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THE PUBLIC PERSPECTIVE

A Roper Center Review of Public Opinion and Polling

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CONVENTIONAL WOMEN AND MEN IN A WORLD OF CHANGE

The newly-released Virginia Slims Opinion Poll (field work in July and August, 1989) is the sixth in a series begun in 1970. The last four of these surveys have been done by the Roper Organization, the most recent under the direction of Kathleen O'Neil.

An enormous amount of change in women's status has occurred over the last two decades, and the report prepared for release with the latest study appropriately emphasizes areas where attitudes and assessments have shifted.

Still, we at Public Perspective are most impressed by the powerful continuities the surveys have found in men's and women's outlook and by, well, just how conventional their views are. Consider these responses. [The data are presented inside.]

- Today's "modern" woman describes her children, role as mother, and her friends as the most satisfying aspects of her life.

- Today's woman may have a lot of new needs, but she lists a very old one — more money — way ahead of everything else.

- To relieve stress, modern women are most inclined to take a bath or shower, read, talk on the phone, shop, walk, or cook. (Men do all these things too, but not as much.)

- Many women today want a career, but more want marriage and children (often along with a career). About half of all women say they would prefer to stay at home, rather than have an outside job.

- Roughly 3 women in every 10 say that if the wife is offered "a very good job" in another city (and the couple have no children), the husband should quit his job, relocate with his spouse, and try to get a new job. More than 6 in every 10 say, when things are reversed and it is the husband who is offered the attractive post elsewhere, that the wife should quit her own "good and interesting job" and follow him.

- Seventy percent of women think the *ideal* — hard to attain for economic reasons — is for working women with

new babies to stay home caring for them, for at least the first year. Forty percent think the woman should stay home until the child enters school.

- A plurality of married women who work say they do so to bring in extra money, rather than to support the family. A large majority of single women work to support themselves.

- The survey asked: Of all the people you have known, which one or two has had the biggest effect on you? In our rapidly changing world, most men and women alike say either "my Mom" or "my Dad."

Plus ça change....

IN THIS ISSUE

- A most comprehensive review -- data, and more data, and interpretation -- of values and value change in the US

- Leading figures in opinion research describe "the most important poll I have ever seen"

- What happened to the polls in Nicaragua?

- What's happening in the Texas gubernatorial race?

- What do Americans really think about the environment?

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FROM COMMUNALISM TO INDIVIDUALISM

By Norval D. Glenn

The tendency of Americans to withdraw their allegiance from social institutions, social groupings — anything outside of themselves — is a unifying theme across much otherwise disparate social change. In other words, a “master trend” involves a shift away from communalism and toward individualism. This withdrawal of allegiance has not been anywhere nearly complete, and there have been counter-trends in parts of the population, and in the total population for short periods of time. Nonetheless, a variety of questions repeated in surveys at intervals over the past few decades point to a net decline in identification with such entities as the nation, churches, parties, local communities, and families. There is also some evidence that perceived self-interest has gained at the expense of group loyalties in shaping individuals’ decisions. [This issue’s Public Opinion Report features data on personal and family values.]

Politics

Political parties are the clearest case of a decline in allegiance. Several books and dozens of journal articles have dealt with the weakening of party loyalties in the US. The story is told by trend data on party identification gathered by Gallup, Chicago’s National Opinion Research Center, and Michigan’s Survey Research Center. All these series show a substantial increase in political independence from the 1950s through the 1970s and then a small decrease in the 1980s. The NORC and SRC data show a similar but more dramatic change in “independent independents” (independents who don’t lean toward either party), their proportion in the 1980s more than twice that in the 1950s. Correspondingly, strong party identifiers declined from the 1950s through the 1970s and then increased slightly in the 1980s. By the end of the 1980s the trend to political independence had apparently resumed, although it’s too early to be sure.

Other political trends also suggest an increase in individualism. Voter turnout has declined, perhaps in part because of the decline in party loyalty, but probably also because of a decline in civic consciousness and concern for the common good. The highly individualistic person may be unlikely to vote, since the personal gain from voting is rarely if ever great enough to justify the time and effort. Another trend has been an increase in political alienation and a decrease in trust and confidence in the government — a development which, like many others, was strongest in the 1960s and 1970s and diminished or ceased in the 1980s. It was probably more cause than effect of the withdrawal of allegiance from political institutions.

Religion

A more controversial body of data relates to allegiance to traditional Christianity. Several observers, including myself, have interpreted the evidence as indicating a decline in allegiance, while others (most notably Father Andrew Greeley, in a recent book entitled *Religious Change in America*) have disagreed. In any event, since the 1950s there has been (according to Gallup data) a statistically significant increase in the percentage of adult Americans who say that they have no religion, and declines in church/synagogue membership, religious service attendance, frequency of prayer, professed belief in God as a universal spirit, belief in life after death, and belief that Jesus Christ is God. While these changes have been small to moderate in magnitude, there were more substantial declines from the 1950s to the early 1980s in the proportion who say they consider religion very important in their lives (76% to 56%) and that religion can answer all or most of today’s problems (81% to 61%). Furthermore, from the early 1960s to the early 1980s, the percentage of American adults who say that the Bible is the actual word of God, to be taken literally, fell from 65% to 38%.

As Greeley and others have pointed out, the decline in traditional beliefs does not necessarily indicate withdrawal of allegiance from religious institutions. But some of the changes — such as the decline in the reported importance of religion in people’s lives — do suggest such withdrawal. Greeley argues that some of these changes, including the drop in church attendance, do not indicate secularization since they occurred largely among Catholics soon after, and apparently in response to, the birth control encyclical. It seems to me, however, that Greeley has simply identified a probable mechanism through which some of the secularization has occurred.

Periodically since 1957 Gallup has asked respondents the following question: “At the present, do you think religion as a whole is increasing its influence on American life or losing its influence?” The “increasing” responses have exceeded the “losing” responses during only two periods — from 1957 through 1962, and from 1983 through 1986. The “losing” responses were highest in the late 1960s and early 1970s, reaching 75% in 1970. In 1989, 33% said “increasing,” 49% said “losing.” Public perceptions of the trend are not necessarily correct, of course, but these data support others that indicate a decline in institutional allegiance through most of the 1960s and 1970s, a temporary reversal of that trend in the early and middle 1980s, and then a resumption of the longer-term trend in the late 1980s.

Family

The family is the institution probably most profoundly affected by the extension of individualism, but

survey data provide only limited evidence of change or continuity in family values and attitudes. The data do clearly indicate increased approval of married women's working outside the home, premarital sex and cohabitation, and small families and childless marriages — the shift here being greatest in the late 1960s and early to middle 1970s. Except for the increase in approval of premarital sex, these trends, unlike most of those I discuss in this article, continued through the 1980s without temporarily ceasing or reversing.

Many social scientists who study the family think that in the past two or three decades individuals have become more inclined to put self-interest ahead of family obligations. Indeed, many mental health professionals and much self-help literature have encouraged them to do just that. The survey data provide no direct evidence of such a trend (or its absence), but the responses to a few survey questions asked in recent years do indicate a high frequency of individualistic attitudes. For instance, in a Yankelovich, Skelly, and White poll in 1978, only 37% of respondents said it's morally wrong for a couple with young children to divorce just because one of them wants to. In another poll by the same organization the same year, 60% said that persons in unhappy marriages should *not* stay together for the sake of the children. It's likely that a few years earlier the proportion of American adults saying that couples should not stay together for the sake of their children would have been much smaller.

Whatever the reality may be, most adult Americans say that they believe allegiance to the family is declining. In a recent survey of family values conducted for the Massachusetts Mutual Insurance Company, 62% opined that family values have gotten weaker in recent years, and 85% that most people today put a higher value on material things than on the family. Although few respondents admitted that they *personally* shared in this new materialism, their perceptions of others' values may be more accurate than of their own values.

Students' Views

Surveys of high school and college students during the past 20 years or so provide evidence of changes in life goals and values. The reported importance of family life to young people has not declined appreciably, at least not since the mid-1970s, but other goals and values that might take precedence over family ones seem to have become more important. For instance, the "Monitoring the Future" surveys of high school seniors conducted by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center annually since 1975 have found a rising proportion of students selecting "having lots of money" and "being successful at work" as important life goals, a declining share choosing "finding purpose and meaning in my life."

Similar but more pronounced changes have been found by the annual surveys of college freshmen conducted by the American Council of Education and the Higher Education Research Institute at UCLA. From the first survey in 1967 through 1985, the proportion who selected "be well off financially" as a very important or essential life goal went from around 40% to over 70%, while those selecting "develop a meaningful philosophy of life" fell from over 80% to under 45%.

The Other Side of the Coin

Many readers are likely to view most of the above developments quite negatively. However, the trend toward individualism is associated with, and may be causally related to, another trend that most are likely to view positively — a decrease in intolerance and prejudice toward other groups. This is clearly evident in responses which indicate an increase in approval of interracial and interreligious marriage, in willingness to vote for a female or minority candidate for president, willingness to allow a communist or atheist to speak in their community or teach in a college or university, and other similar measures of out-group tolerance.

As allegiance to one's own social groups weakens, acceptance of persons outside those groups should increase. In-group solidarity can, at least under some circumstances, lead to prejudice and discrimination against those outside. A strong self-interested orientation of individuals, unmitigated by strong allegiance to social groups, should tend to keep the groups from effectively pursuing their collective interests — for good and ill alike.

The New Surge of Individualism

A number of authors — including Robert Bellah and his colleagues in *Habits of the Heart* — have recently argued that different kinds of individualism have been associated with different political orientations. Backing greater freedom of the individual vis-a-vis such institutions as the family and the church, labelled the "new individualism" or "modern individualism," is associated with liberals. On the other hand, support for freedom of the individual vis-a-vis the state, and for individualism in the marketplace, is stronger among conservatives. Support for *both kinds* of individualism seems in fact to have been higher in the 1980s than it was a couple of decades earlier. The most characteristic feature of our social era may be the coexistence of high levels of both dimensions of individualism.

Norval D. Glenn is professor of sociology at the University of Texas at Austin.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS STATISTICS: MEDIA COVERAGE OF TRENDS IN GUN OWNERSHIP BY WOMEN

By Tom W. Smith

In recent years the mass media have persisted with the story that gun ownership by women has been increasing notably.¹ By implication and sometimes direct statement, the increase is usually associated with the purchase of handguns for self-defense. Unfortunately, instead of capturing an important emerging trend, the media may have captured and then further misinterpreted a wayward statistic.

Changes in Gun Ownership by Women

While the precise claims vary, the standard "fact" presented in the media is that gun ownership among women increased 53% between 1983 and 1986, to 12 million women owning guns (Time, 4/11/89; Time, 2/6/89; Newsweek, 2/27/89; Glamour, 4/1989; New York Times, 4/2/89; Mademoiselle, 5/1989; Quigley, 1989). This jump has been described as "soaring" and as marking a "gender revolution" (Newsweek, 2/27/89; Time, 4/11/88).

These stories were based on a series of polls conducted by Gallup for Smith and Wesson between 1983 and 1988.² We attempted to obtain the Smith and Wesson data to check the claims, but the company was unwilling to share them. Neither would it send copies of press releases and other information on the surveys that it had made available to the media.³ We therefore turned to the best publicly available data on the issue of women and guns, the General Social Surveys (GSSs) conducted by NORC, University of Chicago.⁴ The GSS has asked seven times (from 1980 to 1989) a series of questions on gun ownership:

Do you happen to have in your home (IF HOUSE: or garage) any guns or revolvers?
[IF YES]

A. Is it a pistol, shotgun, rifle, or what? B. Do any of these guns personally belong to you?

From these questions estimates of the percent of men and women personally owning both guns in general and handguns in particular can be calculated.⁵ Table 1 shows that there have been no significant changes in the level of gun ownership or handgun ownership for either men or women over the past decade.

Changes in "Potential Buyers"

A second claim has been that "the number of women who were considering buying a weapon quadrupled

to nearly 2 million" (Time, 4/11/89; see also Time, 2/6/89). This has been used to bolster the claim that a large increase in ownership has occurred and as evidence that the trend may be continuing. As Time added, "Many of those plans undoubtedly turned into purchases, though no updated figures are available (2/6/89)." Like the claims on gun ownership, the figures on potential gun purchases are derived from the Gallup surveys done for Smith and Wesson. These data have not been made available by Smith and Wesson for analysis, but one relevant press release has been located. Issued around February, 1989, it stated: "According to Gallup, 15.6 million women are potential buyers in 1989—an increase of nearly 100% since 1983."⁶ This appears to be based on the 1988 survey. It refers to 15.6 million "potential buyers" in 1989 compared to only 2 million cited by Time, but mentions only a "nearly 100%" increase since 1983 compared to the quadrupling for 1983-1986 mentioned in Time. The two sets of figures probably differ not only because they cover different years, but also because they refer to different definitions of "potential buyers."

Continued on page 6.

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The Public Perspective is a publication of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut. Please send all correspondence to:

THE ROPER CENTER
P. O. BOX 440
STORRS, CT 06268-0440

TEL. (203)486-4440

Trends in Gun Ownership by Gender, 1980-1989

		% Personally Owning a Gun					
	1980	1982	1984	1985	1987	1988	1989
Men	52	49	47	51	47	45	50
Women	11	15	12	12	14	11	11
		% Personally Owning a Handgun					
Men	27	24	25	28	29	25	31
Women	7	9	6	7	9	9	7

Source: General Social Surveys, NORC, University of Chicago

Number of cases (men/women): 1980 (622/710), 1982 (612/711), 1984 (592/764), 1985 (678/740), 1987 (629/706), 1988 (392/502), 1989 (447/586)

In fact, Gallup and Smith and Wesson themselves disagree on the correct number of "women who are potential buyers in 1989." Gallup notes, "the findings as reported are not potential buyers in 1989. The 15.6 [million] figure corresponds to survey findings that women say there is at least some chance they will ever buy a gun. In truth, only 900,000 women could be considered potential purchasers and even this would be in terms of the next three years (McNee, 3/21/89)."

Handguns: A Picture is Worth...

In addition to the explicit claims that gun ownership and potential purchases by women have been rapidly increasing, the media have fostered the impression that the jump has been in *handgun* purchases for self-protection. Sometimes this is stated directly as when Mademoiselle (May, 1989) and the Cox News Service (Rowell, 1989) cite the Smith and Wesson figures as referring to handguns alone (see note 2). More often the impression is created by pictures, anecdotes, and other statements in the text that emphasize handguns and ignore other firearms. In her book, Quigley (1989) cites the Smith and Wesson figure that "12 million American women own guns" on its cover along side a picture of a woman with a *handgun*. Similarly on the inside dust cover the 12 million figure along with a statement that "one out of eight [women] has a gun," are cited in a photo caption that talks about the woman having her gun "in her purse, her holster, her car, or her night table." Only the car is a possible location for other than a handgun. Throughout the book only a few references are explicitly made to rifles (e.g. pp. 141-144).

Likewise, the Glamour excerpts from the Quigley book are highlighted by a full-page picture of a woman with a handgun. The New York Times (2/24/86), Newsweek (2/27/89), and Time (4/11/88) have all featured pictures of handguns. No article on women and guns has featured a picture of a hunting rifle or some other long gun. Overall, it's hard to follow press coverage and not get the impression that women own handguns, not long guns, and that the reported increase in gun ownership has been among handguns.

GSS data challenges these impressions. First, as with all guns, there was no increase in the percent of women owning handguns from 1980 to 1989 (See table). Second, handgun ownership is not common among women — with the proportion staying in the 6%-9% range owning handguns through all of the surveys.⁷ Third, long guns are somewhat more common than handguns. Among women personally owning a gun, having only a handgun is reported by 27%, having only a long gun by 34%, having both a handgun and a long gun by 37%, and having neither by 2%. (The latter usually have mentioned a pellet/air gun or an antique gun.) Thus, even among women personally owning guns, the emphasis on handguns is misplaced.

The Case of the Unmarried Women

Another impression left by the media coverage is that it's women without husbands for protection who are purchasing the handguns. Personal anecdotes for eight women are cited. Four are identified as divorced and none as definitely married. For example, "the 40-year old divorced mother bought a handgun" (New York Times, 4/2/89), "Lorene Wozniak... is divorced....She is one of many women who live on their own... and have chosen to protect

themselves by owning a gun.... Carol Tonn, a 41-year-old benefits manager...bought a .22 caliber pistol soon after she was divorced..." (New York Times, 2/24/86).

But once again the GSS figures question the emphasis. Across all years, married women are more likely to own a gun than women not currently married (never married, separated, divorced, or widowed). 14% of married women personally own a gun, while only 11% of the unmarried do. Similarly, 9% of married women have a pistol, while a slightly lower 7% of unmarried women have one.⁸ Likewise of women living without any other adults in the household, 12% personally own some type of gun and 8% own a pistol compared to 13% owning a gun and 8% owning a pistol among women living in two-adult households.

A Good Story?

It's not surprising that this story of women arming themselves caught on. First, "woman buys pistol" has a "man bites dog" quality to it. As Time (2/6/89) noted, "Strikingly, it is often Jane rather than John Q. Public who is the first-time gun buyer these days. Guns have long been viewed as a symbol of male sexual power..." Second, colorful, even lurid, accounts of women armed with guns disposing of would-be rapists gave the story punch and sizzle. In addition, certain other developments appeared to back up the story. For example, the National Rifle Association was trying to enlist more women members and claiming success (New York Times 2/24/86 and 4/2/89). And, the gun industry, especially Smith and Wesson, was trying to market more guns to women and coming out with special "feminine" lines (New York Times 2/24/86, 4/2/89; Glamour, 9/1986; Time, 4/11/88; Newsweek, 2/27/89; Wall Street Journal, 2/13/89). Perhaps most importantly, Smith and Wesson was sharing with the media statistics from its Gallup surveys claiming huge increases in gun ownership and potential purchases.

The media accepted these statistics as accurate and built their stories around them. But neither the alleged increase in gun ownership by women, nor the emphasis on handguns and unmarried women, is supported by the best publicly available information. The latter indicates that neither gun ownership nor handgun ownership among women has increased since 1980, that men are still 3 to 4 times more likely to own a gun or a handgun than women, and that married women are more likely to own a gun than unmarried women.

ENDNOTES

1. In addition to the media uses cited below, NORC was contacted at least seven times by the media during the last three years about women owning guns: New York Times, 1986 and 1989; Cleveland Plain Dealer, 1987; Time, 1988; Los Angeles Times, 1988; a Los Angeles television station, 1988; and Glamour, 1989.

2. The only article not directly citing the Smith and Wesson figures for the increase in gun ownership is the New York Times, 4/2/89 which does cite these studies on the number of potential buyers and may be relying indirectly on the Smith and Wesson numbers.

The different accounts disagree on numerous small and some major points. Among the variant claims (all based on the Gallup surveys conducted for Smith and Wesson) are that (1) "gun ownership is soaring, nearly doubling to 12.1 million between 1982 and 1987" (Newsweek, 2/27/89); (2) "more than 12 million American women own handguns . . . another 15 million said they were likely to buy them" (The Trentonian, 8/20/89), "more than 12 million women are known to own handguns" (Mademoiselle, 5/1989), and "an estimated 12 million women bought sidearms during 1986" (American Rifleman, March, 1989); (3) "Over the last few years, sales of guns to women have increased by 50% . . ." (Mademoiselle, 5/1989), "the number of women purchasing firearms increased 53% between 1983 and 1986" (Time, 2/6/89), and "an estimated 12 million women bought sidearms during 1986" (American Rifleman, 1989). It appears that these claims have respectively confused (1) a 53% increase with "nearly doubling," (2) guns with handguns, and (3) purchases with currently owned guns.

While it's clear that the media reports are internally inconsistent, it is uncertain which reports reflect what the original Smith and Wesson data reported. We believe from information from Gallup that the Smith and Wesson figures refer to changes in the number of adult women owning handguns.

3. We made three phone calls and sent one letter to Smith and Wesson requesting these materials. We made six attempts to obtain from the media and other sources the original Smith and Wesson documents that they relied on. We were able to come with up one press release that related only to potential buyers, see below. Gallup was able to share the wording of the Smith and Wesson questions cited below.

4. While the Gallup surveys conducted for Smith and Wesson and the GSS apparently disagree on the trends, we can not fully assess the disparity from the released data. One possible reason is the large differences in question wording. The main Gallup item asked:

Which of the following pieces of sporting equipment do you yourself own? (READ LIST — START AT X POINT) Tennis racket/Downhill skis/Cross-country skis/Bicycle/Shotgun or rifle/Handgun/Bow and arrows/Fishing tackle/Golf clubs/Bowling ball/None.

The GSSs are full-probability samples of the adult household population in the United States. The interviews are conducted in person. The surveys are available from the Roper Center, University of Connecticut and the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research, University of Michigan. Details on the

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surveys are given in Davis and Smith, 1989.

5. Slightly different estimates of the level of gun ownership result from different handling of refusals and other item non-response. We have followed a procedure of excluding item non-response, which produces a middle estimate between the extremes. None of the alternative methods for calculating ownership rates indicate any significant changes in ownership levels over time.

6. The 15.6 million figure, but not the change over time is mentioned in the New York Times, 4/2/89. The Trentonian (8/20/89) said "another 15 million said they were likely to buy them [handguns]." The American Rifleman (March, 1989) has other figures from the Smith and Wesson commissioned surveys: "While 19% of women were interested in owning a gun, only 9% had already acquired one."

7. For the reason explained below, this is a maximum estimate of handgun ownership. The follow-up question on personal ownership does not identify which guns are personally owned by the respondent. If both a long gun (rifle or shotgun) and a handgun are present in the household, we know that one or more of the guns personally belongs to the respondent, but can not tell which gun does. For women across all years, at least 4% personally owned a handgun (i.e. they said they personally owned a gun and only a pistol was owned) and a maximum of 8% owned a handgun (i.e. they said they personally owned a gun and both a pistol and a long gun were owned). In the table we have used the maximum assumption that all women reporting owning a gun in a household with a pistol owned a pistol.

8. Among unmarried women, widows are most likely to own a gun or a pistol followed by the divorced, separated, and never married. This suggests that among unmarried women many guns were inherited from deceased husbands.

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Tom W. Smith is director of the General Social Survey at the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago.

GENERATIONS

Age	Rock Music		
	Fan Now	Used to be Fan	Never Fan
18-29	58%	18%	24%
30-49	40	31	29
50+	6	8	86

Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, June 15-18, 1989.

Question: "Thinking now about rock music or rock 'n roll...which of the following categories best applies to you?"

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE 1990 DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY IN TEXAS

By Kent L. Tedin

The 1990 Democratic primary election for Governor of Texas received more than the usual amount of national publicity. Even by Texas standards the conduct of the candidates reached an all time low. The major candidates were Mark White the former governor (1982-1986), Ann Richards the current state treasurer and Jim Mattox the current attorney general. All three were visible, establishment, mainstream Democrats.

The general election was held on March 13 and the runoff on April 10. In the general election attorney general Mattox implied treasurer Richards (a recovering alcoholic) had also abused controlled substances. Richards refused to confirm or deny the charges. Richards in turn charged that former governor White while in office had lined his pockets financially at the taxpayers' expense. White vigorously denied the charge. In the first round Richards received 40% of the vote, Mattox 37% and White 19%. On the Republican side Midland businessman Clayton Williams easily bested three Republican opponents with 65% of the vote to capture the nomination without a runoff.

In the Democratic runoff the negative campaigning escalated sharply. The odd candidate out, former governor White, held a news conference where he bitterly accused Richards of lying about his finances while he was governor. He asserted he would never vote for Richards in any election, and compared her tactics to those of the infamous Nazi Heinrich Himmler. Mattox meanwhile escalated his charges that Richards had used illegal drugs in the recent past. One pointed Mattox TV commercial asked of Richards: "Did she use marijuana, or something worse like cocaine, not as a college kid but as a 47-year-old elected official sworn to uphold the law?" However, just before the balloting at least two Texas residents claimed they had seen Jim Mattox smoking marijuana in the 1970s. Mattox denied the charge. In the runoff Richards won handily taking 57% of the vote to Mattox's 43%.

What Happened in the Runoff?

The first key to understanding the Richards win was the urban-rural split in the voting. In a poll of 791 registered voters conducted by the Center for Public Policy at the University of Houston for The Houston Chronicle and The Dallas Morning News about a week before the balloting, Richards led in the major metropolitan areas by a margin of 52% to 31%, while Mattox led in the rural areas by 43% to 37%. Mattox had done well in the first round of voting because rural turnout was very high — about 45% — while

urban turnout averaged only about 12%. In the runoff, turnout dropped from 1.6 million in the general to 1.2 million statewide. But turnout fell dramatically in the rural areas, only marginally in the urban areas. The reason is that in rural areas county elections for sheriff, county judge and the like are still settled the old fashion way — in the Democratic primary. With most of those contests settled in the first round of voting, the incentives to vote in the runoff dropped substantially. Turnout was already low in the urban areas so there was little room for any significant decline.

Richards also benefited from a greater commitment on the part of her supporters. In the pre-election poll 62% of those favoring Richards were "strong supporters" contrasted to only 38% for Mattox. A similar pattern can be seen for party identification. Fifty percent of the strong Democrats favored Richards while only 34% favored Mattox.

Other opinion data showed a strong relationship between ideology and vote choice with the more liberal respondents favoring Richards. It was not that Richards was the more liberal candidate; both candidates had impeccable liberal credentials. Rather Mattox received the conservative rural vote by default. The rural vote was against Richards rather than for Mattox.

Richards won the white vote by about 10%, the black vote by about 15%, but the survey shows Mattox taking the Hispanic vote by 8%. Post election analysis also indicates that Mattox did best in Hispanic precincts. Despite the fact that Mattox has been throughout his career a strong champion of women's rights, there was still a 14 point gender gap favoring Richards in the pre-election survey (as shown in Table 2).

What's Likely to Happen in the Fall?

The negativism that characterized the Democratic primary is certain to have fallout in November. For example, 26% of those voting for Mattox said they would vote for Republican Clayton Williams in the fall rather than Ann Richards. In addition, Richards evaluation on a 0 to 10 scale *among those indicating they would vote in the Democratic primary* was only 5.5.

Table 2 shows just how deep the hole is in which Ann Richards finds herself at the start of the general election campaign. Persons whom we polled just before the runoff who said they would vote in that Democratic primary were as a whole not much more favorable in their assessment of Richards than of the nominee of the Republican party, Clayton Williams. Democrat men actually were more favorable toward Williams than to Richards.

Still, Richards should not be counted out. She should do well among minority voters and she has in her favor those issues relating to gender. William's position on abortion is that it should be allowed only in cases of rape, incest, or to save the life of the woman. Texans oppose banning abortion. Williams also made a major gaffe when sitting around a campfire in rural west Texas. He compared rape to bad weather, observing, "If it's inevitable, just relax and enjoy it." He later apologized, but the issue continues to dog him. If we collapse the 0 to 10 rating thermometer into negative, neutral and positive categories, we can see the strong gender related reactions to the November contestants.

Keep in mind the data are for those who reported they planned to vote in the Democratic runoff and so do not represent the statewide electorate.

If Richards can put together a coalition of blacks, Hispanics and women, she has a chance for victory in November, despite the likely negative fallout from the primary. [Editor's Note: No post-runoff trial heats between Williams and Richards were available at press time. A pre-runoff survey by Mason-Dixon Opinion Research for the San Antonio Express News, KPRC, et al, April 2-4, 1990, gave Williams a lead over Richards of 50%-38%.]

Table 1*

**VOTE CHOICE IN THE APRIL 1990 DEMOCRATIC GUBERNATORIAL RUNOFF IN TEXAS
BY IDEOLOGY AND SEX
(in percent)**

	Richards	Mattox	Not Sure
Liberals	61	30	9
Moderates	46	33	21
Conservatives	33	48	18
Men	36	45	20
Women	51	33	16
ALL	45	38	17

Table 2*

**HOW DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY VOTERS RATED ANN RICHARDS
AND CLAYTON WILLIAMS (Republican nominee)
(in percent)**

	Richards			Williams		
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative
All respondents	49	18	33	37	25	38
Men	43	14	44	45	22	33
Women	54	19	27	31	28	41

*Data for both tables are from a survey conducted by the Center for Public Policy at the University of Houston for The Houston Chronicle and The Dallas Morning News, from April 3-5, 1990.

*Kent L. Tedin is professor of political science
at the University of Houston.*

WHAT DO AMERICANS REALLY THINK ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT?

By Everett C. Ladd

Polling on environmental issues — now getting renewed attention as part of the Earth Day observance — gives us a vivid reminder that poll results can as readily confuse as clarify.

For a quarter-century, much survey research on environmental issues has proceeded at least implicitly from the assumption that the public sees tension between its economic interests and nonmaterialistic environmental commitments. But this notion has been amply contradicted by historical experience. As the US has grown wealthier, Americans have come to expect more in virtually all areas of their material existence. Calls for cleaner air and water, more parklands, the preservation of wildlife, etc. are part of a general progression.

Environmentalism was much stronger at the time of Theodore Roosevelt early in this century than it had been 50-70 years earlier. Environmental devastation had in many regards reached its most severe levels in the mid-19th century — with massive deforestation and the destruction of wildlife — but that poorer farming society couldn't see any alternative. Later industrialization produced its own environmental problems, but it also created the resources that encouraged demands for conservation.

Despite this experience, contemporary polling on environmental matters often pushes the public to choose between economic well-being and an attractive environment. Last December, for instance, the Los Angeles Times poll asked respondents whether they favored protecting the environment "even if that means some people will lose their jobs and government will have to spend a great deal of money," or favored jobs and an expanding economy "even if that means some destruction of the environment."

In fact, every time it has been given a chance the public says that with proper effort the US can avoid so unpalatable a choice. Last December, Opinion Dynamics put the matter this way: "Some people say that...to protect the environment we are going to have to make sacrifices and accept a lower standard of living, [while others say] that we can have both continued economic growth and a cleaner environment." About two-thirds associated themselves with the latter view.

Americans' commitment to the environment is genuine and substantial. And, just as we expect to pay for good housing and medical care, so we're prepared to pay for clean air and water. Yet polls continue to "discover" the latter, as though it's somehow surprising.

The public is not prepared, however, to pay any price for greater environmental protection. The New York Times recently reported that its latest poll found that "74% said that protecting the environment is so important that requirements and standards cannot be too high, and environmental improvements must be made regardless of cost." The

JOBS v. ENVIRONMENT

-- OR --

DO BOTH

Are you in favor of protecting the environment even if that means some people will lose their jobs and the government will have to spend a great deal of money....or are you in favor of providing more jobs and expanding the economy even if that means some destruction of the environment?

Environment	65%
Both (vol.)	5%
Economy	29%

Source: Survey by the Los Angeles Times, December 16-20, 1989.

Some people say that in order to protect the environment we are going to have to make sacrifices and accept a lower standard of living. Other people say that we can have both continued economic growth and a cleaner environment. ...which do you think is more likely to be true?

Have both	64%
Accept slower economic growth	36%

Source: Survey by Opinion Dynamics Corporation, December 12-18, 1989.

POLLUTION'S WORSE		-- BUT --	SOME PROGRESS	
Now for the country as a whole — is pollution a serious problem that's getting worse, or a problem, but one that is not so serious, or not much of a problem?			How much progress have we made in dealing with environmental problems in this country over the last 20 years ...a great deal...only some...or hardly any...?	
Getting worse	86%		Great deal	14%
Not so serious	11%		Only some	64%
Not much of a problem	3%		Hardly any	21%
Source: Survey by CBS News/ New York Times, March 30-April 2, 1990.			Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 5-8, 1990.	

Times failed to report other data which make clear that this response must be understood not literally but as a symbolic commitment to a goal.

When, last October, Gallup asked, "Would you be willing to pay \$200 more taxes each year to increase federal spending for reducing air pollution?," 71% said no. In December 1989, Opinion Dynamics found a majority opposed to a 25 cent a gallon gas tax "that would be used to control pollution." On the other hand, the latter survey found 76% saying they might be willing "to pay an extra \$50 in taxes" to solve air pollution problems.

Poll reporting often errs by suggesting that public opinion on environmental matters is single-dimensional, or that poll findings on each dimension of what is in fact a complex mix of perceptions and values should be read as though it stood alone. In a recent release of a Connecticut Poll conducted, I should acknowledge, by an organization I direct, it was reported that the Connecticut public is deeply troubled because it sees environmental problems actually worsening. The New York Times offered the same assessment in an Earth Day poll story: "Eighty-four percent of Americans say pollution is a serious national problem that is getting worse...." If, in fact, the public believes the country is still going downhill environmentally, after 20 years of major effort and heavy expenditures, that's political dynamite.

But all sorts of other poll data make clear that the above answers reflect more a general anxiety Americans seem always to feel about important institutions and values — including, along with the environment, work, religion, and the family — than the literal judgment that things are sliding. For example, a Gallup survey done two weeks ago found 77% saying the US has made some progress on environmental problems over the last 20 years, only 21% that it has made "hardly any progress at all."

Two such contradictory findings — 84% opining that pollution is getting worse, and 77% believing at least some progress is being made — should have set off loud alarms: Both can't be literally true.

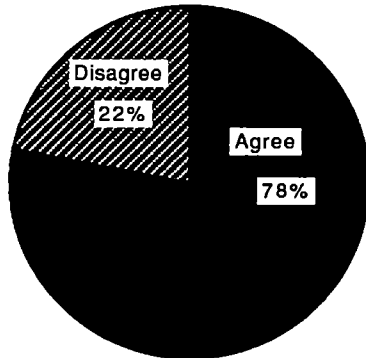
Many Americans are now doing things individually to improve the environment, such as recycling newspapers and bottles. They will support more governmental spending for this end. They want further progress on environmental matters and firmly reject counsels of complacency. But, a careful reading of available research shows, the public's commitments to environmentalism are hardly unlimited, or made without regard to competing values, or based on the mistaken notion that the substantial efforts of the past two decades have been a sham.

*A shorter version of this piece was published in the
Christian Science Monitor, April 20, 1990.*

SPENDING FOR THE ENVIRONMENT: A MORE COMPLEX STORY

Affirming the Goal

1.



1. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Protecting the environment is so important that requirements and standards cannot be too high and continuing environmental improvements must be made REGARDLESS of cost.

Source: Survey by CBS News/
New York Times, March 30-April 2, 1990.

2.Would you be willing to pay \$200 more in taxes each year to increase federal spending for... reducing air pollution?

Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization,
October 5-8, 1989.

3. ...[Would you] strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose each of these measures....A 25 cent per gallon gasoline tax that would be used to control pollution"

Source: Survey by Opinion Dynamics
Corporation, December 12-18, 1989.

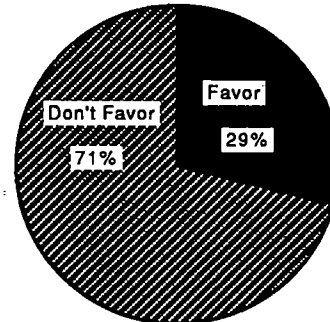
4. Everyone wants a clean environment... but...at what cost or inconvenience.... [Would you] favor or oppose...a. A 20 cent per gallon increase in the price of gasoline for cleaner-burning alternative fuels

b. [Would you favor or oppose...]Close pollution producing factories which would result in the loss of jobs?

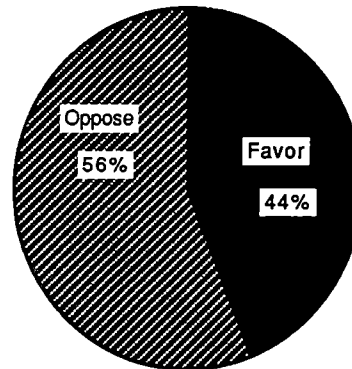
Source: Survey by NBC News/Wall
Street Journal, April 1990.

Balancing Contending Needs

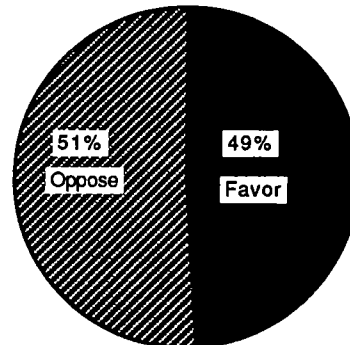
2.



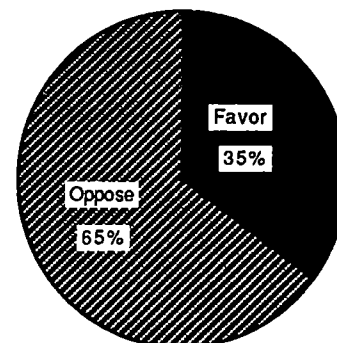
3.



4a.



4b.



"POLL WARS" AND POLL DEBACLE IN NICARAGUA

by I. A. Lewis

On February 25, 1990, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, widow of anti-Somoza martyr Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, publisher of the anti-Sandinista newspaper La Prensa and candidate of the 14-party Nicaraguan Opposition Union (UNO), was elected president of Nicaragua. She defeated President Daniel Ortega, whose Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) had governed since the 1979 revolution. The vote was decisive—and decidedly not what Americans had been led to expect.

Chamorro, Union Nacional Opositora (UNO)	777,552	54.7%
Ortega, Frente Sandinistade Liberacion Nacional (FSLN)	579,886	40.8%
All Others	63,106	4.5%

Before the election, there had been a welter of pre-election polls predicting every variety of outcome in the presidential election -- which came to be known as the "Poll Wars." The differences were not randomly distributed. Most of the polls indicating a Chamorro victory had been sponsored by organizations linked to UNO—and they were typically discounted in the US press. Polls sponsored by US organizations showed Ortega comfortably ahead.

WHAT WENT WRONG?

There have been many explanations of the problems with the US polls—some involving their timing, some methodological matters, and some social/political factors. Let's review each briefly.

Timing. Several pollsters¹ have speculated that a substantial shift in voter preference occurred after the polls had been completed. It's suggested that many FSLN supporters had expected the government to end army conscription before election day. When it didn't, according to this theory, large numbers of FSLN leaners switched to UNO. Against this logic is the fact that most of the polling organi-

Table 1²

Selected Nicaragua Pre-election Poll Results

Date	Client/Pollster	Population	Ortega	Chamorro	Others	Undec	N
Oct.	Univision/Bendixen-Schroth/Consultoria						
	Viente-uno/Logos	23 Munic.	40	39	5	16.	1,129
Oct.	UCA/Itztani	Nat'l Urban	26	21	2	50	1,157
Oct.	CID-Gallup	28 Munic.	32	36	—	32	1,226
Nov.	UCA/ECO	Nat'l Urban	41	13	2	44	3,681
Dec.	Greenberg-Lake/Itztani	National	44	27	5	23	971
Jan.	Greenberg-Lake/Itztani	National	51	24	8	17	901
Jan.	UCA/ECO	National	41	13	2	44	4,545
Jan.	?/DOXA	Unknown	33	41	10	15	1,080
Jan.	NED/Via Civica	Mun.Capitals	26	51	9	14	2,825
Jan.	IPCE NDI La Prensa/Borge	Unknown	30	37	3	30	1,200
Jan.	Univision/Bendixen-Schroth/Logos	Mainly Urban	53	35	4	8	1,000
Feb.	?/Mora y Araujo	National	33	48	8	11	1,118
Feb.	UNO NDI La Prensa/Borge	Unknown	33	46	15	7	7,800
Feb.	UCA/ECO	National	55	23	3	19	2,357
Feb.	Washington Post & ABC News/Belden-Russonello/Itztani	National	48	32	4	16	925
Feb. 25	Los Angeles Times/Belden-Russonello/Itztani	100-junta projection (11 PM CST)	40	56	4	—	18,950

zations displayed fairly consistent patterns of support throughout the campaign. Surveys by stateside pollsters (Bendixen-Schroth, Belden & Russonello, Greenberg-Lake) showed the FSLN doing well, while polls sponsored by La Prensa showed Chamorro ahead from the beginning. If a change of vote preference was precipitated by discontent over the government's failure to end conscription, it seems unlikely it could have accounted for the 30 point gap between the last Belden-Russonello poll and the actual vote.

Methodology. A number of specialists have remarked on the prevalence of polling irregularities in Nicaragua. In December, William Bollinger³ summarized one report as indicating that "political bias, poor sample design, and inadequate training and supervision of interviewers are the most likely causes of error in Nicaraguan polls. Methodological difficulties abound." Interestingly enough, though, commentary published in the US before the election put methodological difficulties, including question wording problems, largely on the doorsteps of the UNO polls.

It was clearly not an easy thing to poll in Nicaragua in early 1990. There was no reliable population information on which to base an adequate sampling frame: the last census was hopelessly out of date and, quite possibly, inaccurate. Voting information from the 1984 election was collected from jurisdictions which had different boundaries than those in use this year. The only usable data base consisted of registration figures which had been thrown together in preparation for the February election.

Most interviewing in Nicaragua appears to have involved experienced interviewers. However, opponents claim that Via Civica used poorly trained supporters for its field work, and DOXA of Venezuela appears to have hired inexperienced interviewers *on purpose*. It is testimony to the conspiratorial atmosphere surrounding the "Poll Wars" that DOXA hired 80 raw recruits to conduct field work, apparently hoping to avoid experienced interviewers with opposition sympathies who might be "planted" on its staff. Only in some of the polls, though, was an effort made to reproduce the election experience by using "ballot boxes" into which respondents could deposit secret ballots.

On the whole, methodology for most studies conducted in Nicaragua in 1989 and 1990 seems to have been as good or better than that for most other Latin American studies of a similar nature. Although local conditions posed substantial problems, it seems unlikely that they can be blamed for anything more than a very small portion of the gulf that separated the US pre-election poll findings and the final vote. In the past, similar procedures have produced reliable estimates elsewhere in Central America and in Nicaragua itself.

Social and political factors. Considerable social distance between interviewers and respondents may have been present in some of the polls which produced inaccurate estimates. They point to disparities of class, age, education and locality between interviewer and respondent: Most of the field workers were middle class college students sent out from Managua. It is suggested that most Nicaraguans were aware that educated young people from the big cities were heavily pro-Sandinista.

Another likely explanation for differing polling results involves problems associated with interviewing under intimidating circumstances. Nicaragua in early 1990 was an authoritarian society still on a wartime footing. The government suspended a cease fire arrangement after 19 soldiers were reported killed on their way to register to vote. Witness for Peace, a liberal church organization, reported that some contras warned people in the countryside not to register. UNO complained of anonymous phone calls, threatening notes under doors, vandalism, death threats and threats of economic sanctions. It's fair to say that many citizens had learned to be careful in both speech and actions.

Along with other Nicaraguan intellectuals, Marvin Saballos, director of LOGOS, S.A., a Managua polling firm, believes that psychological forces can explain some, if not all, of the discrepancies in Nicaraguan pre-election polls. He says "distrust towards the dominant power appears to be profoundly rooted in the collective memory of the Nicaraguan people, who try to diminish that power by making good use of methods of satire and irony."⁴ Saballos illustrates his contention by referring to a scene in "El Gueguense," an early indigenous play, in which a representative of the people, the Gueguense (Whey-WHEN-say), makes fun of the Alguacil, the Sheriff, using puns and indirection in such a way that the colonial authority never really understands the true feelings of the people. Saballos suggests that sectors of the population distrusted the sponsorship of some polls, identifying them with the authorities, and thus responded in a manner to mislead the pollsters (and guarantee that respondent's personal security).

An interesting experiment was conducted in early February by Howard Schuman.⁵ Two hundred ninety-eight identical interviews were taken in and around Managua, with only one procedure varied: one third of the interviewers recorded responses using pens in the blue and white opposition colors, with "UNO" printed on them; another third were recorded using pens in neutral colors with no printing; and a final third used pens in the red and black Sandinista colors, with "DANIEL PRESIDENTE" printed on them. The results were:

	UNO Pens	NEUTRAL Pens	PRE- SIDENTE Pens
Chamorro	28% [56%]	18% [38%]	21% [37%]
Ortega	21% [44%]	30% [62%]	35% [63%]
Other parties	5%	2%	3%
"My Vote is a secret"	24%	23%	19%
DK, No response	22%	27%	22%

Repercentaging for only Chamorro and Ortega preferences produces results for the UNO pens very close to the actual vote. On the other hand, the DANIEL PRE-SIDENTE pens predict a clear Sandinista victory. If one assumes that respondents told interviewers what they wanted to hear, then the results for the neutral pens are perhaps even more suggestive: in the absence of clues indicating interviewer sympathies (which was the case with pollsters who used standard US techniques), respondents apparently assumed interviewers were FSLN supporters. The 49% refusal rate is also noteworthy, however, as is the fact that non-response was about evenly divided among the three different groups. The latter suggests that, despite its attractive implications, the Schuman experiment must be taken as less than conclusive.

TOWARD GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF THE POLL PROBLEM AND SOME REMEDIES

Schuman says that the Nicaraguan pre-election polls "were far off in their predictions of the final vote, dealing one of the worst blows to pollsters since the 1948 Truman-Dewey election."⁶ But there are even more serious implications. Most of the persuasive explanations for what happened in Nicaraguan imply some basic lack of candor on the part of respondents. And if respondents won't say what they really believe, and especially if their misstatements can make such a large difference in the findings — isn't survey research undermined? And lest anyone suspect that this is some specialized condition of third-world populations, one only has to recall the polling difficulties encountered in white-black contests in the US, including the 1982 gubernatorial race in California (when most pollsters predicted a victory for Democrat Tom Bradley) or the 1989 contests in New York City and Virginia (when wide disparities were recorded between what respondents told interviewers and how they behaved in the polling booth.)

It's imperative that survey researchers devise experiments to test whether and under what conditions respondents will level with them, and devise strategies to handle cases where they won't. It's been suggested that, in the US, the tendency of respondents to lie is the product of tensions

caused by the desire to say what is socially acceptable in conflict with the inherent moral and psychological predisposition to tell the truth.⁷ In authoritarian settings such as Nicaragua, other factors obviously must be added to the equation. Survey research needs to experiment with polling questions which can lead to a better understanding of these pressures. One would expect that the more threatened the respondent feels, the less likely he is to be forthcoming with interviewers. Perhaps there is a sequence of equivocation, ranging from (1) professing a lack of awareness, (2) saying one isn't sure, (3) refusing to respond, to (4) lying outright.

Certainly the presence or absence of intimidation will influence the candor of respondents. Where political, economic and social pressures are suspected, special survey approaches need to be developed. Can one devise measures in which there are response possibilities that (a) capture actual vote predisposition without (b) at the same time invoking a sense of threat? In circumstances where respondents are likely to feel intimidated, we need also to know what they assume to be the motives or sponsorship of the polls. Relatedly, we need to take special care that interviewee sense of threat is not exacerbated by suspicion that the interviewers are of the other (threatening) group.

ENDNOTES

1. Stanley Greenberg of Greenberg-Lake and Nancy Belden of Belden & Russonello.
2. I am indebted to William Bollinger and the Commission on Nicaragua Pre-election Polls for most of these data.
3. Director of the Interamerican Research Center and Executive Secretary of the Central American Public Opinion Program (PROCADOP), a consortium of research institutes
4. *Social Psychology of Nicaraguans and Public Opinion Polls*, Centro de Consultoria y Capacitacion de la Comunicacion, March 1, 1990 (translation by Emily Yozell)
5. Director of the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan. See "...3 Different Pens Help Tell the Story," New York Times, March 7, 1990, Section A, p 25.
6. "Pens and Polls in the Nicaraguan Election," Original text submitted for New York Times Op-Ed Article, March 5, 1990.
7. Lewis, I.A. and W. Schneider, "Is the Public Lying to the Pollsters?" Public Opinion Magazine, April/May 1982, p. 42.

I. A. "Bud" Lewis is director of the Los Angeles Times Poll.

POLLS THAT MADE A DIFFERENCE

Public Perspective asked 10 specialists in public opinion research to write short essays on "the most important poll, or use of survey research, I've ever encountered." We thought, in planning this series, that experts' answers to this question would be interesting. They are. But we also thought they would contribute to a substantial, ongoing aim of this review -- taking stock of the profession's work. Here: What are we proudest about, or where do we think polls have made a useful difference?

GEORGE GALLUP, JR. AND ALEC GALLUP, The Gallup Organization:

Our choice is the 1975 international survey, *Human Needs and Satisfaction*, which took the psychological pulse of citizens in 70 nations. Though many international surveys had been conducted prior to that date, and more subsequently, the 1975 survey was the first truly global one, representing almost two-thirds of the human race. Taken by Gallup-affiliated organizations around the world, its object was to assess the happiness, ambitions, worries and problems of the world's inhabitants, and to probe their attitudes toward issues of global concern. The study taught us a lot about the material and psychological well-being of humanity.

Human Needs and Satisfaction was the culmination of nearly 40 years of development in the sophistication and reach of scientific survey research. The people who made it happen were "pioneers," in the literal sense of the word. The small handful of men who launched public opinion polling in their respective countries immediately before and after World War II faced a lot of ignorance and some hostility. In this adverse environment, and having little experience upon which to draw, they were forced to demonstrate the reliability of the sample method.

Four factors helped them achieve recognition and gain acceptance for opinion research as a valuable tool in problem solving:

1. Performance in Election Surveys. If a survey operation is faulty in any basic function — sampling, interviewing, or questionnaire design — the problem is likely to show up in election survey work. The latter provided opportunities to convince skeptics that survey methods are valid.

2. Cooperative Spirit of Respondents.

The first American polls (Roper, Gallup and Crossley) proved that most citizens were willing to be interviewed by strangers and give honest answers, though early critics predicted failure on both counts. The unanswered question in terms of the future of international research was: Would the people of other societies be willing to open their doors and talk freely? The answer, fortunately, proved to be "yes."

3. Overcoming Communications Barriers.

Surveys have opened up a new type of communication — between the people of different nations and among the people within a single nation. Researchers in the international field have had, however, to face up to both language and cultural communication barriers. The problem of collecting survey data is formidable in some nations. For instance, the Indian Institute of Public Opinion must deal with 21 languages and scores of dialects. In some patriarchal societies, men are reluctant to let their wives be interviewed. In other nations, cultural traditions dictate that one does not give a negative answer to questions, so respondents feel compelled to give the interviewer the answers they think he wants.

4. The Early Researchers. Another important reason why public opinion polling has made the progress it has internationally is the personal tenacity, energy, and enterprise of the pioneers, as well as their willingness to cooperate with one another. I often think how fortunate it is that the three key US figures — George Gallup, Elmo Roper, and Archibald Crossley — were not only close friends with deep respect for each other, but also men of the highest integrity. The history of polling might have been otherwise had this not been so.

The science of polling, now a half-century later, has become firmly established internationally in a number of respects. Survey research has spread to all corners of the globe, now including eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Virtually, every area of life has been explored, even some formerly considered off limits, such as sexual behavior. A remarkably high level of accuracy has been achieved in sampling populations, attested to by the record of survey organizations in estimating the outcome of national elections. Surveys have given the public a voice on all the important topics facing their lives. As a result of surveys on virtually every known topic, we know our history in a fashion not possible in any preceding society.

The immediate future is an exciting one. Especially gratifying is availability of scientific surveying to newly-free nations, in eastern Europe and elsewhere, as they struggle to develop free market economies and governments responsive to the popular will.

BURNS W. ROPER, The Roper Organization:

Deciding what is the "most ingenious" poll I know of, or the "most successful," or the "Most competent" would be difficult. To decide what is the "most important poll or use of survey research," seems to me nearly impossible. I would have to narrow it down to three polls — not one — that were all done more or less simultaneously. The three would be the Crossley, Gallup, and Roper election prediction polls in 1936.

Why are they the most important? Because they were more instrumental than any other polls I can think of in establishing and gaining acceptance for "scientific" opinion polling, based

on small, carefully selected samples. The 1936 election had high visibility because of "that man" and the Depression. The Literary Digest, which had managed to get the winners right over the years, based on millions of straw ballots, predicted Landon would win. The three upstart, and "tiny" (by Literary Digest standards) polls all predicted a Roosevelt win. The contrast between the approach of the new surveys and that of the Literary Digest polls, coupled with the fact that the former were right and the latter wrong, received enormous attention. The experience went far in putting to rest the idea that "you can't tell what a nation of 125 million people thinks by interviewing only 3 or 4 thousand people." (Today, of course, it's 250 million people and interviews with only 1 or 2 thousand people!)

These three 1936 election polls were not important in the sense of saving democracy, or righting the social ills that existed in the '30s, or solving the economic problems, or contributing to greater understanding by the haves of the have nots. But, more than any other three polls — or even any hundred others — they established contemporary survey research as a viable method of determining what the public thinks. They launched modern opinion polling. And, while they did not precede the use of sampling for market research purposes, they gave credibility and impetus to market research that it had not attained on its own.

DANIEL YANKELOVICH, DYG Inc.:

I find it difficult to identify "the most important poll or use of survey research that I've encountered." Too many ghosts from the past 35 years make their claims. Instead I will briefly mention three projects that stay in my mind as having some special significance.

1. US - Soviet Relations. At just about the time Mr. Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union, I was invited to join

an organization, the Dartmouth Conferences, that had been in existence since 1960. It was created in the aftermath of the U-2 incident, at President Eisenhower's urging, to insure that some sort of contact between Americans and Soviets would continue, however bad official relations became. The 30th anniversary of the Dartmouth Conferences will be held this July in Tallin, Estonia. From 1985 to the present, at meetings both in the USSR and the US, I have had the opportunity to interpret American public opinion to Soviet officials close to Mr. Gorbachev. Drawing upon polls conducted by my own firm and others, I have struggled to explain the fragile balance between the American public's long held mistrust of Soviet intentions and its powerful yearnings for peaceful relations between the two countries.

From the outset, the discussions focused on what would be required to improve US-Soviet relationships. (In 1985 and 1986, the majority of Americans still believed that relations between the two countries were getting worse, and that the policy of choice for the United States was "to get tougher" in our dealings with the Soviet Union, rather than to reduce tensions.) The Soviets badly underestimated the heritage of mistrust felt by Americans as the result of forty years of adversarial relations. I believe the poll data gave the Soviets a much more nuanced picture of the US scene than they had and thus contributed to a more constructive climate.

My experience suggests that elites in many countries do not understand American public opinion. They regard it as volatile, unreliable and sometimes irrational. A sympathetic interpretation that shows why Americans hold the views they do, and why these make sense, can work wonders, I wish someone would perform this service for US-Japanese relationships.

2. New Youth Values. I look back with pleasure on the opportunity I had in the 1960s and 1970s to track and record a

cultural phenomenon of great significance: the emergence on the nation's college campuses of new moral values which fed the civil rights movement, the sexual revolution, the consumer movement, the environmental movement, and the women's movement. First for Fortune, next for CBS News, and then for the JDR3rd Fund, my firm conducted annual tracking surveys from the mid sixties to the mid seventies that preserve for historians a record of the early stages of what has proved a vast cultural transformation.

3. The New Work Ethic. In the early 1980s, I worked with the non-profit Public Agenda Foundation (which Cyrus Vance and I had founded in the mid-seventies) on a series of studies of the work ethic. Some of these surveys were conducted in the US, others in Europe and Japan. They showed that a new work ethic had emerged to replace the old battered Protestant work ethic. The new ethic leads to a different kind of "social contract" than the old one. In the old, men were not expected to enjoy their work: in fact, moral virtue came from a willingness to sacrifice on the job for the sake of a better living for one's family.

The new work ethic sweeps these attitudes aside. Encompassing women as well as men, it derives its energies from the expectation that paid work should be meaningful in its own right, should provide challenge and opportunities for growth as well as income, and permit considerable autonomy on the job. Thus the new work ethic places great emphasis on the concept of "discretionary effort" — the jobholder's freedom to give — or to withhold — his or her best efforts to the job. Most businesses are organized as if the old work ethic still held sway. But gradually, they are learning that the competitive challenge from abroad requires them to readjust their thinking — and organizational structure — to accommodate the new norms.

HUMPHREY TAYLOR, Louis Harris and Associates:

Beware of hubris. The PUBLIC PERSPECTIVE risks encouraging the polling industry's delusion of grandeur. As I remembered all the surveys I'd been involved with which I thought important, I could feel myself puffing up with pride. The tough part was choosing just one survey. I rejected a great many in favor of a strange survey my colleagues and I conducted in Britain in 1972, on the somewhat esoteric subject of *hypothermia* — low body temperatures — among the elderly.

This survey was designed to determine whether hypothermia was a widespread condition. The medical establishment had ignored it. In general, doctors are very unsmart about home care for geriatric patients. The British government insisted there was no problem. To admit it would require spending money to deal with it. But — the human element — my father, a country doctor, was convinced from his own experience that hypothermia was a common problem. So we got foundation funding to measure the core temperatures of old people living at home (i.e., excluding the institutionalized).

One problem was that the *mouth* temperature was not relevant; we had to measure *core* temperatures. The normal way to do this is to take a rectal temperature reading. But the prospect of knocking on doors and saying, "Would you mind if I put a thermometer...", wasn't very promising. So some scientists developed a special plastic contraption which fitted over a lavatory seat with a thermometer in the sump, which measured the urine temperature. Urine temperature, unlike mouth temperature, is close to the core temperature — even when people are very cold.

We recruited and trained a special team of nurse interviewers. Refusal rates were amazingly low — about 10% — if I remember correctly. Using our device among a randomly selected sample of 2,000 people over 65,

on randomly selected days between January 1st and March 31st (in what turned out to be an unusually mild winter), we found that hypothermia was indeed widespread. Fully 10% of all old people living alone (roughly 800,000 people) any day that winter had a core temperature of 95.5 or lower.

These results transformed the political and medical debate. It changed from "Is this a problem?" to "How do we address it?" An immediate result was many local governments providing electric blankets for the elderly living in cold houses. Today, many more old people in Britain live in centrally heated homes. However, even though the problem has been acknowledged and partially addressed, it still has not been solved.

RICHARD MORIN, The Washington Post:

I'm delighted when a rigorously conducted survey pulls down the pants of conventional wisdom. Many polls, including too many of my own, merely *quantify the obvious*. That's why the occasional contrarian finding is so special, a nugget of pure gold flashing through muddy water from the bottom of the pan.

One survey project that, for me, continues to produce a disproportionately large share of such nuggets is the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, done by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan. The project design is grandiose: Beginning in 1968, the SRC has interviewed the heads of some 5,000 families nationally. They followed these families through births and deaths, divorces and remarriages, good times and bad.

The results have directly challenged deeply held notions about poverty. They challenge the notion that people's economic status, whether rich or poor, remains relatively unchanged over the course of their lives. They argue against prevailing notions of an

entrenched poverty class. They also document the tragically high price women and children pay for the breakup of a family. And they show that far more people than might be expected need a social safety net sometime in their lives.

A lay summary of the major findings was published five years ago by Michigan economics professor Gregory J. Duncan. That slim volume, *Years of Poverty, Years of Plenty*, remains my most frequently borrowed book. It has rescued me and more than a few colleagues here at the Post from the tyranny of conventional wisdom on a number of social policy issues.

ADAM CLYMER, The New York Times:

Polls can be important in many different ways. One way is to catch a vital moment in public opinion—such as a steep rise or fall in a president's public approval—or provide a depth of understanding around a known phenomenon—as explanations of women's views of political issues have helped define and explain the "gender gap."

The most important poll I have worked on did a bit of both. It was the "exit" poll of 15,201 voters leaving polling places on November 4, 1980. The easiest quick fix analysis of that election of a staunch conservative was that the nation had swung sharply to the right. Many people interpreted the election just that way. But the data didn't support it. I wrote in the next Sunday's Times that "a large share of the 43.2 million Americans who voted for Ronald Reagan appear to have been motivated more by dissatisfaction with President Carter than by any serious ideological commitment to the Republican's views."

Of course conservatives backed Mr. Reagan, as they had backed Gerald Ford. But he needed other votes to win. We gave voters a choice of reasons to check to explain their vote. Forty-two percent of Reagan's voters checked "It is time for a change" and

only 11 percent marked the box that said "He's a real conservative." We also posed issues. The combination that drew the most attention was a box marked "inflation and economy." The last week of the campaign had been marked by several sets of bad economic numbers, and Reagan beat Carter by two to one among respondents citing that combination. The most "ideological" issue on our list was "ERA/Abortion." Fewer than one voter in ten cited it, and that group split narrowly for Mr. Carter.

There were many ways in which this election was a defeat for Mr. Carter, the first incumbent to lose an election since Herbert Hoover. It was far less a case of Mr. Reagan's galvanizing and expanding the nation's conservatives than of Mr. Carter disappointing the moderates and the liberals. One telling statistic about the electorate was that 30 percent called themselves conservative, compared to 29 percent in CBS's 1976 exit poll. Reagan carried them 72 to 23 percent, with a handful for John B. Anderson and others. But Gerald Ford had carried conservatives 70 to 29 percent four years earlier.

This poll helped shape the understanding of the incoming Reagan Presidency, one that talked conservatively but drew its strength from the economy and how it would deal with it.

PHILIP MEYER, University of North Carolina:

It was a sweaty July Sunday evening in Detroit in 1967. The staff of the Detroit Free Press had wrapped up its spot coverage of the week-long riot and was planning the longer-ranging analysis to follow. The problem seemed insurmountable: using the tools of journalism to assess what had been going on in the minds of the rioters and their neighbors.

I was there on detached duty from the Washington bureau and fresh out of a Nieman fellowship at Harvard.

Perhaps, I suggested, we should reach beyond our conventional tools. The editors bought the idea.

Black interviewers were recruited through the Detroit Urban League. Through academic contacts, I reached Nathan Caplan and John Robinson at the Institute for Social Research in Ann Arbor. Robinson produced a sample of the riot area and Caplan helped me write the questionnaire and train interviewers. I supervised the field work, and in three weeks we produced a workable survey that laid to rest some of the journalistic myths about the riot: that it was the work of "riff-raff" at the bottom of the economic scale, or that it was executed by immigrants from the South who had been frustrated by the psychological burdens of assimilation in the industrial North. It was none of those things so much as an expression of rising aspirations. Detroit's irony was that, more than other urban areas, it had been a city of hope for blacks.

The survey became a factor in the Pulitzer Prize awarded the staff of the Free Press for its riot coverage. The Kerner Commission cited it as an exception to a pattern of poor media handling of race issues. And for the Knight-Ridder newspapers, it began a corporate tradition of experimentation in new and rigorous methods of journalistic investigation that is still emulated.

DAVID GERGEN, US News and World Report:

I thought I might approach the subject a little differently than you asked me to and write not about the *most important poll* but rather the *most important perspective on polling* that has been given me. For the latter I am pleased to give credit to Everett Ladd and his colleagues at the Roper Center. In the late 1970s, when Everett and the Center were extraordinarily helpful in the launch of Public Opinion magazine at the American Enterprise Institute, they kindly walked me through many a

minefield. I best remember a poll they showed me from France which asked, "Do you believe in the existence of God?" By a large majority, the respondents said no. Question two: "Do you believe that Jesus Christ was the living son of God?" By a large majority, the respondents said yes!

My friends at the Center taught me to read polls carefully — but also a touch skeptically. Of course, one can find in the polls a wealth of insight into the beliefs and social mores of a culture. Polls are one of the most important advances in our social sciences. I find trend lines about people's personal and economic well-being, their views of social questions such as race and women's rights, as well as their responses to politics and politicians, especially meaningful. At the same time, however, I have found that polling data about attitudes toward more abstruse issues, particularly in foreign policy, can be very slippery.

For example, the ABC-Washington Post polling team in the mid-1980s asked which of the following two countries belong to NATO: the Soviet Union or the United States. As the Post noted in its report, a flip of the coin would have recorded a 50% response for the US, but in fact, only 47% said that the US was a member of NATO. Similarly, as I recall, a poll taken by the CBS-New York Times pollsters years after the SALT talks had begun found that only 23% could identify the US and the Soviet Union as the two countries at the bargaining table. When one finds such a low level of understanding, polls that ask the public what stance the US should take in its policies toward the Soviet Union (e.g., on Lithuania) strike me as a virtually meaningless guide to foreign-policy making. That our politicians continue to let such polls heavily influence their decisions is distressing, to put it charitably. The politicians should spend a little less time sifting through the polls and more time talking with Everett Ladd and his Center colleagues.

STANLEY GREENBERG, Greenberg-Lake, The Analysis Group:

In early 1989, Greenberg-Lake was invited by the World Policy Institute in New York to conduct a survey of public opinion in El Salvador in anticipation of the first all party and presumably free elections since the outbreak of civil war. This was no conventional election and no conventional survey. Our goal was to conduct a credible poll that would constitute a check on possible abuses of the process, a reality test that would enable the press, outside observers, and democratic groups in El Salvador to judge what was happening on the ground. Since so much of the reporting on the election was about the electoral process itself, our survey was intended to elevate issues: what did ordinary Salvadorans want from a new, freely elected government?

It's possible to become cynical about the role of surveys in campaigns, but one particular meeting I had with representatives and participants in "popular organizations" highlighted the democratic thread in what we do: a roomful of peasants, nurses, and service workers, with all earnestness, helping this American pollster understand what concerns were important to real people. This survey helped advance the process of democratic change in El Salvador.

There was great interest in a "North American" survey, but this was not an environment particularly hospitable to such research. In the end, 45 percent of the respondents declined to answer for whom they would vote. The remaining results closely approximated the actual voting — placing ARENA in the lead, showing how vulnerable were the Christian Democrats and how narrow was the base of the Democratic Convergence.

But the findings on the electoral contest were much less important than what the survey showed about public sentiment on the issues facing the country. Respondents did not hesitate to speak their minds on these matters,

despite the violence that surrounded them. Salvador's people were disillusioned with the corruption of the Duarte government and anxious that someone save the country from the economic decline.

Above all, they wanted a government that would bring an end to the war. They wanted leaders who would negotiate with the FMLN. Our press conference on the survey findings produced a political storm: all the major parties denounced the results. Despite this, the Duarte government soon after reversed its position on participation in negotiations and even ARENA lowered its public resistance to the process — and all joined in preliminary discussions.

JEFFREY ALDERMAN, ABC News:

My favorite (if not the most important) poll is the one we did on Shere Hite's last book. Ms. Hite, you may recall, came out with a book saying that most women were miserably unhappy with their relationships and that upward of 80% of them were getting sex outside marriage. The book was getting a great deal of media attention, and we pollster-newsgatherers at ABC thought we'd try to duplicate her results using standard polling methodology.

Guess what? We found that most women were happy with their relationships and only a relative handful were having affairs. We couldn't duplicate any of Ms. Hite's findings — and said so on ABC's World News Tonight and in the Washington Post.

Ms. Hite didn't much care for our poll or the publicity that ensued. She got into several rather well-publicized squabbles with any talk show host who dared bring up the ABC poll. There was a week or so of hubbub about the whole matter.

That's when my gall bladder went rather seriously on the fritz. I

ended up recuperating from surgery in Roosevelt Hospital, and one of the first things I remember after the anesthesia wore off was the flickering TV apparition of the Phil Donahue show, with Shere Hite and her husband as the guests. This was one of the few times in my life when screaming seemed warranted. "Arrgh!!! Not Shere Hite again. Is there no peace for a sick man! Turn it off!"

But a visitor to the patient in the bed next to me asked if he could watch the show. Too weak to protest, I looked at the TV. Shere Hite's husband suddenly looked familiar to me, as though I had met him before in real life. I had. He was standing at the end of my bed transfixed by my TV — he was the visitor who had been so insistent about watching Donahue, so that he could see *himself*.

"You don't like the Hite findings?," he asked in a vaguely German accent. I gulped and identified myself as the author of the parallel survey. We both laughed at the coincidence. He even left behind some flowers for the room.

THE EXIT POLL CONSOLIDATION: An Interview with Warren J. Mitofsky

After nearly a year and a half of discussion ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN have decided to pool their election day projection and exit polling. The new unit will be called Voter Research and Surveys (VRS) and will be headed by Warren J. Mitofsky, who has been the executive director of the election and survey unit at CBS News. The VRS operation will be overseen by a board of managers, made up of one representative from each of the four networks. Affiliates, newspapers, magazines and others interested in specific electoral contests will be able to get data from VRS on an ad hoc basis. Public Perspective recently spoke with Mitofsky about the new venture.

Public Perspective: Would you describe the new organization that will do all exit polling for CBS, NBC, ABC, and CNN?

Mitofsky: It's called Voter Research and Surveys. VRS is a self-contained research organization, much as the elections units at the networks were before this happened. It will do the exit polls and projections simultaneously for all the networks. Its permanent staff is about 25, and there are a lot of temporary people obviously — not just interviewers, but people who do special data collection during election year. We also will have a bigger clerical staff during the election year.

PP: Will you leave CBS to run the VRS?

M: It is *not* an incorporated business. It's what the networks would call a pool. What that means in a practical sense is that it has no business identity for tax purposes. That being the case, somebody has to pay me. It's going to be CBS. Still, I really don't work for CBS under this arrangement, I work for the VRS Board. As far as substance is concerned, they're my employer.

PP: Where did you get your senior staff? Where are your offices?

M: Mostly I kept the staff of the CBS Elections Unit. We are going to use the space that we had formerly occupied at CBS — at least for this year.

PP: What is VRS's work schedule for 1990?

M: We're going to do exit polling in every Senate and Governor race in the nation. Right now we're not going to do pre-election polling. After we get through this first election, we can consider expanding our activities. Our 1990 exit poll effort is quite comparable with what CBS did in 1986. However, it's much greater than what any network *would have done* in 1990 had there not been a pool.

PP: Will the new VRS differ substantively from the previous network approaches?

M: There is no pressure for projections anymore. Remember, everybody will have all the same material, at the same time. So what I suspect the public will see is much more concentration on analytical work. VRS is only collecting the information. We're not doing analysis for the networks. They will be competing on the quality of their analysis.

PP: How will the existing CBS/NYT poll be affected?

M: That effort will continue much as it has in the past. Kathy Frankovic will run the CBS end and Mike Kagay for the New York Times. They have competent help to do the different things, sampling and data processing and so on. The only thing they will lose is my input into it — but I don't think anyone is sitting around thinking they can't run a poll without me.

PP: Might the networks decide in the future to pool their regular polling, as they now do with exit polls?

M: No, I don't think they can pool any product that has a direct editorial consequence. Regular polls have such consequence. I don't think that projections did, frankly. So in pooling the latter, I don't think the networks gave up a whole lot.

PP: Election analysts are now going to have only one set of exit poll data, where there had been three. They're going to lose, aren't they? What about the general public?

M: If researchers' hearts are set on having three exit polls, they're going to be disappointed. On the other hand, the way things were going there was a possibility that they weren't going to get anything. That was a distinct possibility. I don't think that any network alone would have continued funding election coverage at the level it had previously.

The new arrangement is going to be good for the public, I think. They're going to get one high quality product, and they're going to get it on a *continuing* basis because now the cost is reasonable. I don't think they had any prospect of getting that the way things were going. And, with the competition for projections gone, maybe the old argument about the effects of exit polling on West Coast voters will dissipate. On the other hand, a lessening of competition in this area may have consequences for election analysts. We just don't know now. We will make a careful evaluation after the 1990 elections.

THE NEW POLITICS OF CULTURAL VALUES

By Michael Barone

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The gender gap was only one example of the cultural divides which shaped political attitudes and preferences around the year 1981. When Times Mirror (the parent company of the *Los Angeles Times*) and the Gallup organization went about dividing up the electorate into eleven groups for purposes of analyzing the 1988 campaign, most of the questions they used to define those groups were about cultural issues, such as degree of religious faith and belief in America's superiority to other nations, rather than economic issues. They developed the new methodology because it was plain that the old categories—income groups, ethnic groups, even voters grouped by party identification—were not catching important differences of and changes in opinion. It has been asserted that the 1980 and 1984 Reagan elections divided Americans more sharply along lines of economic class than had any other presidential election in recent decades. But these assertions are misleading since they depend on comparisons with atypical years (1984 with 1956, when Adlai Stevenson ran worse than most Democrats of his era among blue-collar and Catholic voters), because they ignore the obvious cultural chasms which are apparent from the exit poll data, and because they brush over the considerable extent to which cultural attitudes (willingness to divorce, for example, or valuation placed on money making in choice of career) had come to determine economic status in an economically affluent and culturally diverse country. Only in the South in the 1980s was presidential voting clearly along economic lines, and even there the low-income support for the Democrats was largely the product of their culturally based near-unanimous support from blacks. In the East and in some midwestern states, there was no pattern at all along income lines, an absence which is understandable when voters are analyzed according to education. Those with grade school educations were heavily Democratic, but most were either elderly or black or both. Those who had graduated from college and gone no further voted heavily Republican, but those who had gone to graduate or professional school—a group that includes all doctors and lawyers and most teachers and social workers, but not so many salesmen and engineers—tended to vote much more often for the Democrats. The difference between these groups, between businessmen and engineers on the one hand and lawyers, doctors, and professors on the other, was not so much in economic status as in cultural attitudes, with the former being more culturally conservative and the latter

more liberal. But the final proof of the importance of culture over class appeared in the results. The Democrats won precious few elections in the late 1970s and the 1980s by appealing for economic redistribution. The Republicans won many elections by campaigning on shared cultural values.

But what is most striking about the cultural gaps which explain American politics around 1981 is the comparative lack of bitterness between the different groups. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, when one cultural segment of America was fighting a war which another segment believed it should lose, when there were riots breaking out on campuses and in ghettos and when the length of a haircut could split a family, cultural divisions cut deep. Americans then were used to a culturally uniform society, and each segment seemed desperately trying not only to prevent its own life style from being suppressed but also to make it prevail generally. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, when economic circumstances were bleaker and American power seemed on the defensive abroad, these problems absorbed people's attention and cultural divisions seemed more bearable. Americans had discovered that they now had a culturally diverse society in which they were mostly free to live and let live, and they brought their cultural agendas into politics only when they felt their personal space was somehow being infringed on (as proponents of legalized abortion did in 1968-73 and opponents did after 1973 when they felt that widespread abortion amounted to mass murder).

Ronald Reagan and his Republicans did indeed trim back the growth of America's makeshift welfare state, and they did inaugurate new economic and foreign policies—all in significant departure from the 1970s. But most of the dire consequences predicted for these changes failed to occur; and positive consequences, some expected and some not, in time began to appear. Culturally, the changes in the 1980s were more subtle. But that subtlety was what one might have expected under an administration headed by Reagan, who despite his cheery appeals to traditional values was also a divorced man who had made his living in show business for three decades and who remained as personally tolerant and unbigoted as when he had been in his own phrase, a "bleeding-heart Roosevelt-Truman liberal" in the 1940s. Finally, the country turned out to be in not as bad shape as the Americans of 1981 supposed. The Iran hostage crisis proved readily soluble. Underneath surface difficulties, the American economy and American military power remained massive and strong. In the 1980s Americans found that their country was stronger and more resilient than most of them had thought....

* * *

In June 1982, as the maneuvering on the tax bill continued, a jury in the District of Columbia found the man who had shot President Reagan not guilty by reason of

insanity. An almost universal torrent of criticism followed. After President Kennedy was murdered, much articulate comment in those days when the civil rights revolution had been on every television screen had pondered the question of why America was a peculiarly violent nation (Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., even wrote a book on the subject), as though the assassin's act was statistically meaningful. Now the focus was on a would-be murderer who was excused from criminal guilt by rational operation of an insanity defense Americans had long been familiar with and accepted. Instead of seeking to blame their society, Americans were eager to blame—and punish—an individual. In many states the insanity defense, which had been stretched to its farthest limits in the District of Columbia by the Durham rule in 1954, was attacked and weakened.

These changes reflected broader attitudes toward crime and criminals—and a general toughening of attitudes on other issues as well. In 1960, America's prison population had been 212,000, a figure which had declined to the 187,000-199,000 level from 1965 to the early 1970s and risen only to 240,000 in 1975 despite sharply rising crime rates. This refusal to put more people in prisons cannot be explained as the work of a few liberal theorists; it represents the widely decentralized decisions of thousands of prosecutors, judges, jurors, legislators, and voters. Nor can it be explained on racial grounds; about half the prisoners were black, but the large majority of the decision-makers in these years, even in central cities, were white. Then in the middle 1970s, the prison population started to rise sharply, to 294,000 in 1978, 315,000 in 1980, 394,000 in 1982, 445,000 in 1984, 522,000 in 1986, and over 600,000 in 1988. Even though the rise in crime in the dozen years after 1976 was much lower than in the dozen years before (in some years crime actually declined), the prison population *nearly tripled* in this period, again as a result of widely decentralized decision-making, except that by that time many of the decision-makers in the central cities were black.

This change is strong evidence of a swing away from the cultural liberalism of the 1970s. Just as belief in the efficacy of most government programs was growing weaker, so was belief in toleration of criminal behavior. The feeling that society could not legitimately punish a criminal who might have suffered from poverty or discrimination was vanishing, and so was much of the feeling that society owed some positive recompense to people who continued to suffer from poverty and discrimination: these were strong ideas in years of alienation, weak ideas in years of resilience. The trend started before Ronald Reagan came to office, and by no means depended on his acts. He may have strengthened it, but more likely the effect worked the other way around: the trend of feeling among millions of Americans, produced by their view of the world around them and not just by this sound bite or that visual, gave political strength to a politician who had stood for some time where most voters were

going. For the first time since the middle 1960s, a president seemed to be in tune rather than out of tune with his times.

CONVENTIONAL WOMEN AND MEN

Question wordings for the data that follow on the next four pages

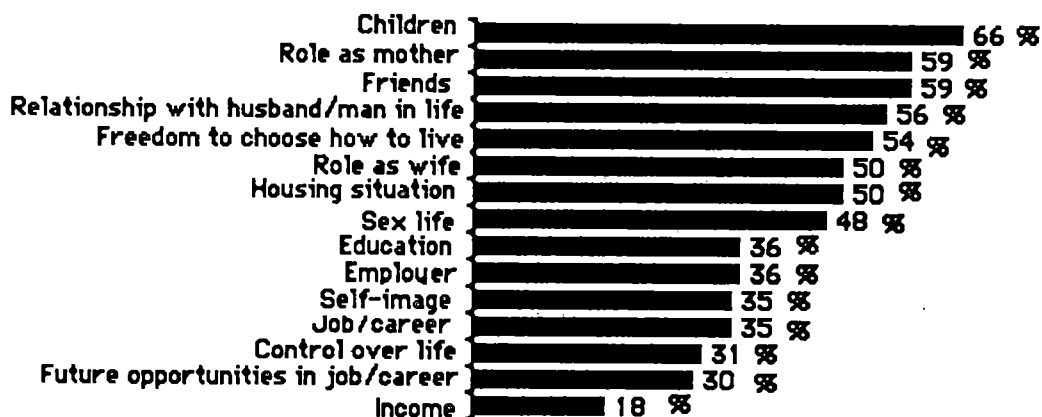
Q. 85: For each item tell me whether it is very satisfying to you, somewhat satisfying, not too satisfying, or not at all satisfying to you. If it doesn't apply, just say so. Q. 84: ...Please look down [this] list and call off the letters of the two or three things that would make your life better. Q. 90: Tell me for each item if this is something that you personally do quite often, sometimes, or very rarely when you want to reduce stress at the end of a tough day? Q. 49: Thinking about working women who have new babies, in an ideal situation, how long is it particularly important for a woman to stay home? Q. 31: Considering the possibilities for combining or not combining marriage, children and a career, and assuming you had a choice, which one of these possibilities do you think would offer you the most satisfying and interesting life?... Q. 27: If you were free to do either, would you prefer to have a job outside the home, or would you prefer to stay home and take care of a house and family?... Q. 87: Thinking back on any major decision or turning point in your life, which one or two people come to mind as someone who has had the biggest effect on you?... Q. 34a.: Suppose both a husband and wife work at good and interesting jobs, and the wife is offered a very good job in another city. Assuming they have no children, which one of these solutions do you think they should seriously consider? a. The wife should turn down the job and stay where they are so the husband can continue with his job, b. The husband should quit his job, relocate with his wife and try to get another job in the new place, c. The wife should take the new job and move there, the husband should keep his job and stay where he is and they should get together whenever they can on weekends, holidays and vacations....Q. 34b. Suppose both a husband and wife work at good and interesting jobs, and the husband is offered a very good job in another city. [Respondents are offered options similar to those in Q. 34a, with genders reversed.] Q. 66: Are you working primarily to support yourself, to support your family, to bring in some extra money, or for something interesting to do?

THE VIRGINIA SLIMS OPINION POLL: SELECTED DATA
 SURVEY CONDUCTED BY THE ROPER ORGANIZATION,
 JULY 22-AUGUST 12, 1989; N = 1,001 MEN AND 3,000 WOMEN.

Q. 85

LIFE'S SATISFACTIONS

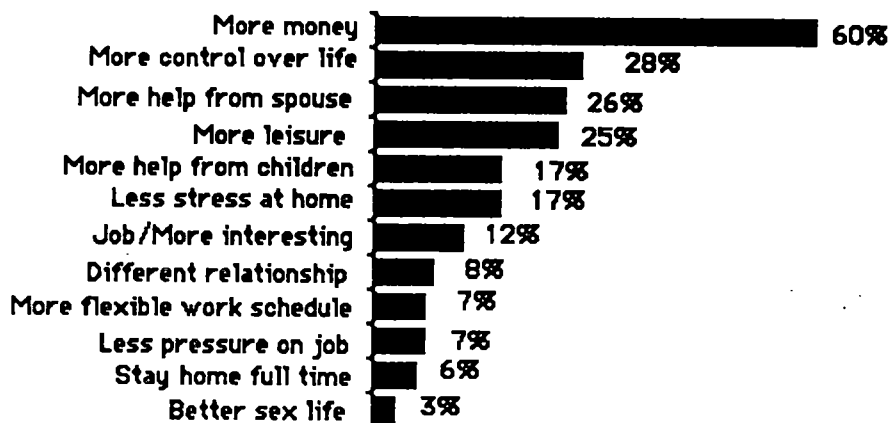
(percent of women very satisfied, of those to whom item applies)



Q. 84

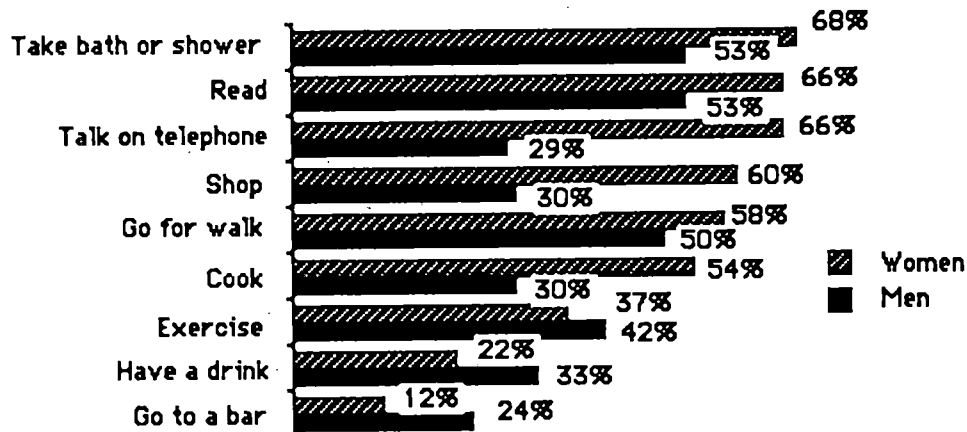
WHAT WOULD MAKE LIFE BETTER? MAINLY MONEY

(of women to whom item applies)



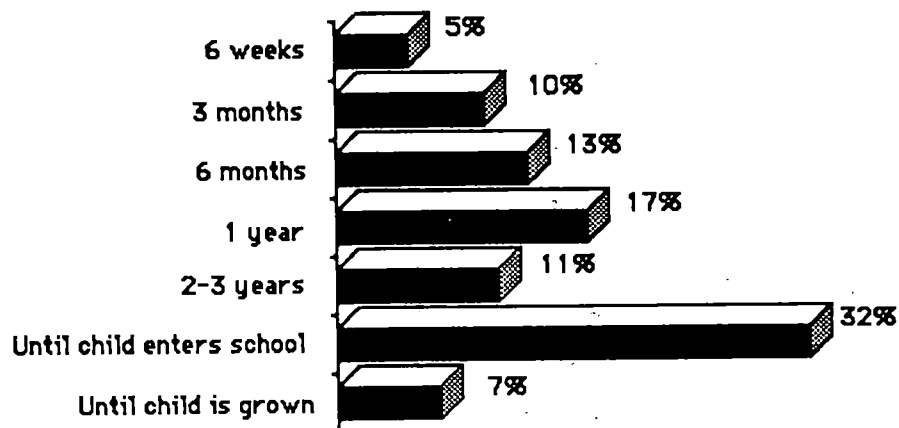
Q. 90

RELIEVING STRESS
(Percent who say they do item often or sometimes)



Q. 49

MATERNITY LEAVE: THE IDEAL
(Women's opinions)



NOTE: Question wordings appear on page 24.

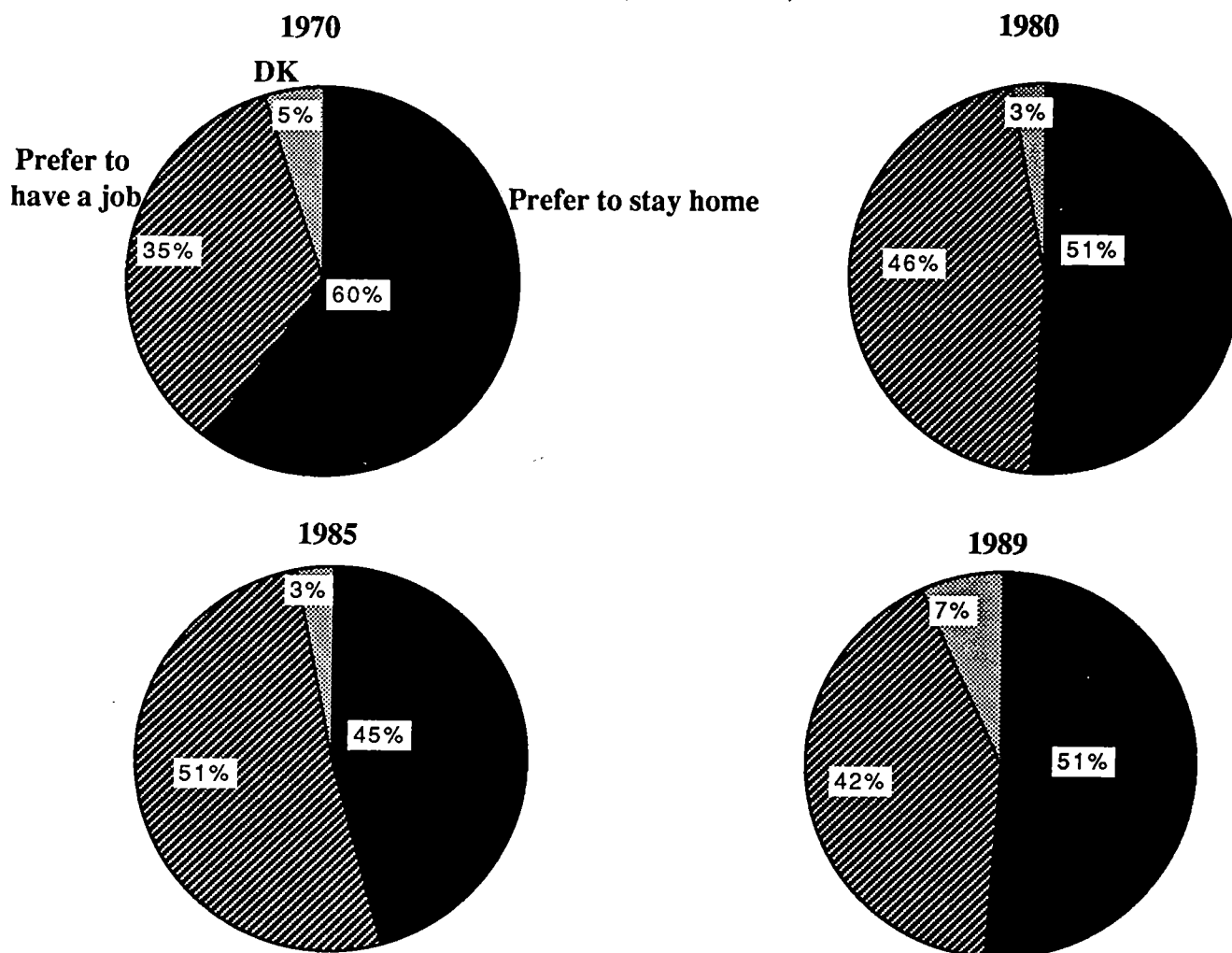
Q. 31

PREFERENCES FOR MARRIAGE, CHILDREN AND CAREER

	All Women (in percent)		
	1974	1985	1989
Combining marriage, career and children	52	63	57
Marrying and having children, but not having career	38	26	27
All others	7	8	12
Don't know	3	2	5

Q. 27

PREFERENCE FOR A JOB COMPARED TO STAYING AT HOME
(ALL WOMEN)



Conventional Women and Men: cover continued

Q. 87

WHO HAS INFLUENCED YOU THE MOST? (in percent)

	Women	Men
Mother	53	42
Father	27	41
A good friend who is female	19	7
Spouse	19	17
A good friend who is male	7	14

Note: Small proportions (1% to 8% of all respondents) mentioned religious leaders, teachers, grandmothers and grandfathers, brothers and sisters, employers, etc.

Q. 34 A, B

RELOCATING FOR BETTER JOBS: WHO MOVES, WHO STAYS? (in percent)

	1980		1985		1989	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
IF WIFE IS OFFERED THE JOB:						
Husband should quite his job, relocate with wife, and try to get another job in new place	17	18	20	22	29	28
IF HUSBAND IS OFFERED THE JOB:						
Wife should quite her job, relocate with husband, and try to get another job in new place	77	68	72	62	62	55

Q. 66

WOMEN'S REASONS FOR WORKING (Other, Don't know omitted)

		1989 Employed Women (in percent)		
	All	Single	Married	Separated/Divorced
To support self	24	68	3	47
To support family	31	14	34	45
To bring in extra money	32	11	46	5
For something interesting to do	8	2	12	2

ROPER CENTER HOLDINGS ON FAMILY VALUES AND WOMEN'S STATUS

By Marc Maynard

The Roper Center has a rich collection of surveys focusing on family values, the role and status of women, and related issues. Many hundreds of surveys conducted in the US have touched on the importance of family life, religion and the family, changing roles of women in the workplace and that of men in the home, working mothers and childcare, the needs of children, abortion and surrogate motherhood. In many though not all cases the Center can redisseminate to users the entire datasets from these surveys in machine-readable form (on tape or diskette). The following is a brief sampling of some of the important studies in this area available through the Center.

Title: Virginia Slims American Women's Poll 1985
Survey Organization: Roper Organization
Interview dates: March 1-30, 1985
Sample: National—1,000 Men and 3,000 Women
Sponsor: Virginia Slims

Title: Contemporary American Family
Survey Organization: Yankelovich, Skelly & White
Interview dates: September 18-25, 1981
Sample: Women
Sponsor: Life Magazine

Title: American Values In The '80s
Survey Organization: Research & Forecasts
Interview dates: September 1-November 15, 1980
Sample: National adult plus oversamples of Blacks, Senior Citizens and Teenagers
Sponsor: Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance

Title: Families At Work
Survey Organization: Louis Harris And Associates
Interview dates: November 20-December 11, 1980
Sample: National adult, teenagers, and national leaders
Sponsor: General Mills

Title: Family Health In An Era Of Stress
Survey Organization: Yankelovich, Skelly And White
Interview dates: October 1978
Sample: National—adult family members
Sponsor: General Mills

Title: Attitudes Of American Women
Survey Organization: Gallup Organization
Interview dates: June-July, 1962
Sample: National—Women aged 21-60 who have ever been married and women aged 25-60 who have never been married
Sponsor: Saturday Evening Post

Title: Changing Status of Women in American Society as a Result of World War II
Survey Organization: Roper Organization
Interview dates: April 12-30, 1946
Sample: National adult
Sponsor: Fortune Magazine

Title: Virginia Slims American Women's Poll 1989
Survey Organization: Roper Organization
Interview dates: July 22 - August 12, 1989
Sample: National 1,001 Men and 3,000 Women
Sponsor: Virginia Slims

Title: Mass Mutual American Family Values Study
Survey Organization: Mellman And Lazarus
Interview dates: June 20-27, 1989
Sample: National adult
Sponsor: Mass Mutual

Title: Status Of The American Family
Survey Organization: Louis Harris And Associates
Interview dates: February 13-March 9, 1987
Sample: National—adult family members
Sponsor: Philip Morris Companies, Inc.

Title: Children's Needs & Public Responsibilities
Survey Organization: Louis Harris And Associates
Interview dates: July 29-August 7, 1986
Sample: National adult
Sponsor: Group W—Westinghouse Broadcasting Co.

Title: Status And Future Of The American Family
Survey Organization: Research & Forecasts
Interview dates: September 24-November 9, 1985
Sample: National adult
Sponsor: Ethan Allen, Inc.

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--George V. Grune, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, Reader's Digest

"We believe in the effectiveness of the Center...."

--Elliot R. Cattarulla, Vice President and Secretary, Exxon

"We are impressed with your group's capabilities and look forward to our association with you."

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--Jane Maxwell, Director of Research, ABC News

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--Terry Hemeyer, Vice President, Public Affairs, Pennzoil

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PUBLIC OPINION REPORT

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- 116 CONSUMER CONFIDENCE
- 118 LIFE IN THE FAST LANE?

Editors

Karlyn H. Keene
Everett Carl Ladd

Assistant Editors

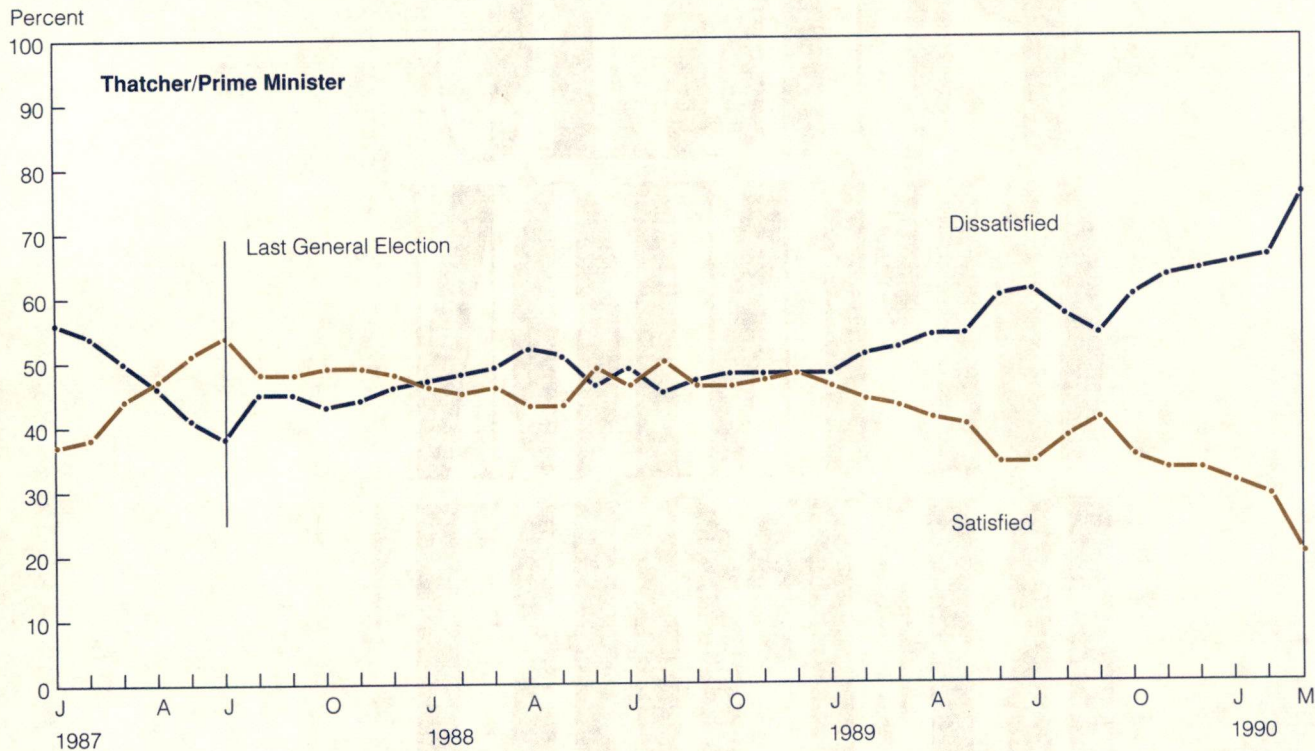
Jennifer Baggette
John Benson

The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut helps compile the data used for this section.

The Roper Center is the largest archive of survey data in the United States. Polls are available from the Roper Center by computer or through DIALOG.

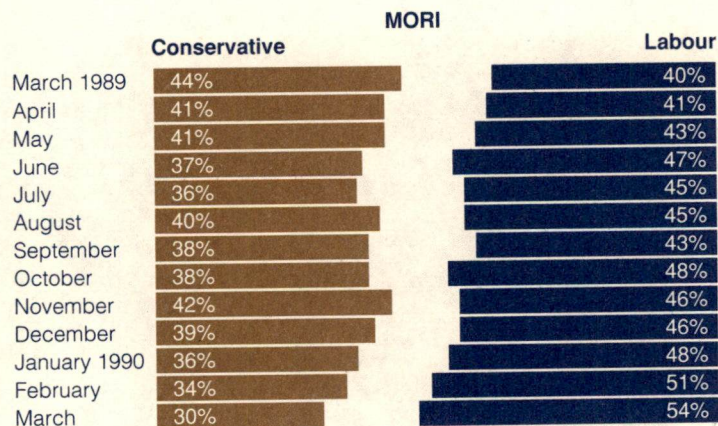
WHAT'S AHEAD FOR BRITAIN?

Question: Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Mrs. Thatcher is doing her job as prime minister?



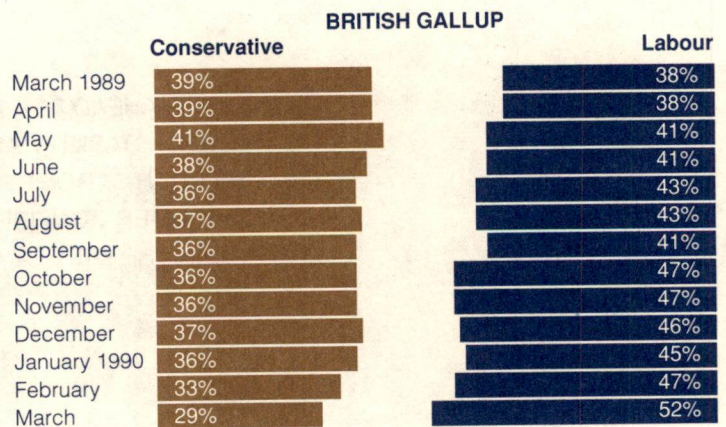
Source: Surveys by Market & Opinion Research International Limited, latest that of March 15-20, 1990.

Question: How would you vote if there were a General Election tomorrow?



Source: Surveys by Market & Opinion Research International Limited, latest that of March 15-20, 1990.

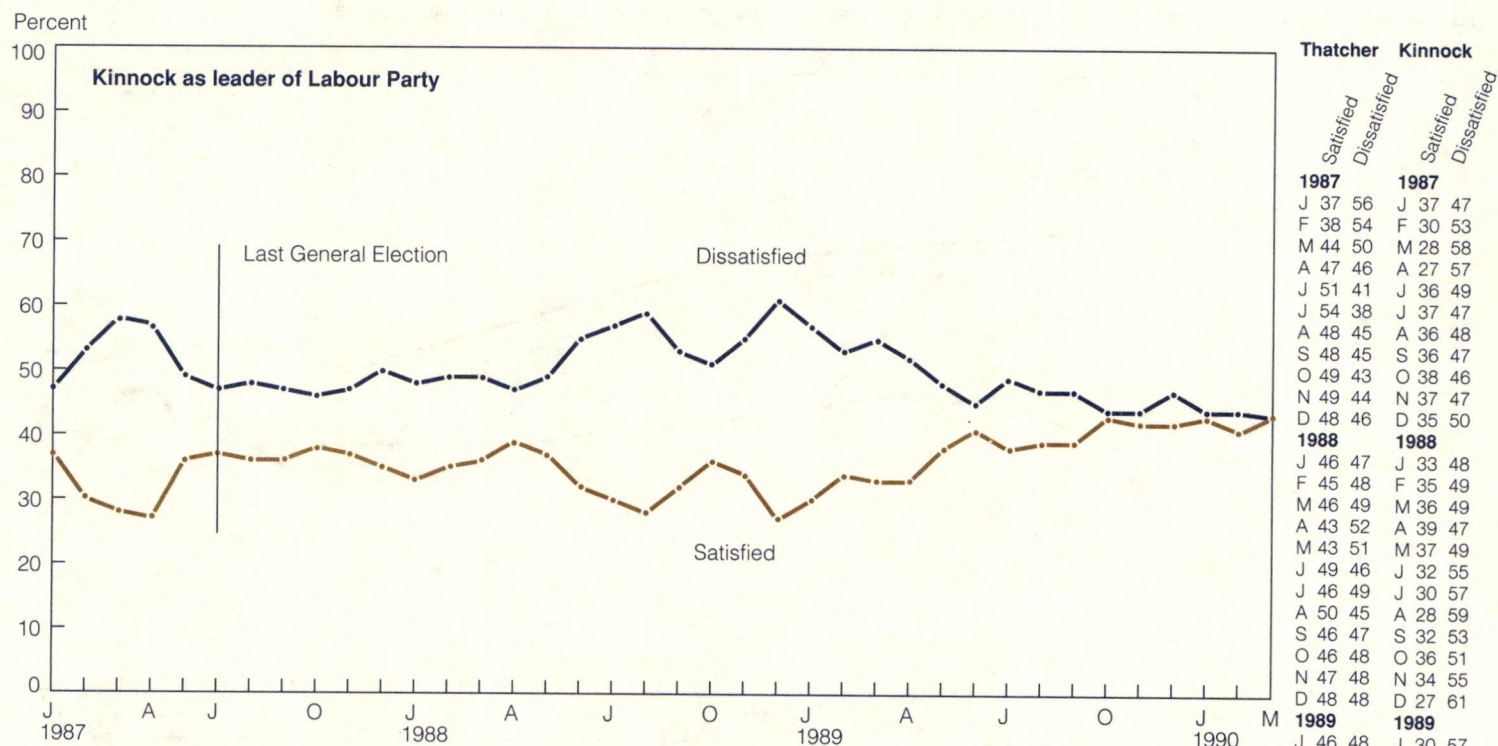
Question: If there were a General Election tomorrow, which party would you support?



Source: Surveys by Social Surveys (Gallup Poll) Limited, latest that of March 28-April 2, 1990.

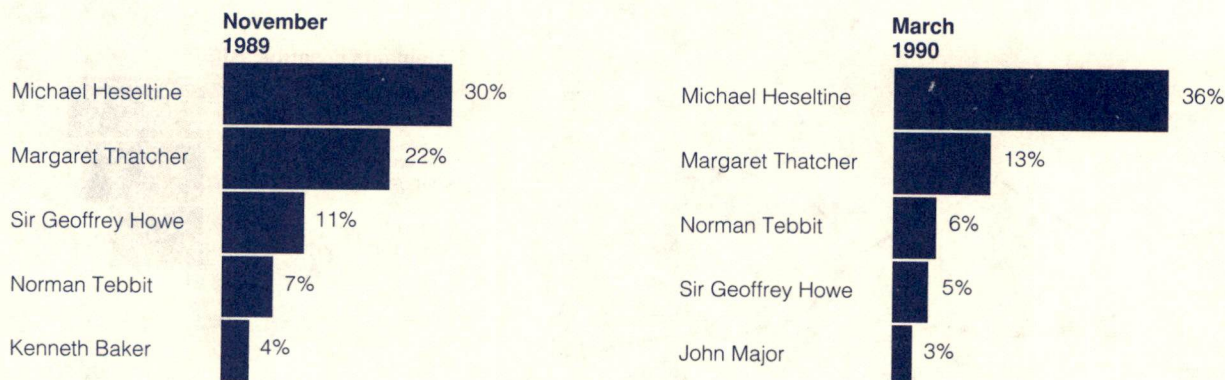
Prime Minister Thatcher has experienced an almost unbroken slide in ratings over the last 16 months. Among all Brits, Michael Heseltine appears to be the strongest Conservative contender.

Question: Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Mr. Kinnock is doing his job as leader of the Labour Party?



Source: Surveys by Market & Opinion Research International Limited, latest that of March 15-20, 1990.

Question: Which of the Conservative MPs on this list do you think would do the best job of leading the Conservative Party in the next General Election?



Note: Among members of the Conservative Party, for March 1990, Margaret Thatcher 38%, Michael Heseltine 33%, Norman Tebbit 9%, John Major 4%, and Sir Geoffrey Howe 3%.
Source: Surveys by Market & Opinion Research International Limited, latest that of March 23, 1990.

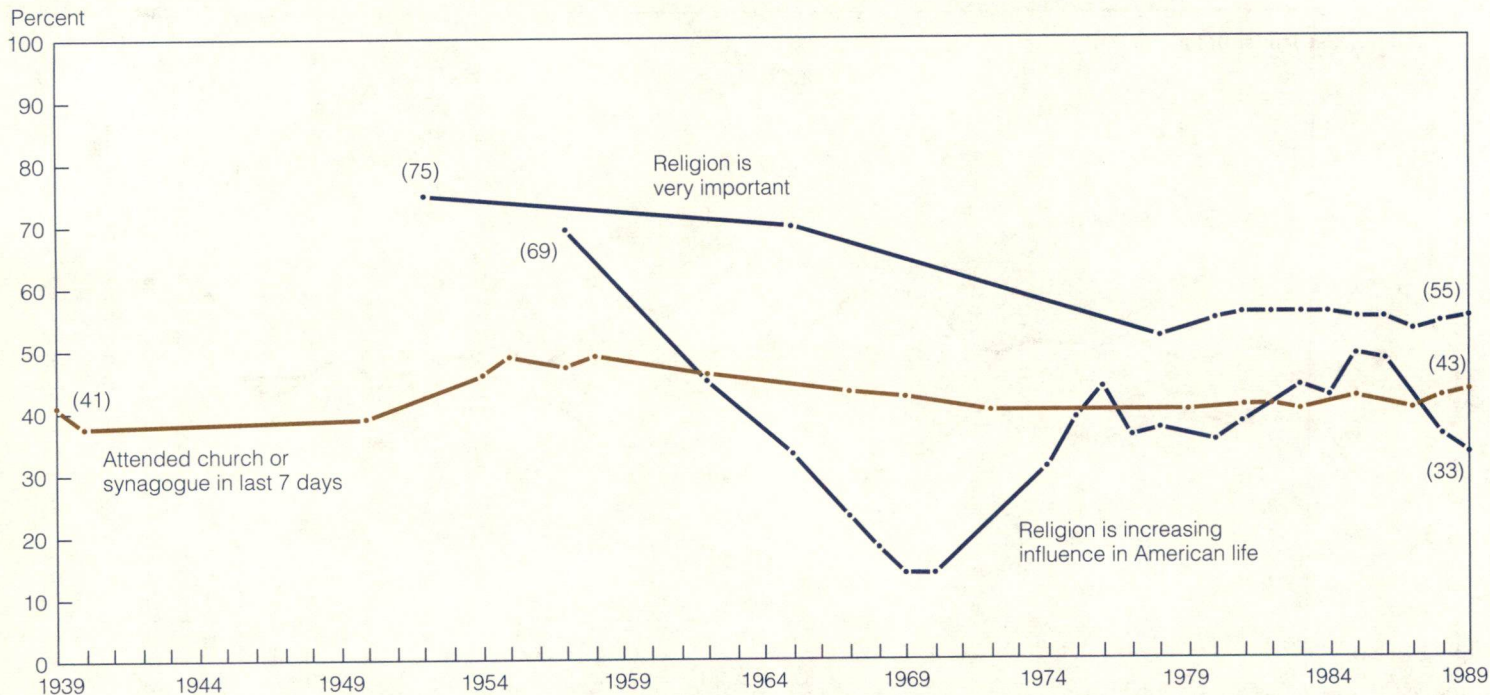
Until recently, more people have been dissatisfied than satisfied with Neil Kinnock as leader of the Labour Party. Still, the lead his party enjoys over the Conservatives continues to grow.

VALUES: STABILITY AND CHANGE

Question: Did you, yourself, happen to attend church or synagogue in the last seven days?

Question: How important would you say religion is in your life?

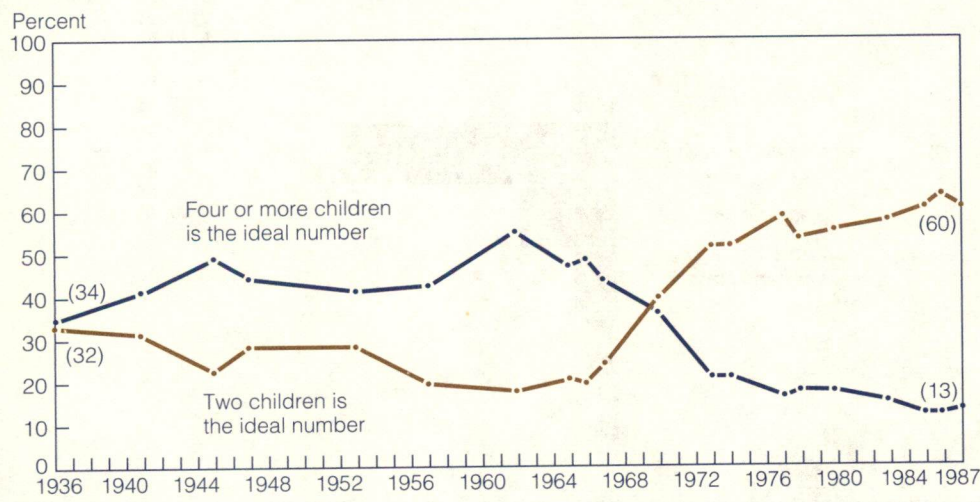
Question: At the present time, do you think religion as a whole is increasing its influence on American life or losing its influence?



Note: The figures from 1955 through 1989 for the first and second questions are based on an average of several surveys each year; prior to 1955 they are based on a single survey.

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of April 10-16, 1989.

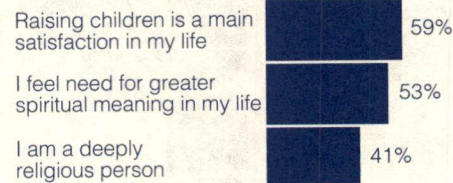
Question: What do you think is the ideal number of children for a family to have?



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of March 14-18, 1987.

Question: Here are some statements about what some people are like. Please tell me whether they describe or do not describe you.

Statements describe self:

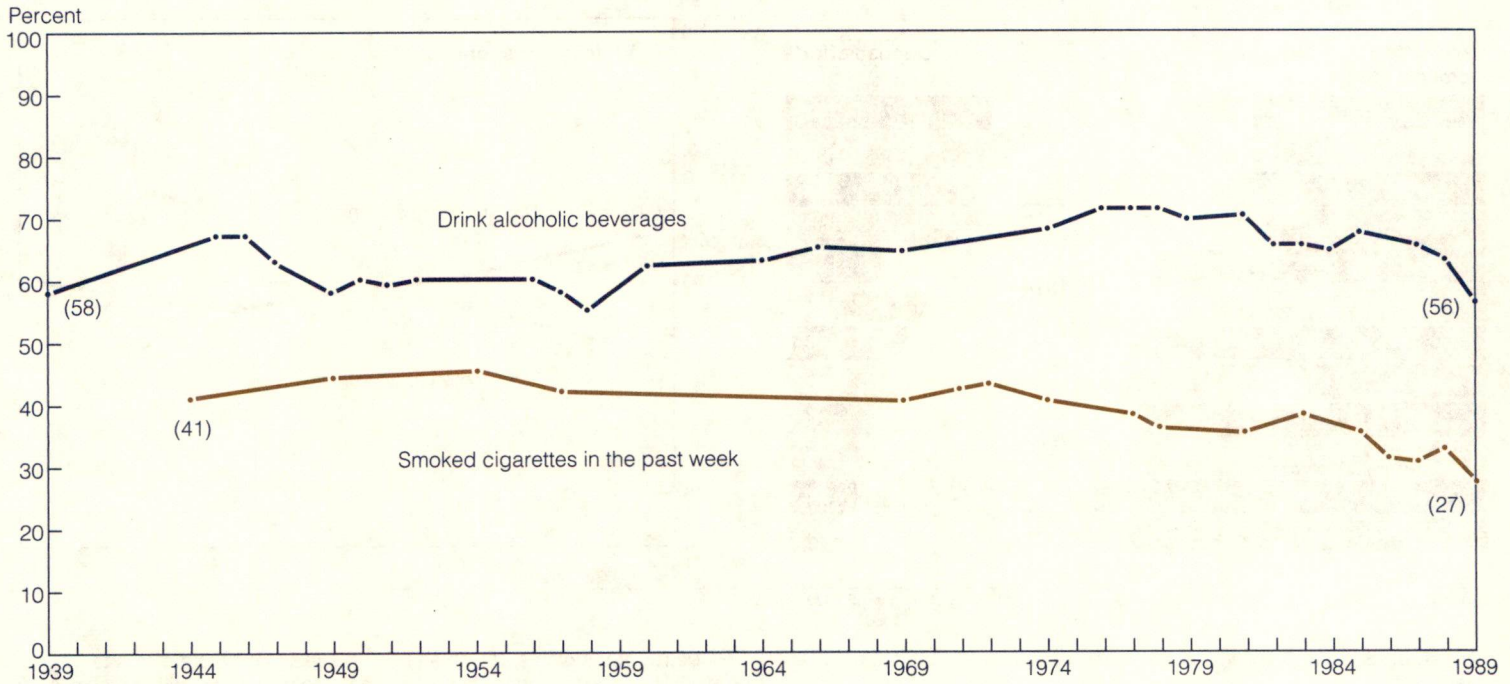


Source: Survey by Time/Yankelovich Clancy Shulman, April 15-17, 1986.

Religion remains very important to Americans. Despite speculation to the contrary, religion's status in our lives has changed little in recent decades. Though commitment to family remains strong, the public's sense of the ideal family size has shifted dramatically.

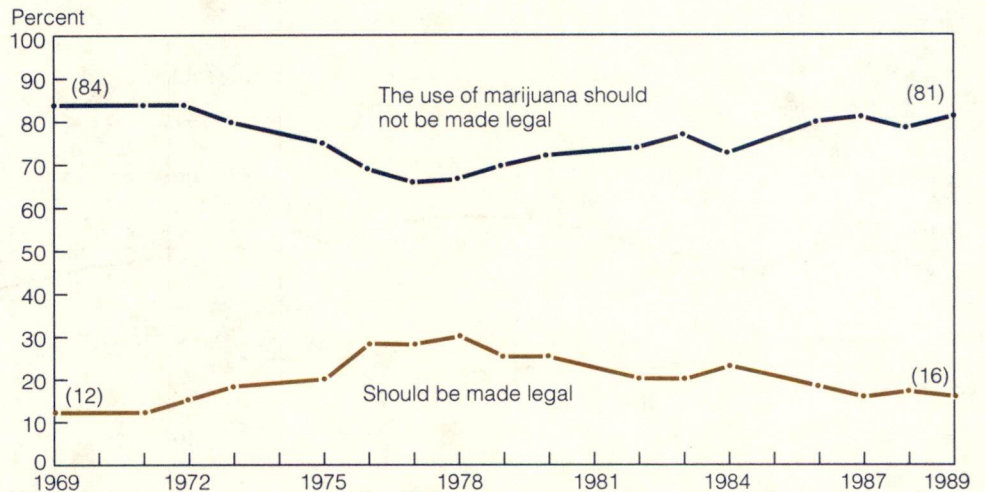
Question: Do you have occasion to use alcoholic beverages such as liquor, wine, or beer or are you a total abstainer?

Question: Have you, yourself, smoked any cigarettes in the past week?



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of September 12-15, 1989.

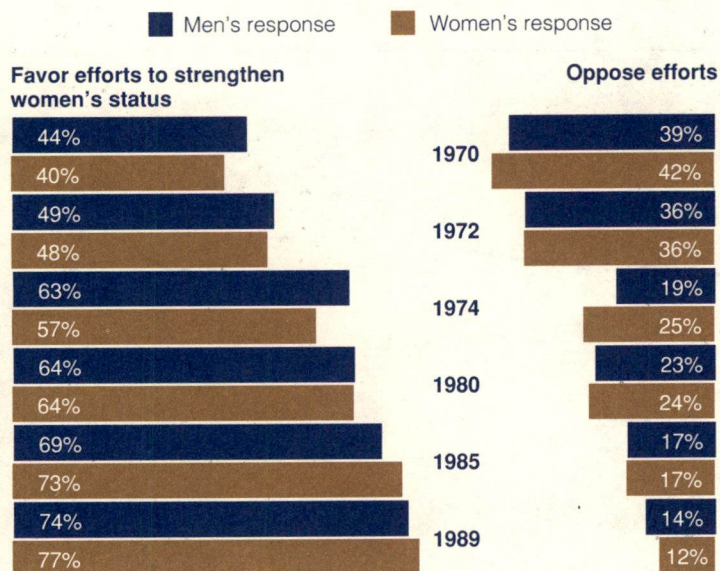
Question: Do you think the use of marijuana should be made legal or not?



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, 1969; Opinion Research Corporation, 1971; the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, 1972-1989.

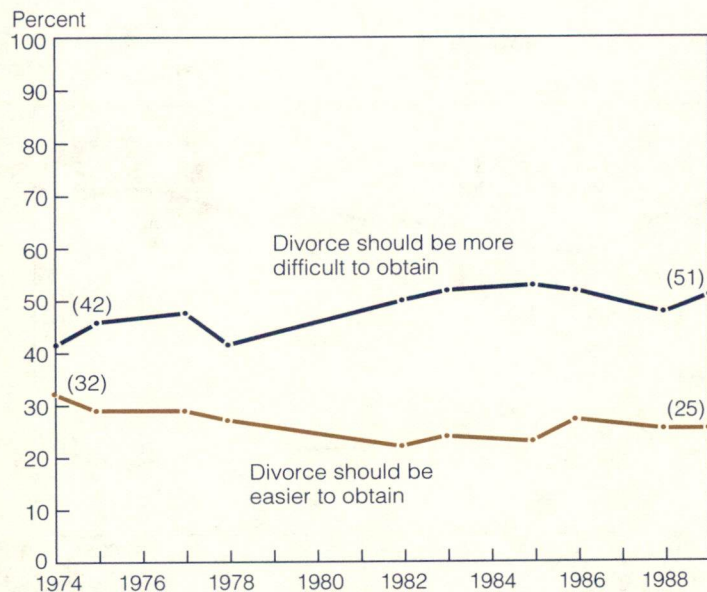
Americans are drinking and smoking less than they were 20 years ago, and they are strongly opposed to drug use. Still, over half the adult population use alcoholic beverages—about the same proportion as in 1939.

Question: Do you favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society today?



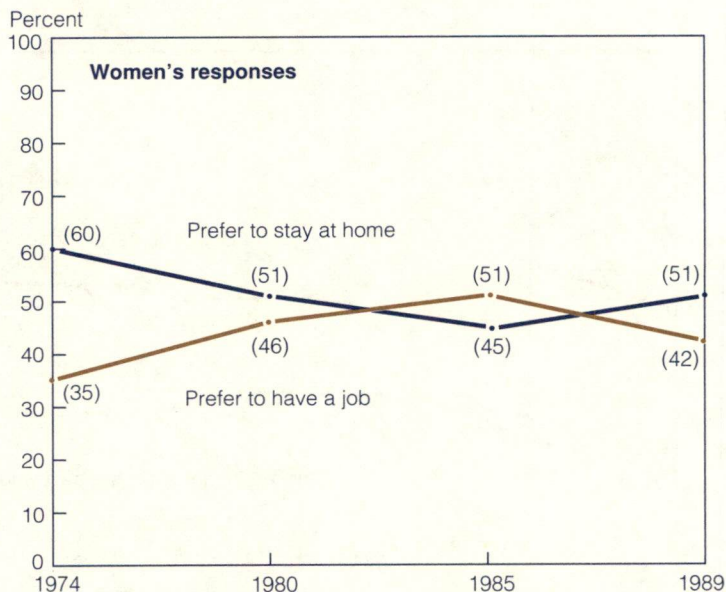
Source: Survey by the Roper Organization for Virginia Slims, latest that of July 22–August 12, 1989.

Question: Should divorce in this country be easier or more difficult to obtain than it is now?

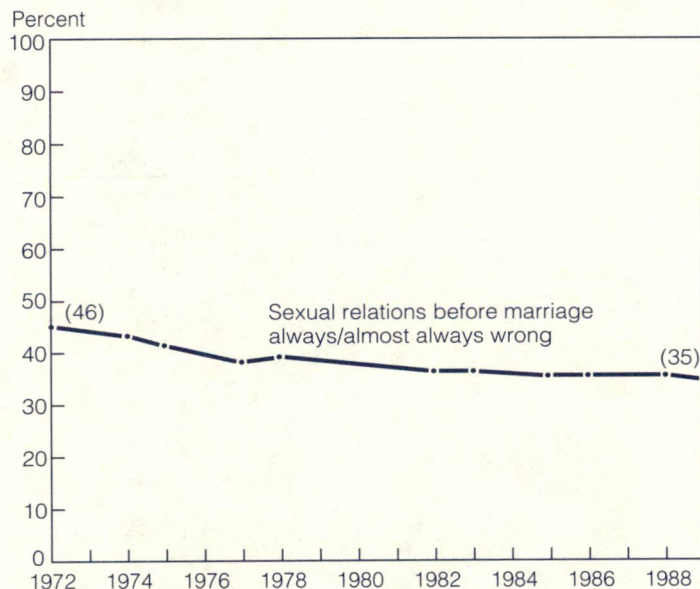


Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, latest that of February–April, 1989.

Question: Now, if you were free to do either, would you prefer to have a job outside the home, or would you prefer to stay home and take care of a house and family?



Question: If a man and woman have sex relations before marriage, do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?

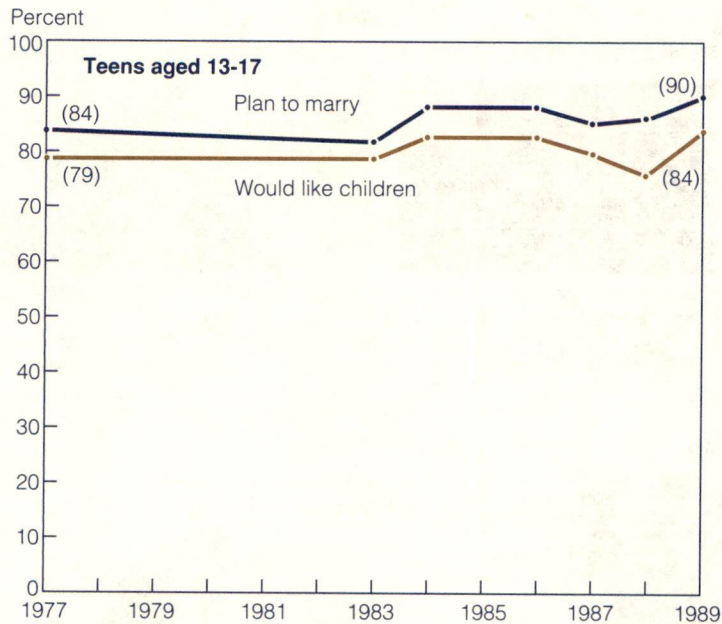


Neither men nor women want to turn back the clock in terms of women's status. Many remain highly ambivalent, though, about aspects of that status. Norms for sexual relations have been gradually "liberalized"; those involving the status of the family have become more conservative.

TEEN ATTITUDES

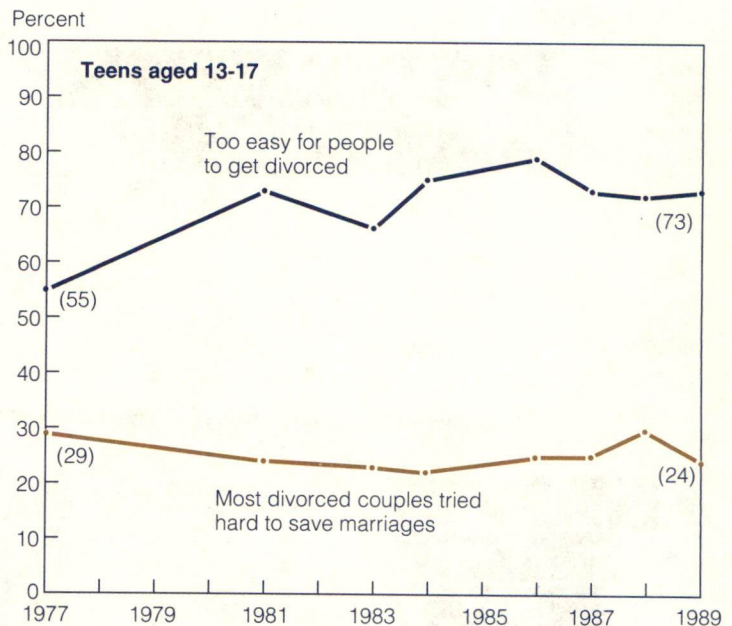
Question: Do you think you will get married some day or do you think you will remain single?

Question: When you do get married would you like to have children or not?



Question: Generally speaking, do you think it is too easy or not easy enough for people in this country to get divorced?

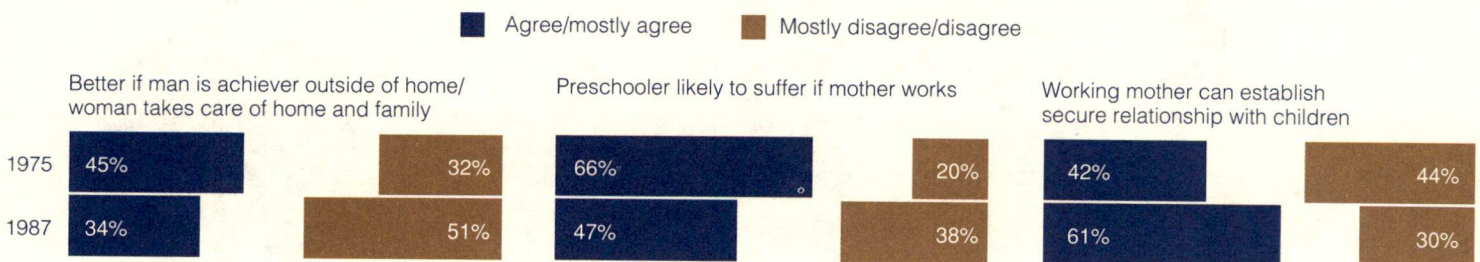
Question: Generally speaking, do you think that most people who get divorced have tried hard enough to save their marriages, or not?



Source: Gallup Youth Surveys, latest that of June 21-July 9, 1989.

Question: It is usually better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family; a preschool child is likely to suffer if the mother works; a working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work.

Graduating high school seniors



Source: Monitoring the Future, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, latest that of 1987.

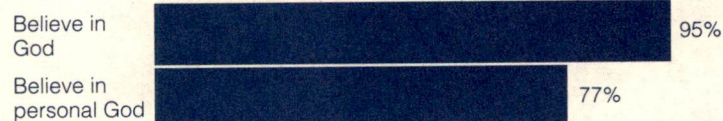
Young people's attitudes often tell us where we're headed. They have become even more committed to family values, but a mother's working does not interfere with those values.

TEEN TRENDS

Question: Do you believe in God or a universal spirit?

Question: Do you believe that this God or universal spirit observes your actions and rewards or punishes you for them?

Teens aged 13-17

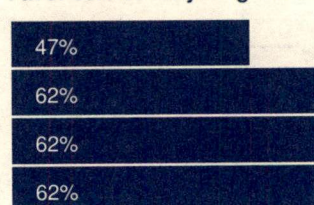


Question: Would you favor or oppose requiring all young men to give one year of service to the nation; either in the military services or in non-military work here or abroad, such as work in hospitals or with elderly people?

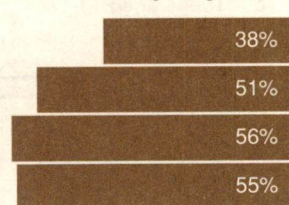
Question: Would you favor or oppose requiring all young women to give one year of service to the nation under such a program?

Teens aged 13-17

Favor service for young men



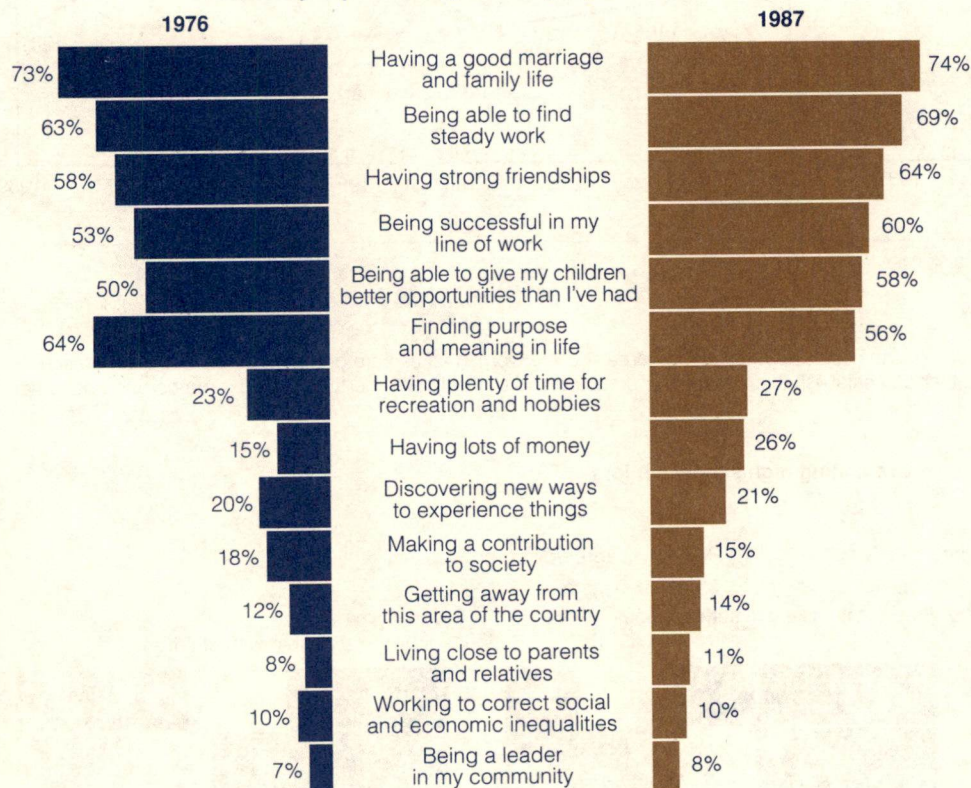
Favor service for young women



Source: Gallup Youth Surveys, latest that of March 1-15, 1989.

Question: How important is each of the following to you in your life?

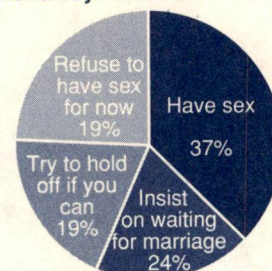
Extremely important to graduating high school seniors



Source: *Monitoring the Future*, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, latest that of 1987.

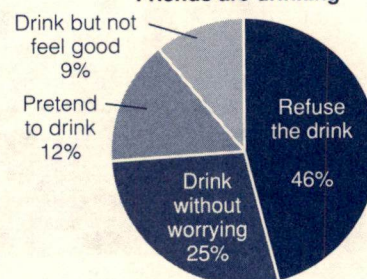
Question: You have had a steady relationship for a long time and you feel very much in love. At this point your girlfriend or boyfriend tells you they want to have sex with you. In this situation, you would probably ...

Students in grades 7-12 Girlfriend/boyfriend wants to have sex



Question: You go to a party where some of your friends are drinking alcohol. Someone hands you a drink. In this situation, you would probably ...

Students in grades 7-12 Friends are drinking



Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates for the Girl Scouts of the United States, September 14-October 30, 1989.

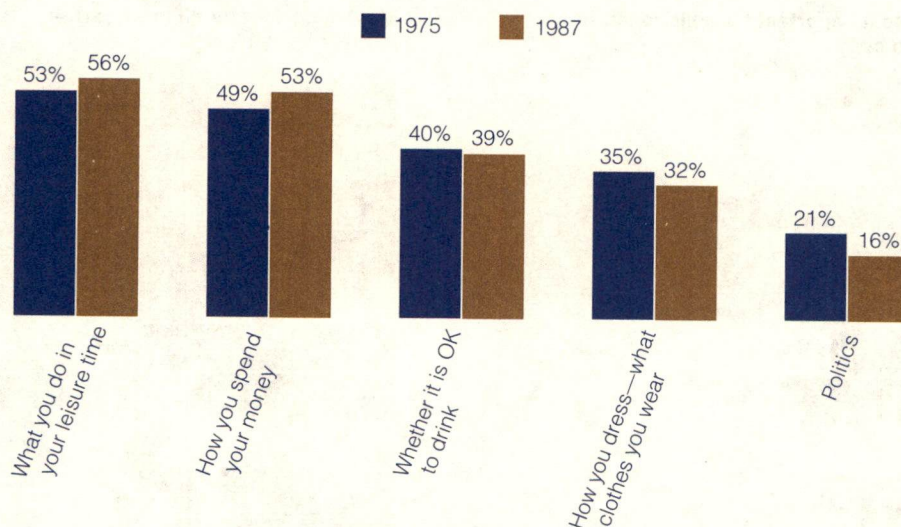
For all the periodic talk about a "new morality," young Americans' attitudes on the basics still look pretty conventional.

PARENTS: A HIGHER AUTHORITY?

Question: How closely do your ideas agree with your parents' ideas about ...?

Graduating high school seniors

Views different from parents



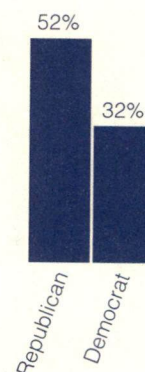
Note: Selected subjects shown.

Source: *Monitoring the Future*, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, latest that of 1987.

Question: When you are old enough to vote, do you think you will be more likely to vote for candidates of the Republican Party or candidates of the Democratic Party?

Teens aged 13-17

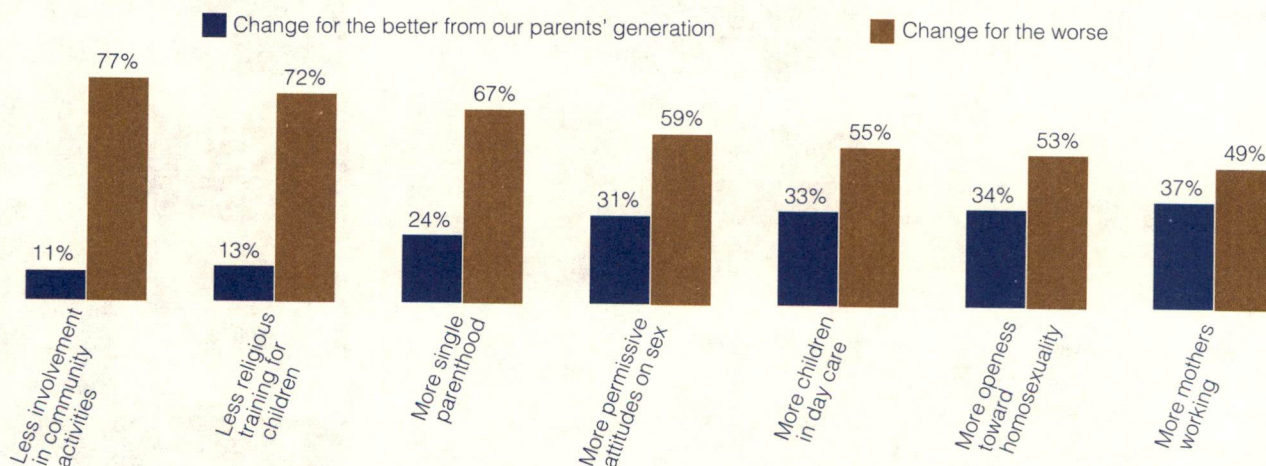
Consider self:



Note: Combined results of two 1989 surveys.
Source: Gallup Youth Surveys, 1989.

Question: Following is a list of changes some people say have occurred that are different from the practices of their parents' generation. Do you think each has been a change for the better or a change for the worse?

18-44 year olds



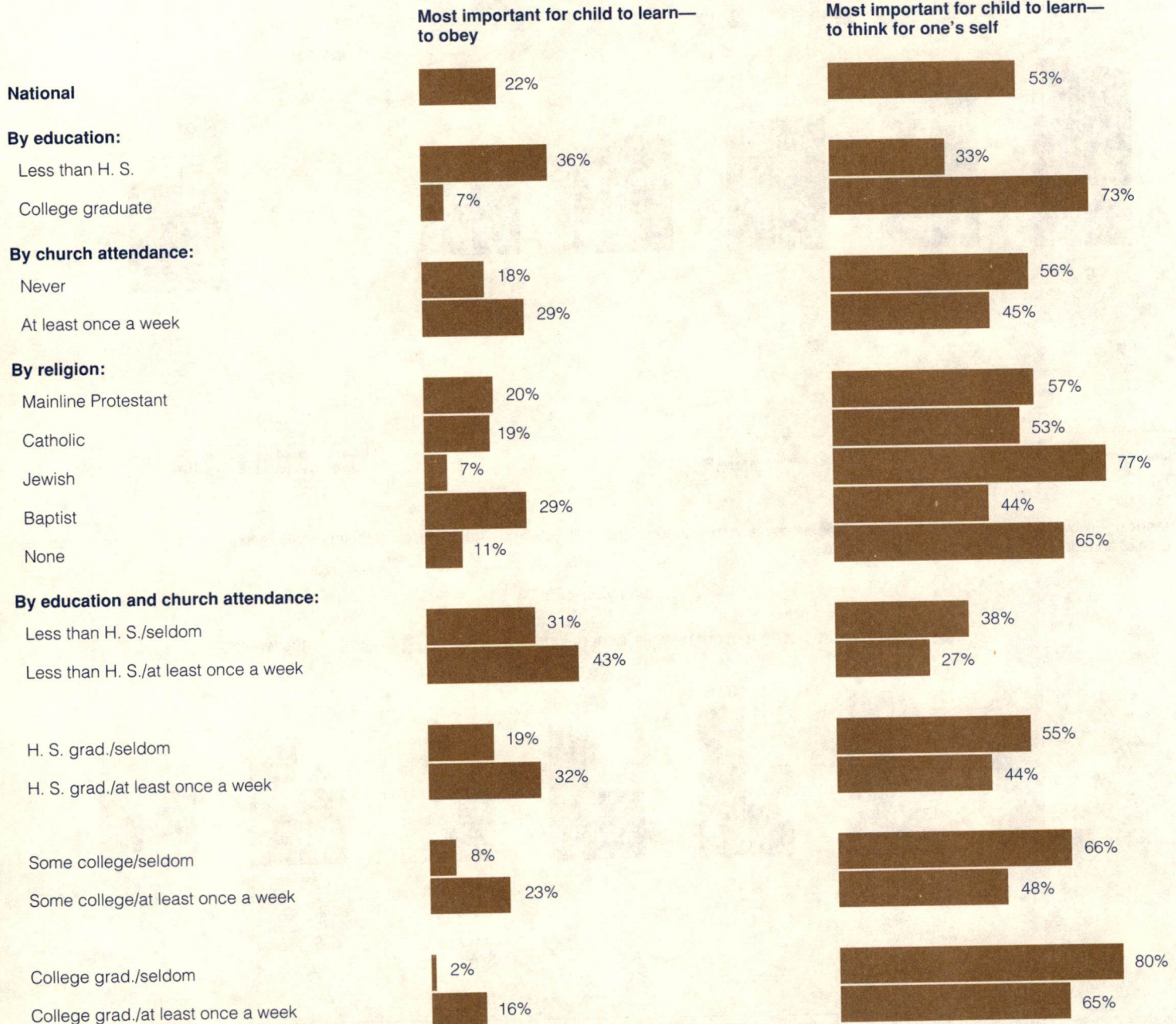
Note: Three things were seen as changes for the better: more openness (83–11%); more willingness to use psychiatry (63–24%); less important to keep a bad marriage together for the kids (52–37%).
Source: Survey by Peter D. Hart Research Associates for *Rolling Stone*, September 11-20, 1987.

Perhaps as always, high schoolers differ from their parents much more on immediate matters such as leisure time use than on global questions such as politics. But the young are more Republican than their elders.

HOW EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS COMMIT

Question: If you had to choose, which thing on this list would you pick as the most important for a child to learn to prepare him or her for life ... to obey.

Question: If you had to choose, which thing on this list would you pick as the most important for a child to learn to prepare him or her for life ... to think for one's self?



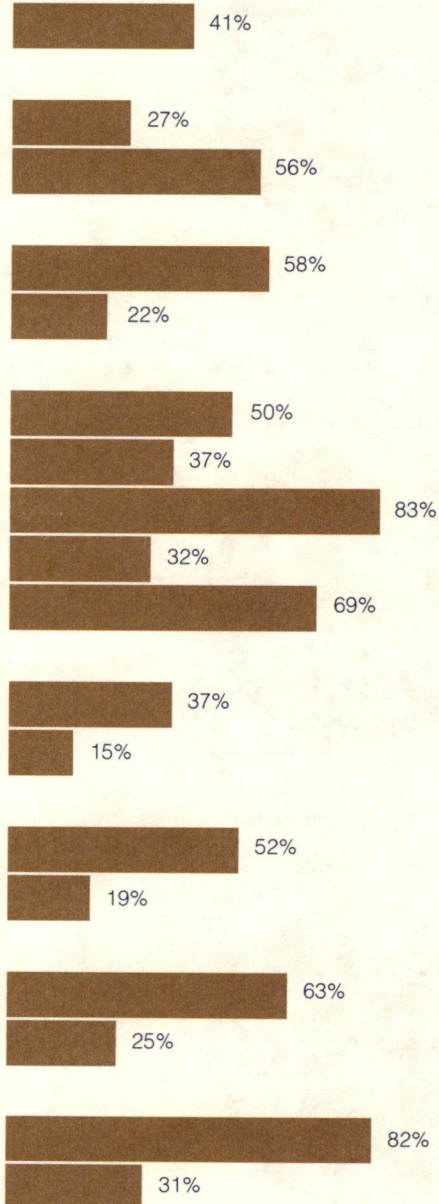
Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, latest that of 1986-1989 combined.

The clash of values among Americans is defined largely by two broad sets of factors: educational experience, and the nature and extent of religious commitments.

MENT AFFECT OUR VALUES

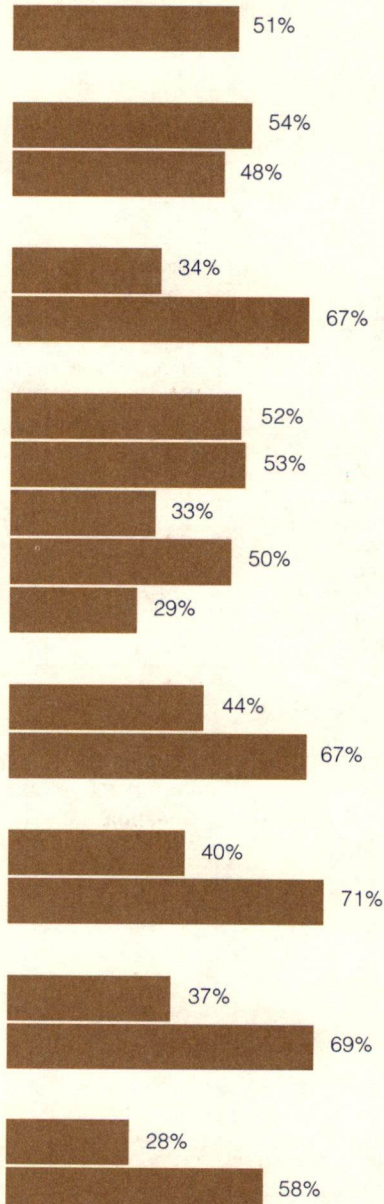
Question: Please tell me whether you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if she is married and does not want any more children?

Should be possible for woman to obtain a legal abortion if she is married and does not want any more children



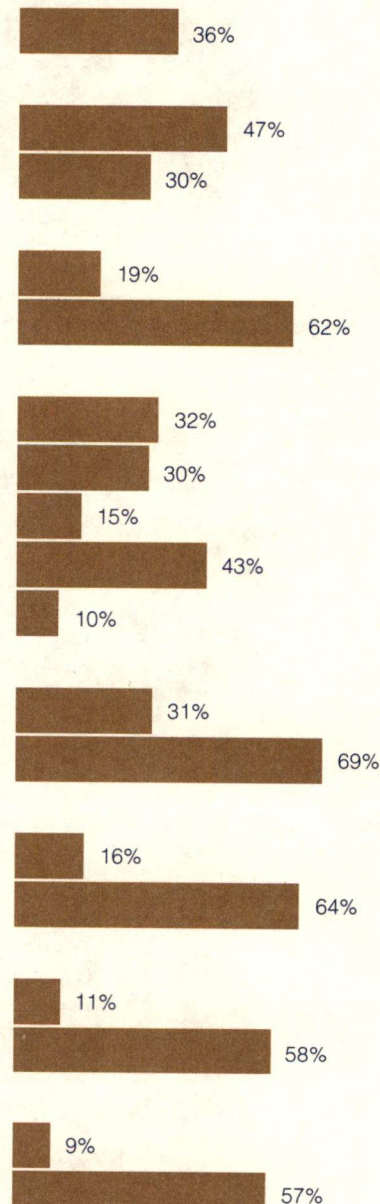
Question: Should divorce in this country be easier or more difficult to obtain than it is now?

Divorce should be more difficult to obtain



Question: If a man and woman have sex relations before marriage, do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?

Sexual relations before marriage always/almost always wrong

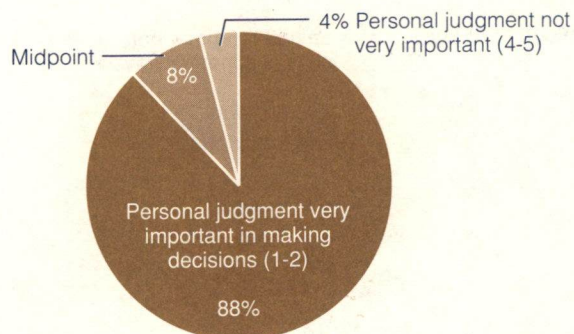


Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, latest that of 1988-1989 combined.

On issues such as abortion, divorce, and sexual norms, groups at opposite ends of the continuum defined by education and religiosity differ enormously. Secular college grads are vastly more liberal than those with high school training or less who attend church regularly.

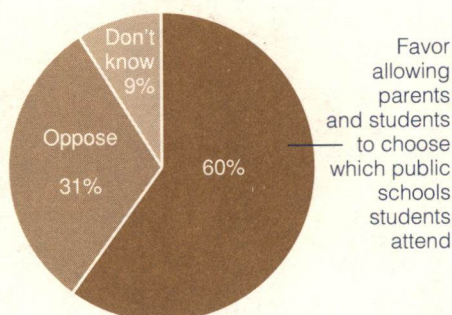
INDIVIDUALISM V. COMMUNITY

Question: Can you tell me how important is each of the following in helping you to make decisions about your life ... Your own personal judgment. (1=Very important, 2, 3, 4, 5=Not very important)



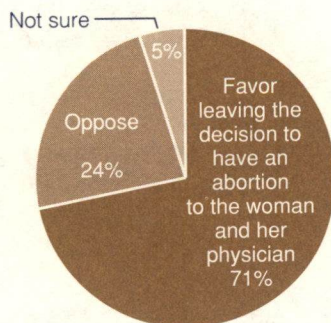
Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, February-April, 1988.

Question: Do you favor or oppose allowing students and their parents to choose which public schools in this community the students attend, regardless of where they live?



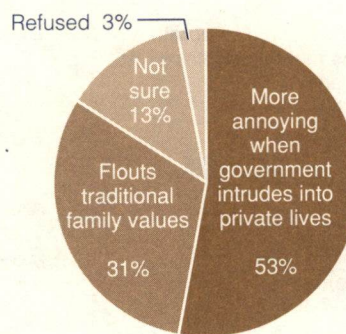
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for Phi Delta Kappan, May 5-June 11, 1989.

Question: Do you favor or oppose leaving the decision to have an abortion to the woman and her physician?



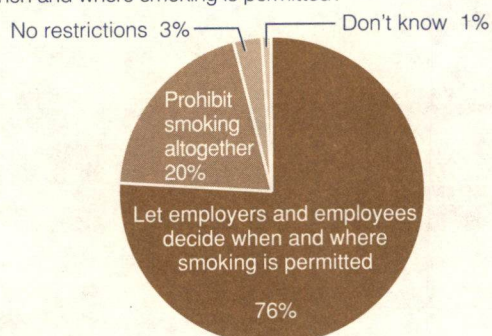
Source: Survey by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for Time and Cable News Network, April 9-10, 1990.

Question: Which annoys you more about the government today: when it intrudes into the private lives of citizens or when it protects activities that flout traditional family values?



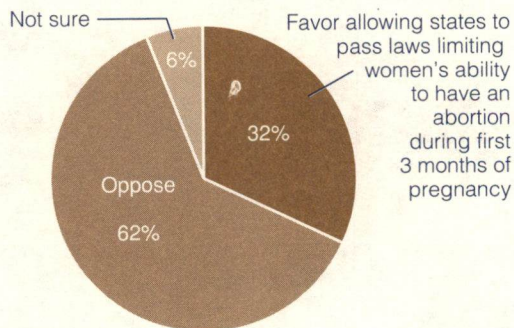
Source: Survey by the Los Angeles Times, July 9-14, 1986.

Question: Currently, in most workplaces, employers and employees decide when and where smoking is permitted. Do you think there should be no restrictions on smoking in the workplace, that smoking should be banned altogether in the workplace, or should employers and employees continue to decide when and where smoking is permitted?



Source: Survey by Hamilton, Frederick and Schneiders for the Tobacco Institute, November 23-December 6, 1988.

Question: Do you favor or oppose allowing states to pass laws limiting women's ability to have an abortion during the first three months of pregnancy?

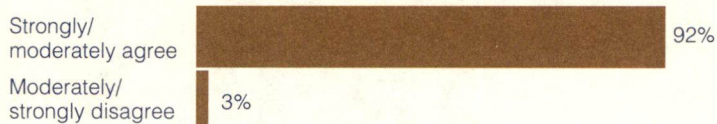


Source: Survey by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for Time and Cable News Network, April 4-5, 1989.

Individualism remains enormously strong in the United States, but how are the interests of the individual best served? We're torn. On the one hand, we find it hard to say no to "let the individual decide."

Question: Now I would like to read you twelve statements. Would you tell me after each whether you strongly agree, moderately agree, are uncertain, moderately disagree, or strongly disagree? ... Duty comes before pleasure.

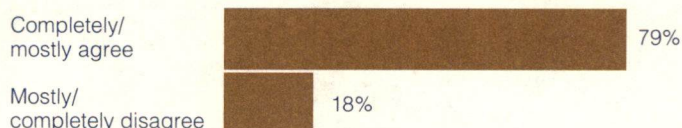
Duty comes before pleasure



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for the Princeton Religion Research Center, March 11–20, 1988.

Question: Here are some statements on a variety of topics. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for the Times Mirror Company, May 13–22, 1988.

Question: Now I would like to read you twelve statements. Would you tell me after each whether you strongly agree, moderately agree, are uncertain, moderately disagree, or strongly disagree? ... The rules about morality preached by the churches and synagogues today are too restrictive.

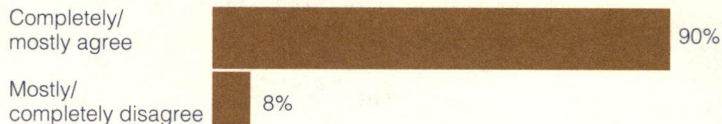
Rules about morality preached by churches and synagogues today too restrictive



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for the Princeton Religion Research Center, March 11–20, 1988.

Question: Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it ... I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote.

It's my duty as a citizen to always vote



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for the Times Mirror Company, January 27–February 5, 1989.

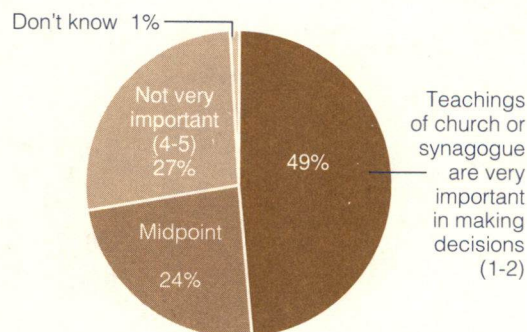
Question: Here are some social changes which might occur in coming years. Would you welcome these or not welcome them?

Would welcome more respect for authority



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization for the Religious Coalition to Study Backgrounds, Values and Interests of Unchurched Americans, 1978; Gallup 1981; Princeton Religion Research Center, March 11–20, 1988.

Question: Can you tell me how important is each of the following in helping you to make decisions about your life? ... The teachings of your church or synagogue. (1=Very important, 2, 3, 4, 5=Not very important)

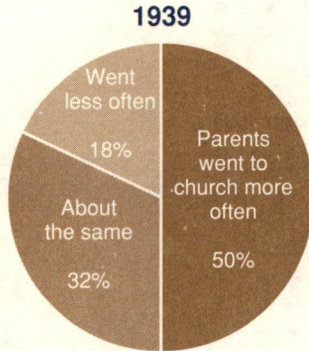


Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, February–April, 1988.

On the other hand, we recognize that a narrow, undisciplined individualism is highly incomplete and sterile. We value the broader claims of community.

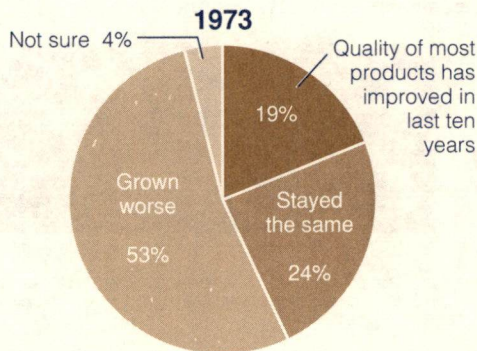
VALUE NOSTALGIA

Question: Did your parents go to church more often or less often than you do?



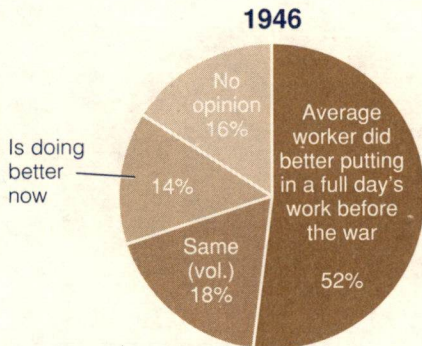
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, February 24–March 1, 1939.

Question: Compared to 10 years ago, would you say the quality of most products you buy has improved, grown worse, or stayed the same?



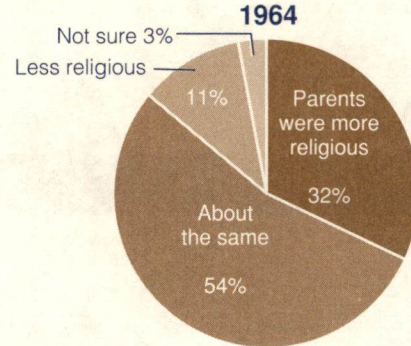
Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates, August 18–19, 1973.

Question: On the question of putting in a full day's work for a full day's pay, do you think the average factory worker did a better job before the war, or is he doing a better job now?



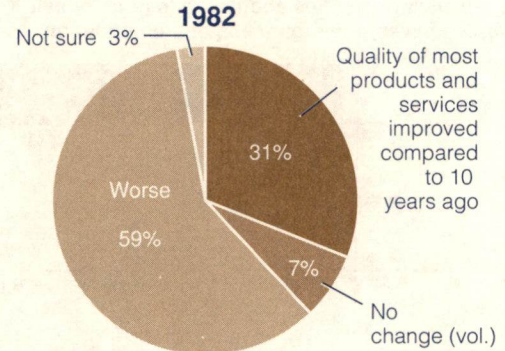
Source: Survey by the Opinion Research Corporation, October 1946.

Question: Generally speaking, were your parents more religious than you are, less religious, or about the same?



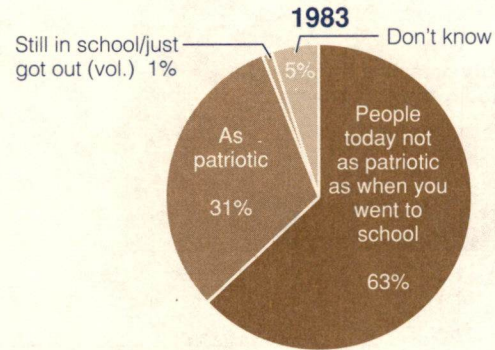
Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, October 1964.

Question: I'd like to have your views on how some things have changed in the last ten years. Compared to ten years ago, would you say that the quality of most products and services has improved or grown worse?



Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates for Atlantic Richfield Company, October 15–26, 1982.

Question: Are people today as patriotic as they were when you went to school?

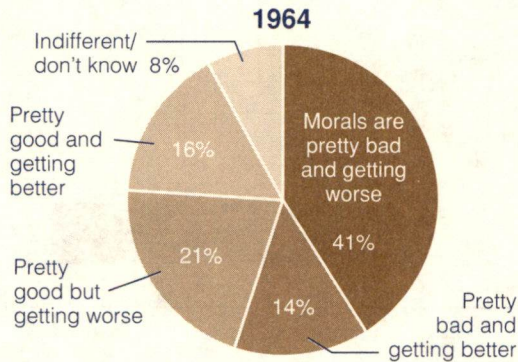


Source: Survey by the New York Times, November 18–22, 1983.

When we care about a value, we are likely to worry about its status and to see it slipping. This phenomenon of "value nostalgia" is clearly not new.

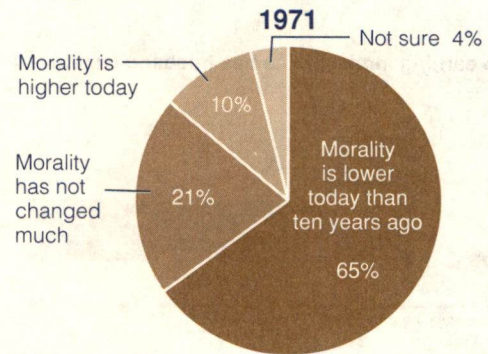
VALUES IN TURBULENCE

Question: Which of the statements on this card comes closest to expressing how you feel about the state of morals in this country at the present time?



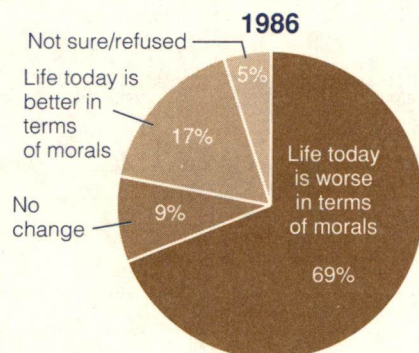
Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, October 1964.

Question: Compared with ten years ago, would you say morality in the United States is lower today, higher, or not changed much?



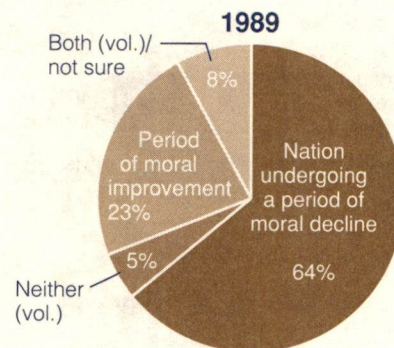
Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates, March 1971.

Question: Do you believe that life today is getting better or worse in terms of morals?



Source: Survey by the Los Angeles Times, July 9-14, 1986.

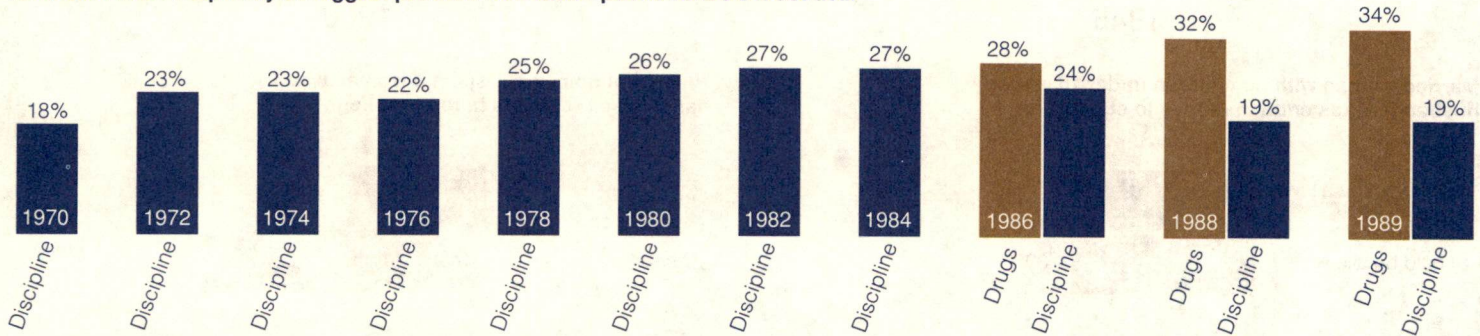
Question: Generally speaking, would you say the nation is undergoing a period of moral improvement, or a period of moral decline?



Source: Survey by the Los Angeles Times, March 3-10, 1989.

Question: What do you think are the biggest problems with which the public schools in this country must deal?

Item cited most frequently as biggest problem with which public schools must deal



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization for Phi Delta Kappan, latest that of May 5-June 11, 1989.

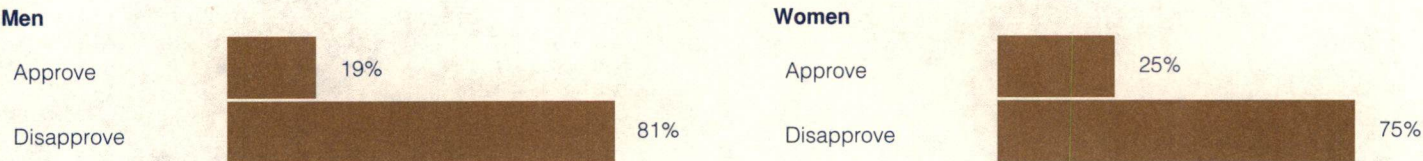
In any case, Americans today are plainly uneasy about the foundations of personal and public morality.

VALUE VIGNETTES

Question: Do you approve of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her?

1938

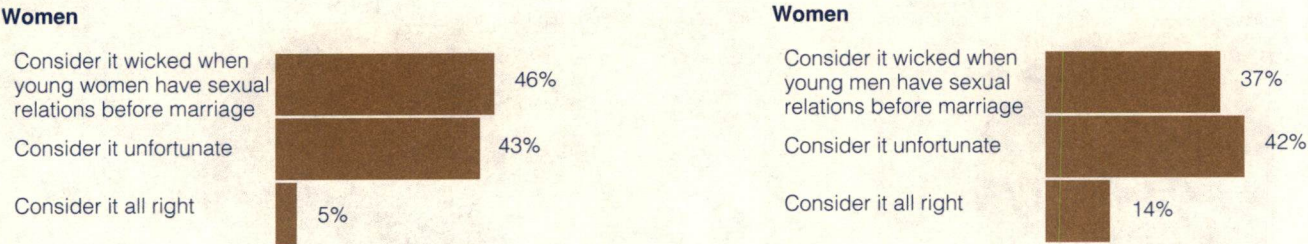
Married woman earning money if she has husband capable of supporting her



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, October 19-24, 1938.

Question: Do you consider it all right, unfortunate, or wicked when young (women/men) have sexual relations before marriage?

1943



Source: Survey by the Roper Organization for *Fortune*, March 22–April 5, 1943.

Question: Do you think a married woman who has no children under 16 and whose husband makes enough to support her should or should not be allowed to take a job if she wants to?

1946

Married woman with no children under 16 whose husband makes enough money to support her



Source: Survey by the Roper Organization for *Fortune*, April 12–30, 1946.

Question: No decent man can respect a woman who has had sex relations before marriage.

1950

No decent man can respect a woman who has had sex relations before marriage



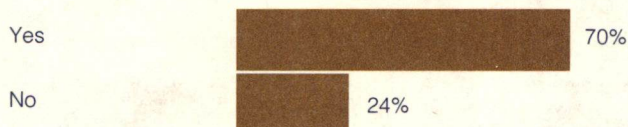
Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, November 1950.

Sometimes we get a sense of change more from the questions that are asked, or the way they are phrased, than we do from the answers people give, as these questions show.

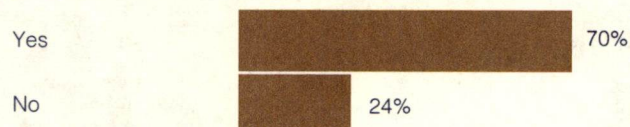
Question: Do you think any of the blame for teenage crimes can be placed on (the reading of comic books/mystery and crime programs on television and radio)?

1954

Reading of comic books can be blamed for teenage crimes



Television and radio mystery and crime programs can be blamed for teenage crime

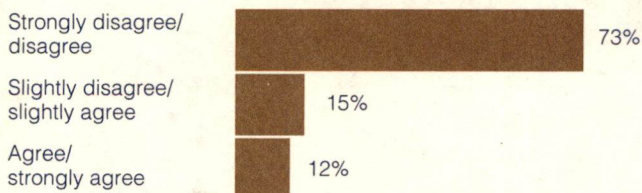


Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, October 15–20, 1954.

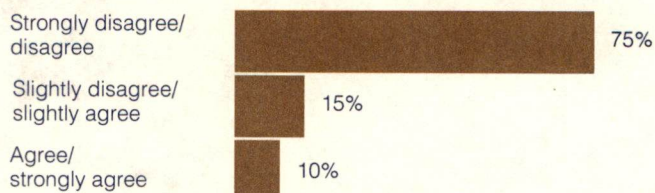
Question: I believe that full sexual relations are acceptable for the (male/female) before marriage when (he/she) is engaged to be married.

1963

Sexual relations acceptable for male engaged to be married



Sexual relations acceptable for female engaged to be married

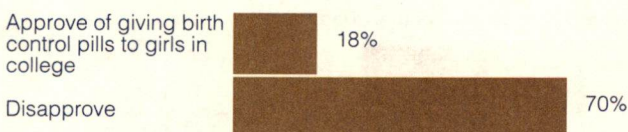


Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, April–July, 1963.

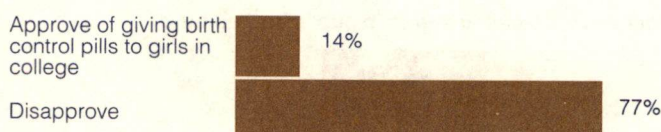
Question: The health officer of a university recently gave prescriptions for birth control pills to two unmarried students. How do you feel about giving birth control pills to girls in college?

1965

Men



Women



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, October 8–13, 1965.

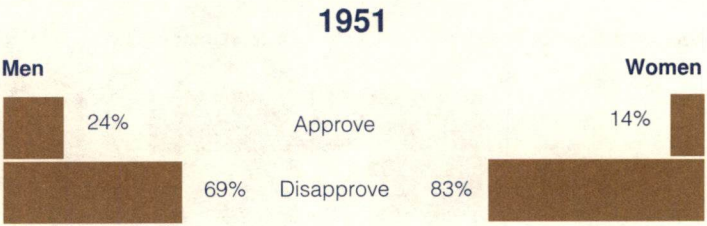
The “media” have long been seen as corrupting. Questions from the early to mid-1960s remind us that for all the continuity in basic values, there really has been a “sexual revolution.”

SARTORIAL SELECTIONS

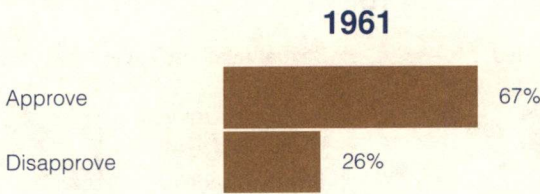
Question: Do you approve or disapprove of women of any age wearing slacks in public, that is, for example, while shopping?



Question: Speaking in terms of their day-to-day activities, do you approve or disapprove of women in your community wearing shorts on the street?

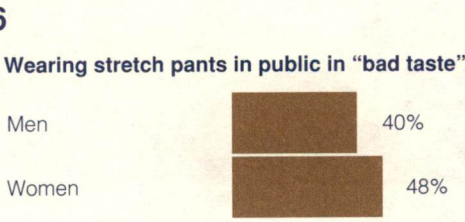
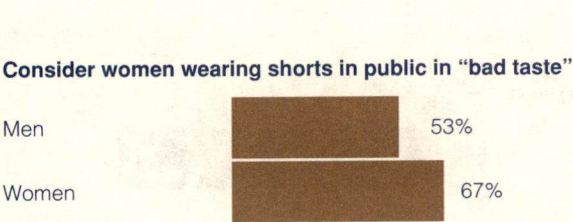


Question: Do you approve or disapprove of women wearing slacks in public?



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of October 19–24, 1961.

Question: Which do you consider to be in “bad taste”?

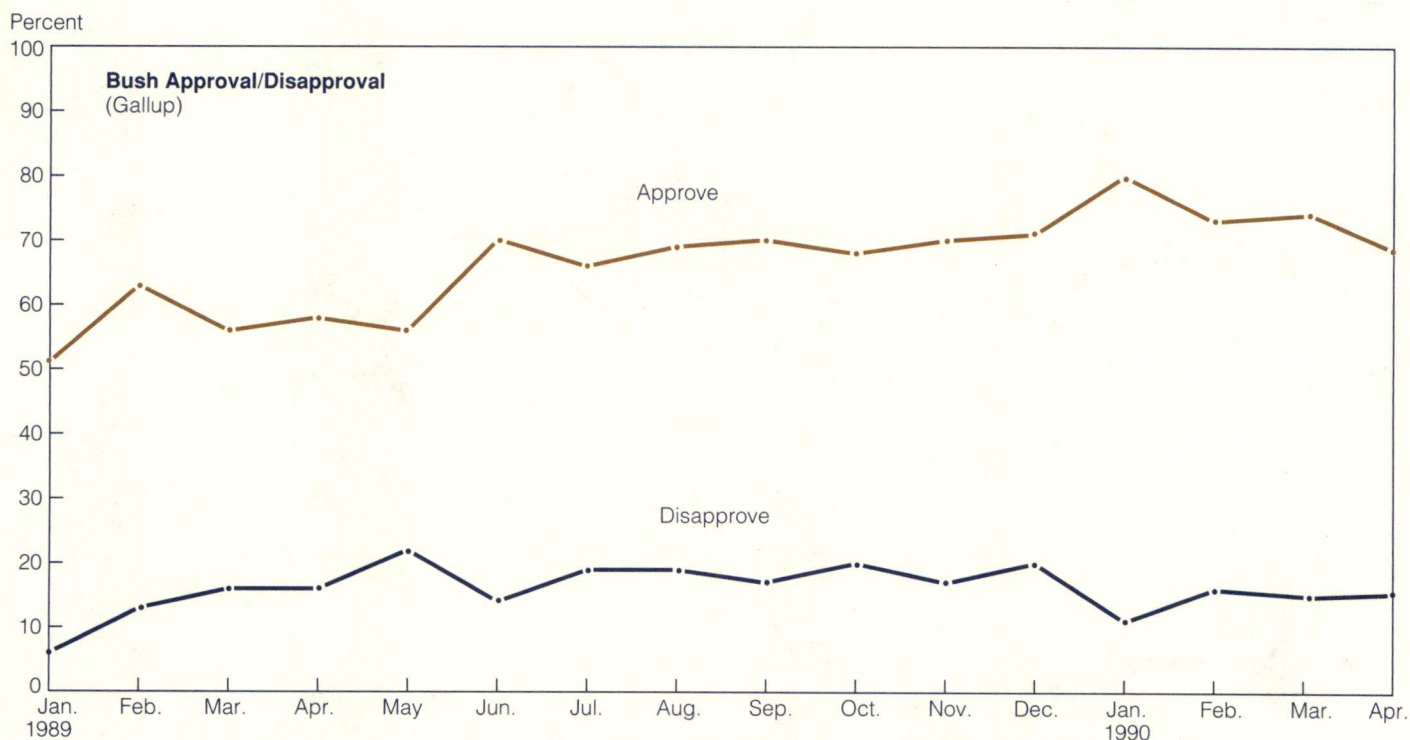


Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, February 10–15, 1966.

One manifestation of changing times involves our notions of what’s appropriate dress in public. The acceptability of wearing slacks and shorts in public has grown since World War II.

THE BUSH BAROMETER

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as president?



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of April 5-8, 1990.

		Approve		Disapprove
First Rating				
1989	Gallup	1/24-26	51%	6%
Last 6 Months				
1989	ABC/WP	9/6	76	20
	CBS/NT	9/6-8	70	14
	Gallup	9/7-10	70	17
	LA Times	9/14-19	66	17
	NBC/WSJ	9/16-19	67	17
	CBS/NT	9/17-20	69	18
	ABC/WP	9/28-10/3	76	20
	Gallup	10/5-8	68	20
	YCS/Time/CNN	10/9-10	75	16
	NBC/WSJ	11/4-7	67	22
	Gallup	11/9-12	70	17
	ABC/WP	11/24-12/4	66	28
	CBS/NT	11/26-28	63	21
	LA Times	11/17-21	66	22
	Gallup	12/7-10	71	20

		Approve		Disapprove
First Rating				
1989	LA Times	12/16-20	72%	22%
	LA Times	12/21	80	13
1990	Gallup	1/4-7	80	11
	ABC/WP	1/11-15	79	18
	CBS/NT	1/13-15	76	13
	NBC/WSJ	1/13-16	71	19
	Wirthlin Group	1/15-17	74	17
	YCS/Time/CNN	1/31-2/1	70	19
	ABC/WP	2/1-4	77	21
	Gallup	2/8-11	73	16
	YCS/Time/CNN	2/14	76	17
	Wirthlin Group	2/19-21	73	18
	Gallup	3/8-11	68	18
	NBC/WSJ	3/10-13	69	19
	YCS/Time/CNN	3/14	66	21
	Gallup	3/15-18	74	15
	Wirthlin Group	3/19-21	71	20
	CBS/NT	3/30-4/2	72	16
	Gallup	4/5-8	68	16
	YCS/Time/CNN	4/9-10	70	19
	NBC/WSJ	4/11-16	75	15

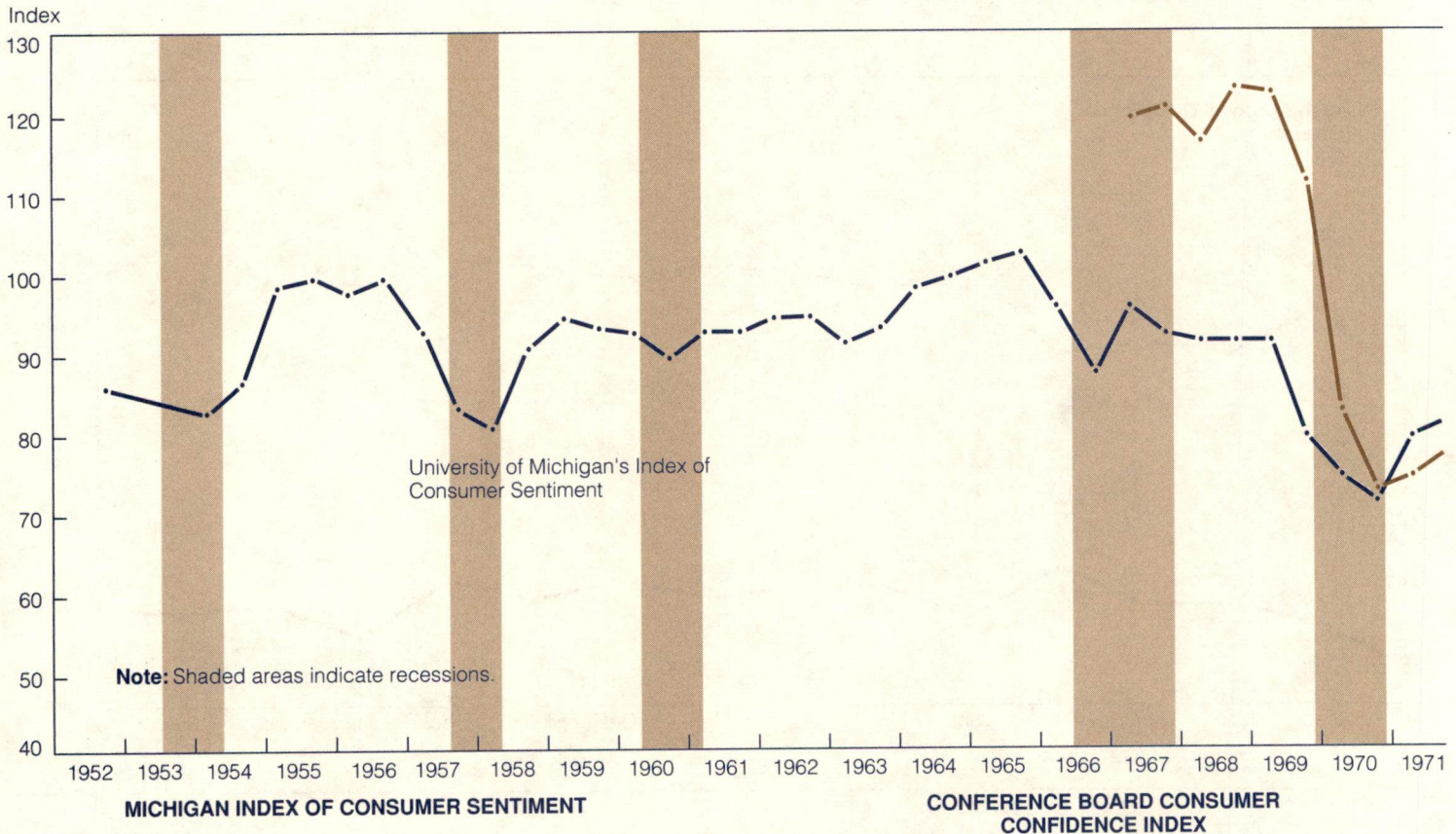
BUSH AND HIS PREDECESSORS

	Month Took Office	After 1st Month	After 15th Month
Truman (4/45)	—	—	43%
Eisenhower (1/53)	—	68%	64*
Kennedy (1/61)	—	—	77
Johnson (11/63)	—	79	69*
Nixon (1/69)	59%	61	56
Ford (8/74)	71	50	41
Carter (1/77)	—	71	41
Reagan (1/81)	51	55	44
Bush (1/89)	51	63	68

Note: * denotes approval rating after 16th month in office.
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of March 30-April 2, 1990.

President Bush continues to enjoy very high overall approval ratings, with seven in ten approving of the job he is doing. He also compares favorably to recent predecessors.

CONSUMER CONFIDENCE: TAKES A LICK



The Index of Consumer Sentiment is a composite number that takes into account the answers to this series of questions:

1. Would you say that you and your family are better off or worse off financially than you were a year ago?
2. Now, looking ahead—do you think that a year from now you and your family will be better off financially, or worse off, or just about the same?
3. Now, turning to business conditions in the country as a whole—do you think that during the next twelve months, we'll have good times financially, or bad times, or what?
4. Looking ahead, which would you say is more likely—that in the country as a whole, we'll have continuous good times during the next five years or so, or that we will have periods of widespread unemployment, or depression, or what?
5. About the big things people buy for their homes—I mean furniture, home furnishings, refrigerator, stove, television, and things like that. In general, do you think now is a good time or a bad time to buy such household items?

Note: For data prior to 1962 the base is Fall 1956 = 100. In 1962 and later years, the base is February 1986 = 100, a date selected because the index value on the old base happened to be 100 in February 1986, thus linking the two sets of data.

Source: Surveys by Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, latest that of March 1-26, 1990.

The Consumer Confidence Index is a composite number that takes into account the answers to this series of questions:

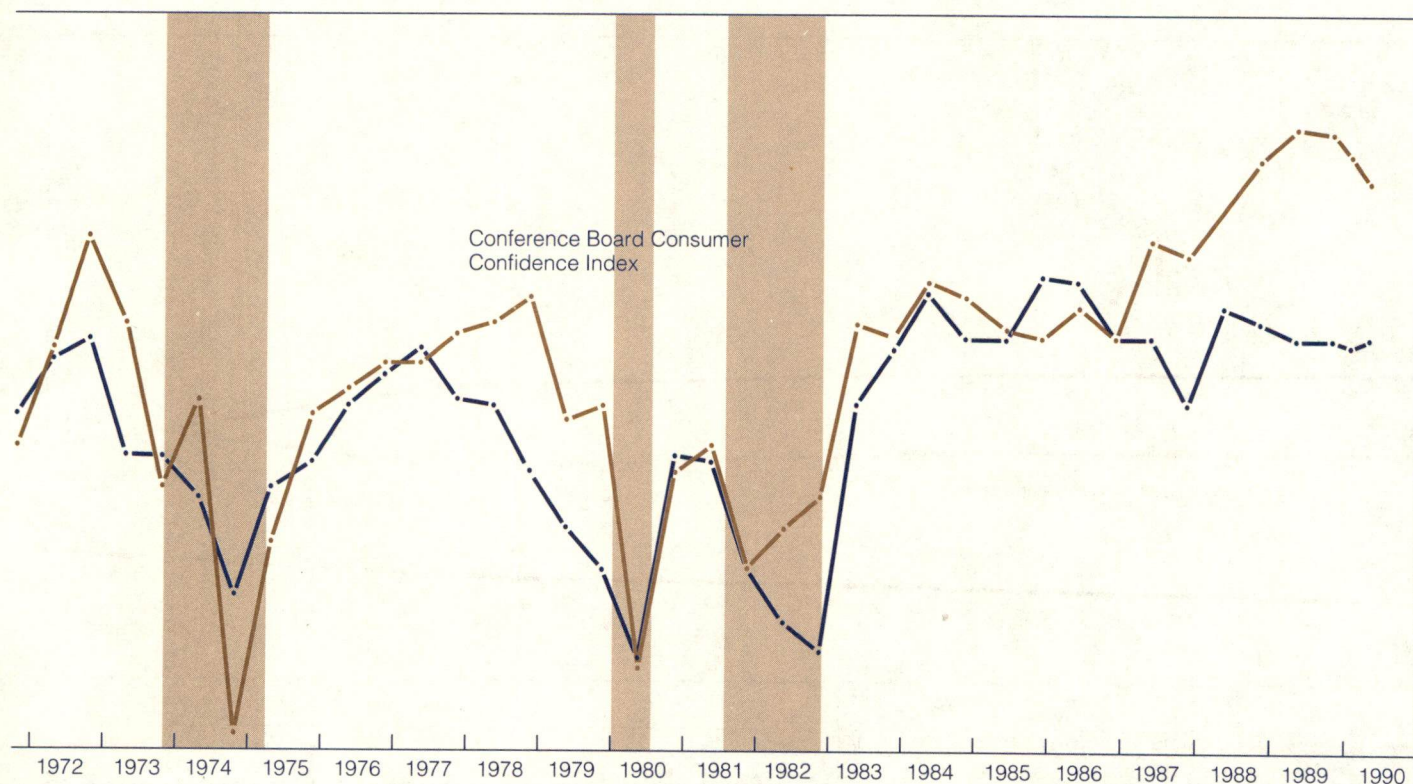
1. How would you rate the present general business conditions in your area? Good, normal, or bad?
2. Six months from now, do you think they will be better, same, or worse?
3. What would you say about available jobs in your area right now? Plenty, not so many, or hard to get?
4. Six months from now, will there be more, same or fewer?
5. How would you guess your total family income to be six months from now? Higher, the same, lower?

Note: Survey is a mail survey. 1985 = 100.

Source: Survey by National Family Opinion, Inc. for the Conference Board, latest that of March 1-23, 1990.

Experts voice many worries about the economy, but the public continues to display high confidence. The most recent confidence index scores are near their record highs.

ING, BUT KEEPS ON TICKING



MICHIGAN INDEX OF CONSUMER SENTIMENT

March 1989	94
April	92
May	91
June	91
July	92
August	90
September	96
October	94
November	91
December	91
January 1990	93
February	90
March	91

CONFERENCE BOARD CONSUMER CONFIDENCE INDEX

March 1989	117
April	117
May	117
June	117
July	120
August	115
September	116
October	117
November	115
December	113
January 1990	107
February	105
March	110

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bush is handling the nation's economy?

Approve of the way Bush is handling the economy
 Disapprove
 Don't Know/No Opinion

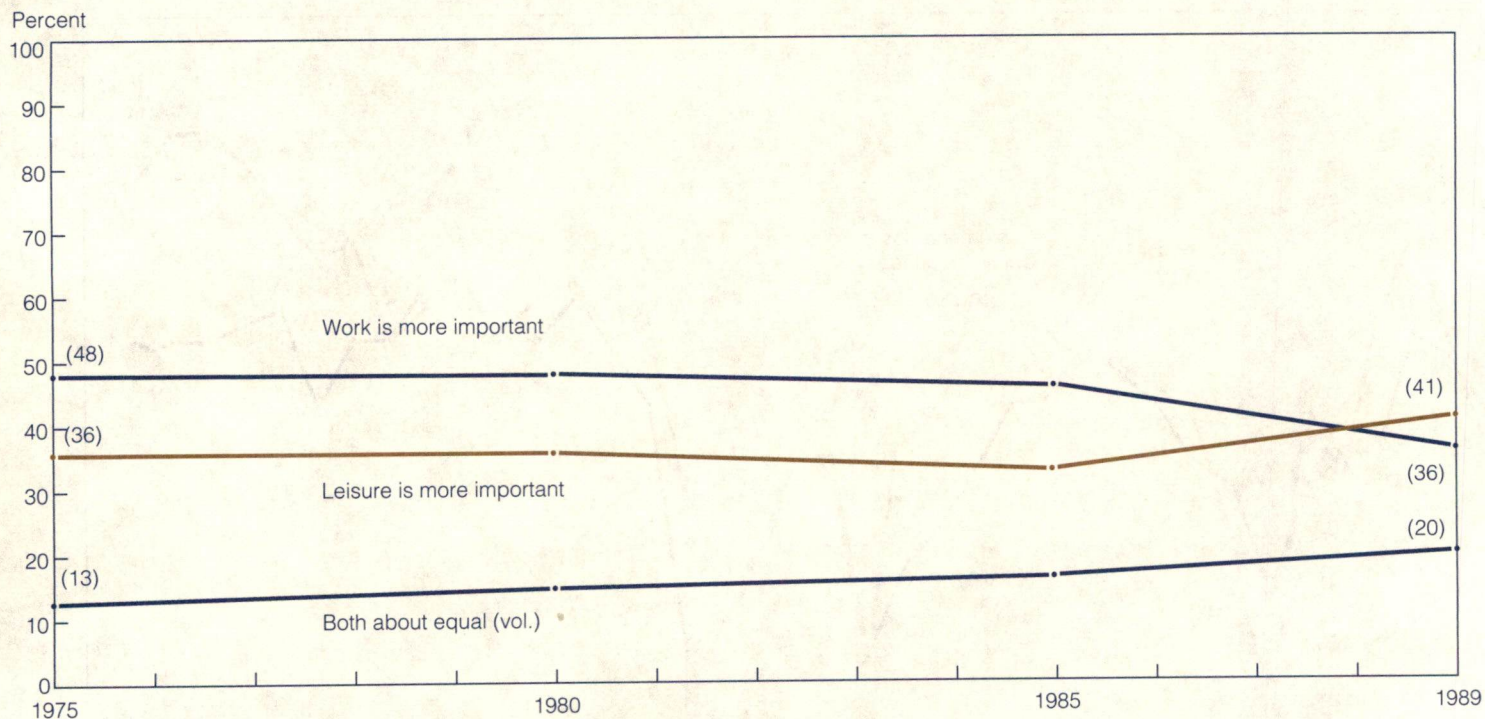
March/April 1989	61%	31%	8%
May	61%	35%	4%
June	61%	34%	5%
August	63%	31%	5%
September/October	64%	31%	5%
January 1990	61%	34%	6%
February	58%	39%	3%

Source: Surveys by ABC News/Washington Post, latest that of February 1-4, 1990.

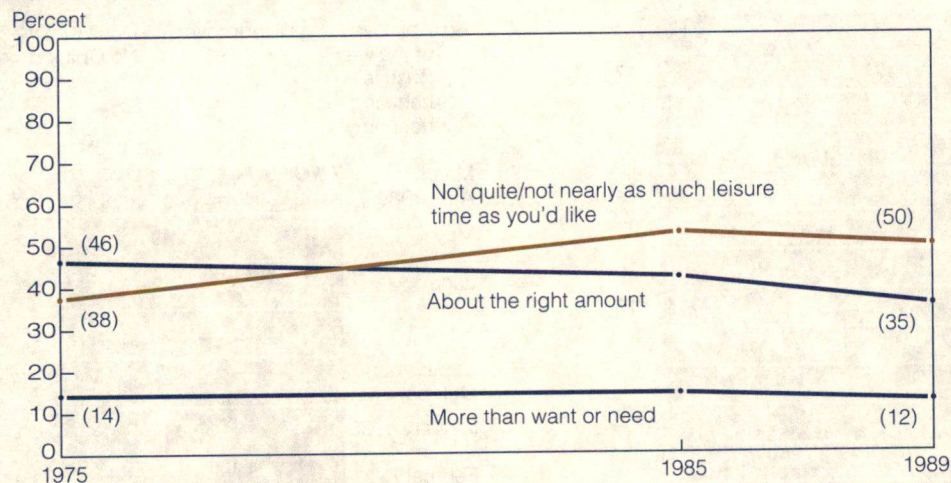
Because the public thinks the economy is in good shape overall, it gives the president solid marks for his performance on economic matters.

LIFE IN THE FAST LANE?

Question: Which way do you tend to look at the relationship between work and leisure time: (Card shown respondent)



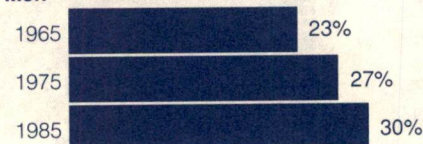
Question: Now, thinking of the amount of leisure time you have to do the things that interest you personally, would you say you have more leisure time than you want or need, or about the right amount of leisure time, or not quite as much as you'd like, or not nearly as much leisure time as you'd like?



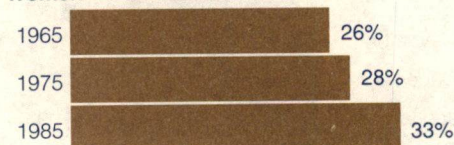
Question: In general, how do you feel about your time—would you say you always feel rushed even to do things you have to do, only sometimes feel rushed, or almost never feel rushed.

Always feel rushed

Men



Women

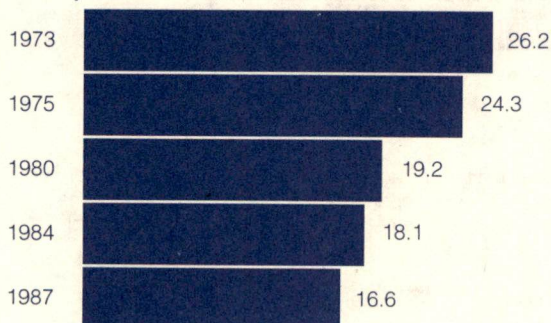


Source: Americans' Use of Time Project, Survey Research Center, University of Maryland, latest that of January 1-December 31, 1985.

Are we tilting toward leisure over work? Some recent data appear to suggest so—but we shouldn't lean too hard on a single survey point.

Question: And about how many hours each week do you estimate you have available to relax, watch television, take part in sports or hobbies, go swimming or skiing, go to the movies, theater, concerts, or other forms of entertainment, get together with friends, and so forth?

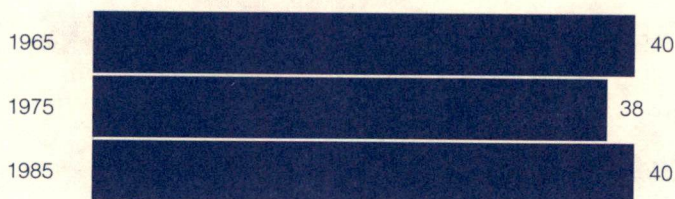
Median number of leisure hours per week



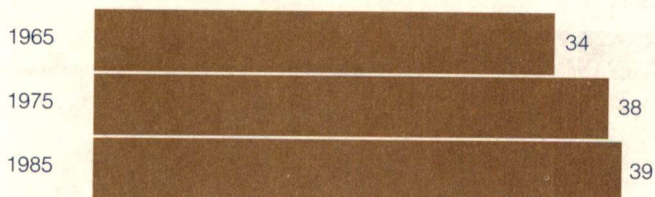
Source: Surveys by Louis Harris and Associates for the National Committee for Cultural Resources, 1975, Philip Morris Companies, Inc., latest that of March 13-April 6, 1987.

**Average hours of free time per week/
time diary method**

Men



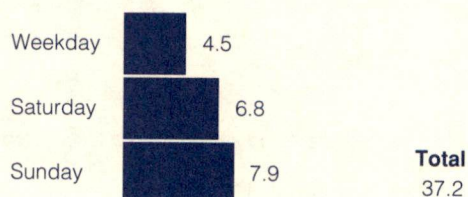
Women



Source: Americans' Use of Time Project, Survey Research Center, University of Maryland, latest that of January 1-December 31, 1985.

Question: About how many hours of leisure time would you say you have on a typical weekday—by that I mean hours when you're free to do what you want to do? And how about on a typical Saturday? And finally Sunday. How many hours of leisure time do you usually have?

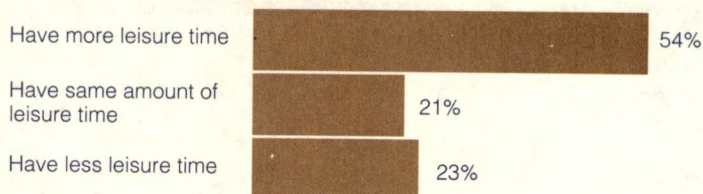
Average hours of leisure



Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 89-10), October 14-20, 1989.

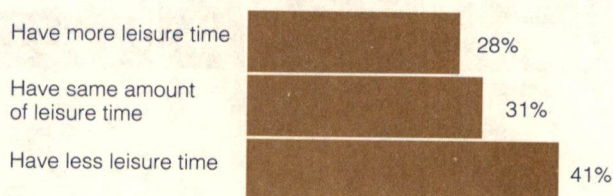
Question: Compared to when your parents were your age, do you think you have more leisure time than your parents, less leisure time, or about the same amount?

Amount of leisure time compared to parents



Question: Compared to five years ago, do you think you have more leisure time today, less leisure time, or about the same amount?

Amount of leisure time compared to five years ago



Source: Survey by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for Time and Cable News Network, April 4-5, 1989.

How much leisure time do we have? It's not surprising that survey measures of leisure time are contradictory—few people bother to add it up, or, when they do, they apply different definitions.

Question: If you had more leisure time than you do, which way would you prefer to spend it: learning more about things that could increase your education and help you in your work; doing things that are just fun and give you pleasure?

If you had more leisure time, would you prefer to spend it ...

	Learning more	Doing things that are just fun	Both (vol.)/ don't know
1975	32%	46%	22%
1985	33%	43%	25%
1989	24%	52%	24%

Source: Surveys by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 89-10), latest that of October 14-20, 1989.

Question: Here is a list of things that people do in their leisure time. (Card shown respondent) Please read down the list and for each one tell me how important it is to you that you do it in your leisure time.

	Very/somewhat important to do in leisure time	Not too/not at all important	Don't know
Spend time with your family	92%	7%	1%
Keep informed about your personal interests	89%	10%	1%
Help other people	83%	16%	1%
Think and reflect	80%	19%	1%
Forget about work or chores	76%	23%	1%
Keep informed about local, national or world events	72%	27%	1%

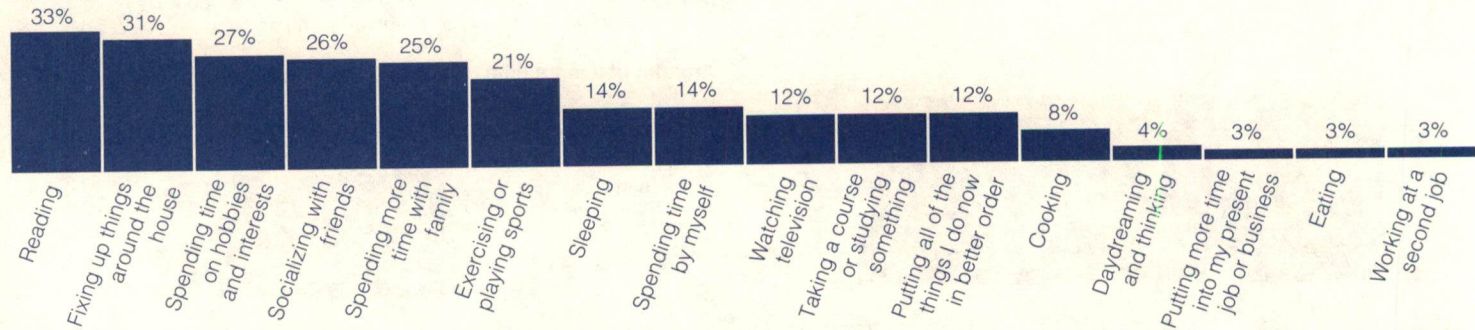
Question: Now, here is a list of things which some people find interfere with their leisure time. (Card shown respondent) For each one please tell me how often it keeps you from doing some leisure-time activities you would really like to do.

	Frequently/sometimes interfere with leisure	Rarely/never	Don't know
Lack of money	69%	30%	1%
Family commitments	59%	40%	1%
Work commitments	51%	49%	1%
Lack of companionship	25%	75%	
Health problems	24%	75%	
Your age	21%	79%	
Fear of crime	18%	81%	1%

Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 89-10), October 14-20, 1989.

Question: I'd like you to imagine a situation in which you had four extra hours every day to do whatever you wanted to do. Which two or three of these things do you think you would do more of with those extra four hours? (Card shown respondent)

With four extra hours every day, would do more...



Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 88-5), April 16-30, 1988.

"Pretty conventional" describes the value choices most Americans make. So it is with regard to what we would do with more leisure time.

6- Polling

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
U.S. NATIONAL SURVEY
June 29 - July 1, 1990

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	From Bob Teeter to POTUS Re: June 29-July 1 National Survey (3 pp.)	7/6/90	P3	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Issues Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Polling (1990) [2]

Open on Expiration of PRA
 (Document Follows)
 By JF (NLGB) on 4/10/08

Date Closed: 12/11/2004	OA/ID Number: 29168-002
FOIA/SYS Case #: 1998-0004-F[1]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #: 2005-0426-S	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM...Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

July 6, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

RE: June 29-July 1 National Survey

FROM: Bob Teeter
Fred Steeper

About half of the electorate are aware of the budget deficit negotiations.

- 49% have read or heard about the budget summit
- 57% have read or heard about your statement concerning the solution to the budget deficit

- 85% of the 57% (or 49% of the total sample) think you said that taxes will have to be raised.

- 74% recall some campaign promise you made; 68% recall you promised not to raise taxes

The immediate public effect of your support for a tax increase is a 6 to 8 point shift from approval to disapproval of your overall job performance. The negative reaction has taken place across all voter groups. Two of the largest shifts have been among groups not part of your basic coalition: lower end white and black voters. Senior citizens also show a greater than average negative change. (Seniors are disproportionately lower end, but their change is actually greater than that of lower end whites in total.) All three of these groups would feel the most economically strapped and are especially sensitive to the potential of a tax increase.

Democrats (related to the preceding demographic relationships) react more unfavorably than Republicans. In an unusual pattern, ticket-splitters, while less positive than before, shift less than the Republicans and Democrats.

Your current rating is still very good with the key groups in your coalition: Republicans (79% approve-15% disapprove), ticket-splitters (68-23), Southern whites (74-20), high income voters (70-24), and middle class voters (68-23).

The major outstanding question is whether or not the negative effect of the tax position will grow. It should not be assumed that this survey measures the full effect of your support for a tax increase as it plays out in the coming months.

When told that the President and Congressional leaders agreed that the solution to the budget deficit would have to include tax revenue increases, major cuts in domestic spending, reduction in

growth of entitlements, cuts in defense spending and budget process reform, 58% said they approved of that statement while 31% disapproved. Among Republicans, approval was 67%, among ticket-splitters it was 60% and 50% of the Democrats approved.

-74% believe the campaign promise was broken by making this statement.

-A majority (61%) said the statement did not change their opinion of you. Eleven percent (11%) said it made their opinion more favorable and 27% said their opinion is now less favorable.

The negotiations have raised the importance of the budget deficit as a national issue. It is now mentioned, unaided, by 33% as the most important problem facing the country, only 3% behind drugs and up from 4th place in the spring.

The number who believe a tax increase will be necessary to reduce the deficit has continued to increase gradually. While the number who would support a tax increase has not changed in the last month, it is up about 5% from the spring.

A negative fallout on the Republican Party has occurred in about the same magnitude as on you personally. During this cycle, the Party has been leading the Democrats on general confidence to handle national problems by an average 11 points. The margin is now 5 points. The Party's average 14 point lead on handling the budget deficit has dropped to 6 points.

Two other key measures show almost no effect: party identifications and generic voting intentions in the U.S. House races. The electorate splits evenly, 45% Republican and 45% Democrat, in their party identifications which is the average for this year. The House generic vote is 38% Republican to 40% Democrat which is within sampling error of the last result measured in March.

CONCLUSIONS

An 8% drop in approval obviously is some cause for concern but certainly doesn't warrant any panic as long as the overall approval is in the mid-60's and your basic coalition is in tact.

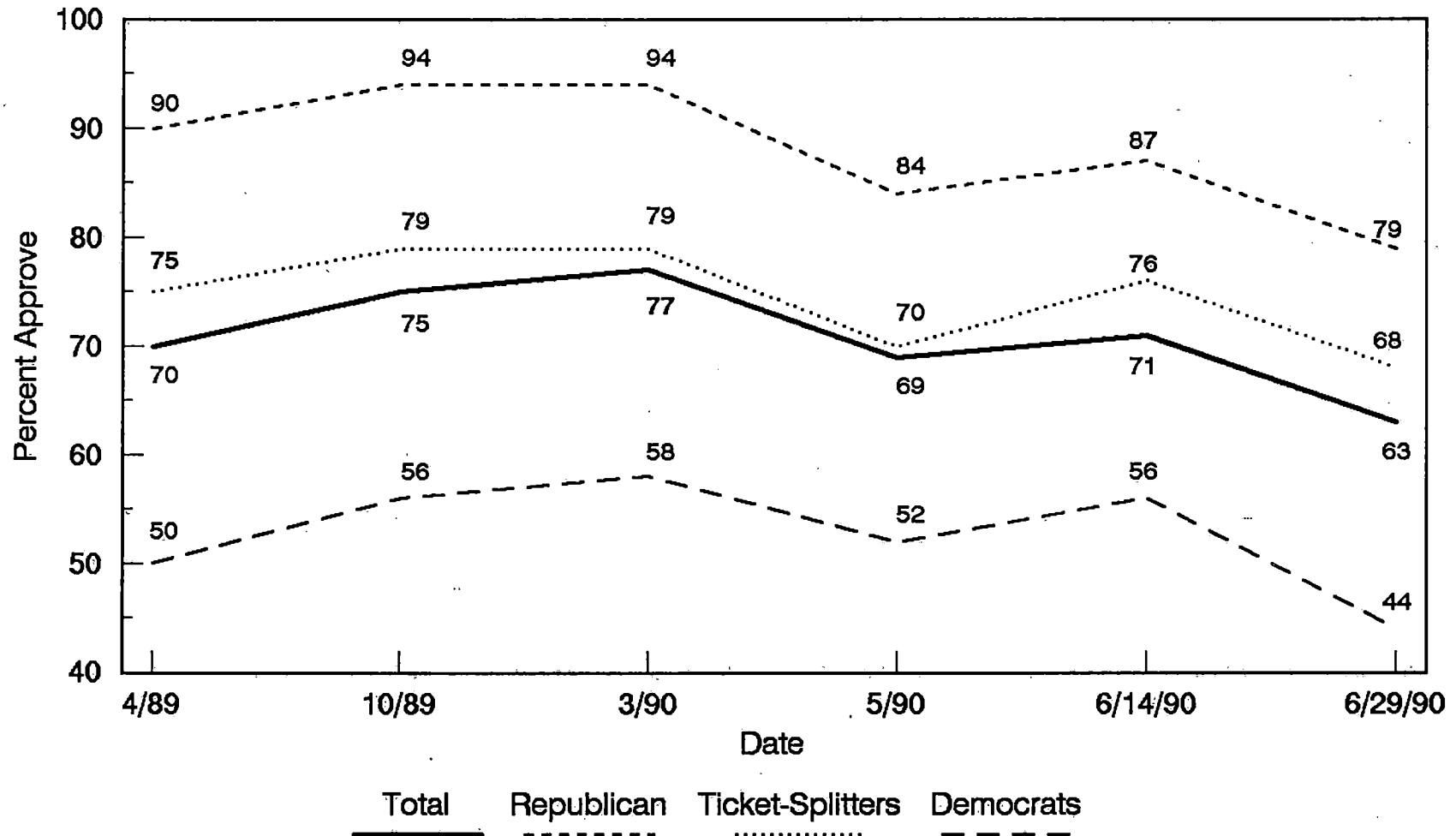
It is clear, however, that the negotiations themselves and your statement have raised the stakes and make a real deal or solution more important. If you fail to get an agreement, you may be able to put the blame on Congress and the Democrats but the President is the face and the voice of government to most people. If the public perceives "they" can't solve the problem, it is the President who may suffer more than the Congress because he is a much more identifiable entity. Additionally, you obviously will have given up your no tax pledge without getting anything in return for it.

Most important in my view is the economic risk of not solving the problem. Your approval ratings have been (and continue to be) incredibly high for a President at this point in his first term. This is the case for three simple but important reasons; the public likes you personally, the public likes your style of leadership, which they see as "real" and honest, and most importantly, the results have been good. Ultimately results will be the key. Anything you do that helps the economy to continue to grow or increases growth will be both good government and good politics.

I think it is very important that two points be made aggressively as you and Congress get back to Washington and the negotiations resume:

1. You supplied the leadership first in starting the negotiations again and now in getting them moving. You aren't getting enough of the upside for what you have done up to now and it should be because of your leadership that a solution is found if one is.
2. You have taken the lead, done your part, and now the ball is in Congress' court. We need to get the press to put some pressure on them to come up with what they are going to do on spending cuts, entitlements and process reform -- the tough parts for them.

Trend in Presidential Job Approval by Voter-type



US National #7
June 29, 1990

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as president?

	Total	Reps	Ticket-Splitters	Dems
June 29, 1990				
Approve	63%	79%	68%	44%
Disapprove	28	15	23	48
DK/NA	9	6	9	8
June 14, 1990				
Approve	71%	87%	76%	56%
Disapprove	21	6	18	34
DK/NA	9	7	6	10
May, 1990				
Approve	69%	84%	70%	52%
Disapprove	22	10	21	38
DK/NA	9	6	9	10
March, 1990				
Approve	77%	94%	79%	58%
Disapprove	17	4	17	35
DK/NA	6	2	4	3
Oct., 1989				
Approve	75%	94%	79%	56%
Disapprove	18	5	15	36
DK/NA	7	1	6	8
April, 1989				
Approve	70%	90%	75%	50%
Disapprove	19	3	14	37
DK/NA	11	7	11	13

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling the economy?

	Total	Reps	Ticket-Splitter	Dems
June 29, 1990				
Approve	48%	64%	48%	37%
Disapprove	35	22	35	51
DK/NA	17	14	16	13
June 14, 1990				
Approve	46%	67%	45%	32%
Disapprove	43	19	43	60
DK/NA	11	12	12	8

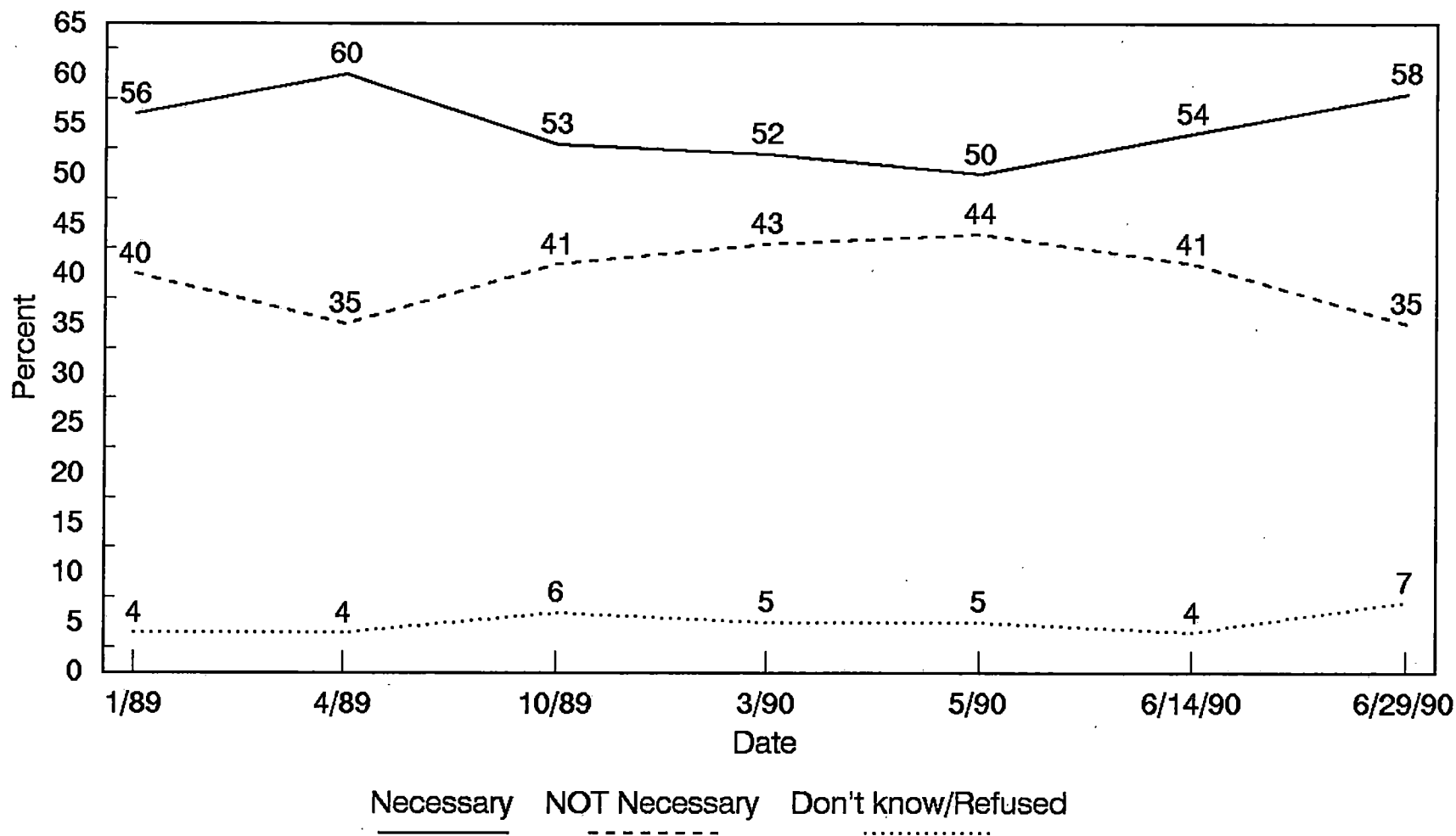
What do you think are the most important problems facing the country at the present time?

(Most frequent responses¹)

	June 29, 1990	June, 1990	Oct., 1989	April, 1989	Jan., 1989
Drugs	36%	56%	57%	31%	19%
Deficit/National Debt	33	14	10	20	32
Homelessness/ street people	25	26	18	16	15
Pollution/ Environment	16	11	7	15	4
Taxes/high taxes	14	2	4	3	3
Crime	11	17	8	8	5
Education	11	13	16	11	7
All Other	44	48	43	61	42
Don't know/NA	6	2	2	5	13

¹ Responses total more than one hundred percent due to multiple answers.

Trend to Perceptions Toward the Necessity for a Tax Increase to Reduce the Deficit

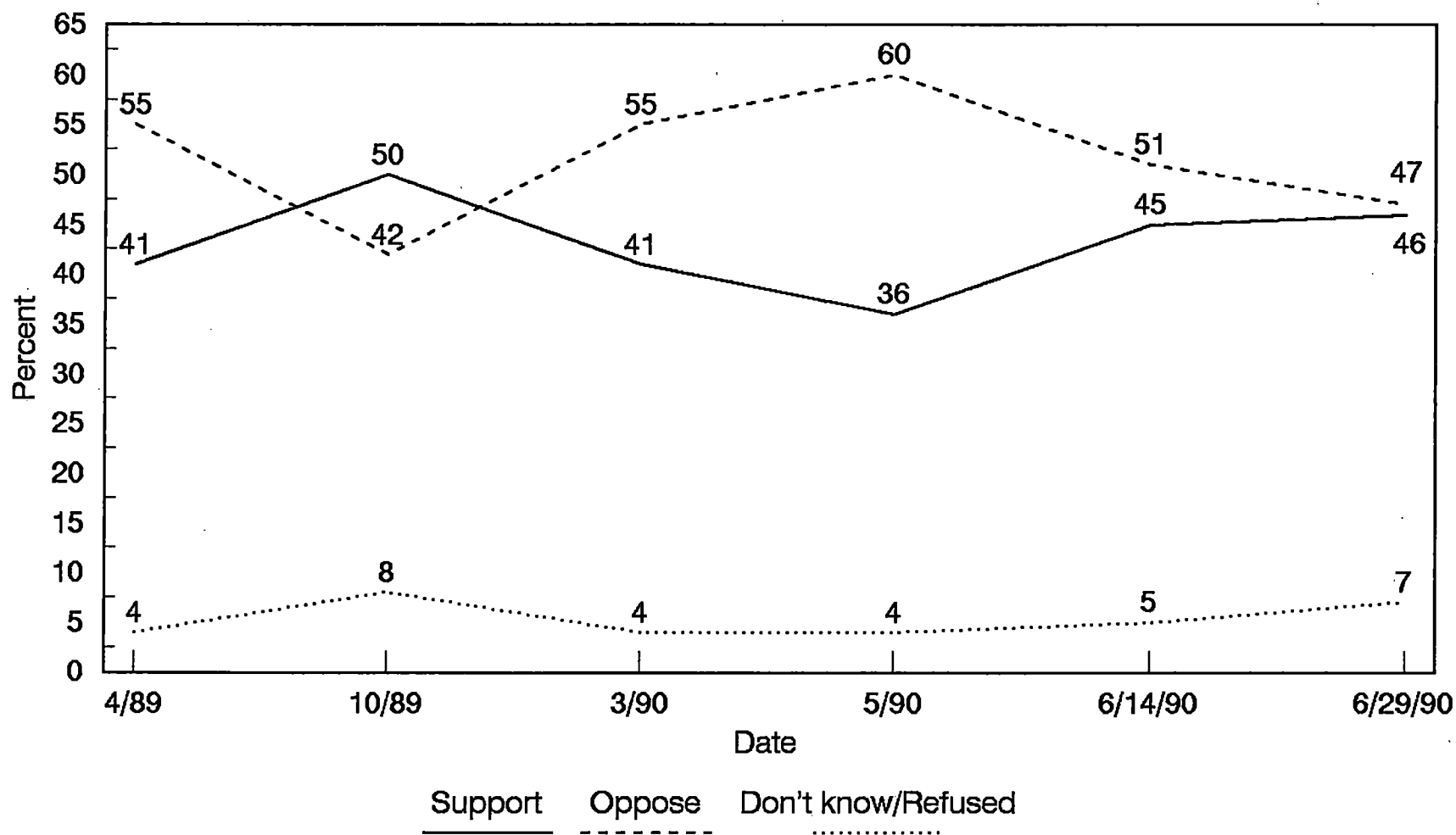


Do you think it will or will not be necessary to have a tax increase in order to reduce the deficit?

Selected Demographics

	Total	Reps	Ticket-Splitter	Dems	High Income	Blacks
June 29, 1990						
Will	58%	60%	61%	58%	70%	55%
Will not	35	32	34	35	26	39
DK/NA	7	8	5	6	5	6
June 14, 1990						
Will	54%	48%	56%	58%	65%	46%
Will not	41	47	41	37	31	49
DK/NA	5	6	3	5	4	5
May, 1990						
Will	50%	51%	50%	52%	52%	46%
Will not	44	44	45	42	46	46
DK/NA	5	5	4	7	2	8
March, 1990						
Will	52%	47%	55%	58%	61%	43%
Will not	43	48	40	39	36	51
DK/NA	5	5	5	4	3	5
October, 1989						
Will	53%	58%	51%	55%	41%	44%
Will not	41	37	44	39	34	41
DK/NA	6	5	5	6	5	15
April, 1989						
Will	60%	56%	58%	66%	70%	52%
Will not	35	38	37	31	28	42
DK/NA	4	5	5	3	3	6
January, 1989						
Will	56%	52%	50%	61%	61%	46%
Will not	40	43	37	36	35	49
DK/NA	4	4	13	4	3	4

Trend to Attitudes Toward a Tax Increase as Part of an Overall Plan to Reduce the Deficit



US National #7
June 29, 1990

Would you support or oppose a tax increase as one part of an overall plan to reduce the deficit?

Selected Demographics

	Total	Reps	Ticket-Splitter	Dems	High Income	Blacks
June 29, 1990						
Support	46%	51%	46%	48%	54%	40%
Oppose	47	41	47	48	43	51
DK/NA	7	9	7	3	3	9
June 14, 1990						
Support	45%	43%	46%	50%	55%	43%
Oppose	51	54	51	46	41	54
DK/NA	4	3	3	4	5	3
May, 1990						
Support	36%	36%	37%	37%	37%	33%
Oppose	60	61	59	60	62	61
DK/NA	4	3	4	3	2	6
March, 1990						
Support	41%	41%	38%	48%	44%	29%
Oppose	55	56	57	48	51	67
DK/NA	5	4	5	4	5	5
October, 1989						
Support	50%	50%	51%	54%	51%	51%
Oppose	42	44	44	39	42	38
DK/NA	8	6	6	7	6	11
April, 1989						
Support	41%	35%	44%	46%	51%	36%
Oppose	55	60	52	52	47	60
DK/NA	4	5	4	2	2	4

Do you think the federal budget deficit should be considered a national crisis that needs a solution very quickly, or do you think it is not quite that serious and just needs to be reduced over the next several years?

	National crisis	Not quite that serious	DK/NA
June 29, 1990	46%	51	3
May, 1990	43%	56	2
October, 1989	33%	62	4

President Bush and Congressional leaders are now meeting to reach agreement on a plan to reduce the budget deficit. How likely do you think it is that they will agree on a plan that will significantly reduce the budget deficit - very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely?

	Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Very Likely	DK/NA
June 29, 1990	11%	41	45	3
June 14, 1990	6%	28	64	2
May, 1990	8%	38	53	1

Do you recall any promises or commitments President Bush made in his 1988 Presidential campaign?

Yes	74%
No	26
Don't know/NA	*

(IF YES) What were they?

Promised not to raise taxes/read my lips	68% ¹
Other	5
Don't Know/NA	1

Have you read or heard about any statement President Bush made recently with regard to the budget deficit and taxes?

Yes	57%
No	41
Don't Know/NA	2

(IF YES) What did he say?

Taxes will have to be increased	49% ²
All other	4
Don't know/NA	5

¹ This result represents those within the total sample who correctly identified the '88 campaign promise. Among those who were aware (74%) of a promise, 93% correctly identified it.

² This result represents those within the total sample who correctly identified the President's statement. Among those who said they were aware (57%) of the statement, 85% correctly identified it.

President Bush said earlier this week that he and the leaders of Congress agreed that a solution to the budget deficit problem would have to include tax revenue increases, major cuts in domestic spending, reduction in the growth of entitlements, cuts in defense spending, and budget process reform. Do you approve or disapprove of the statement President Bush made?

	Total	Republican	Ticket-Splitter	Democrat
Approve	58%	67%	60%	50%
Disapprove	31	24	31	39
Don't Know/NA	11	9	10	11

By making this statement, do you believe the President did or did not break his campaign promise not to raise taxes?

	Total	Republican	Ticket-Splitter	Democrat
Did	74%	65%	74%	84%
Did not	20	29	20	11
Don't know/NA	7	6	7	5

Has this statement made your opinion of President Bush more favorable, less favorable, or not made a difference?

	Total	Republican	Ticket-Splitter	Democrat
More favorable	11%	15%	10%	7%
No difference	61	67	62	52
Less favorable	27	18	27	39
Don't know/NA	1	*	1	1

U.S. National Survey #7

QUESTION RESULTS

June 29, 1990

Q1. 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?

	June 29, 1990	June 14, 1990	May 1990	Mar 1990	Oct. 1989	Apr. 1989	Jan. 1989
Right direction	38%	41%	39%	39%	40%	46%	53%
Wrong Track	54	49	54	54	51	41	37
Don't know	7	8	6	6	8	12	9
Refused/NA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Q2. If the elections for the U.S. House of Representative were being held today, would you be voting for the (ROTATE: Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate) from your district? (IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED:) Which way do you lean as of today -- toward the (ROTATE: Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate)?

	June 29, 1990	March 1990	Oct. 1989	April 1989
Republican candidate	38%	40%	43%	38%
Democratic candidate	40	41	47	46
Don't know	19	16	8	15
Refused/NA	2	2	2	1

Thinking about George Bush...

Q3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?
(IF APPROVE/DISAPPROVE, ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just
somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

	June 29, 1990	June 14, 1990	May 1990	Mar 1990	Oct. 1989	Apr. 1989
Strongly approve	23%	23%	23%	33%	29%	27%
Somewhat approve	40	49	46	44	45	43
Somewhat disapprove	15	13	12	11	10	11
Strongly disapprove	13	8	10	6	8	8
Don't know	8	7	7	5	7	11
Refused/NA	1	1	2	1	1	1
Collapsed						
Approve	63%	71%	69%	77%	75%	70%
Disapprove	28	21	22	17	18	19

Q4A. Why do you approve? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q4B. Why do you disapprove? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Question Results

Q5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling the economy?

	June 29, 1990	June 14, 1990
Approve	48%	46%
Disapprove	35	43
Don't know	15	10
Refused/NA	2	1

For each of the following two descriptions, please tell me which ONE you think is closer to describing George Bush. (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would you say that describes him very well or just somewhat well?

(RANDOMIZE Q6-Q8)

Q6. STRONG OR WEAK

	June 29, 1990	Jan. 1989
STRONG, very well	30%	31%
STRONG, somewhat well	37	37
Neither/Depends (VOLUNTEERED)	6	6
WEAK, somewhat well	17	16
WEAK, very well	7	6
Don't know	3	5
Refused/NA	*	*

Q7. TRUSTWORTHY OR UNTRUSTWORTHY

	June 29, 1990	Jan. 1989
TRUSTWORTHY, very well	40%	35
TRUSTWORTHY, somewhat well	34	38
Neither/Depends (VOLUNTEERED)	3	5
UNTRUSTWORTHY, somewhat well	10	11
UNTRUSTWORTHY, very well	9	7
Don't know	4	5
Refused/NA	1	*

Question Results

Q8. COMPETENT OR INCOMPETENT

	June 29, 1990	Jan. 1989
COMPETENT, very well	47%	42%
COMPETENT, somewhat well	37	39
Neither/Depends (VOLUNTEERED)	3	3
INCOMPETENT, somewhat well	7	8
INCOMPETENT, very well	4	4
Don't know	3	4
Refused/NA	1	*

Now, I'd like to turn to some issues in the country. First...

Q9. What do you think are the most important problems facing the country at the present time? (ASK AS AN OPEN END, MULTIPLE MENTIONS ALLOWED, PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

	June 29, 1990
Drugs	36%
Deficit/National debt	33
Homeless/street people	25
Environment/pollution/toxic waste/hazardous waste	16
Taxes/high taxes	14
Crime	11
Education	11
All other	44
Don't know	6
Refused/NA	*

Q10. 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?

	June 29, 1990	March 1990	Oct. 1989	Apr. 1989	Jan. 1989
Republican Party	37%	41%	38%	43%	47%
Democratic Party	32	29	30	33	33
Both equal (VOL)	9	12	10	8	6
Neither (VOL)	11	10	12	11	10
Don't know	10	8	10	6	4
Refused/NA	1	1	1	1	*

Question Results

Thinking about the country's two political parties...

Here are some issues and problems. For each one, please tell me whether you think (ROTATE: the Republican Party or the Democratic Party) would do a better job of handling it?

	REPUB	DEMO	BOTH NEITHER	DK/ REF	PDI ³
Q15. HOLDING DOWN TAXES					
June 29, 1990	44%	32	16	9	+12
March, 1990	47%	33	11	8	+14
October, 1989	55%	27	8	10	+28
Q14. COMBATTING THE DRUG PROBLEM					
June 29, 1990	37%	25	27	11	+12
March, 1990	42%	26	22	10	+16
October, 1989	41%	28	20	11	+13
April, 1989	43%	31	20	6	+12
January, 1989	38%	32	11	12	+6
Q11. REDUCING THE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT					
June 29, 1990	40%	34	15	10	+6
March, 1990	47%	32	13	8	+15
October, 1989	44%	32	14	10	+12
April, 1989	50%	31	14	6	+19
January, 1989	45%	34	15	6	+11
Q13. IMPROVING PUBLIC EDUCATION					
June 29, 1990	32%	45	14	10	-13
March, 1990	37%	40	15	8	-3
October, 1989	34%	42	15	10	-8
April, 1989	38%	44	13	6	-6
January, 1989	33%	48	13	7	-15
Q12. PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT					
June 29, 1990	28%	46	14	12	-18
March, 1990	26%	49	14	10	-23
October, 1989	26%	47	15	11	-21
April, 1989	31%	50	13	7	-19

³ Republican % minus Democrat %

Question Results

Here are some questions concerning the federal budget deficit...

Q16. Do you think it will or will not be necessary to have a tax increase in order to reduce the deficit?

	June 29, 1990	June 14, 1990	May 1990	Mar 1990	Oct. 1989	Apr. 1989	Jan. 1989
Will be necessary	58%	54%	50%	52%	53%	60%	56%
Will NOT be necessary	35	41	44	43	41	35	40
Don't know	6	4	5	5	6	4	4
Refused/NA	1	*	*	*	*	*	*

Q17. Would you support or oppose a tax increase as ONE part of an overall plan to reduce the federal budget deficit?

	June 29, 1990	June 14, 1990	May 1990	Mar 1990	Oct. 1989	Apr. 1989
Support	46%	45%	36%	41%	50%	41%
Oppose	47	51	60	55	42	55
Don't know	6	4	4	4	7	4
Refused/NA	1	*	*	1	1	*

Q18. Do you think the federal budget deficit should be considered a national crises that needs a solution very quickly, or do you think it is not quite that serious and just needs to be reduced over the next several years?

	June 29, 1990	May 1990	Oct. 1990
National crisis	46%	43%	33%
Not quite that serious	51	56	62
Don't know	3	2	4
Refused/NA	*	--	*

Question Results

Q19. Have you read or heard about a "budget summit" meeting going on between President Bush and leaders of Congress?

	June 29, 1990	June 14, 1990	May 1990
Yes	49%	46%	54%
No	50	54	45
Don't know	1	1	1
Refused/NA	--	*	--

Q20. President Bush and Congressional leaders are now meeting to reach an agreement on a plan to reduce the budget deficit. How likely do think it is that they will agree on a plan that will significantly reduce the budget deficit -- very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely?

	June 29, 1990	June 14, 1990	May 1990
Very likely	11%	6%	8%
Somewhat likely	41	28	38
Not very likely	45	64	53
Don't know	3	2	1
Refused/NA	*	--	*

Q21. Do you recall any promises or commitments President Bush made in his 1988 Presidential campaign?

Yes	74%
No	26
Don't know	*
Refused/NA	*

Q22. (IF YES TO Q21) What were they? (ASK AS AN OPEN END).

Promised not to raise taxes/read my lips	68%
Other	5
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	--

Question Results

Q23. Have you read or heard about any statement President Bush has made recently with regard to the budget deficit and taxes?

Yes	57%
No	41
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	--

Q24. (IF YES TO Q24) What did he say? (ASK AS AN OPEN END).

Taxes will have to be increased	49%
All other	4
Don't know	5
Refused/NA	*

Q25. President Bush said earlier this week that he and the leaders of Congress agreed that a solution to the budget deficit problem would have to include tax revenue increases, major cuts in domestic spending, reduction in the growth of entitlements, cuts in defense spending, and budget process reform. Do you approve or disapprove of the statement President Bush made?

Approve	58%
Disapprove	31
Don't know	10
Refused/NA	1

Q26. By making this statement, do you believe the President did or did not break his campaign promise not to raise taxes?

Did	74%
Did not	20
Don't know	5
Refused/NA	2

Q27. Has this statement made your opinion of President Bush more favorable, less favorable, or not made a difference?

More favorable	11%
No difference	61
Less favorable	27
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	*

Question Results

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes...

(PARTYID) Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent or what?

(INTENSE) Would you call yourself a strong (Rep/Dem) or a not very strong (Rep/Dem)?

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

Strong Republican	14%
Weak Republican	19
Independent Republican	16
Independent	6
Independent Democrat	14
Weak Democrat	16
Strong Democrat	15
Not Ascertained	--

(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 THRU 7/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

Straight Democratic	11%
Mostly Democratic	16
A few more Democrats than Republicans	10
About equally for both parties	20
A few more Republicans than Democrats	10
Mostly Republican	16
Straight Republican	8
Other	1
Never voted	5
Don't know	2
Refused	*

(BIRTH) In what year were you born?

18-24	15%
25-34	24
35-44	20
45-54	14
55-64	12
65+	16

Question Results

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

Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)	4%
Some high school (Grade 9-11)	9
Graduated high school	35
Vocational school/Technical school	3
Some college-2 years or less	18
Some college-more than 2 years	8
Graduated college	17
Post-graduate work	8
Refused	*

(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?

Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.)	52%
Roman Catholic	25
Jewish	2
Other Christian	12
Other non-Christian/Unspecified	3
Agnostic/Atheist	1
None	3
Don't know	1
Refused	1

(INCOME) Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1989 before taxes? (Just stop me when I read the correct category)

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

Question Results

(RACE) Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?

White	81%
Black	12
Hispanic/Spanish American/Chicano	4
Oriental	1
American Indian	1
Other	1
Not ascertained	1

Sex: (BY OBSERVATION)

Male	47%
Female	53

Question Results

1990

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 29, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS *el*
SUBJECT: COMPARATIVE POLL

I thought the attached might interest you.

Gallup's May data reflected the following:

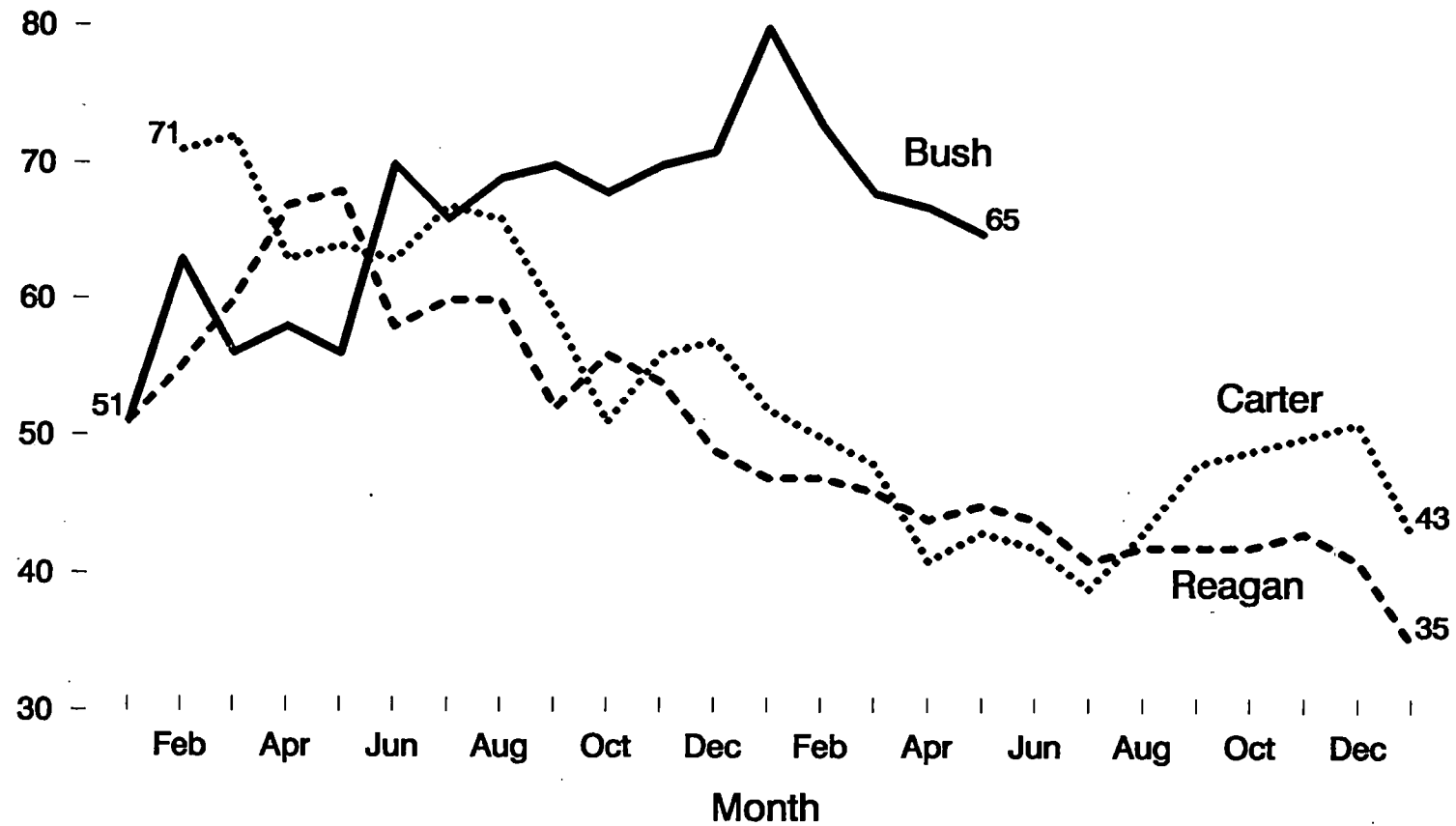
Approval	65%
Disapproval	20%
No Opinion	15%.

FYI.

Comparative Presidential Job Approval

Through Second Year in Office

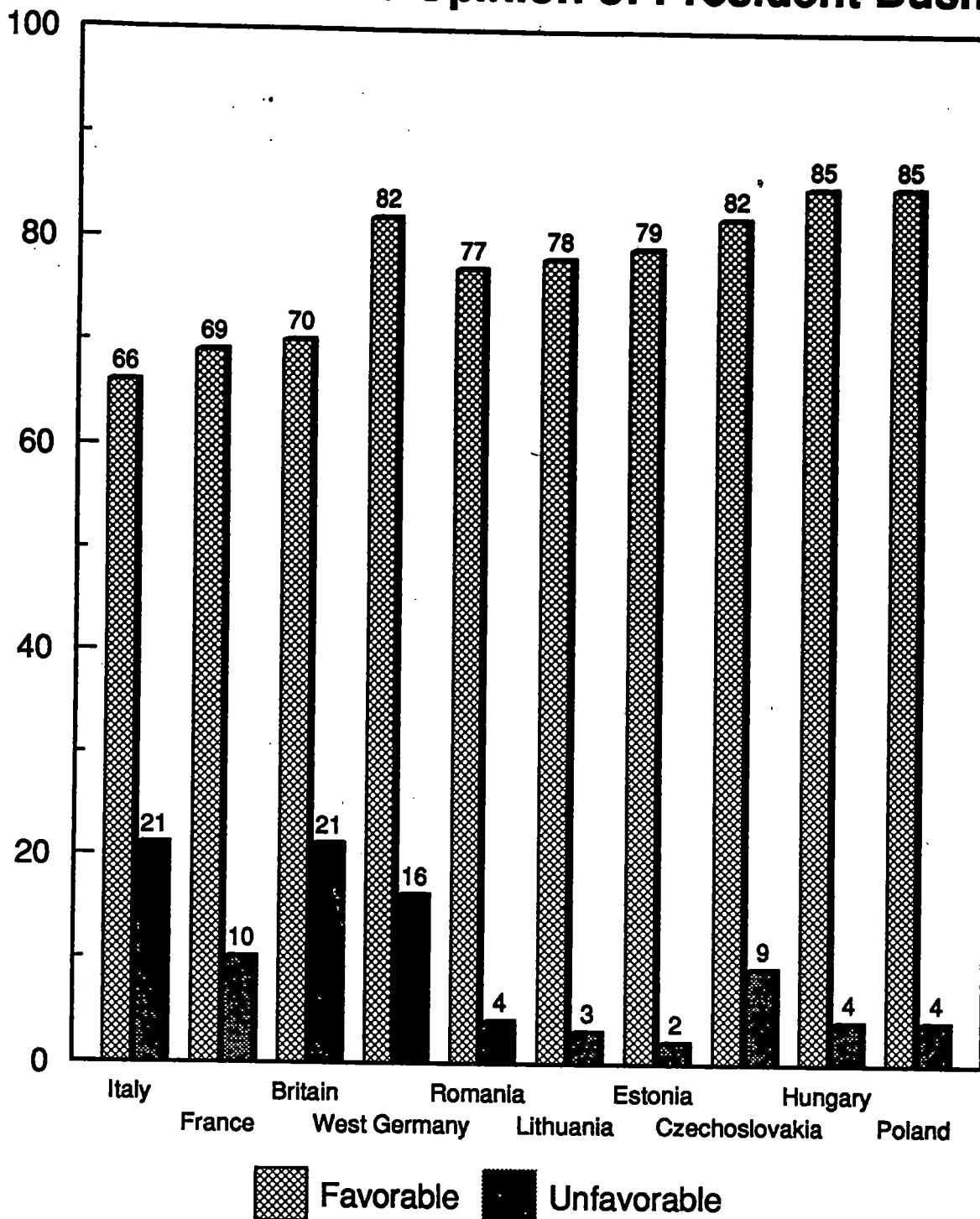
Percent Approval



Source: Gallup Organization
RNC Survey Research

Graph 2

Percent Favorable Opinion of President Bush



Question: "I would like to ask your opinion of some leaders."

Fieldwork: Czechoslovakia 4/90, Poland 4/90, Hungary 2/90, Romania 4/90
 Estonia 11/89, Lithuania 11/89, West Europe 4/90

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

June 25, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS *ER*
SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF RECENT POLLING DATA

I. Presidential/Congressional Job Approval

- o The President remains very popular: 71% approve of the way he's handling the job, 21% disapprove. These figures have remained relatively constant since April, 1989.
- o 42% approve of the way Congress is performing, while 44% disapprove. In April, 1989, the numbers were 50% approval and 38% disapproval.

II. The Economy

- o 46% approve of the way the President is handling the economy - 43% disapprove. This is the highest disapproval rating since the election.
- o Of those who disapprove of Bush's handling of the Presidency overall, the biggest block is 15% who "believe he could do a better job". These are probably partisan Democrats and can be discounted. The next six highest reasons for disapproval (total of 53%) are based on economic conditions ranging from unemployment to the belief that the economy is simply getting worse.
- o Only 3% blame the President for the S&L problem, 28% blame the Reagan Administration, 11% - Democrats in Congress, and 52% - the managers of the S&Ls.

III. Taxes

- o 54% believe a tax increase is necessary to reduce the deficit. 41% believe it is not necessary to raise taxes.

- o 45% to 51% of the public oppose a tax increase as "one part of an overall plan to reduce the deficit".
- o If a tax increase were "absolutely necessary":
 - 66% to 35% support raising the top rate from 28% to 33% for all taxpayers;
 - 61% to 28% support a less-than-one percent tax on all stock transactions;
 - 58% to 40% support a one percent sales tax; ✓
 - 33% to 64% oppose a BTU tax; and ✓
 - 17% to 81% oppose a 12 cent/gallon increase in the gasoline tax. ✓
- o People prefer a stock transfer tax to a BTU tax, 71% to 18%. ✓
- o 58% believe Congress has the responsibility to make the "first concrete proposal" to reduce the deficit. 37% believe the President has this responsibility. ✓
- o By 69% to 24% the public prefers that Congress and the President reach a deficit reduction plan that increases taxes and cuts spending vs. reaching no agreement at all. ✓

IV. Foreign Policy/Gorbachev Summit

- o By 65% to 24%, the public approves of the way the President is handling foreign policy.
- o 25% believe the Gorbachev Summit was a major success while 64% believe it was a minor success and 4% believe it was a failure.
- o 38% believe the President did a better job than Gorbachev at the Summit, while 22% believe Gorbachev did better.
- o 62% to 30% believe the Gorbachev Summit did result in "substantial accomplishments".
- o By 85% to 11%, people support the President's actions to allow greater trade with the Soviet Union.
- o 42% to 50% of the people disapprove of President Bush "continuing to give China the same trading rights with us as we give our traditional trading partners".

**U.S. National Survey
Question Results
June 14, 1990**

***Q1.** 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?

	June 1990	May 1990	March 1990	Oct. 1989	April 1989	Jan. 1989
Right Direction	42%	41%	39%	40%	46%	53%
Wrong Track	48	49	54	51	41	37
Don't know	8	8	6	8	12	9
Refused	1	1	1	1	1	1

***Q2.** Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?
(WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

	June 1990	May 1990	March 1990	Oct. 1989	April 1989
Strongly approve	23% ⁷²	23% ⁶⁹	33% ⁷⁷	29% ⁷⁴	27% ⁷⁰
Somewhat approve	49	46	44	45	43
Somewhat disapprove	13	12	11	10	11
Strongly disapprove	8 ²¹	10 ²²	6 ¹⁷	8 ¹⁸	8 ¹⁹
Don't know	7	7	5	7	11
Refused	1	2	1	1	1

Collapsed Codes

Total Approve	71	69%	77%	74%	70%
Total Disapprove	21	22	17	18	19

Q3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling foreign affairs?

	June 1990
Approve	65%
Disapprove	24
Don't know	10
Refused/NA	1

Q4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling the economy?

	June 1990
Approve	46%
Disapprove	43
Don't know	10
Refused/NA	1

Q5A. Why do you approve?

<u>Selected Responses</u>	June 1990
Doing a good job	18%
Things are going fine	15
Economy is OK	6
Unemployment improved	5
No high inflation	5
Hasn't raised taxes	5
Congress/Senate also responsible	5
Doing alright personally	5
Trying to balance budget/Reduce deficit	3
Improved foreign trade	2
Interest rates are good	2

Q5B. Why do you disapprove?

Selected ResponsesJune
1990

Could do better	15%
Unemployment	13 vs. 5
Taxes are too high	11 vs. 5
Needs to reduce deficit/Balance budget	8 vs. 2
Inflation is going up	8 vs. 5
Savings and Loan	7
Economy getting worse	6 vs. 6
Not helping the poor	6
Not helping the homeless	6
Cutting social programs	5
Too much defense spending	4
More money for education	4
Need to cut foreign aid	3
Need fair trade policy	3
Stand on minimum wage	2

*Q6. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

	June 1990	May 1990	March 1990	Oct. 1989	April 1989
Strongly approve	6%	5%	8%	9%	7%
Somewhat approve	36	36	40	42	43
Somewhat disapprove	23	24	22	17	20
Strongly disapprove	21	26	18	17	18
Don't know	12	9	11	14	10
Refused	1	1	1	1	1

Collapsed Codes

Total Approve	42	41%	48%	51%	50%
Total Disapprove	44	50	40	34	38

Now, I'd like to turn to some issues in the country. First...

*Q7. Of the following six issues, which ONE do you think needs the greatest attention from the federal government at the present time?

*Q8. Which one would you choose second?

	Combined 1st/2nd	First Mention	Second Mention
Combating the drug problem			
June 1990	44%	21%	23%
May 1990	46%	22%	23%
Improving public education			
June 1990	38	18	20
May 1990	34	17	18
Reducing the federal budget deficit			
June 1990	35	22	13
May 1990	37	25	12
Providing housing for the homeless			
June 1990	32	17	16
May 1990	37	15	21
Protecting the environment			
June 1990	28	13	15
May 1990	30	14	16
Becoming more economically competitive with Japan and Europe in world trade			
June 1990	20	8	11
May 1990	-	-	-
Don't know			
June 1990	1	1	1
May 1990	2	1	*
Refused			
June 1990	*	*	*
May 1990	1	*	*

Q9. Thinking about a year from now, do you think the national economy will be better, worse, or about the same as now?

	June 1990
Better	16%
About the same	53
Worse	28
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	*

Q10. Which do you think is the greatest threat to our national economy over the next several years: (ROTATE: the federal budget deficit or economic competition from Japan and Europe)?

	June 1990
The federal budget deficit	45%
Economic competition from Japan and Europe	45
Both equal (VOLUNTEERED)	6
Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	2
Don't know	2
Refused	*

Here are some questions concerning the federal budget deficit...

*Q11. Do you think it will or will not be necessary to have a tax increase in order to reduce the deficit?

	June 1990	May 1990	March 1990	Oct. 1989	April 1989	Jan. 1989
Will be necessary	54%	50%	52%	53%	60%	56%
Will not be necessary	41	44	43	41	35	40
Don't know	4	5	5	6	4	4
Refused	*	*	*	*	*	*

*Q12. Would you support or oppose a tax increase as ONE part of an overall plan to reduce the federal budget deficit?

	June 1990	May 1990	March 1990	Oct. ¹ 1989	April 1989
Support	45%	36%	41%	50%	41%
Oppose	51	60	55	42	55
Don't know	4	4	4	7	4
Refused	*	*	1	1	*

¹Actual question wording for October 1989: Another way to reduce the deficit is to cut government spending. Some people say that spending reductions should be done across the board so no one groups suffers more than the others. Others say spending reductions should cut some programs more than others because some needs are more important. Which do you favor—cutting programs across the board or cutting some programs more than others?

*Q13. The government can reduce the deficit by reducing spending, by raising taxes, or by a combination of spending cuts and tax increases. Which of the following answers best describes how you think the government should reduce the deficit (READ CODES 1 THRU 5 TOP TO BOTTOM AND BOTTOM TO TOP)

	June 1990	May 1990
Entirely by spending reductions	24%	21%
Mostly by spending reductions	30	31
About equally by spending reductions and tax increases	37	36
Mostly by tax increases	4	6
Entirely by tax increases	2	3
Don't know	3	3
Refused	*	1

Collapsed Codes

Spending Reductions	54
Tax Increases	6

Assume for a moment that it became absolutely necessary to have a tax increase to reduce the deficit. Here are several possible taxes and for each one, please tell me if you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose it as part of an overall plan of spending cuts and tax increases, if that were the ONLY tax increase that was included in the plan?

	Str. sup	Some sup	Some opp	Str. opp	DK/Ref	Total sup	Total opp
Q15. Raise the income tax on high income taxpayers from 28 percent to 33 percent.	40%	22	15	20	3	62%	35
Q17. A stock transfer tax of less than one percent on all stock transactions.	27%	34	14	14	12	60%	28
Q14. A one percent national sales tax.	22%	36	14	26	2	58%	39
Q18. A BTU tax which would be a tax on the energy content of all fuels -- It would result in a two percent increase in the price of all energy including electricity, natural gas, gasoline, and coal; and would, for example, mean a three cent increase in the price of a gallon of gasoline.	11%	22	19	45	2	33%	64
Q16. A twelve cent per gallon increase in the gasoline tax.	6%	11	17	64	1	17%	81

Q19. If the choice were between the BTU tax which would add about two percent to the price of all energy or the stock transfer tax of less than one percent on all stock transactions, which one would you choose?

June 1990

BTU tax	18%
Stock transfer tax	71
Both equal (VOLUNTEERED)	1
Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	4
Don't know	6
Refused/NA	*

***Q20.** Have you read or heard about a "budget summit" meeting going on between President Bush and leaders of Congress?

	June 1990	May 1990
Yes	46%	54%
No	54	45
Don't know	1	1
Refused	-	-

***Q21.** President Bush and Congressional leaders are now meeting to reach an agreement on a plan to reduce the budget deficit. How likely do think it is that they will agree on a plan that will significantly reduce the budget deficit - very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely?

	June 1990	May 1990
Very likely	6%	8%
Somewhat likely	28	38
Not very likely	64	53
Don't know	2	1
Refused	-	*

Q22. Who do you think has the responsibility to make the first concrete proposal on a plan to reduce the deficit - (ROTATE: President Bush or the Congressional leaders)?

June
1990

President Bush	37%
Congressional leaders	58
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	1

Q23. Which ONE of these TWO choices on the outcome of the budget summit meeting would you prefer?

June
1990

Congress and the President reached an agreement on a deficit reduction plan that included a tax increase and spending cuts.	69%
---	-----

Congress and the President did NOT reach an agreement on a deficit reduction plan so taxes were not increased and spending was not cut.	24
---	----

Don't know	6
Refused/NA	1

On another issue: the burning of the American flag...

Q58. Do you favor or oppose a CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT that would make it ILLEGAL to destroy the American flag as a form of political protest?

	June 1990
Favor	62%
Oppose	34
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	1

Thinking back to the recent summit meeting between President Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev...

***Q59.** Would you say that the summit meeting was a major success, minor success, or a failure?

	June 1990
Major success	25%
Minor success	64
Failure	4
Don't know	6
Refused/NA	1

Q60. Who do you think did the better job at the summit meeting - (ROTATE: President Bush or President Gorbachev)?

	June 1990
President Bush	38%
President Gorbachev	22
Both equal (VOLUNTEERED)	19
Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	4
Don't know	16
Refused/NA	1

Q61. Do you think the meetings between Bush and Gorbachev did or did not result in any substantial accomplishments?

	June 1990
Did	62%
Did not	30
Don't know	7
Refused/NA	1

Q62. Do you approve or disapprove of President Bush's decision to allow more economic trade between the United States and the Soviet Union?

	June 1990
Approve	85%
Disapprove	11
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	*

Q63. Do you approve or disapprove of President Bush's decision to continue giving China the same trading rights with us as we give our traditional trading partners?

	June 1990
Approve	42%
Disapprove	50
Don't know	7
Refused/NA	1

Thinking about the financial problems with Savings and Loans Institutions...

Q64. Which ONE of the following FOUR do you think is most to blame for the financial problems with the Savings and Loans Institutions?

	June 1990
The Bush Administration	3%
The previous Reagan administration	28
The Democrats who control Congress	11
The managers and owners of the Savings and Loans	52
Don't know	6
Refused/NA	1

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Memo w/ attachment	From Ed Rogers to John Sununu Re: Poll Update (with polling data attached - some annotated) (6 pp.)	05/23/90	P5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Issues Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Polling (1990) [2]

Document Declassified
(Document Follows)
 By SP (NLGB) on 12/10/99

Date Closed: 12/11/2004	OA/ID Number: 29168-002
FOIA/SYS Case #: 1998-0004-F[1]	Appeal Case #: 2000-0309-A-05
Re-review Case #: 2005-0426-S	Appeal Disposition: Released in Full
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date: 12/10/1999
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or
 financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President
 and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of
 personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an
 agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial
 information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of
 personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement
 purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of
 financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ED ROGERS *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: POLL UPDATE

The attached poll will be reported out on NBC News tonight as well as in the Wall Street Journal tomorrow. Judging from the questions, I expect a pretty negative analysis.

It will be interesting to see how they report on question 28c.

Now, I'd like to ask you some questions about the federal budget and taxes.

24. From what you have seen and read recently, how likely do think it is that federal taxes will have to be raised this year--very likely, somewhat likely, not that likely, or not likely at all?

Very likely 51 [1107] 39
 Somewhat likely 38
 Not that likely 6
 Not likely at all 4
 Not sure 1

- 25a. One of President Bush's promises was that he would not raise taxes. Do you think he should keep that promise, or do you think conditions have changed and there are some things for which he should now support a tax increase?

	5/90	4/90	11/89	
Should not raise taxes	48	67	65	[108]
Should raise taxes	48	30	38	
Not sure	4	4	7	

- 25b. From what you have seen and read recently, do you feel that President Bush is breaking his pledge of "no new taxes?"

Yes 51 [109]
 No 42
 Not sure 7

- 26a. If President Bush and the leaders of both parties in Congress support a proposal that would cut defense spending, freeze most other governmental programs, including Social Security benefits, and increase taxes to drastically cut the federal budget deficit during the next four years, would you favor or oppose this proposal?

Favor 36 [110]
 Oppose 56
 Not sure 5

- 26b. If the choice comes down to the following options, which would you prefer--living with the current federal budget deficit or raising taxes?

Living with the current federal budget deficit 43 [111]
 Raising taxes 49
 Not sure 8

- 26c. If taxes are raised, who do you think will be mostly to blame--the administration of President Bush, the administration of Former President Reagan, or the Democrats in Congress?

The administration of President Bush 16 [112]
 The administration of Former President Reagan 36
 Democrats in Congress 30
 All equally (VOL) 10
 None of them (VOL) 3
 Not sure 5

Study 4006--page 18

27a. Let us suppose the government needed to raise taxes. For each of the following, please tell me if you would favor or oppose raising that tax. (READ AND ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure	
Raising the tax on gasoline.	44	55	1	[115] -11
January 1990.	25	72	2	-46
Increasing the income tax rates for Individuals.	27	70	3	[116] -43
January 1990.	17	79	4	-62
Enacting a national sales tax.	43	54	3	[117] -11
January 1990.	31	65	4	-34
Raising alcohol and tobacco taxes	83	16	1	[118] +67
January 1990.	78	20	2	+58
Raising the capital gains tax rate on the sale of stocks, bonds, and real estate.	49	47	4	[119] +2
January 1990.	42	52	6	+10

27b. Let us suppose that in order to reduce the federal budget deficit some taxes had to be raised, and the choice came down to increasing the income tax rate for upper income earners or increasing the tax on gasoline. Which would you favor--increasing the income tax rate for upper income earners or increasing the tax on gasoline?

Increasing the income tax rate for upper income earners.	68	[120]
Increasing the tax on gasoline. ...	28	-5
Raise both taxes (VOL).	2	
Not sure.	2	

28a. If taxes had to be raised, who do you trust more to make the right decisions about which taxes should be raised--President Bush or the Democrats in Congress?

President Bush.	43	[121]
Democrats in Congress.	43	
Both the same (VOL).	4	
Neither (VOL).	7	
Not sure.	3	

28b. If President Bush agrees to go along with a federal budget deficit reduction proposal that includes a tax increase, would you feel that he has broken his promise of "no new taxes," or not?

Yes, broken his promise.	56	[122]
No, not broken his promise.	37	
Depends (VOL).	4	
Not sure.	3	

Study 4006--page 16

26c. If President Bush agrees to go along with a federal budget deficit reduction proposal that includes a tax increase, would you think more of him, less of him, or would it make no difference in how you feel about him?

Would think more of him	12	[123]
Would think less of him	17	
Would make no difference	69	
Not sure	2	

PRE-SUMMIT RATINGS OF GORBACHEV

- Gorbachev's favorable/unfavorable ratings are unchanged from a year ago (71% favorable/18% unfavorable) suggesting no backlash from the Baltics.
- When asked whether U.S. policy should aim to keep Gorbachev in power, the public split:

Of the following two statements, which one best describes your view of what American policy towards the Russians should be?

The U.S. should help stabilize the situation in Russia so that Gorbachev stays in power 44

The situation in Russia is too unstable and we should not have a policy designed to keep any one person in power 46

- American pessimism regarding Gorbachev's ability to reform the Soviet economy is on the rise among all sub-groups although most continue to believe that he will remain in power for some time.

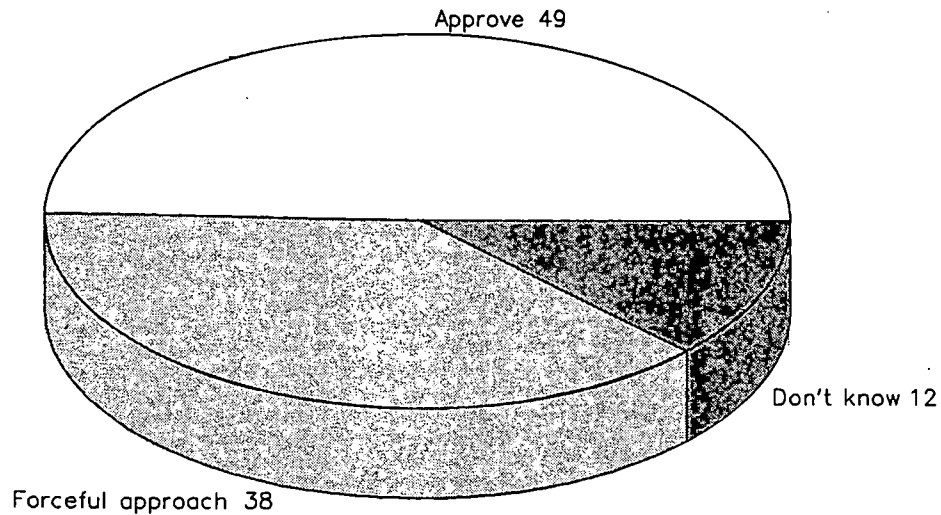
Of the following three statements about Mikhail Gorbachev, which one comes closest to your opinion?

	Dec '89	May '90
<i>Gorbachev will most likely be successful in reforming the Soviet economy and remain in power for some time.</i>	48	34
<i>Gorbachev will most likely be unsuccessful in reforming the Soviet economy, but will probably remain in power for some time anyway.</i>	35	39
<i>Gorbachev will most likely be unsuccessful in reforming the Soviet economy, and, consequently, will not remain in power much longer.</i>	11	17

Comment: *In view of the general hands-off attitude towards Lithuania observed in other surveys and the declining expectations about his success, the 44% of the people who feel U.S. policy should be to help keep Gorbachev in power is high.*

POLICY TOWARDS CHINA

And regarding our policy in China, President Bush has pursued a policy of patience with Chinese leaders rather than threaten them with economic sanctions. Do you approve of this policy or do you feel we should use a more forceful approach?



- Strongest approval comes from men over 45 (59%), Republicans (56%), those who view themselves as somewhat conservative (56%), and those who think the economy has improved in the last year (61%).
- Most likely to support a more forceful approach include those between the ages of 18 and 24 (51%) and liberals (44%).
- Democrats are evenly split over which policy should be pursued (43% support the Bush policy of patience, 43% support a more forceful approach). Republicans are more likely to support the Bush (56% for patience, 33% for a more forceful approach), as are Independents (50% for patience, 38% for more forceful approach).

Comment: *This support matches trends in attitudes regarding Lithuania reported by others. Our numbers indicate that the public is reluctant to take a more confrontational stand on foreign policy. Bush's personal credibility in the foreign policy arena contributes to this support.*

MARKET OPINION REPORTS

a monthly look at national attitudes on political and public policy issues

Published by:

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH



May, 1990

MARKET OPINION REPORTS

Market Opinion Reports summarizes a few key results of the May national voter attitude survey conducted by **Market Opinion Research (MOR)**. MOR's Political and Public Affairs Group conducts national surveys on political and public policy issues each month. For more information on MOR's series of monthly surveys, contact **Richard G. Reed**, Vice President or **Dr. Jan van Lohuizen**, Group Vice President in our Political and Public Affairs Group at:



Market Opinion Research

1400 L Street

Suite 650

Washington, D.C. 20005

Telephone: 202-289-0420

Fax: 202-289-0519

For information on survey methodology, see last page.

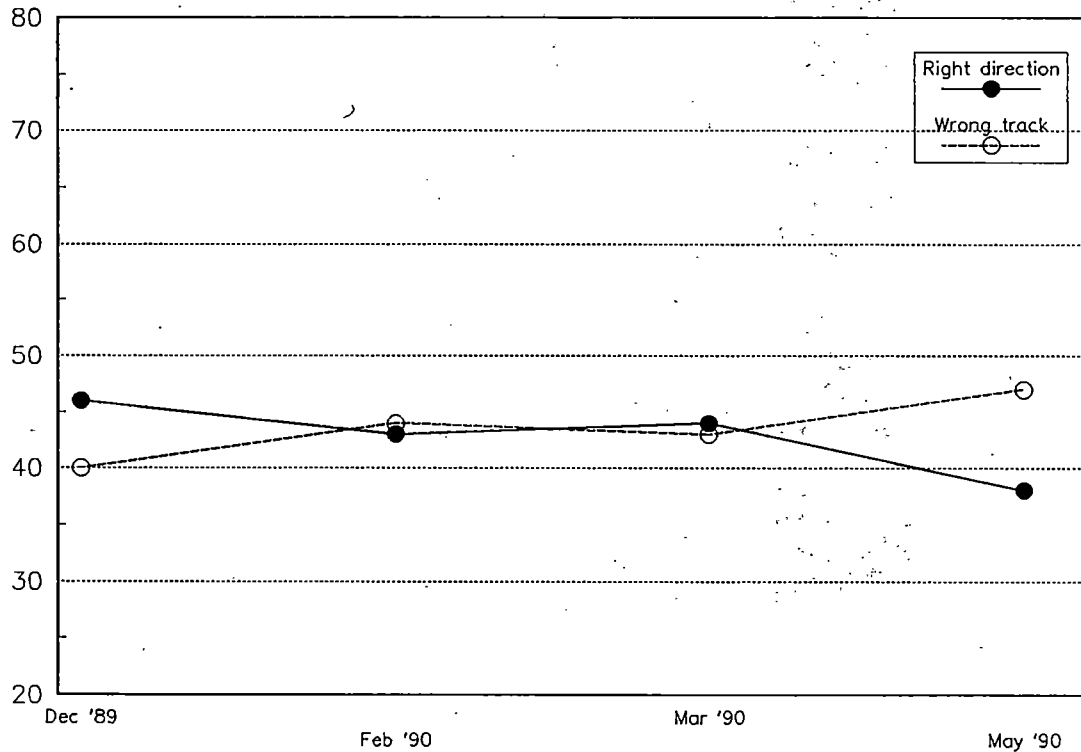
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RIGHT DIRECTION VS. WRONG TRACK

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

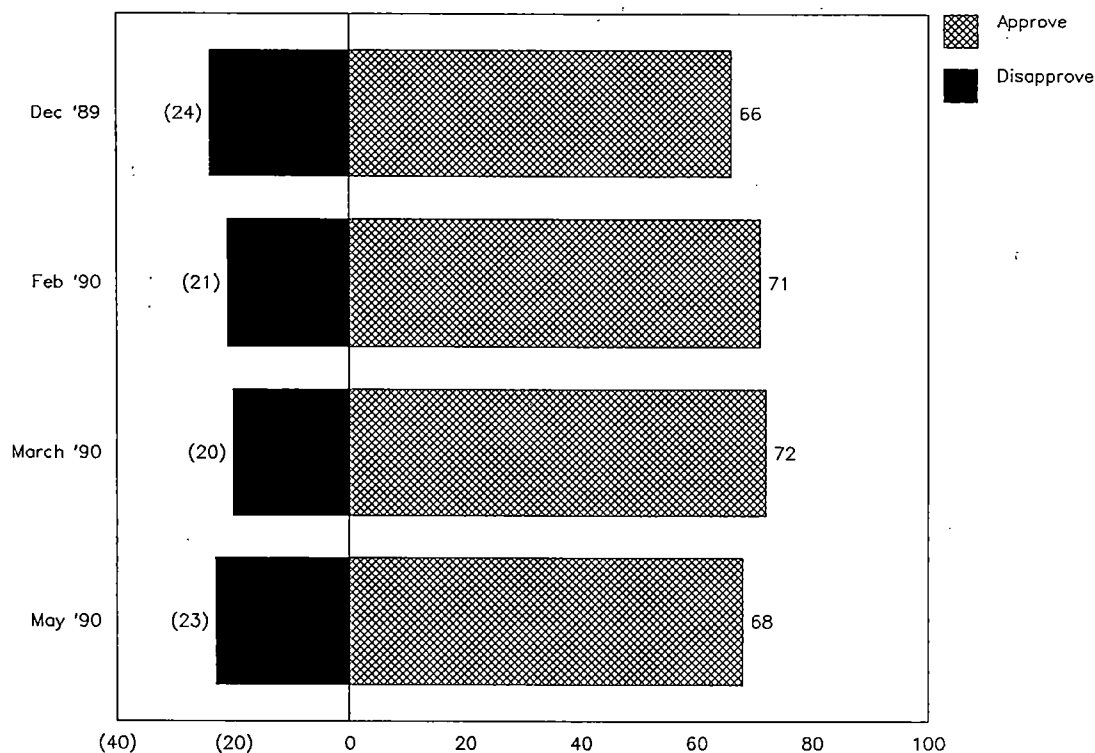


- Attitudes have become more pessimistic since late March with only 38% believing things are going in the "right direction", and 47% feeling things are on the "wrong track".
- Women continue to be more pessimistic than men. Only 36% of women say "right direction". Among women, housewives over the age of 45 are most pessimistic (29% say "right direction").
- Liberals, strong Democrats, and those over the age of 65 are most pessimistic.

Comment: *While tied to the economy, the growing perception that things are off on the wrong track is also apparent in states that have healthy economies, like California. Something more than economic concerns are driving these numbers down.*

BUSH JOB APPROVAL

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?



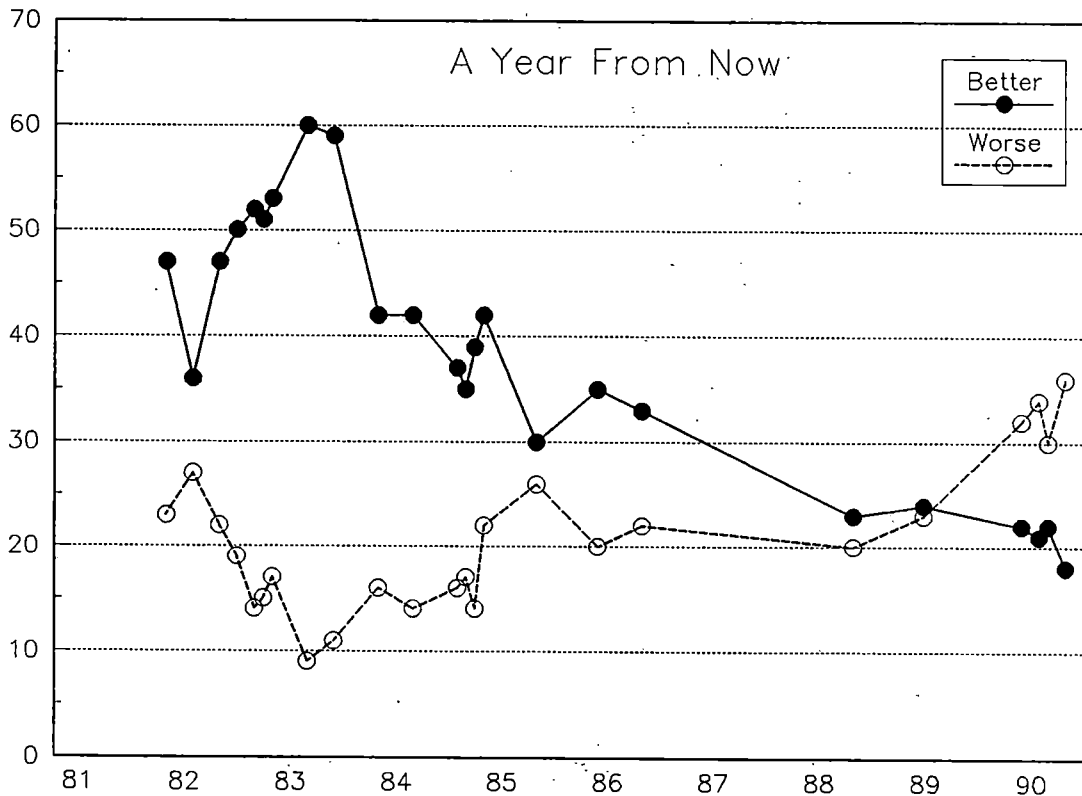
- There was statistically insignificant slippage in President's approval (68%) from late March (72%).
- By age, the lowest approval was given by those 65 and over (62%).
- Republicans approve 89% to 6%, Independents approve 66% to 26%, and Democrats approve 55% to 36%.

Comment: While the drop in the President's job approval in the past six weeks is marginal, it could be the start of a downward trend (see *Partisan Mood Index*). Significantly, the decline in Bush ratings comes mostly from Independents, perhaps as a result of the tax rumblings coming from the White House (see below). In the absence of any major foreign policy breakthroughs, Bush's ratings may be tied to increasing pessimism about the domestic economy (see next page).

EXPECTATIONS OF THE ECONOMY

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

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

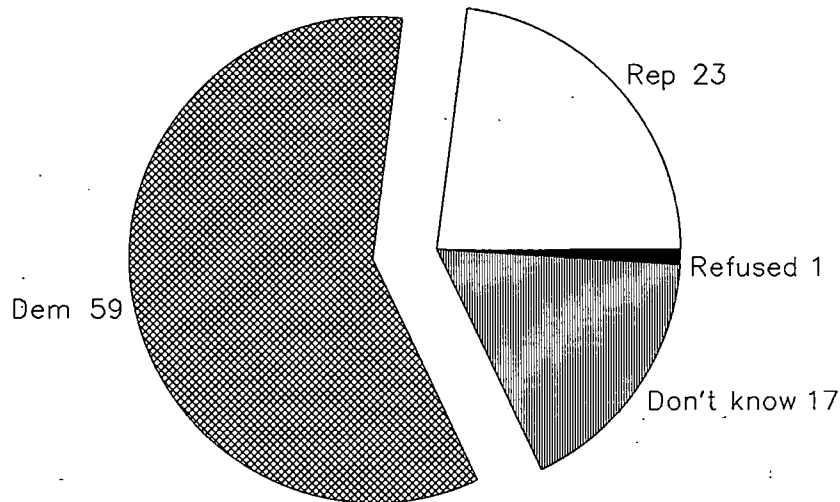


- There was a significant jump in the level of pessimism about the economy's future. This measure went from -8 in March to -18 in May.
- Specifically:

	Dec '89	Feb '90	March '90	May '90
A Year From Now				
Better	22	21	22	18
Worse	32	34	30	36
Compared to A Year Ago				
Better	14	10	11	9
Worse	27	36	32	41

PARTY CONTROL OF CONGRESS

To the best of your knowledge, which political party controls the Congress?



- Among various age groups, those least likely to know are voters between the ages of 18 and 24, 35% of whom think the Republicans control Congress.

As you may know, the Republicans control the White House, while the Democrats control the Congress. Of the following two statements about this, which one best describes your position?

It is a good thing, because it has kept either political party from having too much power	51
It is a bad thing, because it has made it impossible to work on solutions to the important problems facing the country	37

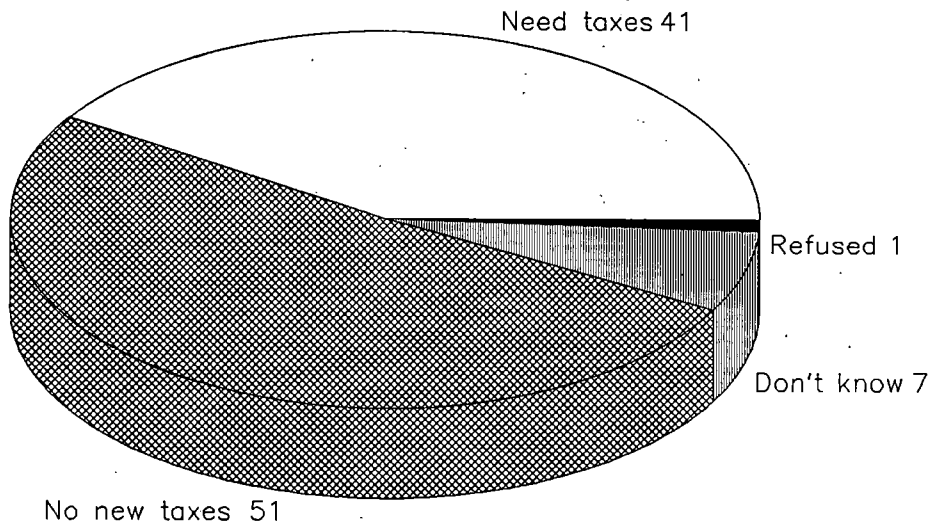
Comments: *This does not bode well for a purely partisan Republican approach to capturing a majority in either House. Blaming the nation's woes on a Democratically controlled Congress may not impress many voters.*

"READ MY LIPS"

As a candidate for President in 1988, George Bush said "Read my lips ... no new taxes." Of the following two statements about this, which one best describes your view?

The country's budget deficit has grown to the point where new taxes are needed and we should not hold George Bush to his promise

New taxes are not needed and George Bush should stick to his promise to oppose them

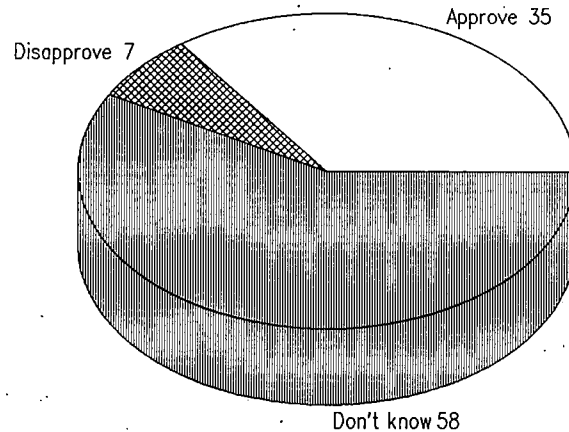


- Fifty-one percent (51%) say taxes are not needed and forty-one percent (41%) think they are.
- Opposition to new taxes, while marginal, is bipartisan. Fifty-one percent (51%) of Republicans and 49% of Democrats think new taxes are unnecessary. Fifty-six percent (56%) of Independents feel this way.
- Those most likely to support new taxes are those who consider themselves "very liberal" (54%), those who believe the economy will be "better a year from now" (52%), and those over the age of 65 (50%).

Comments: *Is the glass half empty or half full? While a majority is still in a "no-new-taxes" frame of mind, a 41% share of the public willing to say new taxes are needed is as high as we have seen.*

CLEAN AIR LEGISLATION

The Senate recently passed legislation regarding a major new initiative to reduce air pollution. From what you have heard about this legislation, do you approve or disapprove of it? If you don't know enough about it, just say so.



- Among those who feel they know enough about the legislation to express an opinion, the margin of approval over disapproval is high.
- Strong divisions are apparent. For example, upscale respondents are more supportive of this legislation than downscale respondents, males more than females, whites more than minorities, and liberals more than conservatives.

However:

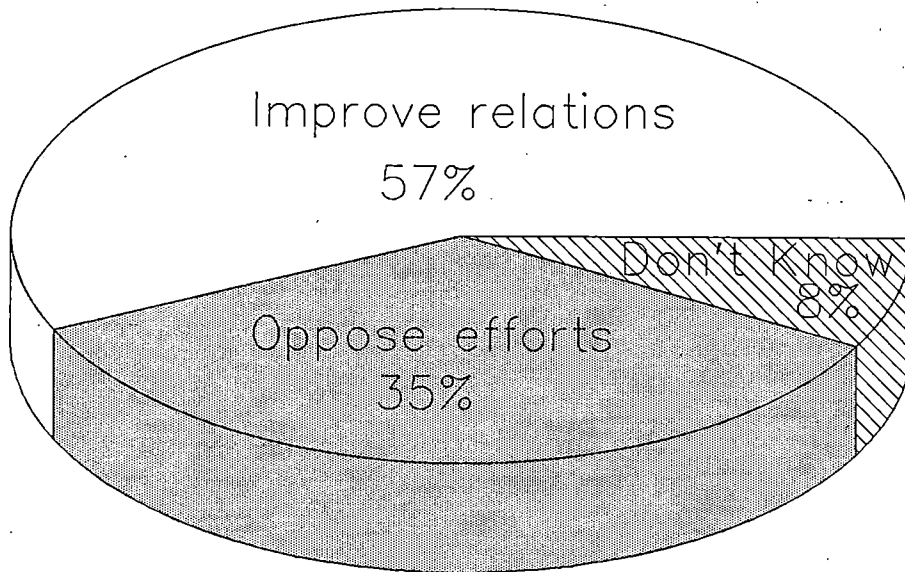
Opponents of this legislation say that it might lead to the loss of seven hundred and fifty thousand jobs and might lead to higher prices to consumers of up to fifty billion dollars a year. In view of this do you approve or disapprove of this legislation?

Approve	38
Disapprove	38
Don't know	22

Comment: *Previous polling has consistently shown that the environment versus the job/costs trade-off indicates strong public support for environmental protection. This data for the first time suggests a mixed picture. This story is still developing.*

HOSTAGES IN LEBANON

As you may know, two U.S. hostages held in Lebanon were recently released. Do you feel that the U.S. should make an effort to improve relations with Iran in order to obtain the release of the remaining American hostages, or would you oppose such an effort?



- The strongest **support** for improving relations with Iran comes from voters between the ages of 18 and 24 (72%), working women under the age of 45 (69%), those who "lean" toward the Democratic party (67%), and those who consider themselves "strong" Democrats (62%).
- Strongest **opposition** comes from men over the age of 45 (49%), non-religious voters (46%), and males (43%).
- With respect to political party affiliation, there are no significant partisan differences.

PRE-SUMMIT RATINGS OF GORBACHEV

- Gorbachev's favorable/unfavorable ratings are unchanged from a year ago (71% favorable/18% unfavorable) suggesting no backlash from the Baltics.
- When asked whether U.S policy should aim to keep Gorbachev in power, the public split:

Of the following two statements, which one best describes your view of what American policy towards the Russians should be?

<i>The U.S should help stabilize the situation in Russia so that Gorbachev stays in power</i>	44
<i>The situation in Russia is too unstable and we should not have a policy designed to keep any one person in power</i>	46

- American pessimism regarding Gorbachev's ability to reform the Soviet economy is on the rise among all sub-groups although most continue to believe that he will remain in power for some time.

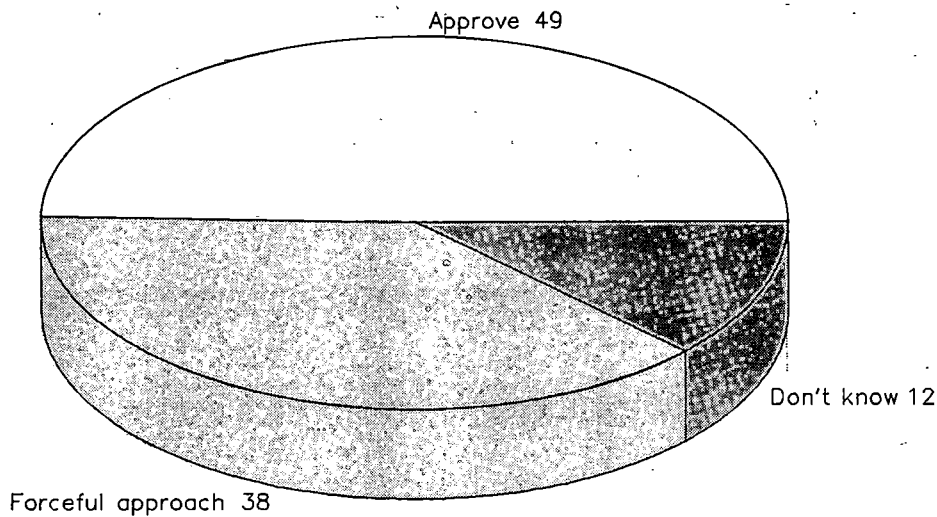
Of the following three statements about Mikhail Gorbachev, which one comes closest to your opinion?

	Dec '89	May '90
<i>Gorbachev will most likely be successful in reforming the Soviet economy and remain in power for some time.</i>	48	34
<i>Gorbachev will most likely be unsuccessful in reforming the Soviet economy, but will probably remain in power for some time anyway.</i>	35	39
<i>Gorbachev will most likely be unsuccessful in reforming the Soviet economy, and, consequently, will not remain in power much longer.</i>	11	17

Comment: *In view of the general hands-off attitude towards Lithuania observed in other surveys and the declining expectations about his success, the 44% of the people who feel U.S policy should be to help keep Gorbachev in power is high.*

POLICY TOWARDS CHINA

And regarding our policy in China, President Bush has pursued a policy of patience with Chinese leaders rather than threaten them with economic sanctions. Do you approve of this policy or do you feel we should use a more forceful approach?



- Strongest approval comes from men over 45 (59%), Republicans (56%), those who view themselves as somewhat conservative (56%), and those who think the economy has improved in the last year (61%).
- Most likely to support a more forceful approach include those between the ages of 18 and 24 (51%) and liberals (44%).
- Democrats are evenly split over which policy should be pursued (43% support the Bush policy of patience, 43% support a more forceful approach). Republicans are more likely to support the Bush (56% for patience, 33% for a more forceful approach), as are Independents (50% for patience, 38% for more forceful approach).

Comment: *This support matches trends in attitudes regarding Lithuania reported by others. Our numbers indicate that the public is reluctant to take a more confrontational stand on foreign policy. Bush's personal credibility in the foreign policy arena contributes to this support.*

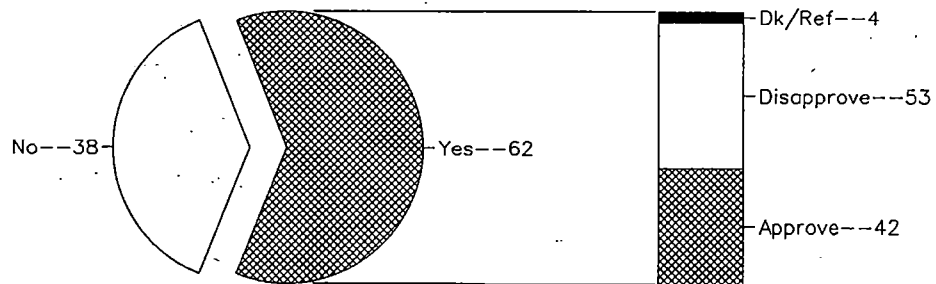
CABLE TV AND BASEBALL ON TELEVISION

Is your house connected to Cable Television?

Generally speaking do you approve or disapprove of the quality of service your Cable TV company provides?

And what about the prices charged by your Cable TV company, do you approve or disapprove of those?

Currently telephone companies are not allowed to provide television services. Would you favor or oppose allowing telephone companies to become involved in the cable television industry?



Cable subscribers

Price of cable

- Sixty-two percent (62%) of the households have cable
- 71% approve of the quality, and 24% disapprove
- 42% approve of prices charged by cable companies, 53% disapprove
- 45% support phone company entry into cable services, and 35% oppose

1990 will be the first year most major league baseball games will be shown on cable television instead of regular network television. Of the following two statements about this issue, which comes closest to your own opinion?

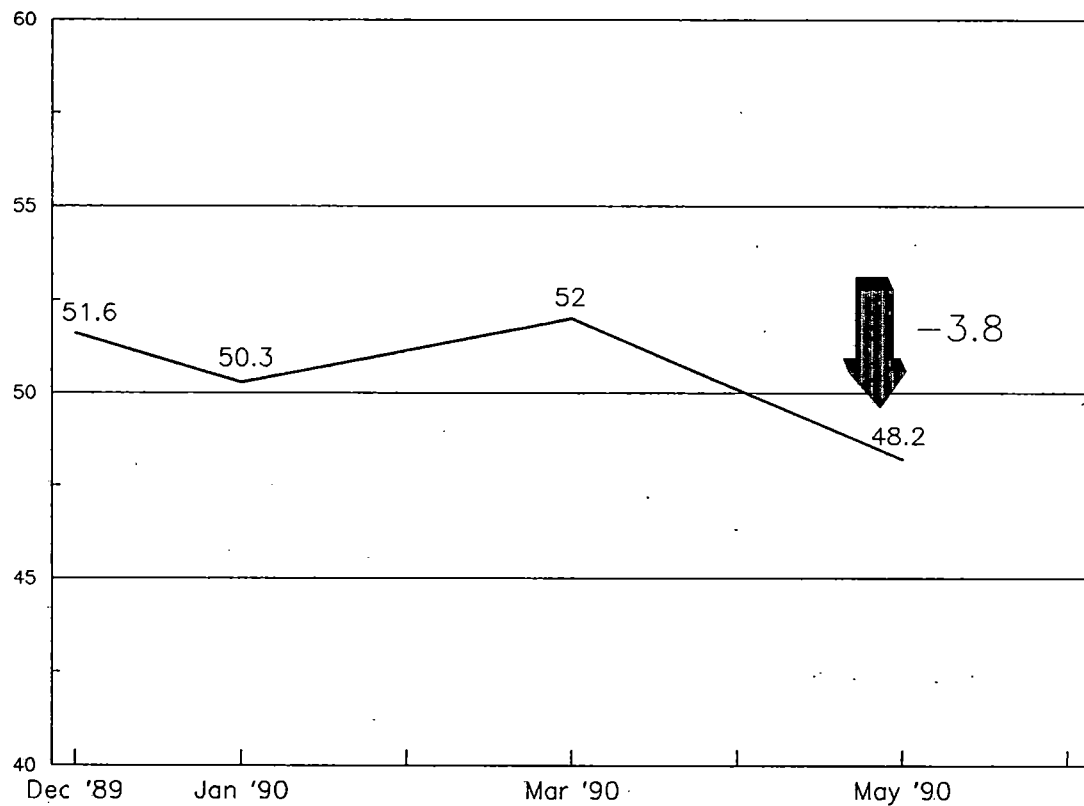
<i>There is enough baseball on TV and those who want to see more games can subscribe to cable</i>	41
<i>It is unfair to show most games on cable because many households do not have access to cable or cannot afford it</i>	50

- A majority of the voters want more baseball on regular broadcast television.

PARTISAN MOOD INDEX

The Partisan Mood Index (PMI) is gauged to measure the national climate of public opinion... "the national mood". It is a composite measure that takes into account a variety of indices, including expectations of the national economy, evaluations of political party preference, and Presidential performance. As such, a high score bodes well for the party controlling the White House; a low score bodes well for the opposition party.

The PMI can assume a range of values running from zero (0) to one hundred (100). The baseline measure was taken in December 1989 at the time of the Bush-Gorbachev summit in Malta, but prior to the American military action in Panama.



- There was a significant drop in the PMI; this is the first time it has slipped below 50.

Survey Methodology

The parameters of this survey were as follows:

- Based on 1000 telephone interviews
- Probability-proportionate-to-size-sample of registered voters across continental United States
- Conducted May 9-13, 1990
- Margin of error = plus or minus 3.2

Market Opinion Research is a diversified public opinion research company with offices in Washington, D.C. and Detroit, Michigan. **Market Opinion Reports** is published by the Political and Public Affairs Group in Washington, D.C. For further information contact **Richard G. Reed**, Vice President or **Dr. Jan van Lohuizen**, Group Vice President at:



Market Opinion Research
1400 L Street, NW
Suite 650
Washington, D.C. 20005
Telephone: (202) 289-0420
Fax: 202-289-0519

Market Opinion Research--Corporate Headquarters



Market Opinion Research
243 West Congress
Suite 1000
Detroit, Michigan 48226
Telephone: (313) 963-2414
Fax: (313) 963-6869

Frederick P. Currier, Chairman, CEO
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Detroit, MI

Arizona

GOVERNOR: Open

Behavior Research Center "Rocky Mountain Poll." Early April 1990.
N=716 adults statewide:

General Election Trial Heats (among likely voters):

Terry Goddard (D)	52	Terry Goddard (D)	51
Fife Symington (R)	25	Fred Koory (R)	20
Undecided	23	Undecided	29
Terry Goddard (D)	59	Terry Goddard (D)	72
Sam Steiger (R)	21	Evan Mecham (R)	18
Undecided	20	Undecided	10

Arkansas

GOVERNOR: Bill Clinton (D), incumbent

Opinion Research Associates for KATV. April 17-19, 1990:

Republican Primary Trial Heat (N=226 potential Republican primary voters statewide):

Tommy Robinson	47
Sheffield Nelson	43
Undecided	10

Democratic Primary Trial Heat (N=322 potential Democratic primary voters statewide):

Bill Clinton	66
Tom McRae	22
Undecided	12

General Election Trial Heats (N=539 likely voters statewide):

Bill Clinton (D)	59	Bill Clinton (D)	58
Tommy Robinson (R)	35	Sheffield Nelson (R)	34
Undecided	6	Undecided	8

Tom McRae (D)	54	Tom McRae (D)	43
Tommy Robinson (R)	35	Sheffield Nelson (R)	42
Undecided	11	Undecided	15

Favorability Ratings (N=539 likely voters statewide):

	Favorable %	Unfavorable %
Bill Clinton (D)		
April	63	31
Feb.	73	22
Tom McRae (D)		
April	34	5
Feb.	14	2
Tommy Robinson (R)		
April	35	46
Feb.	35	40
Sheffield Nelson (R)		
April	40	26
Feb.	30	18

Marketsearch/KTHV "People's Poll." April 6-11, 1990. N=180 likely Republican voters statewide:

Republican Primary Trial Heat:

	%
Sheffield Nelson	44
Tommy Robinson	32
Undecided	24

California

GOVERNOR: Open

Political/Media Research for The Marin Independent Journal, KCRA, KSEE, KSBW, et al. April 20-22, 1990:

Democratic Primary Trial Heat (N=349 likely Democratic primary voters statewide):

	%
Dianne Feinstein	42
John Van de Kamp	37
Undecided	21

General Election Trial Heats (N=837 likely voters statewide):

Pete Wilson (R)	45	Pete Wilson (R)	45
Dianne Feinstein (D)	40	John Van de Kamp (D)	39
Undecided	14	Undecided	16

Colorado

GOVERNOR: Roy Romer (D), incumbent

Talmey Research & Strategy for The Denver Post and News 4. April 3-10, 1990:

Republican Primary Trial Heat (N=189 reg. Republicans statewide):

	%
Bob Isaac	30
Mike Strang	29
Undecided	41

General Election Trial Heats (N=511 reg. voters statewide):

Roy Romer (D)	58	Roy Romer (D)	57
Mike Strang (R)	23	Bob Isaac (R)	20
Undecided	19	Undecided	23

U.S. SENATE: Open

Talmey Research & Strategy for The Denver Post and News 4. April 3-10, 1990:

Democratic Primary Trial Heat (N=179 reg. Democrats statewide):

	%
Josie Heath	28
Carlos Lucero	25
Undecided	47

General Election Trial Heats (N=511 reg. voters statewide):

	%		%
Hank Brown (R)	40	Hank Brown (R)	41
Josie Heath (D)	20	Carlos Lucero (D)	18
Undecided	40	Undecided	41

Florida

GOVERNOR: Bob Martinez (R), incumbent

The Orlando Sentinel, Florida Times Union, and Ft. Lauderdale News & Sun-Sentinel "Florida Newspaper Poll." April 17-19, 1990:

Democratic Primary Trial Heat (N=252 reg. Democrats statewide):

	%
Lawton Chiles	67
Bill Nelson	12
Undecided	21

General Election Trial Heats (N=505 reg. voters statewide):

	%		%
Lawton Chiles (D)	52	Bob Martinez (R)	44
Bob Martinez (R)	34	Bill Nelson (D)	39
Undecided	14	Undecided	17

Mason-Dixon Opinion Research for The Miami Herald, Tampa Tribune, WJXT, WESH, WTSP, et al. April 16-18, 1990:

Democratic Primary Trial Heat (N=339 likely Democratic primary voters statewide):

	%
Lawton Chiles	58
Bill Nelson	24
Undecided	18

General Election Trial Heats (N=628 likely voters statewide):

	%		%
Lawton Chiles (D)	48	Bob Martinez (R)	42
Bob Martinez (R)	42	Bill Nelson (D)	40
Undecided	10	Undecided	18

The New York Times Regional Newspaper Group/University of South Florida "Florida Opinion Poll." April 19-22, 1990:

Democratic Primary Trial Heat (N=347 likely Democratic primary voters statewide):

	%
Lawton Chiles	62
Bill Nelson	10
Undecided	28

General Election Trial Heats (N=704 likely voters statewide):

	%		%
Lawton Chiles (D)	59	Bill Nelson (D)	47
Bob Martinez (R)	31	Bob Martinez (R)	37
Undecided	10	Undecided	16

Job Rating—Gov. Martinez (N=704 likely voters statewide):

	%
Approve	37
Disapprove	50
Don't know	13

Georgia

GOVERNOR: Open

Merle Black and Voice Information Services for The Atlanta Journal-Constitution. April 13-14, 16-24, 1990.

Democratic Primary Trial Heat (N=373 likely Democratic primary voters statewide):

	April 1990	Oct.-Nov. 1989
	%	%
Andrew Young	29	38
Zell Miller	23	30
Roy Barnes	10	4
Lauren "Bubba" McDonald	5	4
Lester Maddox	3	n/a
Undecided	29	24

Republican Primary Trial Heat (N=161 likely Republican primary voters statewide):

	April 1990	Oct.-Nov. 1989
	%	%
Johnny Isaakson	21	12
Greeley Ellis	16	8
Neither/Undecided	63	81

Illinois

GOVERNOR: Open

Political/Media Research for The Danville Commercial News, WMBD, WREX, WQAD, et al. April 19-23, 1990. N=824 likely voters statewide:

General Election Trial Heat:

	%
Jim Edgar (R)	45
Neil Hartigan (D)	40
Undecided	15

Market Strategies for Secretary of State Jim Edgar (R). April 17-22, 1990. N=800 reg. voters statewide:

General Election Trial Heat:

	%
Jim Edgar (R)	45
Neil Hartigan (D)	34
Undecided	21

U.S. SENATE: Paul Simon (D), incumbent

Political/Media Research for The Danville Commercial News, WMBD, WREX, WQAD, et al. April 19-23, 1990. N=824 likely voters statewide:

General Election Trial Heat:

	%
Paul Simon (D)	52
Lynn Martin (R)	33
Undecided	14

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Iowa

GOVERNOR: Open

The Des Moines Register "Iowa Poll." April 16-18, 1990. N=431 likely Democratic primary voters statewide:

	April 1990	March 1990	Nov.- Dec. 1989
	%	%	%
Tom Miller	21	26	29
Donald Avenson	18	17	10
John Chrystal	14	12	11
Jo Ann Zimmerman	6	11	16
Undecided	41	34	34

Kentucky

U.S. SENATE: Mitch McConnell (R), incumbent

The Louisville Courier-Journal "Bluegrass State Poll." April 9-17, 1990:

Democratic Primary Trial Heat (N=539 likely Democratic primary voters statewide):

	%
Harvey Sloane	44
John Brock	27
Undecided	30

General Election Trial Heats (N=600 reg. voters statewide):

	%		%
Mitch McConnell (R)	45	Mitch McConnell (R)	51
Harvey Sloane (D)	37	John Brock (D)	30
Undecided	18	Undecided	20

Favorability Ratings (N=940 reg. voters statewide):

	Favor- able %	Unfav- orable %	Not Sure %	No Opinion %
Mitch McConnell (R)	44	12	25	19
Harvey Sloane (D)	23	18	26	33
John Brock (D)	11	7	15	67

Louisiana

U.S. SENATE: Bennett Johnston (D), incumbent

Garin-Hart Strategic Research for Sen. Bennett Johnston (D). April 17-19, 1990. N=600 likely voters statewide:

Election Trial Heat:

	%
Bennett Johnston (D)	56
David Duke (R)	20
Ben Bagert (R)	13
Undecided	11

Election Runoffs:

	%		%
Bennett Johnston (D)	65	Bennett Johnston (D)	64
David Duke (R)	25	Ben Bagert (R)	20
Undecided	10	Undecided	16

Massachusetts

GOVERNOR: Open

Bannon Research for Boston Herald and WCVB-TV. April 24-26, 1990:

Democratic Primary Trial Heat (N=414 reg. Democrats and independents statewide):

	%
Francis Bellotti	36
John Silber	24
Evelyn Murphy	19
John Flood	5
Undecided	16

General Election Trial Heats (N=500 potential general election voters statewide):

	%		%
Francis Bellotti (D)	52	John Flood (D)	33
William Weld (R)	27	William Weld (R)	32
Undecided	21	Undecided	35
Evelyn Murphy (D)	42	John Silber (D)	46
William Weld (R)	37	William Weld (R)	27
Undecided	21	Undecided	27
Francis Bellotti (D)	51	Steven Pierce (R)	36
Steven Pierce (R)	31	John Flood (D)	28
Undecided	18	Undecided	36
Steven Pierce (R)	40	John Silber (D)	42
Evelyn Murphy (D)	39	Steven Pierce (R)	34
Undecided	21	Undecided	24

Favorability Ratings (N=414 reg. Democrats and independents statewide):

	High Opinion %	Low Opinion %	Mixed Opinion %	No Opinion %
Francis Bellotti (D)				
April	51	24	12	13
Jan.	51	17	12	20
John Silber (D)				
April	37	25	7	31
Jan.	26	13	6	55
Evelyn Murphy (D)				
April	36	41	10	13
Jan.	42	32	8	18
John Flood (D)				
April	12	15	7	66
Jan.	19	8	6	67

Nebraska

GOVERNOR: Kay Orr (R), incumbent

SRI-Gallup for The Omaha World-Herald. April 18-20, 1990:

Democratic Primary Trial Heat (N=347 reg. Democrats statewide):

	%
Ben Nelson	20
Mike Boyle	19
Bill Harris	18
Bill Hoppner	12
Don Eret	1
Robb Nimic	1
Robert Prokop	1
None	4
Don't know	24

Job Rating—Gov. Orr (N=900 adults statewide):

	%
Approve	39
Disapprove	51
Don't know	9

The Mitchell Group for Gov. Kay Orr (R). Early April 1990. Among reg. voters statewide:

Job Rating—Gov. Orr:

	%
Approve	52
Disapprove	42
Don't know	6

NOTE: According to Gov. Orr's office, this poll included trial heats matching Orr against Democrats Ben Nelson, Mike Boyle, Bill Harris and Bill Hoppner, with Orr leading in all cases.

2nd CD: Peter Hoagland (D), incumbent

SRI-Gallup for *The Omaha World-Herald*. April 18-20, 1990. N=127 reg. Republicans and 4 reg. independents districtwide:

Republican Primary Trial Heat:

	%
Ron Staskiewicz	43
Ally Milder	31
Neither	3
Undecided	23

3rd CD: Open

SRI-Gallup for *The Omaha World-Herald*. April 18-20, 1990:

Republican Primary Trial Heat (N=159 reg. Republicans and 6 reg. independents districtwide):

	%
Bill Barrett	28
Fred Lockwood	18
Rod Johnson	10
Merlyn Carlson	7
Dan Govier	4
None	5
Undecided	28

Democratic Primary Trial Heat (N=100 reg. Democrats and 6 reg. independents districtwide):

	%
Scott Sidwell	34
Sandra Scofield	33
Bill Haivala	8
None	5
Undecided	19

New Hampshire

U.S. SENATE: Open

Tarrance & Assoc. for the National Association of Realtors. March 28-29, 1990. N=400 reg. voters IN THE SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT ONLY:

Keating Five Update

Arizona

Behavior Research Center "Rocky Mountain Poll." Early April 1990. N=716 adults statewide:

Job Ratings:

	April 1990	Jan. 1990	Oct. 1989	July 1989
	%	%	%	%
Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D)				
Excellent/Good	34	34	42	46
Fair	33	28	26	29
Poor/Very poor	24	26	20	15
Sen. John McCain (R)				
Excellent/Good	36	33	44	46
Fair	35	31	28	28
Poor/Very poor	16	18	9	8

Favorability Ratings:

	2nd CD Only			
	Fav- orable	Unfavor- able	No Opinion	Never Heard Of
	%	%	%	%
John Durkin (D)	31	9	23	37
Bob Smith (R)	30	11	16	43
James Donchess (D)	26	15	21	38
Thomas Christo (R)	6	6	18	70

South Dakota

U.S. SENATE: Larry Pressler (R), incumbent

Market Strategies for the National Republican Senatorial Committee. April 1-7, 1990. N=500 reg. voters statewide:

General Election Trial Heat:

	%
Larry Pressler (R)	74
Ted Muenster (D)	19
Undecided	7

"Do you think Larry Pressler has performed well enough as U.S. Senator to deserve reelection, or do you think it is time to give a new person the chance to do better?"

	%
Deserves reelection	62

Job Rating—Sen. Pressler:

	%
Approve	77

Name Identification and Favorability Ratings:

	Name ID	Favor- able	Unfav- orable	No Opinion
	%	%	%	%
Larry Pressler (R)	98	80	15	3
Ted Muenster (D)	67	18	16	33