional races before September (compared to 51% for the presidential contest), 13% made up their minds during the month of September, 9% during the first two weeks of October, 15% during the last two weeks of October, 12% a few days before election day, and 9% on election day. The vote decision curve is much the same as in the presidential race, but somewhat more delayed. Additionally, this vote curve is nearly the same in 1988 as it was in 1984.

As with presidential decision making, those who decide early are more likely to be strong partisans, have higher levels of income and education and be older and male. Those who wait until the last minute before making their decision in their congressional races are much more likely to be of lower socioeconomic status, younger, ticket-splitters, and female.

*Positive and Negative Voting*

There was virtually no negative voting of any kind at the congressional level. Fully 81% of Republican voters voted for the Republican party or candidate, while only 15% cast their vote against the Democratic party or candidate. So, too, 83% of Democratic congressional supporters voted for the Democratic party or candidate, while only 12% voted against the Republican party or candidate. There is no substantial enclave of negative voting among any group of Republican or Democratic supporters. So, as the presidential contest also ended up being a largely positive vote, congressional voting was to an even larger degree.

# Time of Decision Making: Congressional Race



## Market Opinion Research

### Straight and Split-Ticket Voting

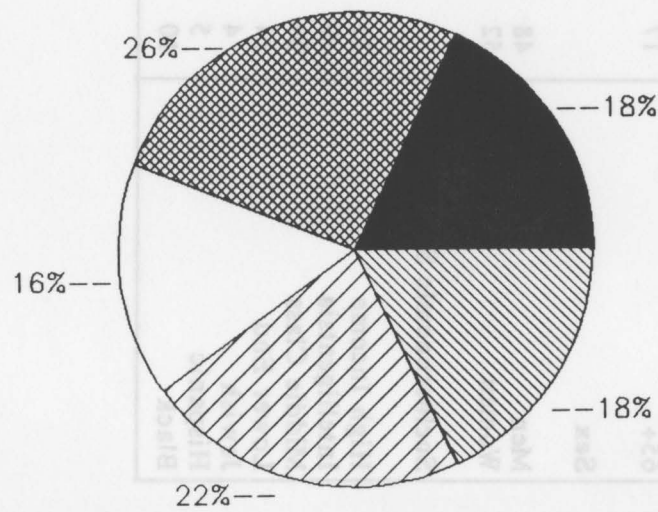
Less than half of this nation's voters vote a straight partisan ticket -- 19% are straight <sup>ok</sup> ticket Democrats and 14% are straight <sup>ok</sup> ticket Republicans. Fully two thirds of the country's voters thus split their ticket in some form or fashion -- 24% are ticket-splitters who lean toward the Democratic <sup>P</sup> party and 25% are ticket-splitters who lean toward the Republican <sup>P</sup> party. The remaining 15% the nation's voters are pure ticket-splitters, that is, they split their tickets fairly evenly between Democrats and Republicans.

Straight ticket voters of both parties are more likely to be older and are also somewhat more likely to be women than men. Straight ticket Republicans in particular are also more likely to be of higher socioeconomic status and to either be a Northern Protestant <sup>s</sup> or a Southern white <sup>s</sup>. Straight ticket Democrats, in addition to being older than ticket-splitting voters, are also much more likely to be either female or the member of an minority group. Indeed, fully one-third of straight ticket Democrats are black.

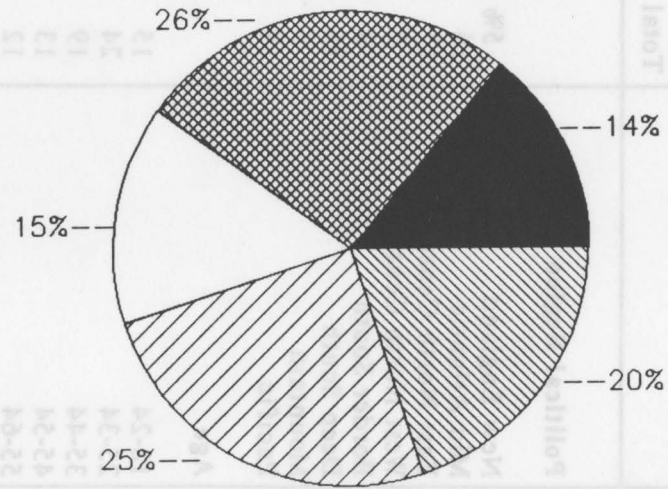
Pure ticket-splitters <sup>voted</sup> split 65% to 35% for the Bush/Quayle ticket this fall. Over one-third of these ticket-splitting voters live in the South. Fifty-four percent (54%) are men, 35% of them are middle class, and 26% of them are classified as high income voters.



# Summary of Voting Tendencies



1984



1988






-  Straight Ticket Rep.
-  Split Ticket Rep.
-  Ticket-Splitters
-  Split Ticket Dem.
-  Straight Ticket Dem.



TABLE 0.8  
 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF STRAIGHT  
 TICKET AND SPLIT TICKET VOTING

	Total	Voting Tendencies				
		Str. Tkt Dem.	Split Tkt Dem.	T-S	Split Tkt Rep.	Str. Tkt Rep.
<b>Political Region</b>						
New England	5%	4%	6%	6%	6%	1%
Mid Atlantic	16	18	11	11	15	18
East North Central	17	18	22	14	16	16
West North Central	7	5	7	7	8	8
Border South	8	7	7	8	9	7
Deep South	26	28	26	30	25	26
Mountain	5	6	5	6	7	4
Pacific	15	15	17	17	13	17
<b>Age</b>						
18-24	15	13	12	5	12	13
25-34	24	19	20	24	25	23
35-44	19	16	23	25	21	19
45-54	13	14	15	15	13	11
55-64	12	17	16	12	13	11
65+	17	21	14	19	15	23
<b>Sex</b>						
Men	48	38	46	54	53	49
Women	52	62	54	46	47	51
<b>Socioeconomic Status</b>						
High Income	21	6	22	26	31	28
Intelligentsia	9	6	12	7	15	9
Middle Class	30	19	30	35	33	34
Lower End	14	15	8	15	12	10
Jewish	4	6	8	3	1	1
Hispanic	5	8	2	3	2	4
Black	10	33	10	2	1	2

TABLE 0.8

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF STRAIGHT TICKET AND SPLIT TICKET VOTING (cont'd.)

	Total	Voting Tendencies			
		Str. Tkt Dem.	Split Tkt Dem.	Split T-S	Str. Tkt Rep.
<b>New Deal Groups</b>					
Northern WASP	24	14	22	27	29
Northern Catholic	14	8	12	14	15
Northern Union	13	12	16	12	17
Southern White	24	13	22	32	29



Market Opinion Research

Market Opinion Research

*ticket splitting*

Several open-ended questions were asked of straight ticket and ~~split ticket~~ voters.

Those voters who voted a straight ticket were asked why they voted a straight ticket this year, and those who split their tickets but voted for one party more than the other were asked why they voted more for that party than they usually do.

Straight ticket voters vote a straight ticket both for partisan reasons and because they feel their respective parties field better candidates. Among the 15% of the voting population who say they voted straight Democrat this year, these are the most prevalent responses:

Voting Ticket			
Split	Straight		
33	29	22	14
11	17	18	13
30	29	22	13

**Partisanship (34%)**

- "I'm a Democrat/Always voted Democrat" (29%)
- "Is the best party/Always the best party" (4%)

**Better candidates (19%)**

- "Thought Democratic candidates were good/Liked all the candidates" (18%) →
- "Better qualified" (1%)

**Anti-Republican/Bush (17%)**

- "Tired of the Republicans/Republicans aren't doing well" (4%)
- "Don't like what the Republicans stand for/Don't like their policies" (4%)
- "Don't like Bush/Voted against Bush" (3%)
- "Did not like the Republican candidate/Didn't like the Republicans that were running" (3%)

**Time for a change (10%)**

- "Need a change/Looking for a change/Wanted to see if there would be a change" (7%) →
- "Would make this country great/Country needs help" (2%)

**For average person (10%)**

- "For the people/Care about all the people" (4%)
- "Democrats are more for the working class/More for the blue collar worker" (3%) →
- "Democrats are for the poor people/Helping the homeless" (2%)

*indent several lines*





Market Opinion Research

Straight ticket Republicans gave similar responses:

**Better candidates (25%)**

- "Like the candidates better/Like the people running" (18%)
- "Bush was more qualified/Liked Bush" (4%)
- "They were more qualified" (3%)

**Partisanship (23%)**

- "I am Republican/Always vote Republican/Always support Republican Party" (16%)
- "Is the best party/Liked Republican Party better" (6%)

**Anti-Dukakis/Democrat (15%)**

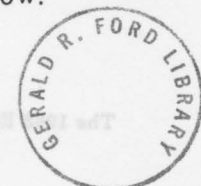
- "Didn't like the Democrats/Democrats are not good leaders/The Democrats are crooks" (8%)
- "Didn't like the Democrats' platform/Didn't like the way Democrats think/Democratic Party didn't offer me what I was looking for" (4%)
- "Didn't like Dukakis/Was opposed to Dukakis" (3%)

**Status quo (7%)**

- "Things have been going pretty smoothly with the Republicans/I believe in the Republicans/Republicans doing a good job" (3%)
- "Will lead the country better/Like the direction Republicans are leading the country" (3%)
- "The economy of the country is good/No complaints about the economy" (2%)

*indent  
second  
lines*

Ticket-splitting voters overwhelmingly say that they voted for one party more than the other on the strength of their candidates. Anti-voting, partisanship, and status quo/time for a change all entered into the picture as well. Among those ticket-splitters who say they voted for more Republicans this year than they usually do, 37% said it was because of better candidates, 25% felt that partisanship played a role, 14% voted against the Democrats or Dukakis, and 7% voted to maintain the status quo. Among the ticket-splitters who voted for more Democrats than usual, 34% said it was because of better candidates, 16% voted against Bush or the Republicans, 14% cited partisanship, and 8% pointed to the need for a change. Some of the individual comments of these voters are noted below:



Ticket-splitting Republicans

- "Like the candidates/Like the person/Better people/Like the Republicans this year" (21%)
- "Agree with Republican policies/Views/Issues" (15%)
- "Didn't like the Democratic performance/Didn't like Democrats who were running" (10%)
- "Republicans/Always in Republican party/I am Republican" (9%)
- "They do a better job than Democrats/Republican candidates can do a better job/Incumbents were doing a good job" (8%)
- "Better qualified/Better for the office" (6%)

indent  
second  
line

Ticket-splitting Democrats

- "I'm a Democrat/Always vote Democratic" (29%)
- "Thought Democratic candidates were good/Liked all the candidates" (18%)
- "Agree with Democratic policies/Ideas/Platform" (13%)
- "Need a change/Looking for a change/America needs a change" (7%)

"Things have been going pretty smoothly with the Republicans/I believe in the Republicans/Republicans doing a good job" (36%)

"Will lead the country better/Like the direction Republicans are leading the country" (36%)

"The economy of the country is good/No complaints about the economy" (36%)

Ticket-splitting voters overwhelmingly say that they voted for one party more than the other on the strength of their candidates. Anti-voting, partisanship, and status quo/time for a change all entered into the picture as well. Among those ticket-splitters who say they voted for more Republicans this year than they usually do, 37% said it was because of better candidates, 25% felt that partisanship played a role, 14% voted against the Democrats or Dukakis, and 7% voted to maintain the status quo. Among the ticket-splitters who voted for more Democrats than usual, 34% said it was because of better candidates, 16% voted against Bush or the Republicans, 14% cited partisanship, and 8% pointed to the need for a change.

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## MOOD OF THE ELECTORATE

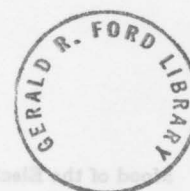
### Direction of Country

Though the 1988 election was, in large measure, an affirmation of the current direction of things in the country, Americans are, nonetheless, not as optimistic as they were in 1984. They have more trepidation about the future and they are quite concerned about a number of important issues.

At the present time, a 53% majority of American adults feels that things in the country are generally heading in the right direction. A thirty-nine percent (39%) minority feel that things have seriously gotten off on the wrong track, and 9% refrain from judgment. In November of 1984, a 61% to 29% majority felt that things in the country were heading in the right direction.

Looking across the country, Republicans are much more optimistic than are Democrats, residents in the West North Central states are by far the most positive, adults under 30 are much more positive than are senior citizens, men are more positive than women, and those with higher levels of income and education are more positive than are adults of lower socioeconomic status.

The greatest change in opinion of the direction of the country has occurred in the Border South region and in the Mountain states. A 62% to 25% positive majority in the Border South in 1984 has dropped to a 46% to 46% tie at the present time. Likewise, perceptions of the direction of the country in the Mountain states have fallen from a 66% to 26% "right direction" majority to a 48% to 47% plurality.



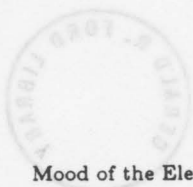
In addition, voters of lower socioeconomic status, who had a 55% to 33% positive view after the November of 1984 election now feel, by a 47% to 41% plurality, that things in the country are seriously off on the wrong track. Among minority voters, blacks remain largely negative, Jews have dropped from a positive plurality to a negative majority, and Hispanics retain their largely positive outlook.

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# Trend in Perception of Direction of Country

Percent

70

60

50

40

30

20

10

0

61

29

10

53

39

9

- Right Direction
- Wrong Track
- Undecided

November, 1984

November, 1988



TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF DIRECTION OF COUNTRY

Market Opinion Research

TABLE 0.9  
TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF DIRECTION OF COUNTRY

	Direction of Country			Number of Cases
	Right Direction	Wrong Track	Undecided	
<b>Total</b>				
November, 1988	53%	39	9	(1800)
November, 1984	61%	29	10	(3002)
<b>Voter Type<sup>1</sup></b>				
<b>Republican</b>				
November, 1988	74%	18	8	(448)
November, 1984	85%	10	5	(892)
<b>Ticket-splitter</b>				
November, 1988	59%	33	8	(591)
November, 1984	62%	27	10	(1180)
<b>Democrat</b>				
November, 1988	30%	61	10	(567)
November, 1984	37%	50	13	(901)
<b>Political Regions</b>				
<b>New England</b>				
November, 1988	54%	36	10	(95)
November, 1984	64%	25	11	(174)
<b>Mid Atlantic</b>				
November, 1988	54%	35	11	(293)
November, 1984	58%	32	10	(497)
<b>East North Central</b>				
November, 1988	51%	40	10	(312)
November, 1984	60%	31	9	(550)

TABLE 0.9

TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF DIRECTION OF COUNTRY (cont'd.)

Number of Cases	Direction of Country			Direction of Country			Number of Cases
	Right Direction	Wrong Track	Undecided	Right Direction	Wrong Track	Undecided	
	<b>West North Central</b>						
(187)				62%	27	11	(127)
				64%	22	14	(231)
	<b>Border South</b>						
(222)				46%	46	8	( 85)
				62%	25	13	(224)
	<b>Deep South</b>						
(177)				52%	41	7	(465)
(177)				62%	27	10	(767)
	<b>Mountain</b>						
(146)				48%	47	4	( 95)
(150)				66%	26	8	(151)
	<b>Pacific</b>						
(273)				55%	39	6	(275)
(483)				60%	33	6	(410)
	<b>Age<sup>2</sup></b>						
	<b>18-29</b>						
(167)				67%	27	6	(347)
(226)							
	<b>30-42</b>						
(242)				61%	33	7	(431)
(288)							
	<b>43-54</b>						
(248)				53%	35	12	(245)
(242)							



TABLE 0.9

TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF DIRECTION OF COUNTRY (cont'd.)

Number of Cases	Direction of Country			Number of Cases
	Right Direction	Wrong Track	Undecided	
	<b>55-64</b>			
(127)	46%	43	11	(184)
(127)				
	<b>65+</b>			
(88)	49%	40	11	(255)
(125)				
	<b>Sex<sup>2</sup></b>			
	<b>Men</b>			
(44)	63%	30	7	(719)
(107)	66%	25	9	(1437)
	<b>Women</b>			
(89)	51%	39	10	(746)
(181)	57%	32	11	(1565)
	<b>Socioeconomic Status</b>			
	<b>High Income</b>			
(27)	68%	28	5	(373)
(140)	75%	11	8	(682)
	<b>Intelligentsia</b>			
(24)	63%	31	6	(162)
(24)	65%	31	4	(256)
	<b>Middle Class</b>			
(12)	55%	36	10	(543)
(12)	68%	23	9	(688)
	<b>Lower End</b>			
(24)	41%	47	12	(248)
(24)	55%	33	12	(542)





TABLE 0.9

## TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF DIRECTION OF COUNTRY (cont'd.)

	Direction of Country			Number of Cases
	Right Direction	Wrong Track	Unde- cided	
<b>Jewish</b>				
November, 1988	36%	53	11	( 64)
November, 1984	49%	41	11	( 86)
<b>Hispanic</b>				
November, 1988	55%	37	6	( 83)
November, 1984	55%	30	14	(113)
<b>Black</b>				
November, 1988	25%	67	8	(188)
November, 1984	31%	56	13	(329)
<b>Presidential Vote</b>				
<b>Republican Ticket</b>				
November, 1988	74%	18	8	(721)
November, 1984	85%	9	6	(1381)
<b>Democratic Ticket</b>				
November, 1988	33%	59	8	(614)
November, 1984	27%	60	13	(877)
<b>Undecided</b>				
November, 1988	45%	38	17	(106)
November, 1984	57%	24	19	(166)

<sup>1</sup> 1984 data was party identification.

<sup>2</sup> Non-minority (1988 only).



TABLE 09

TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF DIRECTION OF COUNTRY (cont'd)

Personal Finances/Local Economy

One reason for a less positive outlook may be a slight decline in Americans' perceptions of their personal and community financial situation. When asked whether or not "you and your family" are better off, worse off or about the same financially as four years ago, 38% reply that they are better off, 20% believe they are worse, and 41% say things are about the same as four years ago. This is somewhat less optimistic than the 42% to 18% plurality (better versus worse off) than was seen in 1984.

Likewise, when asked whether people in their community are better, worse or the same as four years ago, 30% reply better off, 22% feel they are worse off, and 48% believe things are about the same in their community. This eight point plurality compares less favorably to the 13 point plurality (35% better off, 22% worse off, 42% the same) seen in 1984.

Again, Republicans, younger adults, men, and individuals with higher levels of income and education perceive their family and community's financial situation in the most positive light. Democrats, along with blacks and whites of lower socioeconomic status, are much less positive.

Year	Better off	Worse off	About the same
November 1988	38%	20%	41%
November 1984	42%	18%	40%
November 1988	30%	22%	48%
November 1984	35%	22%	42%

1 1984 data was party identification.  
2 non-minority (1988 only).



# Trend in Perceptions of Family/ Community Financial Situation

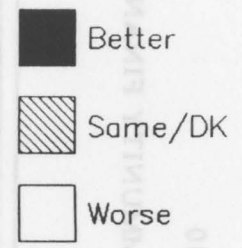
## Family Finances Compared to Four Years Ago



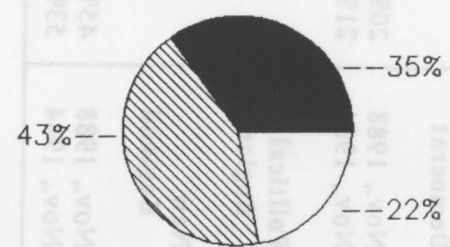
November 1984



November 1988



## People in Your Community Compared to Four Years Ago



November 1984



November 1988



TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF FINANCIAL SITUATION  
 NOVEMBER 1984  
 NOVEMBER 1988  
 Market Opinion Research

Market Opinion Research

TABLE 0.10

TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILY/COMMUNITY FINANCIAL SITUATION

	Family				Community				Number of Cases
	Better Off	Same/DK	Worse Off	PDI <sup>4</sup>	Better Off	Same/DK	Worse Off	PDI <sup>4</sup>	
<b>Total</b>									
Nov., 1988	38%	41	20	18	30%	48	22	8	(1800)
Nov., 1984	42%	39	18	24	35%	42	22	13	(3002)
<b>Voter Type<sup>1</sup></b>									
<b>Republican</b>									
Nov., 1988	63%	30	7	56	54%	35	10	44	(448)
Nov., 1984	63%	31	6	57	55%	38	7	48	(892)
<b>Ticket-splitter</b>									
Nov., 1988	39%	42	18	21	29%	52	19	10	(591)
Nov., 1984	43%	41	17	26	37%	44	20	17	(1180)
<b>Democrat</b>									
Nov., 1988	20%	48	32	-12	12%	53	37	-25	(567)
Nov., 1984	21%	47	32	-11	15%	45	39	-24	(901)
<b>Political Regions</b>									
<b>New England</b>									
Nov., 1988	45%	39	16	29	37%	50	13	24	( 95)
Nov., 1984	53%	34	13	40	43%	40	17	26	(174)



TABLE 0.10

TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILY/  
COMMUNITY FINANCIAL SITUATION (cont'd.)

	Family				Community				Number of Cases
	Better Off	Same/DK	Worse Off	PDI <sup>4</sup>	Better Off	Same/DK	Worse Off	PDI <sup>4</sup>	
<b>Mid Atlantic</b>									
Nov., 1988	42%	40	18	24	30%	52	18	12	(293)
Nov., 1984	38%	43	18	20	29%	46	25	4	(497)
<b>East North Central</b>									
Nov., 1988	35%	45	20	15	30%	45	24	6	(312)
Nov., 1984	42%	36	21	21	32%	44	23	9	(550)
<b>West North Central</b>									
Nov., 1988	34%	45	21	13	29%	51	21	9	(127)
Nov., 1984	38%	47	15	23	29%	44	26	3	(231)
<b>Border South</b>									
Nov., 1988	42%	30	30	12	25%	50	24	1	( 85)
Nov., 1984	41%	38	20	21	37%	44	20	17	(224)
<b>Deep South</b>									
Nov., 1988	37%	42	21	16	30%	48	23	7	(465)
Nov., 1984	43%	40	17	26	41%	41	18	23	(767)
<b>Mountain</b>									
Nov., 1988	32%	46	21	11	21%	40	38	-17	( 95)
Nov., 1984	43%	38	18	25	36%	34	29	7	(151)



TABLE 0.10

TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILY/  
COMMUNITY FINANCIAL SITUATION (cont'd.)

	Family				Community				Number of Cases
	Better Off	Same/DK	Worse Off	PDI <sup>4</sup>	Better Off	Same/DK	Worse Off	PDI <sup>4</sup>	
<b>Pacific</b>									
Nov., 1988	40%	42	18	22	30%	47	22	8	(275)
Nov., 1984	42%	39	19	23	36%	42	21	15	(410)
<b>Age<sup>2</sup></b>									
<b>18-29</b>									
Nov., 1988	49%	35	16	33	35%	50	15	20	(347)
<b>30-42</b>									
Nov., 1988	50%	33	17	33	37%	44	19	18	(431)
<b>43-54</b>									
Nov., 1988	40%	38	21	19	32%	45	23	9	(245)
<b>55-64</b>									
Nov., 1988	30%	48	23	7	33%	46	22	11	(184)
<b>65+</b>									
Nov., 1988	27%	55	16	11	27%	55	18	9	(255)



TABLE 0.10

TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILY/  
COMMUNITY FINANCIAL SITUATION (cont'd.)

	Family				Community				Number of Cases
	Better Off	Same/DK	Worse Off	PDI <sup>4</sup>	Better Off	Same/DK	Worse Off	PDI <sup>4</sup>	
<b>Sex<sup>2</sup></b>									
<b>Men</b>									
Nov., 1988	47%	38	16	31	39%	43	18	21	(719)
Nov., 1984	48%	36	16	32	41%	40	19	22	(1437)
<b>Women</b>									
Nov., 1988	36%	43	20	16	29%	51	21	8	(746)
Nov., 1984	37%	43	20	17	30%	45	24	6	(1565)
<b>Socio-economic Status</b>									
<b>High Income</b>									
Nov., 1988	58%	30	13	45	45%	37	18	27	(373)
Nov., 1984	61%	31	7	54	49%	38	12	37	(682)
<b>Intel-ligentsia</b>									
Nov., 1988	43%	41	17	26	32%	47	22	10	(162)
Nov., 1984	44%	41	16	28	37%	39	24	13	(256)
<b>Middle Class</b>									
Nov., 1988	39%	44	17	22	32%	50	18	14	(543)
Nov., 1984	46%	38	16	30	40%	39	20	20	(688)
<b>Lower End</b>									
Nov., 1988	24%	45	31	- 7	23%	53	24	- 1	(248)
Nov., 1984	30%	46	24	6	29%	48	23	6	(542)



TABLE 0.10

TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILY/  
COMMUNITY FINANCIAL SITUATION (cont'd.)

	Family				Community				Number of Cases
	Better Off	Same/DK	Worse Off	PDI <sup>4</sup>	Better Off	Same/DK	Worse Off	PDI <sup>4</sup>	
<b>Jewish</b>									
Nov., 1988	34%	47	19	15	25%	55	20	5	( 64)
Nov., 1984	41%	42	15	26	24%	56	21	3	( 86)
<b>Hispanic</b>									
Nov., 1988	34%	48	18	16	22%	52	27	- 5	( 83)
Nov., 1984	33%	45	21	12	25%	51	25	0	(113)
<b>Black</b>									
Nov., 1988	15%	50	36	-21	7%	51	41	-34	(188)
November, 1000	15%	43	42	-27	12%	41	46	-34	(329)

<sup>1</sup> 1984 data was party identification.

<sup>2</sup> Non-minority (1988 only).

<sup>4</sup> PDI: Percentage Difference Index = % Better Off minus % Worse Off.





## Market Opinion Research

### National Economy

While personal financial situation may play some part, one of the most important reasons that Americans are less positive about the way things are going today compared to four years ago is their less positive view of the national economy -- both now and in the future. Looking at the economy compared to a year previously, citizens in 1984 stated by a 45% to 18% margin that the national economy was better rather than worse. Thirty-seven percent (37%) said it was about the same. A 6% plurality (31% to 25%) now feel that the national economy is worse rather than better than it was a year ago, although a 44% plurality say it has remained about the same. Looking into the future, 42% of the adults in 1984 thought that the national economy would be better in 1985, 36% thought it would remain about the same, and 22% felt that it would be worse. Currently, only 26% feel that the national economy will be better in 1989 than it is now, while 28% feel it will be worse. A forty-six percent (46%) plurality feel it will remain about the same.

Optimism about the national economy has declined compared to 1984 among all major population groups. Even Republicans and adults earning over \$40,000 a year feel that the national economy will be no better in a year's time than it is now. This trepidation is certainly a major cause of the overall hesitancy in the American electorate today.





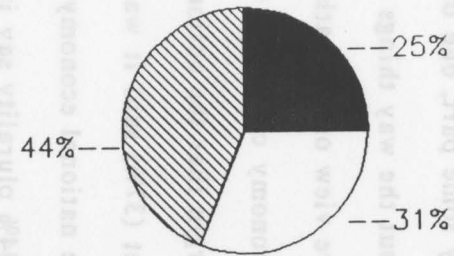
# Trend in Perceptions of National Economy

- Better
- ▨ Same/DK
- Worse

## Compared to a Year Ago

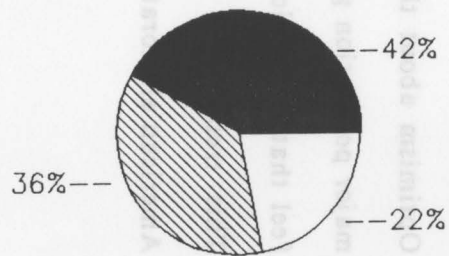


November 1984

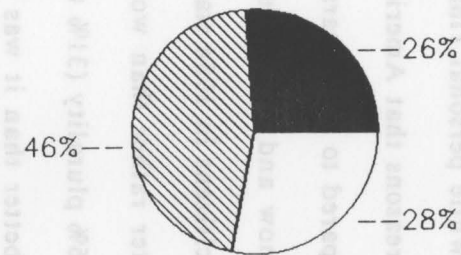


November 1988

## A Year From Now



November 1984



November 1988

TABLE 0.11

TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF PRESENT AND FUTURE NATIONAL ECONOMY

	Compared to A Year Ago				A Year From Now				Number of Cases
	Better	Same/ DK	Worse	PDI <sup>4</sup>	Better	Same/ DK	Worse	PDI <sup>4</sup>	
<b>Total</b>									
Nov., 1988	25%	44	31	- 6	26%	46	28	- 2	(1800)
Nov., 1984	45%	37	18	27	42%	36	22	20	(3002)
<b>Voter Type<sup>1</sup></b>									
<b>Republican</b>									
Nov., 1988	39%	47	14	25	36%	50	13	23	(448)
Nov., 1984	63%	32	5	58	62%	32	5	57	(892)
<b>Ticket-splitter</b>									
Nov., 1988	24%	45	30	- 6	28%	49	23	5	(591)
Nov., 1984	47%	36	16	31	42%	38	20	22	(1180)
<b>Democrat</b>									
Nov., 1988	13%	40	47	-34	16%	37	46	-30	(567)
Nov., 1984	24%	41	35	-11	21%	38	42	-21	(901)
<b>Political Regions</b>									
<b>New England</b>									
Nov., 1988	21%	42	35	-14	18%	51	31	-13	( 95)
Nov., 1984	51%	38	11	40	41%	39	19	22	(174)



TABLE 0.11

TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF PRESENT AND FUTURE NATIONAL ECONOMY (cont'd.)

	Compared to A Year Ago				A Year From Now				Number of Cases
	Better	Same/ DK	Worse	PDI <sup>4</sup>	Better	Same/ DK	Worse	PDI <sup>4</sup>	
<b>Mid Atlantic</b>									
Nov., 1988	25%	46	30	- 5	33%	40	26	7	(293)
Nov., 1984	47%	34	19	28	41%	36	24	17	(497)
<b>East North Central</b>									
Nov., 1988	23%	48	29	- 6	23%	50	29	- 6	(312)
Nov., 1984	48%	35	17	31	39%	39	22	17	(550)
<b>West North Central</b>									
Nov., 1988	24%	53	23	1	22%	52	26	- 4	(127)
Nov., 1984	45%	40	15	30	40%	38	22	18	(231)
<b>Border South</b>									
Nov., 1988	25%	40	36	-11	24%	51	25	- 1	( 85)
Nov., 1984	47%	33	20	27	39%	43	18	21	(224)
<b>Deep South</b>									
Nov., 1988	25%	44	32	- 7	32%	43	25	7	(465)
Nov., 1984	43%	38	20	23	45%	33	22	23	(767)
<b>Mountain</b>									
Nov., 1988	26%	44	30	- 4	15%	57	28	-13	( 95)
Nov., 1984	46%	37	17	29	45%	37	19	26	(151)





TABLE 0.11

TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF PRESENT AND FUTURE NATIONAL ECONOMY (cont'd.)

	Compared to A Year Ago				A Year From Now				Number of Cases
	Better	Same/DK	Worse	PDI <sup>4</sup>	Better	Same/DK	Worse	PDI <sup>4</sup>	
<b>Pacific</b>									
Nov., 1988	25%	40	35	-10	22%	43	35	-13	(275)
Nov., 1984	41%	37	22	19	38%	36	25	13	(410)
<b>Age<sup>2</sup></b>									
<b>18-29</b>									
Nov., 1988	29%	44	27	2	31%	45	24	7	(347)
<b>30-42</b>									
Nov., 1988	24%	50	26	- 2	26%	47	27	- 1	(431)
<b>43-54</b>									
Nov., 1988	29%	39	32	- 3	23%	48	30	- 7	(245)
<b>55-64</b>									
Nov., 1988	23%	47	30	- 7	27%	50	24	3	(184)
<b>65+</b>									
Nov., 1988	25%	44	31	- 6	29%	52	20	9	(255)



TABLE 0.11

TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF PRESENT AND FUTURE NATIONAL ECONOMY (cont'd.)

	Compared to A Year Ago				A Year From Now				Number of Cases
	Better	Same/ DK	Worse	PDI <sup>4</sup>	Better	Same/ DK	Worse	PDI <sup>4</sup>	
<b>Sex<sup>2</sup></b>									
<b>Men</b>									
Nov., 1988	32%	41	26	6	28%	44	27	1	(719)
Nov., 1984	50%	33	17	33	42%	36	22	20	(1437)
<b>Women</b>									
Nov., 1988	20%	48	31	-11	26%	50	24	2	(746)
Nov., 1984	41%	39	20	21	41%	37	22	19	(1565)
<b>Socio-economic Status</b>									
<b>High Income</b>									
Nov., 1988	30%	43	27	3	25%	45	30	- 5	(373)
Nov., 1984	59%	31	9	50	47%	38	16	31	(682)
<b>Intel-ligentsia</b>									
Nov., 1988	27%	46	27	0	25%	51	25	0	(162)
Nov., 1984	50%	37	14	36	43%	34	23	20	(256)
<b>Middle Class</b>									
Nov., 1988	24%	49	26	- 2	27%	51	23	4	(543)
Nov., 1984	49%	36	15	34	45%	37	17	28	(688)
<b>Lower End</b>									
Nov., 1988	21%	42	38	-17	32%	44	24	8	(248)
Nov., 1984	40%	37	22	18	43%	38	20	23	(542)



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TABLE 0.11

TREND IN PERCEPTIONS OF PRESENT AND  
FUTURE NATIONAL ECONOMY (cont'd.)

	Compared to A Year Ago				A Year From Now				Number of Cases
	Better	Same/ DK	Worse	PDI <sup>4</sup>	Better	Same/ DK	Worse	PDI <sup>4</sup>	
<b>Jewish</b>									
Nov., 1988	14%	44	42	-28	22%	30	47	-25	( 64)
Nov., 1984	40%	36	26	14	31%	26	44	-13	( 86)
<b>Hispanic</b>									
Nov., 1988	34%	39	28	6	33%	47	20	13	( 83)
Nov., 1984	37%	45	18	19	41%	39	20	21	(113)
<b>Black</b>									
Nov., 1988	13%	38	49	-36	18%	37	45	-27	(188)
November, 1000	19%	38	43	-24	23%	33	44	-21	(329)

<sup>1</sup> 1984 data was party identification.

<sup>2</sup> Non-minority (1988 only).

<sup>4</sup> PDI: Percentage Difference Index = % Better minus % Worse.



**IMPORTANT NATIONAL ISSUES**

**Issue Voting in the 1988 Election**

*re-emphasize just  
the way not the 1988 elec  
election*

Fully two-thirds (67%) of Americans said that issues were important to them in the 1988 election. This is very similar to the 1984 election, when 69% said that there were some issues of importance in that election.

Some voters more than others felt that issues were important to them this year. Liberal Democrats, residents in the New England and Pacific states, Jews, adults with high levels of income and/or education, religious voters, Vietnam era veterans, and housewives all said with greater than average frequency that issues were important to them this year. Although a majority of all voters stated that issues were important, they were somewhat less important to voters who made up their minds late, Hispanics, senior citizens, and residents of the West North Central region.

What issues were important to voters this year? Social issues, economic issues, and foreign policy issues, in that order, were most frequently stated as important election issues. Fully 60% of those who said that issues were important mentioned a social issue, 42% brought up an economic concern, and 14% cited a foreign policy issue.

The single most important issue mentioned by voters, however, is the deficit, with 16% mentioning it as an important election issue. Mention of the deficit is followed by:

- "Abortion/Abortion issue" (14%)
- "Economy/Economic situation/Better economy" (14%)
- "Defense/Defense policy/Military defense/National defense" (12%)





## Market Opinion Research

- "Education/Educational programs/Improving education" (9%)
- "Creating jobs/Jobs for people out of work" (7%)
- "Drugs/Drug issues/Drug problems" (6%)
- "The homeless/Help for the homeless" (6%)
- "Taxes/Tax issues" (6%)
- "Foreign affairs/Foreign policy/Foreign relations" (6%)

Many other social issues are mentioned by 5% or fewer of the voters, including the environment (5%), gun control (4%), the death penalty (3%), Social Security (5%), health insurance (4%), welfare (3%). *Undeniably, 1988, was certainly not an presidential contest* It is ~~certainly the case that this was not an~~ issue <sup>less</sup> campaign.

Indeed, nearly all of those who reported voting in the <sup>r</sup> Presidential election this year could discern at least one important issue difference between George Bush and Michael Dukakis. Only 4% said that there were no differences between the two, and only 14% could not name any issue.

The most prevalent issue differences mentioned were social issues. Nearly one-third (32%) mentioned a social issue -- including abortion (9%), gun control (3%), *and the* death penalty (3%). <sup>IP</sup> Another ~~15%~~ mention some defense or foreign policy issue, including:

- "Defense/national defense" (6%)
- "Bush has more experience in foreign policy" (3%)
- "Dukakis is against a stronger defense" (1%)
- "Nuclear arms control" (2%)

<sup>17,</sup> Additional 14% mention the budget deficit and the economy:

- "Economic difference/Different economic plan" (5%)
- "Taxes/Stand on taxes" (3%)
- "Deficit/National deficit" (3%)
- "Bush says no new taxes" (1%)



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Some of voters mention the contrasts between the two in the areas of experience and strength/trustworthiness as an important issue difference. Twelve percent (12%) mention experience, nearly all of them saying that Bush has more experience than Dukakis. Eleven percent (11%) mention strength or trust, with half saying they trust Bush more than Dukakis and the other half holding the opposite view.

So, most voters did feel that issues were important in the 1988 election, nearly all of them saw issue differences between the two candidates, and the issues of the deficit and the economy and social issues such as abortion, education and crime and drugs were all important to voters in deciding for whom to vote in the presidential contest this year.

*This was an issue here election*

**The 1989 Issue Agenda**

In addition to being important issues in the 1988 election, social issues and reducing the federal budget deficit all rise to the top of the 1989 national issue agenda. When asked which of 18 issues need the greatest attention from the federal government in the coming year, 13 of them are given a high amount of importance by 80% or more of Americans. Rising to the top of the list are three issues -- combating illegal drugs, improving the quality of public education, and reducing waste in federal spending. Ninety percent (90%) or more of Americans believe a great deal of attention should be paid these issues by the federal government.

Following closely on the heels of these <sup>three</sup> issues are four other very important issues -- reducing crime, reducing the federal budget deficit, protecting the environment, and helping the elderly and retired.

The other important issues, in the order of the <sup>10</sup> percent of adults who say it is important for the federal government to pay attention to this issue, are:

## Market Opinion Research

- Controlling inflation (89%)
- Reaching a nuclear arms control agreement (86%)
- Reducing welfare fraud and abuse (85%)
- Maintaining a strong national defense (85%)
- Reducing unemployment (82%)
- Holding down taxes (81%)
- Passing a balanced budget amendment (77%)
- Increasing assistance to lower income families (68%)
- Containing communist influence in Central America (62%)
- Allowing prayer in the public schools (55%)
- Making most abortions illegal (43%)

All of these issues, with the exception of combatting illegal drugs, was also rated in a 1984 post-election study. Comparing the degree of importance adults placed on these issues in 1984 versus today, the following issues have risen in importance during the last four years:

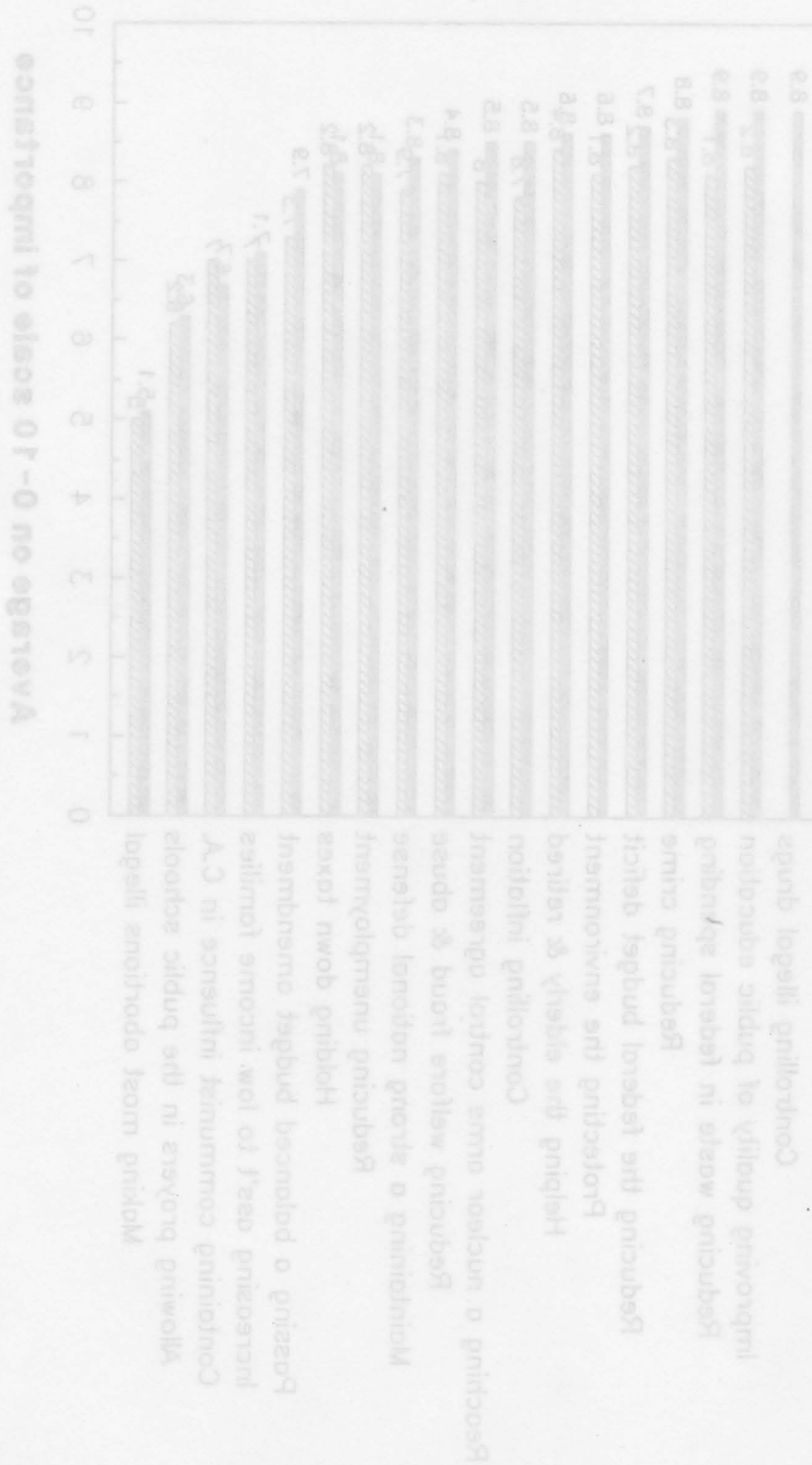
- Reducing waste in federal spending
- Improving the quality of public education
- Controlling inflation
- Passing a balanced budget amendment
- Reducing crime
- Reducing the federal budget deficit
- Protecting the environment
- Reaching a nuclear arms control agreement

None of the issues has shown <sup>any</sup> significant decline in importance since 1984.

As important as nearly all these issues are to nearly everyone, there are some population groups among whom some of these issues are more important than others. Combatting illegal drugs, for example, is of greater importance to women over the age of 40 than to most other groups in the electorate. Improving the quality of education is of greater importance to Democrats, more important even than combating illegal drugs. Maintaining a strong defense is as important to Republicans as is combatting illegal drugs, and is also much of greater importance

**Market Opinion Research**

to residents of the South than to residents outside the South. Residents of the South are also much more concerned than are others about holding down taxes, passing a balanced budget amendment, and allowing prayers in the public schools.



Important National Issues







# Important National Issues

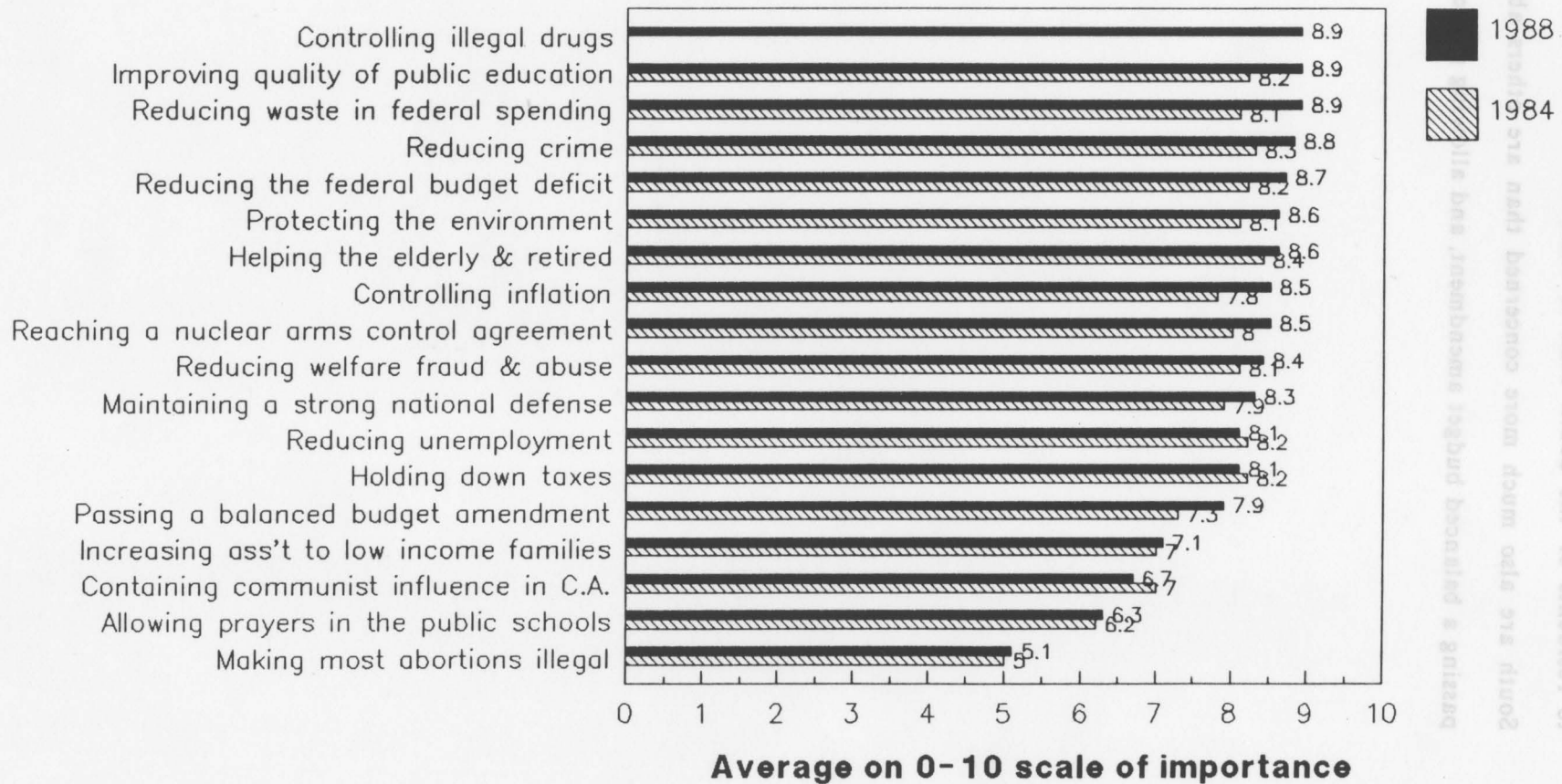
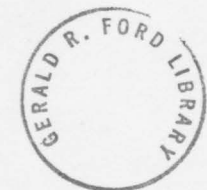


TABLE 0.12

IMPORTANT NATIONAL ISSUES

	Importance of Issue				Avg. <sup>1</sup>
	High	Midpoint	Low	DK/Ref.	
<b>Combatting illegal drugs</b>					
Nov., 1988	90%	3	5	2	8.9
<b>Improving the quality of public education</b>					
Nov., 1988	92%	4	3	1	8.9
Nov., 1984	86%	8	5	1	8.2
<b>Reducing waste in federal spending</b>					
Nov., 1988	91%	4	4	2	8.9
Nov., 1984	82%	9	8	1	8.1
<b>Reducing crime</b>					
Nov., 1988	90%	5	3	2	8.8
Nov., 1984	85%	8	5	1	8.3
<b>Reducing the federal budget deficit</b>					
Nov., 1988	88%	6	3	3	8.7
Nov., 1984	82%	9	6	2	8.2
<b>Protecting the environment<sup>2</sup></b>					
Nov., 1988	89%	6	3	2	8.6
Nov., 1984	84%	9	5	2	8.1
<b>Helping the elderly and retired</b>					
Nov., 1988	90%	3	5	2	8.6
Nov., 1984	89%	6	3	1	8.4



Market Opinion Research

TABLE 0.12  
 IMPORTANT NATIONAL ISSUES (cont'd.)

	Importance of Issue				Avg. <sup>1</sup>
	High	Midpoint	Low	DK/Ref.	
<b>Controlling inflation</b>					
Nov., 1988	89%	6	4	2	8.5
Nov., 1984	80%	10	8	1	7.8
<b>Reaching a nuclear arms control agreement</b>					
Nov., 1988	86%	7	5	3	8.5
Nov., 1984	78%	11	9	2	8.0
<b>Reducing welfare fraud and abuse</b>					
Nov., 1988	85%	7	7	2	8.4
Nov., 1984	81%	8	9	1	8.1
<b>Maintaining a strong national defense</b>					
Nov., 1988	85%	8	6	2	8.3
Nov., 1984	79%	11	8	1	7.9
<b>Reducing unemployment</b>					
Nov., 1988	82%	8	8	2	8.1
Nov., 1984	85%	8	6	1	8.2
<b>Holding down taxes</b>					
Nov., 1988	81%	10	7	2	8.1
Nov., 1984	84%	10	5	1	8.2
<b>Passing a balanced budget amendment</b>					
Nov., 1988	77%	11	8	5	7.9
Nov., 1984	69%	13	12	6	7.3



TABLE 0.12  
 IMPORTANT NATIONAL ISSUES (cont'd.)

	Importance of Issue				Avg. <sup>1</sup>
	High	Midpoint	Low	DK/Ref.	
<b>Increasing assistance to lower income families</b>					
Nov., 1988	68%	16	14	2	7.1
Nov., 1984	67%	15	16	1	7.0
<b>Containing communist influence in Central America</b>					
Nov., 1988	62%	14	19	5	6.7
Nov., 1984	65%	15	15	6	7.0
<b>Allowing prayers in the public schools</b>					
Nov., 1988	55%	15	28	5	6.3
Nov., 1984	54%	15	29	3	6.2
<b>Making most abortions illegal</b>					
Nov., 1988	43%	13	41	4	5.1
Nov., 1984	40%	14	41	5	5.0

<sup>1</sup> Average based on a 0-10 scale, where 0=Very low priority and 10=Very high priority.

<sup>2</sup> 1984 wording: "Protecting the environment and controlling hazardous waste."





TABLE 0.13

IMPORTANCE OF ISSUES/PARTY, AGE, AND SEX<sup>1</sup>

Importance of Issue	Total	Voter Type			Age/Sex <sup>2</sup>			
		Rep	T-S	Dem	Men		Women	
					18-39	40+	18-39	40+
Combatting illegal drugs	8.9	9.0	8.8	8.8	8.3	9.0	8.8	9.2
Improving the quality of public education	8.9	8.6	8.8	9.2	8.8	8.5	9.1	8.8
Reducing waste in federal spending	8.9	8.9	9.1	8.8	8.6	9.0	8.8	9.3
Reducing crime	8.8	8.8	8.7	8.9	8.4	8.7	8.7	9.0
Reducing the federal budget deficit	8.7	8.8	8.8	8.8	8.7	8.9	8.4	8.9
Protecting the environment	8.6	8.4	8.6	8.8	8.5	8.2	8.5	8.8
Helping the elderly and retired	8.6	8.2	8.6	8.9	8.1	8.3	8.5	8.9
Controlling inflation	8.5	8.7	8.5	8.5	8.1	8.4	8.5	8.9
Reaching a nuclear arms control agreement	8.5	8.4	8.4	8.6	8.2	8.5	8.4	8.8
Reducing welfare fraud and abuse	8.4	8.6	8.5	8.1	8.0	8.4	8.3	8.9
Maintaining a strong national defense	8.4	9.0	8.4	7.7	8.2	8.7	7.8	8.7
Reducing unemployment	8.1	7.8	8.0	8.4	7.7	7.7	8.2	8.5
Holding down taxes	8.1	8.4	8.1	7.8	7.7	7.9	8.1	8.6
Passing a balanced budget amendment	7.9	8.2	8.0	7.7	7.3	8.0	7.7	8.4
Increasing assistance to lower income families	7.1	6.4	7.0	7.8	6.4	6.7	7.1	7.3

TABLE 0.13

IMPORTANCE OF ISSUES/PARTY, AGE, AND SEX<sup>1</sup> (cont'd.)

	Total	Voter Type			Age/Sex <sup>2</sup>			
		Rep	T-S	Dem	Men		Women	
					18-39	40+	18-39	40+
Containing communist influence in Central America	6.7	7.7	6.7	6.0	6.6	7.2	6.3	6.9
Allowing prayers in the public schools	6.3	6.9	6.3	5.8	5.4	6.9	5.4	7.0
Making most abortions illegal	5.1	6.0	5.0	4.5	4.6	5.4	4.6	5.7

<sup>1</sup> Numbers are averages on a 0-10 scale of importance.

<sup>2</sup> Non-minority.



TABLE 0.14

IMPORTANCE OF ISSUES BY REGION<sup>1</sup>

	Total	Political Regions							
		New Engl	Mid Atl	EN Cent	WN Cent	Bor-der South	Deep South	Mtn.	Pac.
Combating illegal drugs	8.9	8.8	8.9	8.8	8.9	8.5	9.1	8.4	8.8
Improving the quality of public education	8.9	8.7	9.0	8.8	8.8	9.0	9.0	8.7	8.8
Reducing waste in federal spending	8.9	8.8	8.8	8.8	8.9	9.0	8.9	8.8	8.9
Reducing crime	8.8	8.5	8.9	8.5	8.7	9.1	9.0	8.5	8.7
Reducing the federal budget deficit	8.7	8.8	8.6	8.5	8.7	8.2	8.8	8.7	8.7
Protecting the environment	8.6	8.7	8.8	8.5	8.3	8.6	8.8	8.2	8.5
Helping the elderly and retired	8.6	8.6	8.8	8.5	8.1	8.7	8.8	8.3	8.5
Controlling inflation	8.5	8.3	8.7	8.6	8.3	8.7	8.6	8.3	8.5
Reaching a nuclear arms control agreement	8.5	8.9	8.6	8.2	8.4	8.7	8.6	8.3	8.5
Reducing welfare fraud and abuse	8.4	8.3	8.5	8.1	8.4	8.5	8.6	8.0	8.3
Maintaining a strong national defense	8.3	8.0	8.1	8.1	8.4	8.9	8.6	8.1	8.2
Reducing unemployment	8.1	7.4	8.2	8.1	7.9	8.1	8.3	8.1	8.1
Holding down taxes	8.1	7.5	8.2	8.1	8.0	8.4	8.4	7.8	7.7



TABLE 0.14

IMPORTANCE OF ISSUES BY REGION<sup>1</sup> (cont'd.)

	Total	Political Regions							
		New Engl	Mid Atl	EN Cent	WN Cent	Bor-der South	Deep South	Mtn.	Pac.
Passing a balanced budget amendment	7.9	7.1	7.9	7.7	7.9	8.1	8.4	7.7	7.5
Increasing assistance to lower income families	7.1	7.1	7.5	6.9	7.1	6.9	7.2	6.8	7.2
Containing communist influence in Central America	6.7	6.6	6.6	6.3	7.0	6.9	7.3	6.2	6.1
Allowing prayers in the public schools	6.3	5.8	5.7	6.0	6.4	7.6	7.5	5.5	4.9
Making most abortions illegal	5.1	3.7	4.5	5.3	4.9	5.7	6.0	5.5	4.1

<sup>1</sup> Numbers are averages on a 0-10 scale of importance.





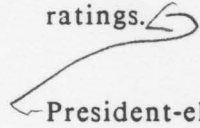
Market Opinion Research

TABLE 014

PERSONAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE CANDIDATES

<b>George Bush</b>	
A 52% majority of adults across the country have a favorable personal impression of President-elect George Bush. Another 15% have a neutral opinion of Bush, and 29% have an unfavorable perception. Bush's average on this 0-100 degree "thermometer" scale is 56.4.	
Among the following groups, Bush receives warmer than average thermometer ratings: <del>Republican, Southern white, Northern WASP,</del>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Republicans</li> <li>■ Southern white</li> <li>■ Northern WASP</li> <li>■ Non-minority men</li> <li>■ Non-minority adults earning \$40,000 a year or more</li> <li>■ Members of the intelligentsia</li> <li>■ Middle class whites</li> </ul>	

Among Democrats, blacks, and Jews, Bush received relatively cold favorability ratings.



President-elect Bush thus will start his administration with warm wishes from nearly all Americans.

**Dan Quayle**

This is not the case with Vice-President Dan Quayle. He receives a luke-warm 40° thermometer rating -- only 20% have a favorable impression of him, 19% have a neutral opinion, and 44% have an unfavorable impression of him. Quayle's



## Market Opinion Research

thermometer rating rises above the 50° neutral mark only among Republicans. Among all other groups, there are more unfavorable than favorable perceptions of Quayle.

### Michael Dukakis

Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis ends his bid for the presidency with an average 52.6° thermometer rating -- 44% have a favorable opinion of him, 18% a neutral impression, and 34% an unfavorable feeling toward him.

Dukakis garners warm ratings from only his fellow Democratic partisans and minority voters. No other group in the population carries a higher than 60° rating of Dukakis. He receives especially luke-warm ratings from:

- Republicans
- Southern whites
- Non-minority men 40 or older
- High income whites

### Lloyd Bentsen

Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen emerges from the 1988 election with a warm 57.3° favorability rating. A 46% plurality of adults have a favorable impression of Bentsen, 20% have a neutral feeling about him, and 22% rate him unfavorably. Bentsen, like Dukakis, is most favorably perceived by Democrats and by minority voters. However, unlike Dukakis, he falls below ~~the~~ 50° only among Republicans. All other demographic groups across the country have generally warm feelings for Bentsen.



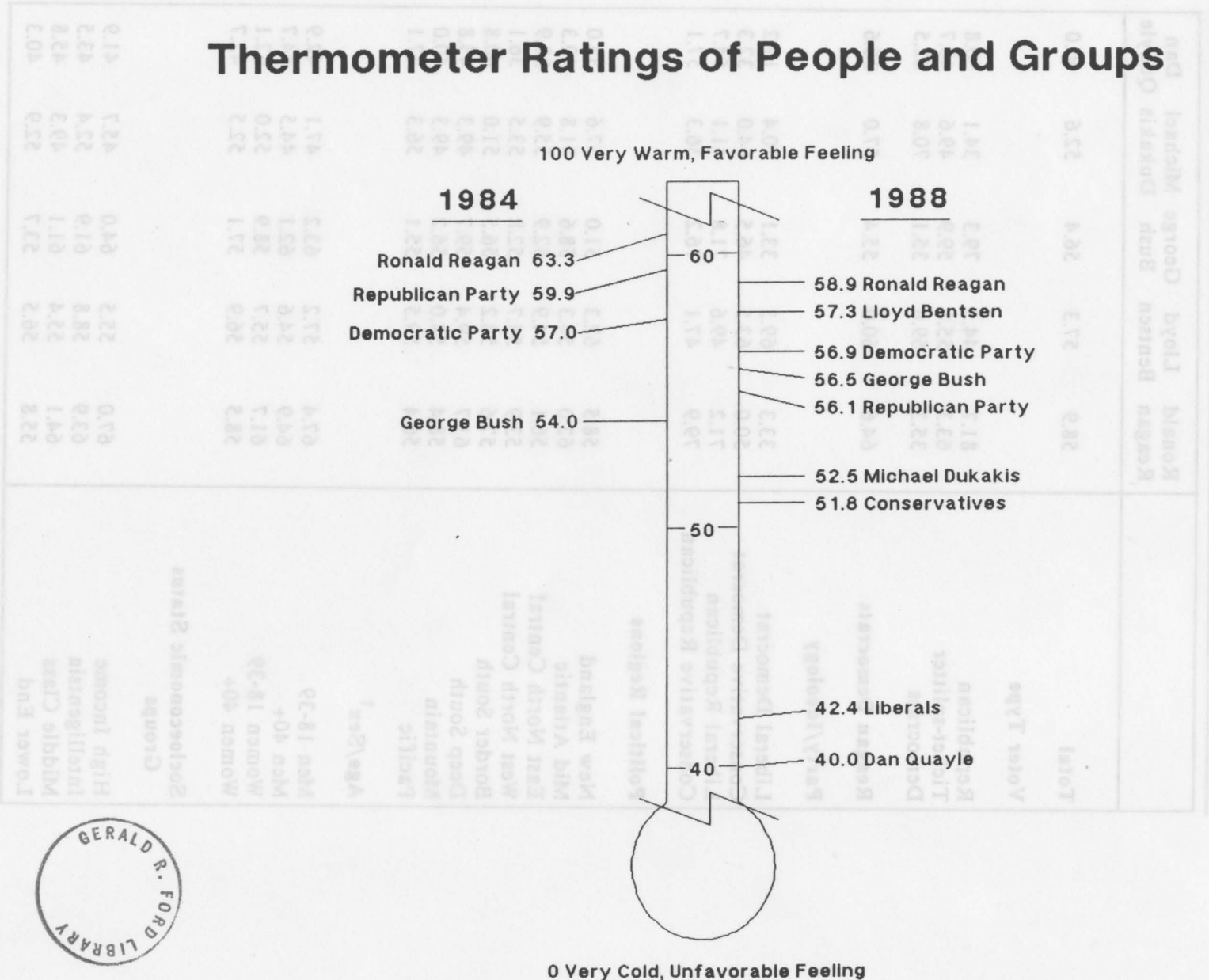
## Section Ronald Reagan 3

President Reagan ends his 2-term presidency with a 62% to 36% job approval rating. He receives a near-universal 90% to 9% endorsement from his fellow Republicans, garners the approval of over two-thirds (68% to 30%) of the nation's ticket-splitting adults, but musters the approval of only 30% of Democrats (67% disapprove).

As he began his second term, Reagan enjoyed a 65% to 29% job performance rating. ~~Thus~~ Thus, although MOR has seen Reagan's approval rating take some negative turns in the last four years, it has, <sup>recently</sup> returned to 1984 levels.



# Thermometer Ratings of People and Groups



THE THERMOMETER RATINGS OF PUBLIC OPINION

TABLE 012

Public Opinion Research



TABLE 0.15  
THERMOMETER RATINGS OF PUBLIC FIGURES

	Ronald Reagan	Lloyd Bentsen	George Bush	Michael Dukakis	Dan Quayle
<b>Total</b>	58.9	57.3	56.4	52.6	40.0
<b>Voter Type</b>					
Republican	81.7	44.5	79.3	34.1	60.8
Ticket-splitter	63.3	55.8	59.9	49.6	40.7
Democrats	35.3	69.6	35.1	70.8	22.5
<b>Reagan Democrats</b>	64.6	60.0	55.4	57.0	36.6
<b>Party/Ideology</b>					
Liberal Democrat	33.3	69.3	33.1	70.4	19.2
Conservative Democrat	50.0	63.5	46.5	64.0	32.3
Liberal Republican	71.2	49.6	71.8	41.1	54.7
Conservative Republican	79.9	47.1	76.2	36.3	57.1
<b>Political Regions</b>					
New England	58.5	62.3	51.0	57.6	33.0
Mid Atlantic	62.0	54.3	58.6	51.8	40.3
East North Central	56.1	54.9	52.9	55.9	38.9
West North Central	53.9	54.7	52.8	53.5	36.1
Border South	57.6	58.2	56.5	51.0	40.8
Deep South	61.7	59.4	59.7	49.3	43.8
Mountain	58.4	58.0	56.2	49.3	40.0
Pacific	56.4	59.5	55.1	56.3	37.1
<b>Age/Sex<sup>1</sup></b>					
Men 18-39	67.4	57.2	63.2	47.1	42.9
Men 40+	64.9	54.6	62.1	44.5	44.7
Women 18-39	61.7	55.7	58.9	52.0	42.1
Women 40+	58.5	56.9	57.1	52.5	42.7
<b>Socioeconomic Status Groups</b>					
High Income	67.0	55.5	64.0	45.7	41.9
Intelligentsia	63.9	58.8	61.9	52.4	43.5
Middle Class	64.1	55.4	61.1	49.3	45.8
Lower End	55.8	56.5	53.7	52.9	40.3

TABLE 0.15

THERMOMETER RATINGS OF PUBLIC FIGURES (cont'd.)

	Ronald Reagan	Lloyd Bentsen	George Bush	Michael Dukakis	Dan Quayle
Jewish	42.8	62.7	41.3	62.2	16.1
Hispanic	61.4	61.2	55.3	62.3	37.4
Black	31.0	62.1	32.2	71.7	24.6
<b>New Deal Groups</b>					
Northern WASP	63.5	54.2	60.3	49.1	45.1
Northern Catholic	64.2	58.1	59.4	55.0	41.1
Northern Union	57.7	57.4	54.8	53.7	36.1
Southern White	67.0	56.6	65.1	42.7	47.8

<sup>1</sup> Non-minority.



TABLE 0.16

TREND IN APPROVAL OF REAGAN JOB PERFORMANCE

	Job Performance			Number of Cases
	Approve	Dis-approve	Undecided	
<b>Total</b>				
November, 1988	62%	36	3	(1800)
November, 1984	65%	29	6	(3002)
<b>Voter Type<sup>1</sup></b>				
<b>Republican</b>				
November, 1988	90%	9	1	(448)
November, 1984	95%	4	1	(892)
<b>Ticket-splitter</b>				
November, 1988	68%	30	3	(591)
November, 1984	68%	24	7	(1180)
<b>Democrat</b>				
November, 1988	30%	67	3	(567)
November, 1984	32%	60	9	(901)
<b>Political Regions</b>				
<b>New England</b>				
November, 1988	57%	38	4	( 95)
November, 1984	69%	28	3	(174)
<b>Mid Atlantic</b>				
November, 1988	64%	32	4	(293)
November, 1984	59%	34	7	(497)
<b>East North Central</b>				
November, 1988	58%	38	4	(312)
November, 1984	65%	31	4	(550)



TABLE 0.16

TREND IN APPROVAL OF REAGAN JOB PERFORMANCE (cont'd.)

Job Performance	Job Performance			Number of Cases
	Approve	Dis-approve	Undecided	
<b>West North Central</b>				
November, 1988	59%	40	2	(127)
November, 1984	69%	22	8	(231)
<b>Border South</b>				
November, 1988	60%	38	2	( 85)
November, 1984	66%	25	8	(224)
<b>Deep South</b>				
November, 1988	66%	32	3	(465)
November, 1984	68%	26	6	(767)
<b>Mountain</b>				
November, 1988	61%	37	1	( 95)
November, 1984	62%	30	7	(151)
<b>Pacific</b>				
November, 1988	59%	39	1	(275)
November, 1984	62%	31	7	(410)
<b>Age<sup>2</sup></b>				
<b>18-29</b>				
November, 1988	75%	23	2	(347)
<b>30-42</b>				
November, 1988	67%	31	3	(431)
<b>43-54</b>				
November, 1988	66%	32	2	(245)

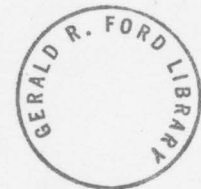




TABLE 0.16

TREND IN APPROVAL OF REAGAN JOB PERFORMANCE (cont'd.)

Job Performance	Job Performance			Number of Cases
	Approve	Dis-approve	Undecided	
<b>55-64</b>				
November, 1988	54%	42	5	(184)
<b>65+</b>				
November, 1988	66%	30	3	(255)
<b>Sex<sup>2</sup></b>				
<b>Men</b>				
November, 1988	70%	28	3	(719)
November, 1984	69%	25	6	(1437)
<b>Women</b>				
November, 1988	64%	34	3	(746)
November, 1984	61%	32	7	(1565)
<b>Socioeconomic Status</b>				
<b>High Income</b>				
November, 1988	70%	28	2	(373)
November, 1984	79%	18	3	(682)
<b>Intelligentsia</b>				
November, 1988	67%	31	2	(162)
November, 1984	64%	31	5	(256)
<b>Middle Class</b>				
November, 1988	67%	30	3	(543)
November, 1984	72%	23	5	(688)
<b>Lower End</b>				
November, 1988	59%	38	2	(248)
November, 1984	63%	29	8	(542)



TABLE 0.16

TREND IN APPROVAL OF REAGAN JOB PERFORMANCE (cont'd.)

	Job Performance			Number of Cases
	Approve	Dis-approve	Undecided	
<b>Jewish</b>				
November, 1988	36%	58	7	( 64)
November, 1984	44%	51	5	( 86)
<b>Hispanic</b>				
November, 1988	66%	31	2	( 83)
November, 1984	61%	29	10	(113)
<b>Black</b>				
November, 1988	28%	69	4	(188)
November, 1984	25%	64	11	(329)

<sup>1</sup> 1984 data was party identification.

<sup>2</sup> Non-minority (1988 only).



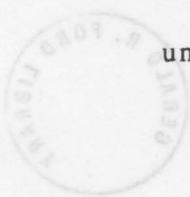
PARTY PERCEPTIONS

TREND IN APPROVAL OF REAGAN JOB PERFORMANCE (cont'd.)

Party Confidence

	Job Performance	Confidence
As the Bush administration <sup>prepares</sup> <del>is about</del> to take office, Americans have greater confidence in the Republican Party than the Democratic Party to solve important national problems. The margin is a close one, however, much closer than the margin seen after the 1984 election. Currently, a 45% plurality feel that the Republicans will do the better job solving national problems, while 36% have greater confidence in the policies and programs of the Democratic Party. Ten percent (10%) have confidence in neither the Republicans nor the Democrats, 3% have confidence in both of them, and 6% are undecided. After the 1984 election, a 50% to 29% majority <sup>d</sup> have greater confidence in the Republicans. Thus, in the intervening four years, confidence in the Republicans has actually declined 5%, while confidence in the Democrats has risen by 7%.		

Added to this finding is the fact that Americans give fairly equal favorability ratings to each of the two parties. In fact, the Democrats get a slightly higher thermometer rating than do the Republicans. Forty-five percent (45%) of Americans have a favorable impression of the Democratic Party, 24% have a neutral impression, and 26% have an unfavorable perception -- which gives them an overall 56.8° thermometer rating. Forty-seven percent (47%) of Americans have a favorable impression of the Republican Party, 22% a neutral opinion, and 26% an unfavorable perception -- for an average 56.1° rating.



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Therefore, while voters entrust the Republican Party to handle important national issues to a greater extent than the Democrats, it is by no means a clear and decisive mandate. This generally divided view, combined with the fact that Democrats remain the majority party in the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate, will mean that compromise and cooperation, rather than confrontation and contentiousness, will be the watchwords of the early Bush administration.

Category	Democrat	Republican	Total
<b>Party/Ideology</b>			
Conservative Republican	40.0	76.5	40.0
Liberal Republican	42.1	72.0	42.1
Conservative Democrat	70.9	43.1	49.7
Liberal Democrat	74.9	33.8	38.3
<b>Political Regions</b>			
Pacific	38.3	32.8	31.1
Mountain	38.9	36.4	33.1
Deep South	36.4	37.3	37.3
Border South	64.1	32.8	32.1
West North Central	34.0	33.1	44.9
East North Central	37.9	34.0	47.1
Mid Atlantic	34.0	37.3	49.4
New England	60.0	32.3	33.3
<b>Age/Sex</b>			
Women 40+	38.0	36.4	35.7
Women 18-39	36.1	35.3	49.0
Men 40+	49.0	61.0	37.7
Men 18-39	32.9	61.8	34.9
<b>Socioeconomic Status</b>			
Black	78.0	34.9	44.0
Hispanic	61.7	35.3	48.9
Jewish	61.8	41.4	32.6
Lower End	32.9	32.7	47.8
Middle Class	32.0	39.3	32.3
Intelligentsia	32.7	61.9	32.3
High Income	49.3	62.8	38.7

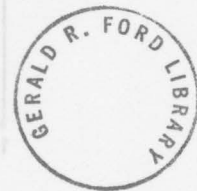




TABLE 0.17

THERMOMETER RATINGS OF GROUPS

	Democratic Party	Republican Party	Conservatives	Liberals
<b>Total</b>	56.8	56.1	51.8	42.4
<b>Party/Ideology</b>				
Liberal Democrat	74.9	33.8	36.2	61.8
Conservative Democrat	70.9	43.1	49.7	40.3
Liberal Republican	45.1	72.0	47.8	45.1
Conservative Republican	40.0	76.5	66.6	28.3
<b>Political Regions</b>				
New England	60.0	55.3	53.2	47.9
Mid Atlantic	54.0	57.5	49.4	41.3
East North Central	57.9	54.0	47.1	43.5
West North Central	54.0	53.1	44.9	35.6
Border South	64.1	53.8	52.1	40.8
Deep South	56.4	57.2	57.3	39.7
Mountain	58.9	56.4	53.1	44.7
Pacific	58.5	55.8	51.1	49.6
<b>Age/Sex<sup>1</sup></b>				
Men 18-39	52.9	61.8	54.9	40.9
Men 40+	49.0	61.0	57.7	35.1
Women 18-39	56.1	59.5	49.0	45.1
Women 40+	56.0	56.4	52.7	39.9
<b>Socioeconomic Status Groups</b>				
High Income	49.2	63.8	58.7	40.1
Intelligentsia	53.7	61.9	55.5	45.5
Middle Class	55.0	59.3	52.3	40.5
Lower End	55.9	53.7	47.8	38.0
Jewish	61.6	41.4	35.6	58.3
Hispanic	61.7	52.5	48.9	47.6
Black	78.0	34.9	44.0	50.9

<sup>1</sup> Non-minority.





**Issues Attracting Voters to the Republican Party**

Despite the fact that only a plurality of Americans have greater confidence in the Republican Party overall, there are a number of issues which attract a majority of voters toward the Republican Party. The two most important issue positions attracting voters to Republicans are their approach to the Soviet Union and their support of a balanced budget amendment. Fully 59% of Americans say that the Republicans approach toward the Soviet Union attracts them to the Party, while only 14% say that it pushes them away from the Party. An additional 27% say that it has no effect on their judgment of the Republican Party. On their support of balanced support budget amendment, 60% are attracted to the Republicans, 16% are pushed away, and 24% say that it makes no difference. These two issues are an attraction for every major population subgroup in the country. Liberals and conservatives alike and Americans old and young, male and female, South and North, all are attracted to the Republican Party on the basis of these two issues.

Three other issues also attract a majority of voters to the Party -- its position on nuclear arms control (56% attract, 21% push away), its support for voluntary school prayer (55% attract, 21% repel), its position on national defense (58% attract, 24% repel). These three issues attract most voters; only Liberal Democrats are repelled by these issues.

An additional three issues are a moderate attraction to a plurality of voters. The Republican Party's opposition to big government is a net 16 point attraction, its opposition to a tax increase to reduce the deficit is a net 11 point attraction, and its position on Social Security is a net 10 point attraction. These three issues are much less of a pull to many regional and demographic subgroups.

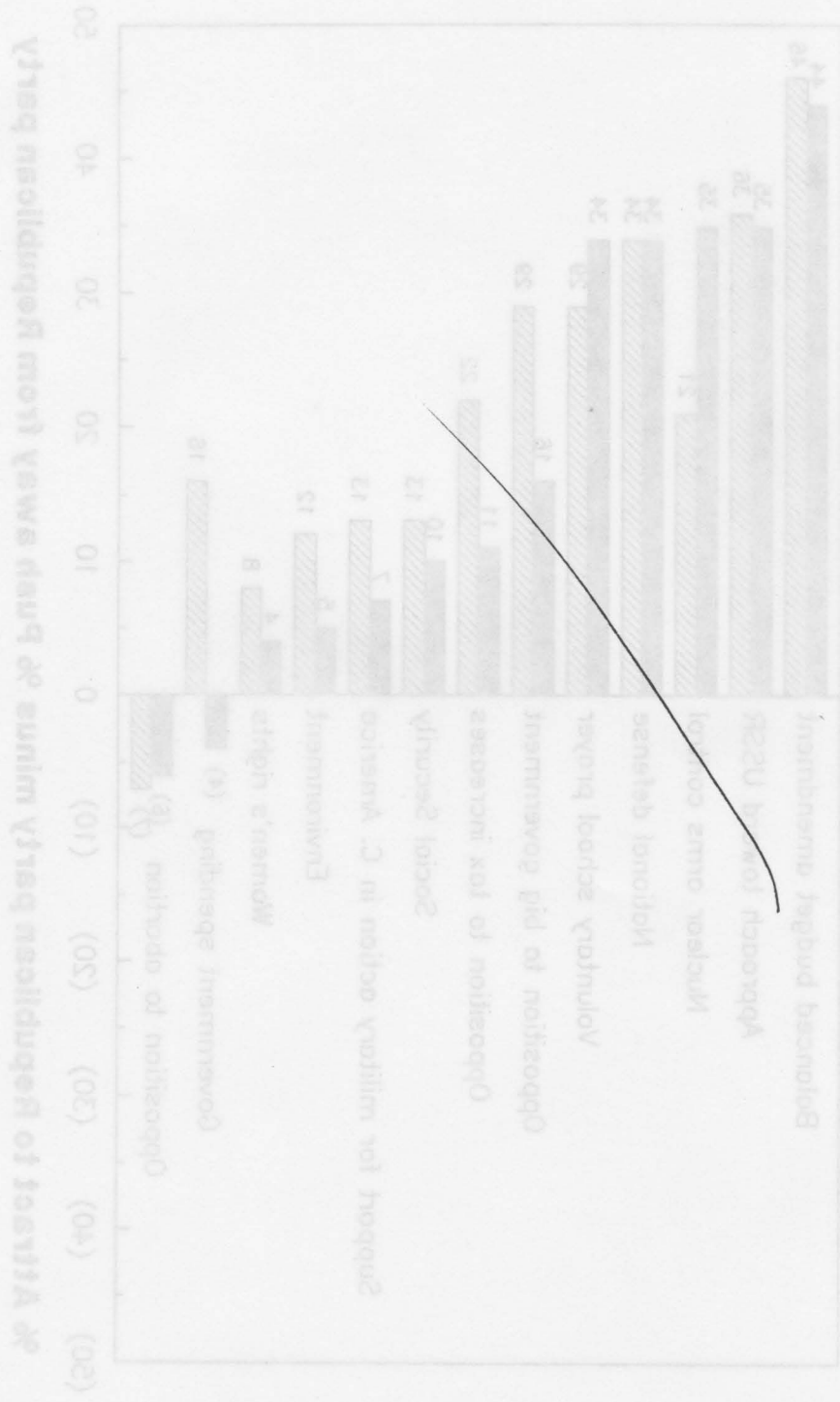


### Issues That Push Away Voters From the Republican Party

Only two out of the thirteen issues presented actually turn people away from the Republican Party, but an additional three are essentially a wash. The issues which turn away the most people from the Republican Party are the party's opposition to abortion, followed closely by its position on government spending. A 41% plurality say that they are turned off by the Republican party's opposition to abortion, while 35% say they are attracted. Conservatives and Southerners are attracted to this opposition to abortion, while liberals, Northerners, and adults under 40 are all affected negatively by this position.

With regard to their position on government spending, 40% are pushed away, 36% are attracted, and 24% say it has no effect. This is the one issue that has changed the most between 1984 and today. In November of 1984, a 45% to 29% plurality were attracted to the Republican Party because of its position on government spending. Now, with so many social issues at the top of the issue agenda, it seems as though many voters, even though they want to see the federal deficit eliminated, also want to see more attention paid to the domestic issue agenda. This is certainly a conflict that will not easily be resolved.

The three issues upon which there is an essentially neutral reaction, that is, nearly equal numbers are attracted and repelled, are the Republican party's position on womens' rights (37% attract, 28% repel), its support for military action to contain the communist influence in Central America (41% attract, 34% repel), and its position on the environment (36% attract, 31% push away). Both the environment and military action in Central America were more of an attraction in 1984 than they are now. The womens' rights and abortion issues are at essentially the same position as they were in 1984.



How Republican Party  
 Views Various Issues







## Issues Attracting/Turning Voters Away From Republican Party

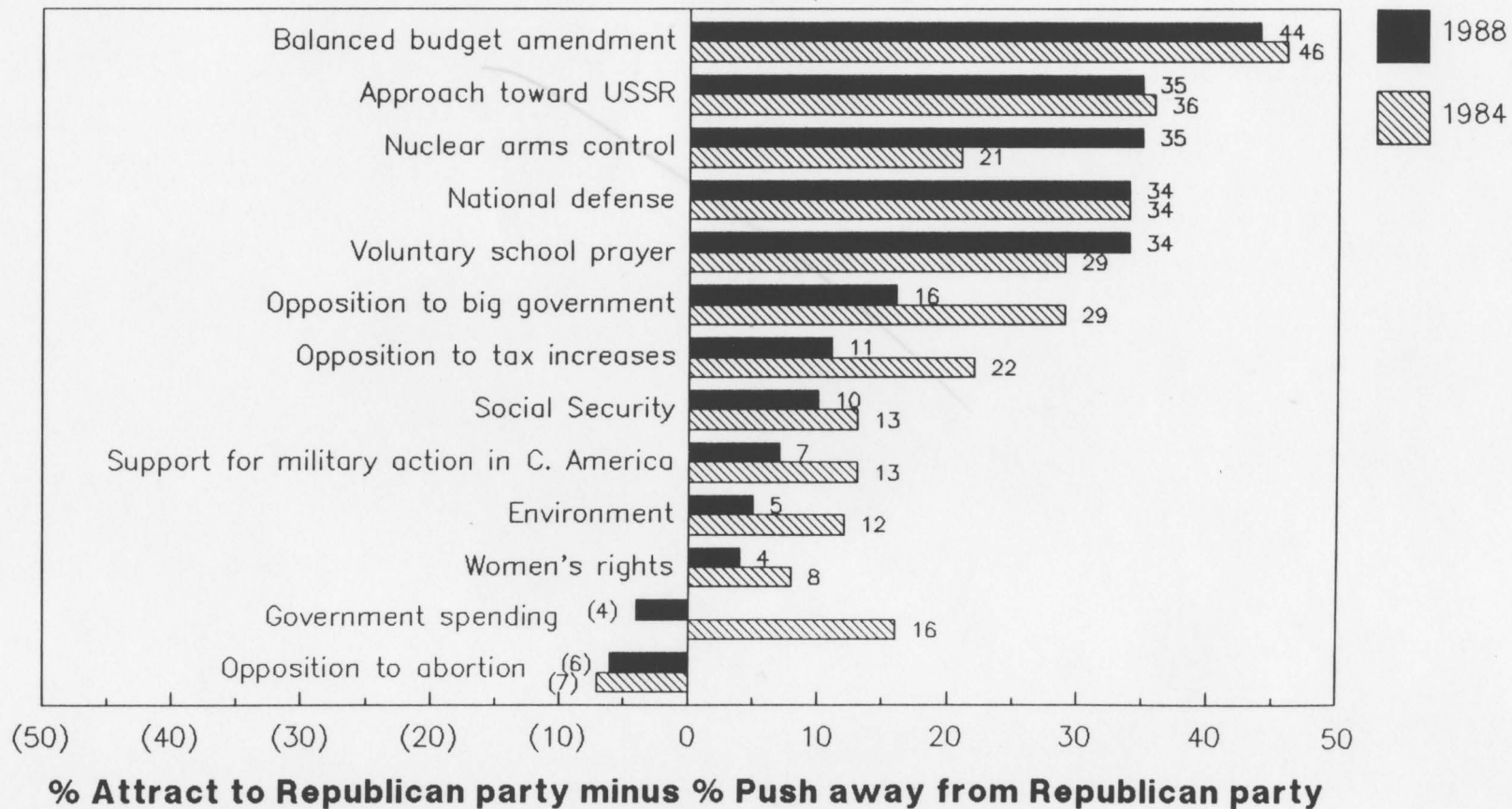


TABLE 0.18

ISSUES THAT ATTRACT/PUSH AWAY VOTERS FROM REPUBLICAN PARTY

	Reaction			PDI <sup>1</sup>
	Attracts	Pushes Away	No effect/DK	
<b>Its approach toward the Soviet Union<sup>2</sup></b>				
Nov., 1988	59%	14	27	+45
Nov., 1984	57%	21	22	+36
<b>Its support of a balanced budget amendment</b>				
Nov., 1988	60%	16	24	+44
Nov., 1984	59%	13	28	+46
<b>Its position on nuclear arms control</b>				
Nov., 1988	56%	21	23	+35
Nov., 1984	49%	28	23	+21
<b>Its support of voluntary school prayer</b>				
Nov., 1988	55%	21	24	+34
Nov., 1984	50%	21	29	+29
<b>Its position on national defense</b>				
Nov., 1988	58%	24	18	+34
Nov., 1984	57%	23	20	+34
<b>Its opposition to big government</b>				
Nov., 1988	40%	24	35	+16
Nov., 1984	48%	19	33	+29



TABLE 0.18

ISSUES THAT ATTRACT/PUSH AWAY VOTERS FROM REPUBLICAN PARTY (cont'd.)

	Reaction			PDI <sup>1</sup>
	Attracts	Pushes Away	No effect/DK	
<b>Its opposition to a tax increase to reduce the deficit</b>				
Nov., 1988	45%	34	21	+11
Nov., 1984	50%	28	22	+22
<b>Its position on Social Security</b>				
Nov., 1988	39%	29	32	+10
Nov., 1984	43%	30	28	+13
<b>Its position on women's rights</b>				
Nov., 1988	37%	28	35	+ 9
Nov., 1984	35%	27	38	+ 8
<b>Its support for military action to contain the communist influence in Central America</b>				
Nov., 1988	41%	34	25	+ 7
Nov., 1984	43%	30	27	+13
<b>Its position on the environment</b>				
Nov., 1988	36%	31	33	+ 5
Nov., 1984	36%	24	41	+12



TABLE 0.18

ISSUES THAT ATTRACT/PUSH AWAY VOTERS FROM REPUBLICAN PARTY (cont'd.)

	Reaction			PDI <sup>1</sup>
	Attracts	Pushes Away	No effect/DK	
<b>Its position on government spending</b>				
Nov., 1988	36%	40	24	- 4
Nov., 1984	45%	29	26	+16
<b>Its opposition to abortion</b>				
Nov., 1988	35%	41	23	- 6
Nov., 1984	29%	36	34	- 7

<sup>1</sup> PDI: Percentage Difference Index = % Attracts minus % Pushes Away.

<sup>2</sup> Wording in 1984 was "tough-minded approach."







TABLE 0.19

ISSUES THAT ATTRACT/PUSH AWAY VOTERS BY SUBGROUP<sup>1</sup>

	Total	Party Ideology				RR Dem	Voting Tendencies				
		Lib Dem	Cons Dem	Lib Rep	Cons Rep		Str Tkt Dems	Split Tkt Dems	Pure T-S	Split Tkt Reps	Str Tkt Reps
Its approach toward the Soviet Union	45	25	29	54	72	45	11	30	61	72	74
Its support of a balanced budget amendment	44	8	34	59	73	40	9	17	56	74	78
Its support on nuclear arms control	35	-7	24	40	71	35	-4	5	50	70	79
Its support of voluntary school prayer	34	-6	42	46	61	34	19	-2	45	56	60
Its position on national defense	34	-19	28	53	74	37	-13	2	57	65	81
Its opposition to big government	16	-16	-5	26	47	10	-22	-6	29	48	51

TABLE 0.19

ISSUES THAT ATTRACT/PUSH AWAY VOTERS BY SUBGROUP<sup>1</sup> (cont'd.)

	Total	Party Ideology				RR Dem	Voting Tendencies				
		Lib Dem	Cons Dem	Lib Rep	Cons Rep		Str Tkt Dems	Split Tkt Dems	Pure T-S	Split Tkt Reps	Str Tkt Reps
Its opposition to a tax increase to reduce the deficit	11	-30	--	28	43	8	-26	-20	23	42	55
Its position on Social Security	10	-33	6	38	45	3	-20	-21	25	43	53
Its position on women's rights	9	-34	17	32	35	9	-13	-29	17	32	38
Its support for military action to contain the communist influence in Central America	7	-45	5	32	43	6	-36	-31	19	42	60
Its position on the environment	5	-39	6	33	30	10	-22	-25	9	24	37





TABLE 0.19

ISSUES THAT ATTRACT/PUSH AWAY VOTERS BY SUBGROUP<sup>1</sup> (cont'd.)

	Total	Party Ideology				RR Dem	Voting Tendencies				
		Lib Dem	Cons Dem	Lib Rep	Cons Rep		Str Tkt Dems	Split Tkt Dems	Pure T-S	Split Tkt Reps	Str Tkt Reps
Its position on government spending	-4	-53	-22	22	40	-13	-47	-48	12	40	53
Its opposition to abortion	-6	-44	-8	-2	19	-5	-31	-32	-2	14	27

<sup>1</sup>Numbers are % Republican minus % Democrat.

TABLE 0.20

ISSUES THAT ATTRACT/PUSH AWAY VOTERS BY SUBGROUP<sup>1</sup>

	Maj. Reg.		Age/Sex*				Pres. Vote			Cong'l Vote		
	Non South	South	Men		Women		B/Q	D/B	DK/Ref	Rep	Dem	Undec.
			18-39	40+	18-39	40+						
Its approach toward the Soviet Union	45	48	58	54	43	46	71	21	49	68	33	44
Its support of a balanced budget amendment	40	52	51	49	59	45	73	13	42	68	25	51
Its support on nuclear arms control	31	43	51	51	24	39	69	1	39	67	14	33
Its support of voluntary school prayer	25	56	28	44	33	47	59	6	28	55	15	38
Its position on national defense	28	50	53	48	26	31	75	-10	32	66	9	37
Its opposition to big government	13	22	26	26	22	10	46	-14	14	44	-2	9

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TABLE 0.20

ISSUES THAT ATTRACT/PUSH AWAY VOTERS BY SUBGROUP<sup>1</sup> (cont'd.)

	Maj. Reg.		Age/Sex*				Pres. Vote			Cong'l Vote		
	Non South	South	Men		Women		B/Q	D/B	DK/ Ref	Rep	Dem	Undec.
			18-39	40+	18-39	40+						
Its opposition to a tax increase to reduce the deficit	8	17	15	13	20	17	46	-24	3	42	-13	13
Its position on Social Security	6	23	12	17	13	18	45	-21	-6	39	-10	18
Its position on women's rights	5	18	11	21	6	13	34	-25	8	28	-11	11
Its support for military action to contain the communist influence in Central America	3	17	22	23	2	2	47	-38	1	39	-20	-1
Its position on the environment	0	17	-3	8	8	15	32	-31	5	25	-18	14

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Market Opinion Research

Market Opinion Research

TABLE 0.20

ISSUES THAT ATTRACT/PUSH AWAY VOTERS BY SUBGROUP<sup>1</sup> (cont'd.)

	Maj. Reg.		Age/Sex*				Pres. Vote			Cong'l Vote		
	Non South	South	Men		Women		B/Q	D/B	DK/ Ref	Rep	Dem	Undec.
			18-39	40+	18-39	40+						
Its position on government spending	-8	5	6	9	-3	-4	-43	-51	-18	38	-34	-10
Its opposition to abortion	-14	10	-4	1	-14	3	21	-37	-8	18	-27	3

<sup>1</sup>Numbers are % Republican minus % Democrat.

\*Non-Minority.

