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Television stations, newspapers survey 835 people throughout state

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS 7/29/91

■ COLUMBUS — President George Bush would definitely find Mississippi friendly territory should the presidential election be held today, a recent survey shows.

The survey, commissioned by five newspapers and three television stations in Mississippi and one station in Memphis, Tenn., indicated Bush could easily carry this Deep South state in 1992, regardless of who his Democratic opponent is.

Conducted by Mason-Dixon Opinion Research of Columbia, Md., the poll surveyed 835 people during the period June 20-23 and has a margin of error of plus or minus 3.5 percent.

In publishing one portion of the Mason-Dixon poll this past weekend, the Columbus Commercial Dispatch reported the survey found that in six head-to-head matchups, Bush beat all challengers. His closest competition came from Jesse Jackson, but Bush was still favored nearly three-to-one. Sixty-seven percent of those polled said they would vote for Bush, with only 25 percent choosing Jackson.

The poll found that nearly three of every four voters surveyed failed to

recognize the name of four possible Democratic contenders: Virginia Gov. Douglas Wilder, 70 percent; Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin, 75 percent; Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas (the only declared Democratic candidate), 74 percent; and Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey, 71 percent.

Even Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton was unknown to 53 percent of the respondents. The most recognizable name among the list of 12 possible Democratic nominees was Jackson, known to all but 2 percent of the voters. But of the 98 percent who recognized him, 45 percent gave him an "unfavorable" rating.

Statewide, 84 percent rate Bush's performance as excellent or good. Just 12 percent rate it fair and 4 percent poor. In eastern Mississippi, 39 percent of the bipartisan respondents rated the president's work as excellent, 54 percent good, 5 percent fair and 2 percent poor.

In addition to Columbus, the poll was commissioned by the television stations and the Greenwood Commonwealth, the Natchez Democrat, the Clarksdale Press Register and the McComb Enterprise Journal.

The statewide polling sample in-

cluded 416 men and 419 women. By race, there were 575 whites, 258 blacks and two listed as other. Among the respondents, 553 said they were likely to vote in the Democratic primary and 211 indicated they would vote in the Republican primary.

Bush scored higher among whites than blacks. Forty-nine percent of the whites polled gave Bush an excellent rating, compared to 18 percent of the blacks. Eleven percent of the black respondents gave the president a poor rating, compared to 1 percent among the whites.

Slightly more women than men, 40 percent to 38 percent, gave the president an excellent rating.

Jackson, the most popular of the challengers statewide, and the choice of 25 percent of those polled, drew his appeal almost exclusively from blacks. Only 2 percent of the white respondents said they would vote for Jackson.

Conversely, none of the white candidates appealed to more than 50 percent of the blacks questioned. Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, with 49 percent of the black vote, was closest, followed by New York Gov. Mario Cuomo with 47 percent.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

07/25/91

Date: _____

FOR: THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: PHILLIP BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary

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TEELEY & ASSOCIATES, INC.

815 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W.

SUITE 1100

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006-4078

TEL: (202) 452-7055

TELEX: 248441

FAX: (202) 452-7074

July 24, 1991

BY MESSENGER

The Honorable George H.W. Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I know how busy you must be in terms of catching up from your recent trip and preparing for the Moscow Summit. However, I want to provide you with information that will be released this Sunday concerning the views of 2000 Soviet citizens regarding economic reform in the U.S.S.R.

This survey includes interviews with persons in Russia, The Ukraine and Lithuania. The survey concerns itself with such issues as socialism vs capitalism, privatization, profit, hard work and entrepreneurship and other issues that relate specifically to proposed economic changes in the U.S.S.R. It is my belief that this report contains information not known to Mikhail Gorbachev.

You might want to spend ten or fifteen minutes going through this as you fly to Moscow. It certainly will not, and should not, change anyone's opinion concerning the need for economic reform in the Soviet Union. I do believe, however, that it sheds light on the difficulties of such reform.

The Honorable George H.W. Bush
July 24, 1991
Page Two

I hope that you find this to be of use in furthering your understanding of the cultural and economic barriers now in place in the U.S.S.R. I believe President Gorbachev would appreciate your knowledge of these ingrained Soviet views.

Here's wishing you complete success at the Summit.

With best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Pete".

Peter B. Teeley

PBT:mm
Enclosure (1)

FOR RELEASE: SUNDAY, JULY 28, 1991, A.M.

POLL SUGGESTS SOVIETS NOT READY FOR FREE MARKET

Washington, D.C. -- According to preliminary results of a massive poll of attitudes in the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev will be dragging a reluctant citizenry behind him when he tries to convince President George Bush of his intentions to move toward a market economy when the two meet at the summit in Moscow July 30-31.

*Although pressure from conservative forces within the Soviet government and Gorbachev's own communist upbringing may play a role in his lukewarm embrace of new economic methods, the Soviet leader faces an immense hurdle in his own people. The survey of 2,210 people in European Russia, the Ukraine, and Lithuania conducted by the *Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press* in May 1991 shows a modest majority of 54 percent in Russia and 53 percent in the Ukraine favoring efforts to establish a free market economy. A solid 32 percent of Russians and 34% of Ukrainians explicitly disapprove of the move.

*"When the Soviet people are asked to choose between various socialist and capitalist alternatives for the future," says the *Times Mirror* report, "support for capitalism is even less evident." Forty-six percent of Russians prefer a socialist alternative while only 40 percent prefer capitalism. Of those who select capitalism, only 17 percent pick an American style free market form, little more than the 10 percent choosing status-quo communism.

*"When questioned about the desirability of state control versus privatization in 13 areas," continued the report, "we found a clear preference for privatization in only one area -- *farming*." An extraordinary 79 percent of Russians and 86 percent of Ukrainians say they would like to see the state run heavy industry. Similar large majorities favor state control of electricity, transportation, and the phone system. During a focus group conversation in Kiev one person explained that "While we have a dictatorship of jealousy, it's hard to have private property."

*Those polled are sharply divided on whether entrepreneurs should be encouraged. In Russia 50 percent favor unlimited profits, slightly more feel the state should *limit* profits (45%). In the Ukraine, the margin is similar with 49 percent favoring the entrepreneurs and 45 percent opposing. Fourteen focus groups conducted by *Times Mirror* in Russia, the Ukraine and Lithuania buttressed the polls findings. As a worker in Volgograd admitted, "...the mentality of the society is such that if a man becomes rich, it means he's a thief, a criminal."

*Soviet skepticism of the free market comes despite a near obsession with economic problems and an acknowledgement that the current system has failed. More than three of every four Russians and Ukrainians mentioned economics as the most important problem facing the country. Even the highly nationalistic Lithuanians cited the economy as their own greatest personal fear for the future more often than the failure of the independence movement.

*The major hopeful sign for any efforts by Gorbachev to institute significant market reforms is the support of change by the young and better educated. Among Russians under 25 years of age, 7 in 10 favor a free market economy compared to less than 20 percent of those over 70. Six in ten of those with family incomes over 700 rubles a month favor a market approach compared to slightly less than half of those with less income. Men were also more likely to support economic change than women.

*This preliminary data on Soviet attitudes toward economic issues is a small part of an 18 month study of public opinion in Western Europe, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union. The total survey of 13,000 people was developed by the *Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press*. It was designed to facilitate cross national comparisons of results among European countries and between Europe and the United States as Europe adapts to the end of the Cold War and the impending economic integration of Western Europe.

*A full report on the comparative findings and conclusions of the study is scheduled for Fall 1991.

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Contact:

Donald S. Kellermann, Director

Andrew Kohut, Director of Surveys

Carol Bowman, Director of Research

Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press

(202) 293-3126

About The Survey

These are the first findings of an 18 month study of the state of public opinion in Western Europe, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The study was undertaken to assess the basic beliefs, political values and opinions of the European population as it experiences and adapts to the end of the Cold War and the economic integration of Western Europe.

The study draws upon three sources of information about Europe in transition - a series of interviews and briefings with European politicians, academic leaders and journalists in 1990 and 1991 - 50 focus group sessions in Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Russia, the Ukraine, and Lithuania conducted in the winter and spring of 1991 - 13,000 personal interviews conducted May 1991 in nine European nations and three Soviet Republics. The samples were nationally representative of the adult populations in each of the Western and Eastern European countries. The Soviet surveys were representative of the adult populations in Lithuania, the Ukraine and the European portion of the Russian Republic. The results of the survey may be modified in the final report to reflect further statistical adjustments based upon the latest official Soviet population data. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 4 percentage points for Russia, and plus or minus 6 percentage points for the Ukraine and Lithuania. The personal interviews lasted 45 minutes to an hour and were fielded by leading survey research organizations in Western Europe, former East Bloc countries, and in the Soviet Union.

The questionnaire and analytical approach was developed by the *Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press*. It was designed to facilitate cross-national comparisons of results amongst European countries and between European and American opinions. Many of the questions in the survey were based upon measures developed by Times Mirror for its *People, Press and Politics* survey series.

A full report on the findings and conclusions of the study is scheduled for Fall 1991.

FOR RELEASE: SUNDAY, JULY 28, 1991, A.M.

**ATTITUDES THAT BEAR ON ECONOMIC REFORM IN THE U.S.S.R.
A Preliminary Report**

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Donald S. Kellermann, Director
Andrew Kohut, Director of Surveys
Carol Bowman, Research Director
Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press
202/293-3126

ATTITUDES THAT BEAR ON ECONOMIC REFORM IN THE U.S.S.R.

(A Preliminary Report)

Times Mirror public opinion research in the U.S.S.R. finds that support for a free market economy in Russia and other Soviet Republics is modest at best and there is little evidence in the research that the Russian public is ready, willing or able to *easily* adapt to a free market economy.

Indeed, there are a number of indications in our polling that Russian beliefs about egalitarianism, profitability and views on entrepreneurs are antithetical to a free market.

At this time public support for a market economy may be being fueled more by a desire for economic change and relief than by a significant understanding of, or commitment to, free enterprise.

In that regard, it is clear that the dismal state of the economy dominates Soviet life almost to the exclusion of other issues. The primacy of economic concerns is such that in free response questions about national priorities and personal aspirations there is little registration of concern about important matters attendant to the emergence of democracy, the restructuring of the Soviet Union or the nationalities problems. The economy, economic deprivation, and financial worries overwhelm all other aspects of Soviet life.

More than three of every four Russians and Ukrainians mentioned economic problems as the nation's most important concern. And nearly one in five Russians cited the threat of starvation as the overriding issue in the U.S.S.R. Just 6% mentioned the most frequently noted non-economic issue, solving political problems and disputes.

Perhaps the most telling evidence of harrowing fear of economic disaster is reflected in the Lithuanian survey results. Although the highly nationalistic Balts cite independence as the most important problem facing the nation, when asked to name their greatest worry about the future, the failure of the Independence movement was the number *two* concern. The number one worry by far in the breakaway Republic is that the economy won't improve.

The Times Mirror survey gauged the receptivity of the Soviet publics to a market economy in three ways: 1) by asking direct questions about the kind of economy wanted in the future; 2) by measuring people's willingness to accept specific economic changes; and 3) by examining the values of the Russian people that bear on their capacity to accept capitalism.

Direct Measures

The Russian and Ukrainian publics show far less approval of efforts to establish a market economy than they do of their emerging multi-party democracy. A modest 54% majority of the Russians and 53% of Ukrainians approved of efforts to establish a free market economy. In contrast, over six in ten approved of *political pluralism* in both Soviet republics (60% in Russia and 72% in the Ukraine).

One indication of the role that the urgency of solving economic problems plays in Russian opinion about the free market is that the vast majority of those who approve of attempting a free market approach believes that the movement to a free market is going too slowly. In other countries approval of a free market is not as closely linked to impatience with its implementation.

When the Soviet people are asked to choose between various socialist and capitalist alternatives for the future, support for capitalism is even less evident. In Russia 46% pick a socialist alternative compared to 40% who select a form of capitalism. Most prefer democratic socialism (36%), while a Scandinavian form of capitalism is the second most popular individual scenario for the future (23%).

A very small minority chooses "status quo" communism for the future (10%) and only slightly more pick a free market form of capitalism (17%). In the Ukraine the balance tips more in the direction of some form of capitalism (49% to 37%), while in Lithuania there is a clear mandate - 67% favor a capitalist alternative versus 12% a socialist one.

Analysis of the survey reveals that general opinion about capitalism and attitudes toward specific economic changes are highly correlated with the demographics of Soviet life. Men, younger people and the better educated and more affluent people show much more support for advancing along the road to a free market system than do their counterparts in both Russian and the Ukraine.

In Russia 6 out of 10 men favor steps toward a free market economy compared to 40% of women. Among *under 25's*, seven in ten favor a free market economy compared to less than 20% of Russians 70 years of age and older. In this classless society, 6 out of 10 of those with family incomes of more than 700 rubles or more per month approve of trying a market approach, compared to slightly less than half of those earning fewer rubles.

Opinions about political pluralism show exactly the same demographic pattern. Among Russian men, 7 in 10 approve of democratic reforms while slightly more than half of the women feel that way. This may suggest that these patterns reflect the capacity of different kinds of people in Russian society to accept change, as much as feelings about the issues themselves.

Opinion about Specific Economic Changes

Public ambivalence about a free market economy is underscored by the equivocal attitudes that Russians and Ukrainians have toward the concrete economic changes required to transform the Soviet economy. When questioned about the desirability of state control versus privatization, we found a clear preference for privatization in only one out of 13 areas - *farming*.

By huge margins (79% and 86%) the Russian and Ukrainian publics say they would like to see state-run enterprises for heavy industry.

For consumer manufacturing and retail shops, pluralities prefer the availability of *both* private and state enterprises while overwhelming majorities (63% and upwards) favor electricity, transportation, and the phone systems in state hands.

Majorities of Russians and Ukrainians also choose state control of newspapers, radio and tv, schools, and health care. Farming is the one area where there is clear majority support for privately run enterprises in both Russia and the Ukraine (75%).

Nonetheless, many Russians oppose allowing farmers to sell their land on the open market. The controversial measure is favored by a narrow 47% to 42% margin in Russia, by a comfortable 60% to 27% margin in the heavily agrarian Ukraine, and by 66% in Lithuania.

One of the most hopeful signs for economic reform in the survey is that majorities in both Russia and the Ukraine favor letting prices increase as a way of making more products available, yet there are many opposed to this step. In Russia the concept is favored by a 59% to 31% majority, and in the Ukraine by a 51% to 37% majority.

Another encouraging note, is that by a two-to-one margin Russians and Ukrainians say they are willing to accept some unemployment for the sake of modernizing the economy. And almost all people in both surveys endorse the idea of borrowing to start private businesses.

However, opinions about people who run cooperatives (the prevalent Soviet form of free enterprise) is another matter. *Our fuller reporting will show that most Russians and Ukrainians think that people who run cooperatives are having a bad effect on the way things are going in the country.* And the Soviet publics divide sharply on whether entrepreneurs should be allowed to make as much profit as they can. In Russia 50% favor unlimited profits, and slightly fewer (45%) feel the state should limit profits. In the Ukraine the margin is about as close (49% vs. 45%).

Basic Beliefs and Values

Opinions about capitalism generally and economic reforms reflect more deep seated values and beliefs. Deep-rooted feelings about egalitarianism and individualism are especially relevant.

A plurality of Russians (46%) and Ukrainians (44%) think that people who get ahead do so at the expense of other people.[†] A distinct minority see success as a consequence of some people having more ability or ambition than others (37%). Lithuanians are more apt to see success as a result of ambition and energy (50%) than as a consequence of people exploiting other people (39%).

On the other hand, many Russians and Ukrainians have difficulty with the concept of personal accountability for failure. Forty-five percent of people interviewed in Russia think that most people who fail in life do so because of personal shortcomings, but almost as many (39%) think that personal failure is society's fault, not the individual's shortcomings. Ukrainians were even more inclined to blame society for failure (48%) than to blame the individual (36%).

Lithuanians see things differently. A clear 58% to 28% margin attribute personal failure to the individual rather than society. Lithuanians are much closer to Western values than Russians or Ukrainians on many economic dimensions.

This certainly comes through in the comparative results of one standard Times Mirror opinion measure. A third of Americans and *Lithuanians* agree with the statement that "*hard work doesn't guarantee success*". In Russia, and the Ukraine that percentage is 60+%. (The Times Mirror full release on this study will contrast the basic beliefs of Russians, Ukrainians, and Lithuanians on 100 questions asked in the U.S., Western, Central, and Eastern Europe).

On the matter of work, surprisingly large majorities of each public questioned said they would prefer to work on an incentive system that would allow them to earn more if they accomplished a lot, but would limit their pay if they were not productive. In Lithuania 86% felt this way, in the Ukraine 79% and in Russia 65%.

The gender, age and socioeconomic patterns observed about capitalism are equally evident in the values of the people we interviewed in these Soviet republics. In Russia, clear pluralities of men, younger people and the more affluent saw an individual's failure as society's fault. Among women, older people and among poorer and less well-educated people society was blamed as often or more often. The same pattern is evident at least to some degree in almost all of the measures noted above.

The consequences of the economic situation on the mood of the people is extraordinary. This survey dramatically reveals how low the national spirit has sunk and how little optimism there is that things will improve in the near term.

The Russian and Ukrainian publics surveyed recorded some of the lowest "*well-being*" ratings for themselves and their country that we have ever observed. No fewer than 89% of the Russians polled rated the present state of their country below "5" on a ten point scale and almost everyone we interviewed felt the country was in worse shape than it was five years ago. The last comparable measure in the U.S. by the *Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press* found 20% of Americans rating the

state of the nation poorly and 27% feeling the country had lost ground recently (February 1989).

People rate their own lives almost as poorly as they rate the state of the nation. Just 2% rated their present ability to achieve their life's goals highly, 32% rated their situation as average and 64% poor. The comparable American ratings were 31% high, 55% average and 13% poor.

A majority of Russians (57%) judge their present life less satisfying than their life five years ago and only 40% of Russians expect their life to be better five years from now compared to 23% who think things will get even worse.

Ukrainians express equally negative assessments of their lives and of the condition of their country but are a little more optimistic about the future than are Russians.

Lithuanian assessments are sharply different. First, they tend to view their lives somewhat more positively than either Russians or Ukrainians - most (51%) judge their progress toward life's goals as "average" but more significantly, a 51% majority of Lithuanians expect to make progress in their life over the next five years. These Baltic respondents were even more optimistic about the future of their country - 75% expect Lithuania to be better off five years from now than it is today.

SOVIET SURVEY METHODOLOGY

I. Interviewing, Sample Design and Statistical Adjustments

Face-to-face personal interviews with representative samples of the adult public were conducted simultaneously in three republics of the U.S.S.R. - the European part of Russia, the Ukraine and Lithuania. The Russian and Ukrainian surveys were conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Sociology of the USSR, Academy of Sciences. The Lithuanian survey was conducted by the Sociological Laboratory of Vilnius University.

The Russian and Ukrainian Survey

As this survey was part of a comparative European study the Russian sample was limited to the European part of the Republic. Although the European part of the RSFSR is only one third of the whole territory of the Russian Republic (the latter being 17,075,400 square km or 6,592,849 square miles), approximately two-thirds of the population of the Russian Republic live in the European part of Russia, which embraces the territory from the Baltic to the Urals. The survey is projectible to the 70 million adults aged 18 and older living in this part of the Russian Republic.

In the Ukraine, the survey covered the whole republic, and is projectible to 38 million adults aged 18 & older.

In RSFSR, 1,123 interviews were conducted in the following regions (oblasts) - Moscow (378), Leningrad (215), Samara (75), Volgograd (133), Kirov (70), Vladimir (39), Pskov (60), Severo-Osetinskaja (78) and Karelia (52), both autonomous republics. In each region, different types of cities, towns and villages were covered; a) a city with the population one million and over, usually the capital city of a region [oblast or autonomous republic]; b) a city with a population of 1,000,000 - 500,000; c) a city with a population of 500,000 to 100,000; d) a city with a population of less than 100,000; (e) a village.

The regions of Moscow and Leningrad were deliberately chosen and oversampled for special analysis, as they represent the parts of RSFSR where the move toward political and economic change is more noticeable. Other oblasts, and also cities and towns in each oblast were randomly selected. Villages were usually chosen because of their vicinity to medium-sized and small towns in oblasts.

Districts in cities and towns were chosen at random (8 in Moscow, 6 in Donetsk, 5 in Leningrad, 5 in Kiev, 4 in Lugansk, 4 in Volgograd, 3 in Samara, 3 in Kirov, 3 in Gouse-Khrustanij, 3 in Pskov, 3 in Petrozavodsk, 3 in Vladikavkas and 3 in each of the smaller cities. In each district, the addresses and names were selected at random out of election lists and no fewer than three election stations were taken.

The interviewers had the lists of randomly selected respondents with the name, address and year of birth of each respondent given (the age limit on this survey was 80 years). They were also given an additional list which is comprised of additional names which were to be used in case of refusals or long absences of respondents. In case of the absence of a respondent, an interviewer was supposed to come back twice more, and then if a respondent was still unavailable, the interviewer moved on to the next name on the additional list.

In small towns and villages with a small number of interviews, the random route procedure was used to select a household and, of the members of that household, the interviewer first applied to a younger man in the family, and in case of his absence, an older woman in the family.

The demographic parameters were checked by the field managers according to the quota of distribution of demographic characteristics - gender, age, urban/rural type of population.

Interviews were conducted in 99 sampling points in the period between April 15, 1991 and May 5, 1991. The interviews were conducted on weekdays between 5:00 and 10:00 p.m. and on weekends between 10:00 a.m. and 10:00 p.m.

In the Ukraine, the sample of 586 people covered 4 major parts:

1. Industrial and mining, which was represented by two big oblasts - Lugansk (151) and Donetsk (30);
2. Central part - Kiev (122), Kirovograd (49), Tchernigov (49) oblasts;
3. South - Odessa (29) and Nikolajev (46);
4. Western Ukraine - Carpathian oblasts (53), Lvov (72) oblasts.

Interviews were conducted in 64 sampling points in the period between April 15, 1991 and May 5, 1991.

For the survey, 99 local interviewers were employed in the Russian Republic and 59 interviewers in the Ukraine. There were two general managers of the fieldwork, one for RSFSR and one for the Ukraine, and also managers for each oblasts. The fieldwork in Moscow, Volgograd, Osetija and Vladimir oblasts (Gouse-Kchrustanij) was supervised by the Moscow team [ROMIR and Institute of Sociology representatives]]. Fieldwork in Leningrad, Pskov and Karelija regions was supervised by the Leningrad team. Fieldwork in Samara and Kirov was supervised by the local managers. Fieldwork in the Ukraine was supervised by the Lugansk University team.

Training of the fieldwork managers was conducted by the Institute of Sociology on April 9, 1991 by Soviet project leader, Dr. Elena Bashkistrova. Training of the interviewers for Moscow and Vladimir oblasts was conducted in Moscow during the week of April 9 - 12, 1991 by ROMIR and the Institute of Sociology. Training of interviewers for Leningrad, Karelija and Pskov region was conducted in Leningrad and

training of interviewers for Volgograd, Samara, Kirov and Osetija was conducted in these cities between April 10 - 12, 1991.

Training of fieldwork managers for the Ukraine was conducted on April 11, 1991 in Kiev by Dr. S. Milogolov, and training of the interviewers was carried out in the local places on April 12 - 15, 1991.

The interviewers who conducted interviews were mainly professionals who were experienced in face-to-face interviews and already used by the Institute of Sociology and ROMIR Company - researchers for the Institute of Sociology, Moscow, Leningrad, Kirov, Lugansk, Kiev and Vladikavkas Universities and part-time interviewers working for ROMIR (Moscow) and SOCIO (Samara).

The field managers controlled the interviewers' work by visiting randomly at least 10% of the respondents (in larger cities - such as Moscow, Leningrad, Volgograd and Samara - 5% of interviews were checked by telephone). Biases in samples were controlled by the field manager according to quota distribution of main socio-demographic parameters: gender, age and rural/urban type of population.

The questionnaires collected and checked by the local field managers were then brought to Moscow to the Institute of Sociology, where both sets of questionnaires were coded (Ukrainian questionnaires were coded by people whose native tongue is Ukrainian). The questionnaire was comprised of 15 open-ended questions, 9 of which were pre-coded (nationality, occupation of respondent, lists of countries, soviet republics, occupation preferences for their children); for 6 questions, code-books were done on the basis of 300 questionnaires in RSFSR and 150 questionnaires in the Ukraine. For two questions (What are your hopes for the future and what do you need to be happy?) a list of codes for other countries was used as a starting point which served quite well and then they were supplemented by a few other codes marked specifically as Russian or Ukrainian.

The open-ended questions were coded, the data punched and data filed in ASCII format and then sent to the U.S.

The general supervision of the survey conducted in the Russian Republic and the Ukraine was carried out by Dr. Elena Bashkirova, a head of department of the Institute of Sociology and the Director of ROMIR Company, which is an independent research company for Russian public opinion and market research.

Russian survey results were statistically adjusted to take into account the oversampling of the Moscow and Leningrad regions (600 interviews). The 500 interviews obtained in the 40 primary sampling units within seven other oblasts (regions) were statistically weighted to represent 77% of the total sample. Survey results from Russia and the Ukraine were compared to official statistics on age, sex, education and degree of urbanization. Subsequently, it was deemed necessary only to statistically weight the results of the Russian and Ukrainian surveys to account for an

over-representation of well-educated people (not unlike the level of over-representation found in American surveys).

The Lithuanian Survey

The survey is based on a republic wide personal interview survey that embraced the adult population, aged 16 years and older, in all five ethnic regions of Lithuania.

Given the degree to which ethnicity is an important factor differentiating the opinions of inhabitants of the Republic, non-Lithuanians, Russians and Poles were oversampled.

The field interviewing was carried out in 50 primary sampling units by trained interviewers from the Sociological Laboratory of Vilnius University. Interviews were conducted in Lithuanian and Russian languages. Households were drawn on a "random route basis". One interview was conducted per household and age and sex quotas were used to select respondents within the household.

The sample of primary sampling units was drawn at random based on the latest Lithuanian Census data on sex, age, nationality, and urban-rural structure. Russians and Poles were oversampled so as to have a sufficient number for analysis. A total of 501 interviews were conducted, 332 with Lithuanians, 68 Russians, and 87 Poles. The sample was statistically weighted to account for this ethnic disproportionality. Given the completeness and recent nature of the census data, the survey data was statistically fit to an age, sex, and education model after the ethnic weighting was accomplished.

II. The Questionnaire

The initial draft of the questionnaire was developed by the *Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press*. It was designed to facilitate cross-national comparisons of results amongst European countries and between European and American opinions. However, about a third of the questions in each survey are unique to each country, or Soviet republic under study. Many of the comparative questions in the survey were based upon measures developed by Times Mirror for its *People, Press and Politics* survey series.

A draft of the questionnaire was submitted in October of 1990 to a committee of European survey researchers consisting of the project leaders from each country included in the survey. Comments and suggestions were solicited and a second draft of the survey instrument was re-submitted to the European research group for pretesting. Pre-tests were conducted in December of 1990.

Final questionnaires were prepared based on results of the pretest and with the guidance and assistance of the European project leader group. The final questionnaire was submitted to each country in English On April 1, 1991. Drafts were returned to the Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press in local languages which were translated back into English as a check for language comparability.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
EAST/WEST POLL - MASTER TOPLINE
THE U.S.S.R.

Q.101 What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>
Solution of economic problems	41	40
Save the country from economic crisis	19	20
Threat of starvation and food problems	18	14
Solve political problems	6	10
Lower the prices	5	6
Political crisis	6	5
Lack of stability and order	5	5
Nationality problems	5	6
Ecology	**	5
Problems related to political leaders	2	**
Cultural and moral problems	**	3
Transition to a market economy	3	3
Other	12	11
No reported	5	2

**Not among the ten most frequently cited answers in this country.

Q.101 What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

	<u>Lithuania</u>
Independence of Lithuania	52
General economic conditions	27
Low standard of living	9
Critics of authorities	4
Soviet army	3
Unemployment	2
Miscellaneous	8
DK	5

Q.106 All of us want certain things out of life. When you think about what really matters in your own life, what are your wishes and hopes for the future, if you are to be happy?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
General economic conditions	19	18	11
Personal economic situation	14	20	12
Family financially stable	9	10	5
Job/work situation	12	12	10
Own personal happiness	11	10	8
Civil peace and consensus in the country	7	7	*
Family well-being/Family life	8	7	12
Freedom	**	7	21
War/Peace	7	7	**
Good health	8	5	11
Better housing opportunities	3	**	4
Children's happiness/ Children's future	**	6	8

*Less than .5%

**Not among the ten most frequently cited answers in this country.

CONTINUED....

Q.106 CONTINUED....

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
Confidence in tomorrow	3	5	**
Equality and respect for all people	3	**	3
Quality education for self or family	**	**	**
Security in old age	**	**	**
Political stability in the country	**	**	**
Less crime	**	**	**
Human rights/ respect of ethics of people/freedom	**	**	**
Safe environment/ clean water/air	**	**	**
That nothing will change	**	**	**
Less unemployment (general)	**	**	**
Individual freedoms	**	**	4
Faster and successfully carried out economic reform	**	**	**

*Less than .5%

**Not among the ten most frequently cited answers in this country.

CONTINUED....

Q.106 CONTINUED....

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
To get rid of poverty and become a richer country	**	**	**
Preservation and future development of state social policy	**	**	**
Other	25	28	8
None/No hopes	3	2	2
DK	10	2	9

*Less than .5%

**Not among the ten most frequently cited answers in this country.

Q.108 (HAND RESPONDENT CARD A) Here is a ladder representing the "ladder of life." Let's suppose the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you; and the bottom, the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
High	2	3	5
Average	32	28	52
Low	64	67	43
No Opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>*</u>
	100	100	100

Q.109 On which step would you say you stood five years ago?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
High	12	12	13
Average	42	52	42
Low	43	32	43
No Opinion	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100
Feel Personal Progress	21	16	38
Feel Personal Decline	57	64	43
Neither	<u>22</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>
	100	100	100

Q.110 Just as your best guess, on which step do you think you will stand in the future, say about five years from now?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
High	10	12	24
Average	31	32	32
Low	39	40	23
No Opinion	<u>20</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>21</u>
	100	100	100
Optimist	40	45	51
Pessimist	23	25	15
Neither	<u>37</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>34</u>
	100	100	100

Q.111 Looking at the ladder again, suppose the top represents the best possible situation for our country; and the bottom, the worst possible situation. Please tell me on which step of the ladder you think our country is at the present time.

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
High	1	1	2
Average	7	8	24
Low	89	89	71
No Opinion	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100

Q.112 On which step would you say our country was about five years ago?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
High	9	8	12
Average	41	49	32
Low	46	40	50
No Opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
Feel Progress	5	6	34
Feel Decline	85	84	52
Neither	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100

Q.113 Just as your best guess, if things go pretty much as you now expect, where do you think our country will be on the ladder, let us say, about five years from now?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
High	7	8	26
Average	23	25	36
Low	50	49	26
No Opinion	<u>20</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100
Optimist	47	48	75
Pessimist	21	20	7
Neither	<u>32</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100	100

Q.203 Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of efforts to establish a multiparty system in our country?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
Total Approve	60	72	74
1 Strongly approve	21	21	30
2 Approve	39	51	45
Total Disapprove	26	18	17
3 Disapprove	19	15	11
4 Strongly disapprove	7	3	5
9 Dk	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100

Q.204 Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of efforts to establish a free market economy in ...?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
Total Approve	54	53	76
1 Strongly approve	15	13	26
2 Approve	39	40	50
Total Disapprove	32	34	11
3 Disapprove	23	26	8
4 Strongly disapprove	9	8	3
9 Dk	<u>14</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100

Q.205 Do you think _____ is moving too quickly, too slowly or at about the right pace to a free market economy?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
1 Too quickly	19	25	20
2 Too slowly	48	39	37
3 About right	5	6	21
4 Disapprove of move to free market economy (VOL)	10	10	4
9 No opinion	<u>18</u> 100	<u>20</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100

Q.215 There are many views about the future development of society. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD D) Which of these views comes closest to your point of view?

<u>Our Society in the Future</u>		<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lithuania</u>
1	A socialist society along the lines we have had in the past	10	10	3
2	A more democratic type of socialism	36	27	9
3	A modified form of capitalism such as found in Sweden	23	26	38
4	A free market form of capitalism such as found in the U.S. or Germany	17	23	29
9	No opinion	<u>14</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>21</u> 100

Q.216a (HAND RESPONDENT CARD E) Of the items listed on this card, which is your greatest worry about the future? And which is second? (Q.216b in Lithuania)

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lithuania</u>
a. We will not solve our economic problems Greatest worry	44	41	35
b. Political liberalization will not continue Greatest worry	3	4	6
c. There will be political repression Greatest worry	6	5	12
d. This republic will not achieve its independence from the Soviet Union Greatest worry	3	12	20
e. There will be a further breakdown in law and order Greatest worry	12	11	8
f. There will be an all out civil war Greatest worry	28	26	18
Don't know - greatest worry	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

Q.217 Do you favor or oppose farmers being able to sell land that they own?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lithuania</u>
1 Favor	47	60	66
2 Oppose	42	27	27
9 Don't know	$\frac{11}{100}$	$\frac{13}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$

Q.218 Do you favor or oppose the right of the individual to own and sell property at the price he or she sets?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lithuania</u>
1 Favor	64	69	93
2 Oppose	28	20	5
9 Don't know	$\frac{8}{100}$	$\frac{11}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$

Q.226 As I read from a list tell me if you think this activity should be mainly run by the state or a cooperative, or mainly run privately.

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
a. Farming			
State	6	5	9
Privately	75	74	56
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	15	19	33
No Opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100
b. Health care			
State	47	43	33
Privately	10	10	27
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	42	46	38
No Opinion	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100
c. Banks			
State	52	52	47
Privately	10	8	20
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	32	33	25
No Opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100
d. Food stores			
State			
Privately	(NOT ASKED)	(NOT ASKED)	
Both (VOLUNTEERED)			
No Opinion			
e. Manufacture of consumer goods			
State	25	26	27
Privately	21	16	31
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	52	56	38
No Opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100
f. Shops			
State	24	28	13
Privately	27	21	43
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	46	50	42
No Opinion	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100

*Less than .5%

CONTINUED....

Q.226 CONTINUED.....

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
g. Mining			
State			
Privately	(NOT ASKED)	(NOT ASKED)	
Both (VOLUNTEERED)			
No Opinion			
h. Restaurants			
State	18	25	13
Privately	42	33	49
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	35	39	33
No Opinion	5	3	5
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
i. Heavy industry			
State	79	86	69
Privately	3	1	8
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	14	11	16
No Opinion	4	2	7
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
j. The phone system			
State	75	81	81
Privately	6	4	5
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	16	13	10
No Opinion	3	2	4
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
k. Radio & television			
State	54	53	59
Privately	6	3	11
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	36	43	27
No Opinion	4	1	3
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
l. Trains & buses			
State	63	71	67
Privately	6	3	7
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	28	24	24
No Opinion	3	2	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
m. Newspapers			
State	41	41	39
Privately	10	5	16
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	46	53	42
No Opinion	3	1	3
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.226 CONTINUED....

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lithuania</u>
f. Schools			
State	51	53	56
Privately	8	7	9
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	38	37	32
No Opinion	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100
m. Electricity			
State	88	93	88
Privately	2	*	1
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	7	5	6
No Opinion	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100

Q.229 Some say that people who get ahead these days do so mainly at the expense of other people, others say that people who get ahead these days do so because they have more ability and ambition than other people - which comes closer to your point of view?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lithuania</u>
1 At other people's expense	46	44	39
2 Ability and ambition	37	37	50
9 No opinion	<u>17</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100

Q.230 Some say that most people who don't succeed in life fail because of society's failures. Others say that most people who don't succeed do so because of their own individual failures. Which comes closer to your point of view?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lithuania</u>
1 Society's failures	39	48	28
2 Personal failures	45	36	58
9 No opinion	<u>16</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100

Q.233 Some people feel that prices should be allowed to rise so that products will be available, even if everyone can't afford them. Others feel that prices should be kept low, even if it means that products are sometimes not available? Which opinion generally comes closer to your point of view?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
1 Let prices increase	59	51	46
2 Keep prices low	31	37	43
9 Can't say	$\frac{10}{100}$	$\frac{12}{100}$	$\frac{11}{100}$

Q.234 Some people feel that there should be no unemployment in _____, even if it means that the _____ economy will not be improved and modernized in the near future. Others feel some unemployment in _____ is acceptable, if that's what it takes to improve and modernize the economy. Generally, which position come closer to your point of view?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
1 No unemployment	30	33	31
2 Accept some unemployment	63	58	62
9 Can't say	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{9}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$

Q.235 Do you think that people who start privately owned businesses should be allowed to make as much profit as they can or should the government limit how much profit they can make?

	<u>Russia*</u>	<u>Ukraine*</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
1 As much as they can	50	49	51
2 Limit it	45	45	43
9 Can't say	$\frac{5}{100}$	$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{6}{100}$

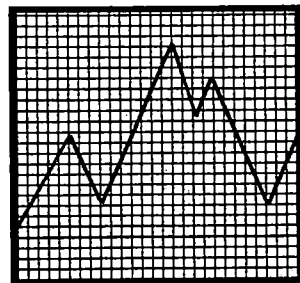
Q.306 In general, how would you most prefer to be paid -- on a fixed salary basis, so that you always know how much you will earn --- or mostly on an incentive basis which will allow you to earn more if you accomplish a lot, but may result in less earnings if you don't accomplish enough?

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Lith- uania</u>
1 Fixed	23	17	13
2 Incentive	65	79	86
9 Can't say	$\frac{12}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

*Less than .5%

Poll Watch

A Review of Recent National Polling Data



From the Office of the GOP Conference Secretary
Bob Kasten, *Secretary*

Bill Canfield, Staff Director
Rick Dearborn, Deputy
202-224-3496

Contents

7/23/91

- 1) **Bush Approval** (L.A. Times/Mirror Poll: 7/11-14/91)
- 2) **Which Party is Better At ...**
(Tarrance/Greenburg-Lake Poll: 7/17/91)
- 3) **Family Income/Cost of Living**
(Tarrance/Greenburg-Lake Poll: 7/17/91)
- 4) **Thomas, the Court, and the Media**
(CNN/Gallup Poll: 7/11-14/91; L.A. Times/Mirror Poll: 7/11-14/91)
- 5) **Abortion & the Media**
(CNN/Gallup Poll: 7/11-14/91; L.A. Times/Mirror Poll: 7/11-14/91)
- 6) **Which Network Covers the News Best ?**
(L.A. Times/Mirror Poll: 7/11-14/91)

1) BUSH APPROVAL

(L.A. Times/Mirror Poll: 1,212 adults surveyed from 7/11-14/91; margin of error +/- 3%; rel. 7/17)

BUSH APPROVAL	<u>7/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>1/25/91</u>	<u>1/3/91</u>
Approve	67%	77%	84%	79%	59%
Disapprove	23	16	10	14	24
DK	10	7	6	7	17

2) WHICH PARTY IS BETTER AT

(Tarrance/Greenburg-Lake Poll: surveyed 1,000 voters from 6/21-23/91; margin of error +/- 3.1%; rel. 7/17)

	<u>GOP</u>	<u>DEMS</u>	<u>BOTH</u>	<u>NEITHER</u>	<u>DK</u>
Strong Nat'l Defense	64%	15%	5%	3%	14%
Holding taxes down	50	24	3	12	11
Reducing Federal Deficit	35	27	3	23	12
Handling Nation's Economy	41	30	3	12	13
Improving Education/Schools	25	43	6	11	14
Dealing w/ Crime	36	23	7	15	19
Keeping USA prosperous	43	25	6	10	16
Protecting Soc. Security	24	51	5	8	12
Resisting spec. interests	21	48	4	13	15
Sharing your Values	37	35	6	10	12
Fighting on your side	34	34	6	11	15
Health Care	21	52	5	9	13
Environment	25	44	8	9	15

3) FAMILY INCOME/COST OF LIVING
(Tarrance/Greenburg-Lake Poll: released 7/17/91)

Question: In the last year, has your Family Income
w/ Cost of Living ?

Gone up	10%
Fallen behind	51
Stayed even	36

Question: In a year, will you be Financially

Better off	23%
Worse off	18
About the same	53

4) THOMAS, THE COURT, AND THE MEDIA
(CNN/Gallup Poll: surveyed 1,217 adults from 7/11-14;
margin of error +/- 4%; rel. 7/17)

Q: Should the Senate Confirm Thomas ?

	<u>ALL</u>	<u>WHITE</u>	<u>BLACK</u>
Yes	52%	52%	57%
No	17	16	18
DK	31	32	25

Q: Thomas would be ...

Too liberal	7%
Too conservative	20
About right	46
DK	27

Q: Is the Supreme Court ...

	<u>7/91</u>	<u>7/86</u>
Too liberal	20%	14%
Too conservative	25	22
About right	39	42
DK	16	22

4) THOMAS, THE COURT, AND THE MEDIA - CONTINUED
(L.A. Times/Mirror Poll: released 7/17)

Q: Is the Court made up of ...

Conservatives	42%
Liberals	9
Evenly Divided	27
DK	22

Q: Has the Media been Fair/Unfair to Thomas ?

Fair	58%
Unfair	20
DK	22

Q: How So ? (Among "unfair")

Too Supportive	1%
Too Critical	18
DK	1

5) ABORTION & THE MEDIA
(CNN/Gallup Poll: 7/17)

Question: "In 1973, the [SC] ruled that states cannot place restrictions on a woman's right to an abortion during the first three months ... Would you like to see this ruling overturned ?"

	<u>7/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>7/89</u>	<u>4/89</u>	<u>12/88</u>
Yes	37%	42%	34%	39%	37%
No	56	52	58	51	58
DK	7	6	8	10	5

(L.A. Times/Mirror Poll: 7/17)

Question: Is the Media Fair/One-sided in Abortion reporting?

Fair	43%
Unfair	43
DK	14

Which side do they favor ? (Those who said one-sided)

Pro-life	19%
Pro-Choice	18
DK	6

6) WHICH NETWORK COVERS THE NEWS THE BEST ?
 (L.A. Times/Mirror Poll: 7/17)

	<u>7/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>1/25/91</u>	<u>1/3/91</u>	<u>9/90</u>
ABC	18%	18%	12%	12%	18%	21%
CBS	14	13	8	7	17	14
NBC	13	14	10	7	13	13
CNN	41	41	58	61	30	27
DK	14	14	12	13	22	25



FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Project #: 5545

Date: June 21, 1991

of pages: 17 (including this sheet)

Deliver to: The Hon. John Sununu

Firm: The White House

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

FAX #: 202-456-2397

From: Richard B. Wirthlin

Firm: The Wirthlin Group

(Please call to confirm
receipt of fax ■ ■)

1363 Beverly Road
McLean, Virginia 22101

Phone: (703) 556-0001

FAX #: (703) 556-9765 / (703) 893-3811

Comments: _____

**THE WIRTHLIN GROUP
MEMORANDUM**

TO: The Honorable John Sununu
FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin
SUBJECT: Flash Results from the June Quorum
DATE: June 21, 1991

Attached please find the results of our June Quorum. I hope you find it interesting. If you have any questions or comments, please don't hesitate to call me at (703) 556-0001.

#5545-12 (15)

DATE _____

EMPLOYEE NUMBER _____

NOTE: This interview is the sole property of Decima Research. Any attempt to duplicate or sell the contents constitutes an illegal act and is subject to prosecution.

2. What would you say is the single most important problem facing the United States today, that is, the one that you, yourself, are most concerned about?

POCKETBOOK/ECONOMY

Big Business	*
Budget Negotiations/Lack of	
Federal Budget	1%
Deficits/Federal Debt	5%
The Economy/Recession	13%
Energy	*
Farm Problems	*
Government Spending	1%
High Gas Prices	-
High Interest Rates	-
High Taxes/Unfair Taxes	2%
Industry	-
Inflation	2%
Labor Unions	-
Oil (Price/US dependency)	-
Unemployment	8%

FOREIGN POLICY/PEACE

Middle East Situation

American involvement/troops	
in the Middle East	*
Chemical Weapons	*
Iraq/Saddam Hussein	*
Kuwait	-
Middle East	*
Saudi Arabia	*
Situation/War in the Persian	
Gulf	1%
Arms Race/Nuclear Freeze	*
Central America	-
Communism	-
Eastern Europe	-
Foreign Policy	*
International Trade/Imports	1%
National Defense	*
South Africa	-
Soviet Relations	-
Terrorism	*
Too Much Foreign Aid	1%
War/World Peace	-
World Respect	-

No Problems 95

SOCIAL

Abortion (PRO-CHOICE)	-
Abortion (PRO-LIFE)	1%
Child Abuse/Kidnapping	*
Child/Day Care	-
Crime	3%
Drugs	10%
Education	4%
Environment/Pollution	5%
E.R.A./Equal Rights	*
Health care costs	2%
Housing	-
Nuclear Plants/Nuclear	
Disaster	*
Poverty/Hunger/Homeless	11%
Racial Problems/Discrimina-	
tion	1%
Social Security/Aid to	
Elderly	1%
Welfare (too little)	*
Welfare (too much)	*

OTHER

AIDS	2%
Congress	*
Decline in Moral Values	4%
Future/Youth	1%
Government Corruption/Control	
Bureaucracy/Leadership	2%
HUD problems	-
Illegal Aliens/Immigration	*
S & L Bailout	1%
George Bush	-
Other (SPECIFY):	

Don't Know (DO NOT READ) . . . 3%

REFUSED (DO NOT READ) 1%

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL
DECIMA RESEARCH
1363 Beverly Road
McLean, Virginia 22101
June 17-19, 1991

Project #5545-12
Time Started _____
Time Ended _____
Field Edit _____
Field Validation _____
Coding Edit _____

Hello, I'm _____ of Decima Research, a national research firm. We're talking with people all around the nation today, and would like to ask you a few questions (OPTIONAL) on a confidential basis. (DO NOT PAUSE)

A. Are you 18 years of age or older?

- 1 YES (SKIP TO Q.1)
- 2 NO (ASK Q.B)

IF "NO" IN Q.A, ASK:

B. Is there anyone else in your household who is at least 18 years of age?

(IF "NO," THANK AND TERMINATE)

(IF "YES," ASK:) May I speak with that person, please?
(NOTE:) IF UNAVAILABLE, ARRANGE FOR CALLBACK.

(IF "YES," REPEAT Q.A WITH NEW PERSON)

1. First, generally speaking, would you say that things in the country are going in the right direction, or have they pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

RIGHT DIRECTION	39%
WRONG TRACK	56%
NO OPINION (DO NOT READ)	5%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	*

Turning now to something else ...

3. 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)?

STRONGLY APPROVE	37%
SOMEWHAT APPROVE	37%
SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	9%
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	11%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	4%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	1%

Now, I'd like to ask you some questions about the environment ...

4. Do you believe that economic growth should be sacrificed for environmental quality, or should environmental quality be sacrificed for economic growth?

SACRIFICE ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY	27%
SACRIFICE ECONOMIC GROWTH	56%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	14%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	3%

5. 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.

(IF "AGREE/DISAGREE", ASK:) Would that be STRONGLY (agree/disagree) or just SOMEWHAT (agree/disagree)?

STRONGLY AGREE	41%
SOMEWHAT AGREE	28%
SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	18%
STRONGLY DISAGREE	10%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	2%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	1%

6. Do you think that current environmental problems have actually harmed you in any real sense or aren't you personally affected that much by environmental problems?

ENVIRONMENT HAS HARMED ME	32%
NOT PERSONALLY AFFECTED BY THE ENVIRONMENT	66%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	3%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	*

7. Over the past few years, have you made any changes in your day-to-day behavior because of your concerns about the environment?

(IF "YES", THEN ASK:)

Would you say that you have made ...

(ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM AND BOTTOM TO TOP)

YES, A LOT OF CHANGES	16%
YES, SOME CHANGES	30%
YES, ONLY A FEW CHANGES	20%
NO	34%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	1%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	*

Still thinking about the environment, I am now going to read you a list of changes some people have made in their day-to-day behavior because of their concern about the environment. As I read each one, please tell me whether you or someone in your household has made that kind of change in your day-to-day behavior.

(ROTATE)

8. Have you switched brands in order to purchase products that are biodegradable, not harmful to the ozone layer, or made from recycled products?

YES	77%
NO	23%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	1%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	-

9. Have you contributed money to an environmental action group?

YES	26%
NO	73%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	*
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	-

10. Do you buy refills so that you can re-use containers?

YES	67%
NO	33%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	*
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	-

11. Do you generally compare products and choose the brand that has the least damaging effect on the environment?

YES	63%
NO	36%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	2%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	-

12. Have you avoided the purchase of products made by a company that pollutes the environment?

YES	47%
NO	48%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	5%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	*

13. Do you sort and separate household garbage to be recycled?

YES	76%
NO	24%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	*
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	-

Now, I am going to read you some statements people have made on various environmental issues. For each statement I read, please tell me whether or not you agree or disagree with the statement.

The first/next statement is ... (WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:)
Would that be strongly agree ... somewhat agree ... somewhat disagree ... or strongly disagree ...?

(ROTATE)

14. Some pollution in the environment is inevitable in order for many industries to operate and provide jobs.

STRONGLY AGREE	24%
SOMEWHAT AGREE	51%
SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	12%
STRONGLY DISAGREE	11%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	3%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	*

15. If the pollution a company generates is well below the amount allowed by federal clean air and clean water standards, this assures there is no long term health risk.

STRONGLY AGREE	17%
SOMEWHAT AGREE	26%
SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	28%
STRONGLY DISAGREE	27%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	2%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	-

16. Industry has made tremendous progress by developing technology to reduce potentially dangerous emissions, control pollution, and comply with federal environmental standards.

STRONGLY AGREE	21%
SOMEWHAT AGREE	46%
SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	15%
STRONGLY DISAGREE	16%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	3%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	*

17. Do you think that there is too much, too little, or about the right amount of government regulation and involvement in the area of environmental protection?

TOO MUCH	11%
TOO LITTLE	63%
ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT	23%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	3%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	*

18. Still talking about the environment ... When you think of specific companies that have been associated with causing environmental problems, what company first comes to mind? What other one? Another? (PROBE AND RECORD FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD MENTIONS)

EXXON	23%
OIL COMPANIES - GENERAL	15%
CHEMICAL COMPANIES - GENERAL	11%
CAR COMPANIES - GENERAL	6%
DOW	5%
STEEL COMPANIES - GENERAL	5%

19. Let's say there were three research scientists --
(ROTATE)

-- one from the federal government,
-- one from a major corporation and
-- one from an environmental group

Each of these scientists has a different point of view about a major environmental issue. Which person would you be inclined to believe most?

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT	21%
MAJOR CORPORATIONS	7%
ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS	62%
NONE (DO NOT READ)	3%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	7%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	1%

20. Lately, there has been a lot of talk about threats to the environment. In general do you think environmental groups are exaggerating these threats in order to get the public to pay attention to them, or do you think these threats to the environment are as serious as the environmental groups say they are?

THREATS EXAGGERATED	28%
THREATS SERIOUS	66%
THREATS ARE NOT SERIOUS	3%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	3%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	*

21. From what you have heard and read recently, do you believe that racial minorities are given --

ROTATE RESPONSES

TOO MUCH CONSIDERATION	53%
TOO LITTLE CONSIDERATION	33%
JUST THE RIGHT AMOUNT OF CONSIDERATION (DO NOT READ)	8%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	5%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	1%

Now, I have just a few questions for statistical purposes only ...

22. What is your age, please?

18 - 24	14%
25 - 29	12%
30 - 34	12%
35 - 39	13%
40 - 44	10%
45 - 49	7%
50 - 54	6%
55 - 59	6%
60 - 64	4%
65 - 69	7%
70 - 74	5%
75 AND OLDER	4%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	*

23. What is the last grade of formal education you completed?

LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL	22%
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	34%
TECHNICAL/VOCATIONAL	5%
SOME COLLEGE	19%
COLLEGE GRADUATE	12%
POST-GRADUATE	8%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	*

24. In politics today, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

(IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT, ASK:) Would you call yourself a STRONG (Republican/Democrat) or a NOT-SO-STRONG (Republican/Democrat)?

(IF INDEPENDENT/OTHER/NO PREFERENCE, ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or to the Democratic party?

STRONG REPUBLICAN	13%
NOT-SO-STRONG REPUBLICAN	17%
LEAN TO REPUBLICANS	11%
INDEPENDENT/NO PREFERENCE	19%
LEAN TO DEMOCRATS	8%
NOT-SO-STRONG DEMOCRAT	16%
STRONG DEMOCRAT	16%

25. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be
... (ROTATE)

___ liberal

.... or

___ conservative

.... on most issues?

(IF "LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE", ASK:) Would you say that you are
VERY (liberal/conservative) or are you just SOMEWHAT
(liberal/conservative)?

VERY CONSERVATIVE	15%
SOMEWHAT CONSERVATIVE	40%
MODERATE (DO NOT READ)	4%
SOMEWHAT LIBERAL	28%
VERY LIBERAL	10%
NOT SURE/REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	4%

26. What is your total annual family income? (READ CATEGORIES)

UNDER \$5,000	4%
\$5,000 BUT LESS THAN \$10,000	7%
\$10,000 BUT LESS THAN \$15,000	9%
\$15,000 BUT LESS THAN \$20,000	10%
\$20,000 BUT LESS THAN \$25,000	9%
\$25,000 BUT LESS THAN \$30,000	8%
\$30,000 BUT LESS THAN \$35,000	8%
\$35,000 BUT LESS THAN \$40,000	6%
\$40,000 BUT LESS THAN \$50,000	9%
\$50,000 BUT LESS THAN \$60,000	8%
\$60,000 OR MORE	12%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	10%

27. What is your main ethnic or racial heritage?

(READ CATEGORIES -- ACCEPT ONE RESPONSE ONLY)

BLACK AMERICAN	11%
ENGLISH	22%
IRISH	15%
GERMAN	18%
FRENCH	4%
ITALIAN	6%
OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN	5%
SCANDINAVIAN	4%
EASTERN EUROPEAN	3%
JEWISH	1%
HISPANIC AMERICAN	7%
ASIAN	*
AMERICAN INDIAN	1%
OTHER (DO NOT READ)	1%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	1%

28. Are you married, separated, divorced, or single and never been married?

MARRIED	60%
SEPARATED	3%
DIVORCED	9%
SINGLE, AND NEVER BEEN MARRIED	20%
WIDOWED	7%
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	*

29. Sex (BY OBSERVATION)

MALE	48%
FEMALE	52%

Northeast	24%
Midwest	26%
South	32%
West	18%

New England	6%
Mid-Atlantic	19%
Great Lakes	20%
Farm Belt	6%
Mountain	4%
Pacific	14%
Outer South	22%
Deep South	10%

INTERVIEW # _____

What is your name, please? _____

IF REFUSAL, ASK:

May I have your first name in case my supervisor needs to verify that this interview actually took place?

TELEPHONE () _____
AREA NUMBER

I have re-read this completed questionnaire and certify that all questions requiring answers have been appropriately filled in and that this interview has been obtained from the individual designated.

INTERVIEWER _____

AX to John Sununu
o. fax # 202-456-2397
site Pgs 2 Confirm: Y N
from Richard Wirthlin
to
THE WIRTHLIN GROUP, McLean Virginia
Ph: (703) 556-0001 Fax: (703) 893-3811

The Wirthlin Group
MEMORANDUM

TO: The Honorable John Sununu
FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin
SUBJECT: MAY QUORUM
DATE: May 24, 1991

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

Attached please find the flash results of our National Quorum, fielded May 20-22, which I thought you'd be interested in. If you have any questions or comments, please don't hesitate to call me at (703) 556-0001.

FLASH TOPLINE RESULTS

Wirthlin Group National Quorum

May 20-22, 1991

N = 1,000 adults, 18+

Margin of error = $\pm 3.1\%$

1. First, generally speaking, would you say that things in the country are going in the right direction, or have they pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

RIGHT DIRECTION	38%
WRONG TRACK	53%
NO OPINION (DO NOT READ)	8%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	1%

Turning now to something else ...

3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as president? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/ disapprove)?
- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| STRONGLY APPROVE | 43% |
| SOMEWHAT APPROVE | 34% |
| SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE | 9% |
| STRONGLY DISAPPROVE | 9% |
| DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ) .. | 5% |
| REFUSED (DO NOT READ) | * |
-

4. How about the Congress? Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?

(IF "APPROVE/DISAPPROVE", ASK:) Would that be STRONGLY (approve/disapprove) or just SOMEWHAT (approve/disapprove)?

STRONGLY APPROVE	8%
SOMEWHAT APPROVE	36%
SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	23%
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	24%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)	9%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	1%

Now, I'd like you to consider for a moment the presidential elections that will be held next year.

5. Which of all the Democratic potential candidates would you most prefer be nominated to run against George Bush next year. (DO NOT READ RESPONSES)

LLOYD BENTSON	1%
JOSEPH BIDEN	*
BILL BRADELY	*
QUENTIN BURDICK	-
MARIO CUOMO (KU-o-mo)	3%
MICHAEL DUKAKIS	*
RICHARD GEPHARDT	1%
JOHN GLENN	*
ALBERT GORE	2%
JESSE JACKSON	1%
TED KENNEDY	1%
WALTER MONDALE	*
SAM NUNN	*
CHARLES ROBB	*
JAY ROCKEFELLER	*
PAUL SIMON	*
PAUL TSONGAS (SONG-gas)	1%
DOUG WILDER	*
OTHER (SPECIFY: _____)	6%
NONE	11%
DON'T KNOW	73%
REFUSED	1%

OTHER MENTIONS UNDER 1%

DAVID BOREN
JIMMY CARTER
HENRY CISNEROS
DIANE FEINSTEIN
TOM HARKIN
GARY HART
BEN HEFLIN
HUMPHREY
BOB KERRY
GEORGE MCGOVERN
COLIN POWELL
DAN ROSTENKOWSKY
NORMAN SCHWARTZKOPF

38. Just suppose for one moment you were the President of the United States and could make one change or one improvement. What would that be? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE)

POCKETBOOK/ECONOMY

Big Business	*
Budget Negotiations/Lack of	
Federal Budget	2%
Deficits/Federal Debt	5%
The Economy/Recession	6%
Energy	*
Farm Problems	*
Government Spending	2%
High Gas Prices	*
High Taxes/Unfair Taxes	6%
Industry	*
Inflation	1%
Labor Unions	*
Oil (Price/US dependency)	*
Unemployment	6%

FOREIGN POLICY/PEACE

<u>Middle East Situation</u>	
American involvement/troops	
in the Middle East	*
Chemical Weapons	*
Iraq/Saddam Hussein	*
Situation/War in the Persian	
Gulf	4%
Arms Race/Nuclear Freeze	*
Foreign Policy	*
International Trade/Imports	*
National Defense	*
Too Much Foreign Aid	2%
World Respect	*
No Problems	*

SOCIAL

Abortion (PRO-CHOICE)	*
Abortion (PRO-LIFE)	*
Child/Day Care	*
Crime	1%
Drugs	3%
Education	7%
Environment/Pollution	2%
E.R.A./Equal Rights	*
Health care costs	4%
Housing	*
Nuclear Plants/Nuclear	
Disaster	*
Poverty/Hunger/Homeless	9%
Racial Problems/Discrimina-	
tion	1%
Social Security/Aid to	
Elderly	4%
Welfare (too little)	2%

OTHER

AIDS	*
Congress	2%
Decline in Moral Values	1%
Future/Youth	1%
Government Corruption/Control	
Bureaucracy/Leadership	4%
HUD problems	*
Illegal Aliens/Immigration	*
Other (SPECIFY):	

_____	*

Don't Know (DO NOT READ) 9%
 REFUSED (DO NOT READ) 1%

POCKETBOOK/ECONOMY

Budget Negotiations	1%
Deficits/Federal Debt	6%
The Economy/Recession	13%
Energy	*
Farm Problems	*
Government Spending	1%
High Gas Prices	*
High Interest Rates	*
High Taxes/Unfair Taxes	3%
Industry	*
Inflation	2%
Labor Unions	*
Unemployment	9%

FOREIGN POLICY/PEACEMiddle East Situation

American involvement/troops	
In the Middle East	1%
Chemical Weapons	*
Iraq/Saddam Hussein	*
Middle East	*
Saudi Arabia	*
Situation in the Persian	
Gulf	1%
Communism	*
Foreign Policy	*
International Trade/Imports	*
National Defense	*
Too Much Foreign Aid	1%
World Respect	*

No Problems *

SOCIAL

Abortion (PRO-LIFE)	*
Child Abuse/Kidnapping	1%
Crime	3%
Drugs	11%
Education	4%
Environment/Pollution	6%
Health care costs	2%
Housing	*
Nuclear Plants/Nuclear	
Disaster	*
Poverty/Hunger/Homeless	7%
Racial Problems/Discrimina-	
tion	1%
Social Security/Aid to	
Elderly	2%
Welfare (too little)	*
Welfare (too much)	*

OTHER

AIDS	1%
Congress	*
Decline In Moral Values	4%
Future/Youth	1%
Government Corruption/Control	
Bureaucracy/Leadership	2%
HUD problems	*
Illegal Aliens/Immigration	*
S & L Bailout	*
George Bush	*
Other (SPECIFY):	

..... 9%

Don't Know (DO NOT READ) 3%

REFUSED (DO NOT READ) *

41. In politics today, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

(IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT, ASK:)

Would you call yourself a strong (Republican/Democrat) or a not-so-strong (Republican/Democrat)?

(IF INDEPENDENT/OTHER/NO PREFERENCE, ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or to the Democratic party?

STRONG REPUBLICAN 17%
NOT-SO-STRONG REPUBLICAN .18%
NOT-SO-STRONG DEMOCRAT . 20%
STRONG DEMOCRAT 13%

LEAN TO REPUBLICANS 9%
INDEPENDENT/NO PREFERENCE17%
LEAN TO DEMOCRATS 8%

-
42. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be
... (ROTATE)

___ liberal

... or ...

___ conservative

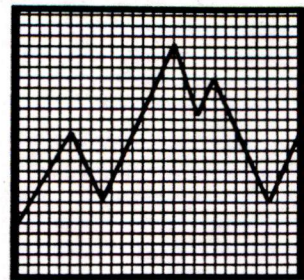
... on most issues?

(IF "LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE", ASK:) Would you say that you are
VERY (liberal/conservative) or are you just SOMEWHAT
(liberal/conservative)?

VERY CONSERVATIVE 14%
SOMEWHAT CONSERVATIVE 43%
MODERATE (DO NOT READ) 3%
SOMEWHAT LIBERAL 27%
VERY LIBERAL 9%
NOT SURE/REFUSED 3%

Poll Watch

A Review of Recent National Polling Data



From the Office of the GOP Conference Secretary
Bob Kasten, *Secretary*

Bill Canfield, Staff Director
Rick Dearborn, Deputy
202-224-3496

Contents

5/15/91

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(CREDIT: GALLUP POLL NEWS SERVICE - RANDOM SAMPLE OF 1,005 REGISTERED VOTERS,
CONDUCTED BETWEEN APRIL 25-28, 1991, MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 3%)

DEMOCRAT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES: FAVORABLES vs. UNFAVORABLES
AMONG REGISTERED DEMOCRAT VOTERS AND
DEMOCRAT-LEANING INDEPENDENTS

Please tell me whether you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of (each of the following Democrats who might run for President in 1992):

(BASED ON REGISTERED DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING INDEPENDENTS)

	Favor- able PCT	Unfavor- able PCT	Heard of/ No Opinion PCT	Total Heard Of PCT
Jesse Jackson	42	52	5	99
George McGovern	36	39	17	92
Richard Gephardt	49	16	18	83
Mario Cuomo	48	22	12	82
Lloyd Bentsen	40	25	15	80
Albert Gore	41	16	15	72
George Mitchell	26	13	20	59
Douglas Wilder	25	14	20	59
Charles Robb	17	11	19	47
Bill Clinton	15	12	18	45
Paul Tsongas	15	12	15	42
Stephen Solarz	12	12	13	37
Dave McCurdy	7	12	14	32

(GALLUP POLL: CONDUCTED BETWEEN APRIL 25-28, 1991
MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 3%)

REGISTERED DEMOCRAT VOTERS CHOOSE DEMOCRATS'
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(Based on Registered Democrats and Democrat-Leaning Independents)

Please tell me which one of these persons you would like to see nominated as the Democratic Party's candidate for President in 1992. And who would be your second choice?

(BASED ON REGISTERED DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING INDEPENDENTS)

	First Choice	Second Choice	Combined First/ Second Choice
Cuomo	23	10	33
Jackson	14	13	27
Bentsen	9	13	22
Gephardt	11	9	20
Gore	9	10	19
McGovern	8	11	19
Robb	4	3	7
Wilder	3	3	6
Mitchell	3	2	5
Tsongas	1	3	4
Clinton	1	2	3
Solarz	1	1	2
McCurdy	0	0	0

(GALLUP POLL: CONDUCTED BETWEEN APRIL 25-28, 1991
MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 3%)

PRESIDENT BUSH vs. DEMOCRATIC PARTY CANDIDATE
(Based on Registered Voters)

If George Bush runs for re-election in 1992, in general are you more likely to vote for Bush or for the Democratic Partys candidate for President?

(BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS)

	4/91					
	Party ID					
	2/91	3/91	All			
	PCT	PCT	Voters	Rep	Dem	Ind
	PCT	PCT	PCT	PCT	PCT	PCT
Bush	54	67	51	85	20	45
Democratic						
candidate	33	17	30	2	67	25
Dont know	13	16	19	13	13	30
	100	100	100	100	100	100

(GALLUP POLL: CONDUCTED BETWEEN APRIL 25-28, 1991
MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 3%)

DEMOCRAT'S PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE:
VOTE ON THE PERSIAN GULF WAR
(Based on Registered Voters)

If you knew that a Democratic presidential candidate voted against the resolution allowing President Bush to use military force in the Persian Gulf War, would that make you more likely or less likely to vote for him -- or would it not much affect your vote?

(BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS)

	More Likely PCT	Less Likely PCT	Not Much Effect PCT	Don't Know PCT
All Voters	11	23	61	5
Party ID				
Republican	8	32	58	2
Democrat	14	15	65	6
Independent	11	23	60	6

(GALLUP POLL: CONDUCTED BETWEEN APRIL 25-28, 1991
MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 3%)

SHOULD DEMOCRATS BE MORE CONSERVATIVE OR MORE LIBERAL
OR SHOULD THEY STAY THE SAME ?

Over the next few years, would you like to see the Democratic Party and its candidates move in a more conservative direction, a more liberal direction or stay about the same?

	More Conserv	More Liberal	Stay the Same	Don't Know
	PCT	PCT	PCT	PCT
All Adults	34	20	35	11
Party ID				
Rep	44	14	32	10
Dem	31	24	39	6
Indep	29	21	35	15

(GALLUP POLL: CONDUCTED BETWEEN APRIL 25-28, 1991
MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 3%)

CRITICISMS MADE OF THE DEMOCRATS AND THEIR PARTY

I'm going to read some criticisms that have been made about the Democratic Party and its candidates. Please tell me whether you generally agree or disagree with the following statements:

"The Democrats are too supportive of racial quotas as a way to improve conditions for minorities."

	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
	PCT	PCT	PCT
All Adults	48	40	12
Party ID			
Rep	62	25	13
Dem	32	60	8
Indep	45	40	15

"The Democrats are too weak on foreign policy and national defense."

	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
	PCT	PCT	PCT
All Adults	50	38	12
Party ID			
Rep	71	19	10
Dem	32	57	11
Indep	46	40	14

"The Democrats rely too much on increasing taxes and government spending to deal with problems."

	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
	PCT	PCT	PCT
All Adults	61	33	6
Party ID			
Rep	76	19	5
Dem	40	54	6
Indep	61	31	8

(GALLUP POLL: CONDUCTED BETWEEN APRIL 25-28, 1991
MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 3%)

GOP LOSES BIG EDGE AS PARTY BETTER ABLE TO HANDLE TOP PROBLEM

The big boost provided to the Republican Party's image by Desert Storm's success is no longer evident. One month ago, in the afterglow of victory in the Gulf, the Gallup Poll found 40 percent of Americans viewing the GOP as the party better able to handle the country's most important problem. Currently, 32 percent see the Republicans as clearly superior to the Democrats.

The Republican Party still maintains a slight edge (32 percent vs. 27 percent) over the Democratic Party on this key measure of party strength. The current figures, however, suggest that high public regard for President Bush's handling of foreign affairs may not improve public confidence of his handling of domestic affairs.

Since the Gulf War ended, many expected the economy to replace the war as the dominant concern of the public. But this has not proved to be true. The biggest shift has been towards domestic problems. Today, Americans are about as likely to cite poverty, drugs, education, ethics or the environment (35 percent) as they are to cite an economic problem (39 percent).

The public tends to see these domestic problems -- with the exception of the drug issue -- as better handled by the Democratic Party. Although Bush's education plan helped increase the visibility of the issue, those who consider education the top problem do not see the GOP as better able to improve the situation (35 percent cite the Democrats; 29 percent the GOP).

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

	1/91	2/91	3/91	4/91
	PCT	PCT	PCT	PCT
Economic Problems (Net)	29%	30%	48%	39%
Economy (General)	15	16	24	20
Unemployment/Recession	7	7	8	10
Federal Budget deficit	4	6	8	6
Other Economic Problems	3	1	8	3
Non-Economic Problems (Net)	64	64	43	51
Poverty/Hunger/				
Homelessness	6	6	10	12
Drugs/Drug Abuse	9	5	11	10
Education Quality	2	2	2	6
Ethics/Moral Decline	5	3	2	4
Environment/Pollution	1	1	2	3
Iraq/Persian Gulf Situation	25	37	4	3
Other non-economic problems	16	10	12	13
Don't Know	7	6	9	10

(GALLUP POLL: CONDUCTED BETWEEN APRIL 25-28, 1991
MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 3%)

GOP LOSES BIG EDGE AS PARTY BETTER ABLE TO HANDLE TOP PROBLEM
CONTINUED

Which political party do you think can do a better job of handling the problem you have just mentioned -- The Republican Party or the Democratic Party ?

	9/88	10/90	3/91	4/91
	PCT	PCT	PCT	PCT
Republican Party	38%	30%	40%	32%
Democratic Party	33	29	27	27
No difference/				
No opinion	29	41	33	41

(GALLUP POLL: CONDUCTED BETWEEN APRIL 25-28, 1991
MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 3%)



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

April 26, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK DARMAN

THROUGH: Tom Scully

FROM: Richard Bavier

SUBJECT: CUNY Poll on Religion in America

A report from CUNY, including a short description of the study and some cross-tabulations, is attached.

This is purported to be the largest poll asking about religion in America (113,000 persons). It is so big because it is a part of an omnibus market research survey. A sample of this size permits State-level estimates of many of the parameters.

We have other survey data on the religious preferences and affiliations of Americans, but not current, State-level data. The Bureau of the Census performed at least one special survey of religious preference that I know of. Private polling organizations periodically ask about religious preference and affiliation, and some historical data are available.

Religious preference - persons 18 and older

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Other	None
1957	66%	26%	3%	1%	3%
1967	67%	25%	3%	3%	2%
1975	62%	27%	2%	4%	6%
1980	61%	28%	2%	2%	7%
1985	57%	28%	2%	4%	9%
1987	57%	28%	2%	4%	9%
1988	56%	28%	2%	2%	9%

Source: Gallup polls

CUNY poll

1989-90	57%	27%	2%	6%	8%
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Among the interesting State data in the CUNY poll -

- * States in the Mountain and Pacific regions tend to have the largest portion of people claiming "no religion" (but still only 10 - 15 percent).
- * Idaho, with a large Mormon population (30 percent), also has one of the largest shares claiming "no religion" (12 percent).
- * In only three States (Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island) is the largest U.S. denomination - Roman Catholic - actually a majority faith. In three others (Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi), a majority identified themselves as Baptists, the second largest denomination. The faith with the greatest majority in any State is the Latter Day Saints in Utah (69 percent).

A lot of the national data just confirm what we know from earlier sources -

- * About half of all black Americans identify themselves as Baptists.

→ SUNUNU

Response delayed
due to strike at
CUNY. More
data to
follow.

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

Dick D.
4/27

- * About two-thirds of Hispanic Americans identify themselves as Roman Catholics.
- * Jews in America are mainly urban dwellers (96 percent).

The cross-tabulations CUNY supplied have a few curiosities too -

- * Unitarians are much more likely to be divorced than any other group.
- * Nearly half those who identified themselves as descended from Middle Eastern ancestry also identified themselves as Roman Catholic (rather than Muslim).

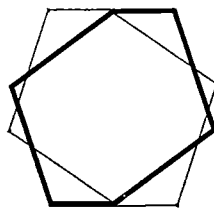
Two strong cautions need to be kept in mind with survey data on religion. First, some bedrock issues of human behavior arise in trying to understand the direction of causality in the data. Religious affiliation tends to correlate with income and various associated characteristics, such as educational attainment. Episcopalians are more likely to be college graduates than those with no religion. Is the Episcopal faith a causal factor in educational attainment, or does higher income make it more likely that a person will be Episcopalian and a college graduate? This kind of issue arises, for example, with claims about connections between religious training and high school completion, illegitimacy, and drug abuse by adolescents.

Second, surveys usually don't tell us much about the way people are religious, such as their attendance at worship services, religious behaviors outside of religious institutions, and the importance of religious ideas and prescriptions in shaping their conduct. So, survey data which show little variation in response to questions about religious preference can mask significant changes in the form that the affiliation takes in the lives of the respondents.

For example, during the 1970s and 1980s, evangelical movements in the major Christian denominations gained membership in reaction to what many perceived as increasing irrelevance of the main-line churches to their personal needs. Televangelists prospered as well. That kind of change in the way people are religious tends not to show up when people are asked whether they are Protestant, Catholic, or Jew. Some of the surge of evangelism would show in finer tabulations of Protestant denominations. Some would not because, for example, from the 1960s through the 1980s, individual denominations and congregations tilted first towards issues of social justice, then towards the personal spiritual development of their members. The members would answer survey questions about religious affiliation the same way throughout, but the meaning of their religious affiliation would be significantly different at different times.

Attachment

**THE GRADUATE SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY CENTER
OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK**



**RESEARCH REPORT
THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION
1989-90**

(Selected Tabulations)

**Study Director
Professor Barry A. Kosmin
CUNY Graduate Center**

**In co-operation with
Professor Seymour P. Lachman,
University Dean for Community Development,
The City University of New York**

March 1991

RESEARCH REPORT

The National Survey of Religious Identification 1989 - 1990

Study Director
Professor Barry A. Kosmin

CUNY Graduate School and University Center

This survey relates to a random digit-dialled telephone survey of 113,000 American households in the continental U.S.A. (48 states).

The data was collected over a 13-month period, April 1989-April 1990 at the rate of 2,000 interviews a week by ICR Survey Research Group of Media, PA as part of their omnibus market research (EXCEL) survey. The prime question on the file is: What is your religion? If the initial answer was Protestant there was a further question as to which denomination. The respondent is a randomly chosen (last birthday) adult over 18 years. Nineteen other socio-demographic questions are attached to this. They are:

For Respondent

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Age | 5. Race |
| 2. Marital status | 6. Political party affiliation |
| 3. Employment status | 7. Sex |
| 4. Level of education | 8. Head of household or not |

For Household

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 9. Own or rent | 14. Number of children (0-6) |
| 10. Total number living in household | 15. Total household income |
| 11. Number of adults 18+ | 16. Number of telephones |
| 12. Number of children 12-17 | 17. Metro/rural status |
| 13. Number of children 6-11 | 18. State |
| | 19. U.S. region |

The data which are weighted by ICR using the latest Census Bureau statistics, reflect the known composition of U.S. households and the total population. The weighting, which is incorporated into each record takes into account the disproportionate probabilities of household selection due to the number of separate telephone lines and the probability associated with the random selection of an individual household member. Following application of the above weights, the sample is post-stratified and balanced by key demographics such as age, sex, region and education. However, weighting cannot compensate for characteristics that are neither geographic nor demographic in nature. The most obvious is an inability to communicate in English or Spanish, the interview languages. This means there may be a tendency to underestimate some of the smaller religious groups that contain a high proportion of recent immigrants. Nevertheless, the range of error will not be enormous even in these cases. The overall sampling error for the survey is 0.4% at the 95% confidence level.

The overall refusal rate for the question on religion is very low, only 2.2 per cent. The response categories to this question include a "None/No religion" option (7.7%) as well as generic "Christian" (4.7%) and a residual "Protestant" (10.3%) category.

The remaining 76.1 per cent of respondents distribute themselves among the following denominations and religions on which we can report:

Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Latter Day Saints/Mormon, Pentecostal, Church of Christ, Jehovah's Witness, Evangelical/Born Again Christian, Seventh Day Adventist, Assembly of God, Unitarian, Quaker/Mennonite, Congregational, Nazarene, Holiness/Holy, Greek Orthodox, Church of God, Worldwide Church of God, Christian Science, Disciples of Christ, Russian Orthodox, New Apostolic, Charismatic, Wesleyan, Fundamentalist, Independent Church, Eastern Orthodox, Dutch Reformed, Christian Reform, Four Square, Covenant/Covenant Mission, Church of God in Christ, Church of America, Open Bible.

Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, Bahai, Taoist, Shintoist, Rastafarian.

Deity, Humanist, Eckankar, Wicca, New Age, Scientologist, Ecumenical, Agnostic, Other.

**Standard Error Estimates for National Screening
Phase Population Data**

(95% Confidence Level)

Sample Estimate (%)	Sample Size							
	5000	10,000	20,000	40,000	60,000	80,000	100,000	125,000
2 or 98	0.45	0.32	0.23	0.16	0.13	0.11	0.10	0.09
5 or 95	0.70	0.50	0.35	0.25	0.20	0.18	0.16	0.14
10 or 90	0.97	0.68	0.48	0.34	0.28	0.24	0.22	0.19
20 or 80	1.29	0.91	0.64	0.46	0.37	0.32	0.29	0.26
25 or 75	1.39	0.99	0.70	0.49	0.40	0.35	0.31	0.28
30 or 70	1.47	1.04	0.74	0.52	0.43	0.37	0.33	0.29
40 or 60	1.58	1.11	0.79	0.56	0.46	0.39	0.35	0.32
50 or 50	1.61	1.14	0.80	0.57	0.46	0.40	0.36	0.32

The above standard errors were computed with an estimated Design Effect computed using a within sample replication procedure. This replication process incorporates the effects of the sample selection procedure and final weighting procedure on the actual estimates derived from the survey.

If one were examining a sample characteristic of 5% on a sample of 125,000 respondents, the estimated standard error (95%) would be +/- 0.14%. Or, expressed as a range: 4.86% to 5.14%.

Self-Described Religious Adherence

of U.S. Adult Population 1990

(Weighted Estimates)

Total U.S. Population 18+ = 175,440,000

<u>Religious Denomination - Christians</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
Christian		
(no denomination supplied)	8,073,000	4.6
Roman Catholic	46,004,000	26.2
Protestant		
(no denomination supplied)	17,214,000	9.8
Baptist	33,964,000	19.4
Methodist	14,116,000	8.0
Lutheran	9,110,000	5.2
Presbyterian	4,985,000	2.8
Pentecostal	3,116,000	1.8
Episcopalian/Anglican	3,042,000	1.7
Mormon/LDS	2,487,000	1.4
Church of Christ	1,769,000	1.0
Jehovah Witness	1,381,000	0.8
Seventh Day Adventist	668,000	
Assembly of God	660,000	
Holiness/Holy	610,000	
Nazarene	549,000	
Unitarian	463,000	
Evangelical/Born Again	446,000	
Church of God	442,000	
Congregational	438,000	
Greek Orthodox	384,000	
Quaker/Mennonite	302,000	
Christian Science	214,000	
Brethren	206,000	
Disciples of Christ	144,000	
New Apostolic	117,000	
Worldwide Church of God	116,000	

<u>Religious Denomination - Christians</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
Russian Orthodox	85,000	
Charismatic	75,000	
Wesleyan	58,000	
Christian Reform	40,000	
Eastern Orthodox	33,000	
Church of God in Christ	32,000	
Fundamentalist	27,000	
Independent Church	25,000	
Four Square Gospel	24,000	
Dutch Reform	19,000	
Covenant	16,000	
Church of America	11,000	
Four Square	4,000	
Open Bible	4,000	
Non-Denominational	<u>195,000</u>	
Total Christian	151,668,000	86.5

<u>Religious Denomination - Non-Christians</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
Jewish	3,137,000	1.8
Muslim/Islamic	527,000*	0.3 (0.5)*
Buddhist	401,000*	(0.4)*
Hindu	227,000*	(0.2)*
Bahai	28,000	
Taoist	23,000	
Rastafarian	14,000	
Wiccan	8,000	
Deity	6,000	
Agnostic	1,186,000	0.7
Scientology	45,000	
Humanist	29,000	
New Age	20,000	
Eckankar	18,000	
Other unclassified	889,000	
No religion	13,116,000	7.5
Refused	<u>4,031,000</u>	<u>2.3</u>
U.S. Total	175,440,000	100.0

* Adjustments for undercounts due to language problems (see page 2)

**ADULT POPULATION
MARITAL STATUS BY RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION**

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Divorced</u>	<u>Separated</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Widowed</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Total</u>
Unitarian	18.0	3.1	15.5	7.1	55.9	100.0
No Religion	11.3	2.7	30.8	3.3	51.5	100.0
Christian Science	11.2	3.0	21.6	9.7	53.7	100.0
Pentecostal	10.9	3.4	15.6	7.1	62.7	100.0
Assembly of God	10.2	3.0	8.6	7.8	70.4	100.0
Episcopalian	9.9	2.0	17.3	10.7	59.7	100.0
Seventh Day Adventist	9.6	2.8	19.1	9.3	58.6	100.0
Baptist	9.5	3.1	18.9	8.5	59.9	100.0
Methodist	9.1	1.8	15.0	11.4	62.5	100.0
Nazarene	9.0	0.9	15.6	7.1	62.7	100.0
Brethren	9.0	4.2	9.0	6.9	70.8	100.0
Congregational	8.8	1.6	13.2	14.8	61.2	100.0
Jewish	8.7	1.4	25.9	8.2	55.6	100.0
Jehovah Witness	8.7	4.5	16.0	6.1	64.4	100.0
Presbyterian	8.5	1.4	15.6	11.0	63.4	100.0
Buddhist	8.4	3.4	37.8	2.9	47.1	100.0
Evangelical/Born Again	8.2	3.4	15.5	8.5	64.5	100.0
Holiness	8.2	9.8	18.8	5.5	57.3	100.0
Church of God	8.2	1.2	9.5	13.2	67.9	100.0
Lutheran	8.0	1.4	16.2	8.8	65.4	100.0
Quaker/Mennonite	7.7	---	20.4	5.6	66.3	100.0
Catholic	7.5	2.0	24.9	6.6	58.8	100.0
Mormon/LDS	7.5	1.7	12.1	5.6	73.1	100.0
Church of Christ	6.2	1.5	11.7	10.5	70.0	100.0
Muslim	5.9	3.5	39.0	1.2	49.6	100.0
Hindu	4.6	1.5	30.8	---	63.1	100.0
Greek Orthodox	4.4	2.2	31.4	4.8	57.2	100.0

LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

<u>Denomination</u>	Less Than High School	High School Graduates and Some College	College Graduate	Total
None	18.5	57.9	23.6	100.0
Christian	21.0	63.0	16.0	100.0
Roman Catholic	17.4	62.6	20.0	100.0
Protestant	19.4	58.5	22.1	100.0
Baptist	32.6	57.0	10.4	100.0
Methodist	20.0	58.9	21.1	100.0
Lutheran	18.9	63.1	18.0	100.0
Presbyterian	13.1	53.1	33.8	100.0
Episcopalian	7.8	52.4	39.8	100.0
Pentecostal	35.6	57.5	6.9	100.0
Jehovah Witness	27.1	68.2	4.7	100.0
7th Day Adventist	27.2	54.9	17.9	100.0
Mormon	16.7	64.1	19.2	100.0
Jew	8.1	45.2	46.7	100.0
Moslem	18.5	51.3	30.2	100.0
Buddhist	11.3	55.3	33.4	100.0
Hindu	17.8	35.2	47.0	100.0

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MAIN RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS

<u>Religious Denomination</u>	Median Age of Adults	Proportion of Adherents who are White	Proportion of Adherents Residing in Metropolitan Areas
Catholic	40.1	79.9	84.5
Baptist	44.1	68.8	66.1
Methodist	48.0	86.0	66.3
Lutheran	45.4	97.0	71.2
Episcopalian	45.7	90.0	83.3
Presbyterian	48.2	92.9	77.8
Pentecostal	39.8	67.8	69.0
Mormon	41.6	93.6	72.9
Jews	44.4	93.4	96.0

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION BY RACE

Percent Distribution

<u>Denomination</u>	WHITE	BLACK	OTHER	HISPANIC
None	7.7	5.6	14.2	5.9
Christian	4.6	4.0	6.4	5.2
Roman Catholic	26.5	9.2	27.1	65.8
Protestant	11.4	4.7	6.3	2.5
Baptist	15.3	50.0	10.8	7.4
Methodist	8.5	9.1	3.0	1.7
Lutheran	6.5	0.7	1.5	0.8
Presbyterian	3.4	0.8	2.1	0.7
Episcopalian	1.9	1.0	1.8	0.4
Pentecostal	1.4	4.0	1.5	2.0
Jehovah Witness	0.5	2.1	1.1	1.7
7th Day Adventist	0.3	1.0	0.5	0.3
Mormon	1.7	0.2	1.8	0.8
Jew	2.2	0.3	1.0	0.6
Moslem	0.1	0.9	3.0	0.3
Buddhist	0.1	0.1	4.1	0.3
Hindu	--	0.1	3.7	0.1
Others	7.9	6.2	10.1	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

MEAN HOUSEHOLD SIZE BY RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Persons</u>
None	2.8
Roman Catholic	3.1
Baptist	3.0
Methodist	2.7
Lutheran	2.8
Episcopalian	2.8
Presbyterian	2.6
Pentecostal	3.4
Jehovah Witness	3.4
7th Day Adventist	3.0
Mormon	3.8
Jew	2.7
Moslem	3.3
Buddhist	3.1
Hindu	3.1

RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF STATE POPULATIONS 1990

(Percent Distribution)

	Roman Catholic	Baptist	Methodist	Lutheran	Presby- terian	Pentecostal	Jews	Episco- palian	Mormon	None	Others
AL	4.5	51.4	10.4	0.6	1.8	2.6	0.1	0.7	0.2	3.9	23.8
AZ	23.9	11.6	6.6	5.7	2.9	1.3	1.6	1.4	4.9	12.2	27.9
AR	4.9	42.2	8.8	1.7	2.4	5.9	0.1	0.7	0.4	5.8	27.1
CA	28.9	10.0	4.0	3.7	2.8	1.5	2.3	1.8	2.2	13.0	29.8
CO	25.1	10.0	7.7	7.3	4.4	1.0	1.8	1.8	2.4	11.4	27.1
CT	50.4	5.8	3.9	2.3	0.7	1.4	2.4	4.4	--	5.8	23.7
DE	26.4	9.2	26.5	2.4	3.4	3.4	1.4	3.0	--	7.2	17.1
DC	16.1	46.8	6.8	0.2	2.0	--	2.3	4.5	--	6.3	15.0
FL	23.2	22.2	8.2	3.3	3.6	2.4	3.6	2.4	0.6	7.2	23.3
GA	6.3	50.8	11.5	0.9	2.2	1.8	0.5	1.6	0.4	4.6	19.4
ID	11.5	3.9	5.8	4.1	2.0	0.4	--	1.0	30.5	11.9	28.9
IL	33.1	14.8	7.8	7.6	2.6	1.4	1.5	0.9	0.2	7.0	23.1
IN	19.5	16.5	9.9	5.1	2.2	2.1	0.3	0.7	0.7	7.4	35.6
IA	21.5	6.1	15.7	15.4	4.5	0.5	--	0.8	0.8	5.9	28.8
KS	17.3	16.4	14.7	5.4	3.7	2.5	0.3	1.3	0.7	5.7	32.0
KY	13.3	42.5	7.2	1.3	1.9	2.0	0.2	1.0	0.2	6.5	23.9
LA	46.8	29.2	5.2	0.8	0.5	2.3	0.2	0.6	0.2	2.9	7.3
ME	31.2	11.9	7.5	0.5	0.4	2.0	0.4	2.0	0.8	10.0	33.3
MD	24.9	17.4	13.8	6.0	3.0	1.7	2.8	2.7	0.3	7.2	20.2
MA	54.3	4.3	2.4	1.2	0.8	0.4	3.5	2.8	0.2	7.3	22.8
MI	29.2	15.7	6.8	8.3	2.6	1.3	0.8	1.4	0.3	8.7	24.9

RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF STATE POPULATIONS 1990

(Percent Distribution)

	Roman Catholic	Baptist	Methodist	Lutheran	Presby- terian	Pentecostal	Jews	Episco- palian	Mormon	None	Others
MN	29.2	3.5	4.3	33.9	3.1	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.3	5.6	17.3
MS	7.0	55.0	11.4	1.3	1.6	3.9	0.6	1.4	0.7	2.8	14.3
MO	20.3	24.9	7.1	5.9	2.4	2.4	0.6	0.8	1.1	6.5	28.0
MT	27.6	4.1	9.4	12.2	2.4	1.6	--	2.0	2.6	10.2	27.9
NE	29.4	4.4	11.0	16.3	4.4	0.6	0.5	2.0	0.8	7.0	23.6
NH	41.3	9.2	11.3	0.3	2.0	--	0.9	2.2	--	8.1	24.7
NV	23.9	7.0	6.9	5.1	1.0	2.0	0.9	1.8	4.4	13.2	33.8
NJ	45.9	10.2	6.7	3.1	3.2	1.9	4.3	2.3	0.1	5.5	16.8
NM	37.3	11.8	7.3	3.2	2.6	0.8	0.7	0.8	2.7	10.0	22.8
NY	44.3	8.3	6.1	2.7	2.4	1.5	6.9	2.0	0.2	6.4	19.2
NC	5.9	47.1	12.7	2.4	3.6	2.1	0.5	1.0	0.7	4.8	19.2
ND	30.1	3.9	3.5	36.5	2.8	--	0.4	--	0.4	1.6	20.8
OH	24.2	15.3	10.4	4.4	2.4	1.7	0.7	1.2	0.2	7.4	32.1
OK	8.0	32.6	9.2	2.2	1.4	2.9	0.2	1.2	0.3	6.5	35.0
OR	15.3	8.7	4.9	6.7	4.2	1.2	0.4	2.2	2.4	17.2	36.8
PA	33.2	9.9	8.7	8.6	5.3	1.1	1.7	1.7	0.1	4.9	24.8
RI	61.7	6.3	1.4	0.7	0.8	--	1.6	5.1	--	6.0	16.4
SC	5.7	46.5	15.6	2.5	3.5	2.0	0.3	2.0	0.6	3.2	18.1
SD	25.7	6.1	10.5	30.3	2.9	0.8	0.2	1.4	1.0	2.5	18.6
TN	4.7	43.0	10.7	1.0	4.3	2.6	0.3	1.1	0.4	6.0	25.9
TX	23.2	32.0	9.2	2.4	1.8	2.9	0.7	1.9	0.7	4.9	20.3
UT	6.0	2.4	1.2	1.2	1.0	0.4	0.7	0.5	69.2	7.8	9.6

RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF STATE POPULATIONS 1990

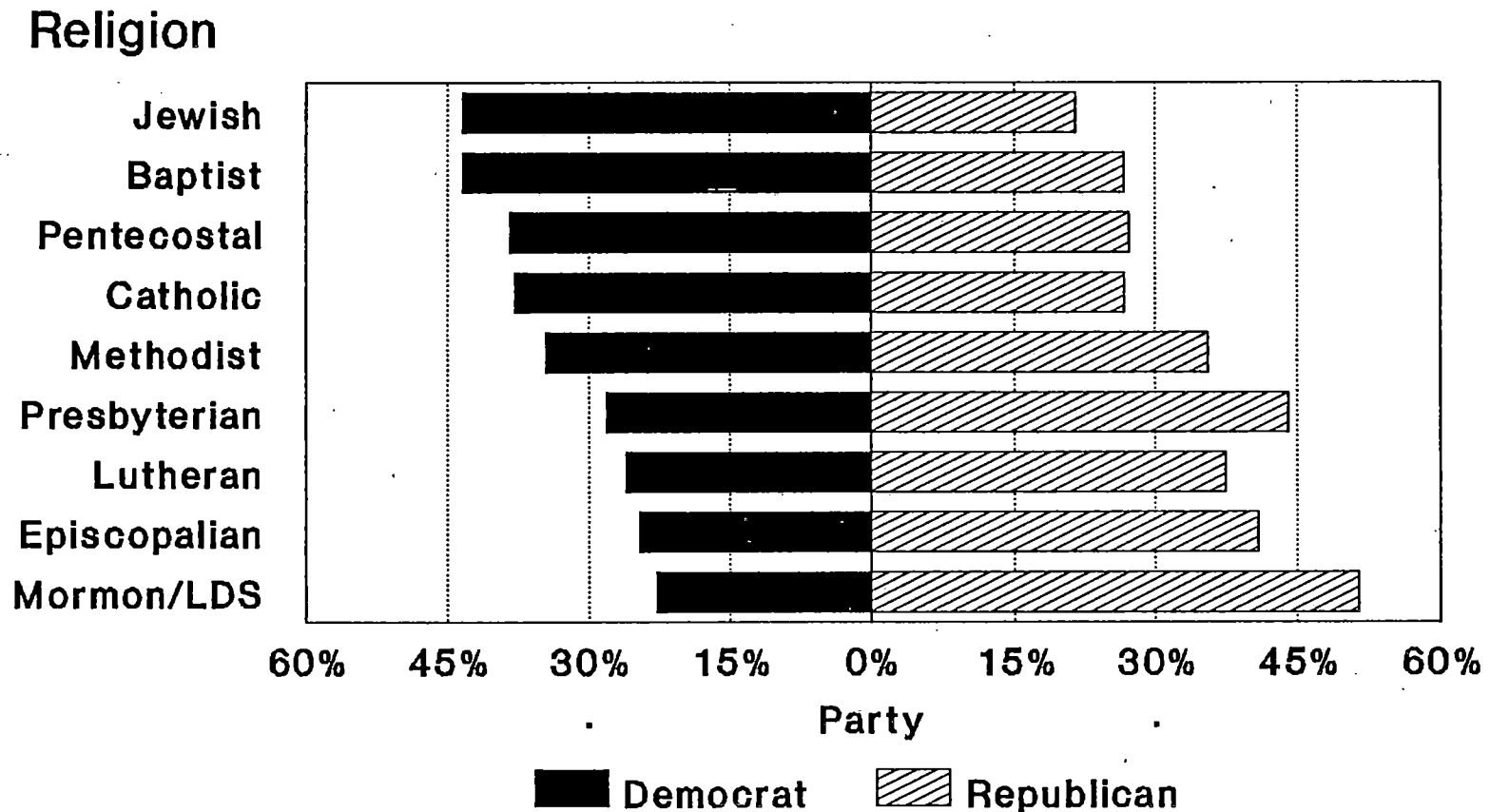
(Percent Distribution)

	Roman Catholic	Baptist	Methodist	Lutheran	Presby- terian	Pentecostal	Jews	Episco- palian	Mormon	None	Others
VT	36.7	5.3	5.6	1.3	2.0	0.4	1.1	3.5	--	11.4	32.7
VA	12.2	31.2	13.1	2.3	4.1	2.0	1.1	3.2	0.7	6.4	23.7
WA	19.0	7.2	6.2	7.8	4.6	1.5	0.4	1.8	1.9	14.0	35.6
WV	5.9	29.3	14.9	0.9	4.3	3.2	0.1	0.8	0.6	8.0	32.0
WI	38.6	4.0	6.4	26.2	1.7	1.0	0.4	0.9	0.4	6.1	14.3
WY	18.0	8.6	9.9	5.0	8.7	1.2	--	5.2	8.8	13.5	21.1
US Total*	26.2	19.4	8.0	5.2	2.8	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.4	7.5	24.2

* Excluding Alaska and Hawaii

Religion by Party Affiliation

Democrats vs Republican



Remainder of each group comprises
Independents and others.

SELECTED ANCESTRY OR ETHNIC ORIGIN BY RELIGION

Religious Identification

<u>Ethnic Origin</u>	Christian (So Stated)	Catholic	Protestant	Jewish	No Religion + Other Non-Christian	Total
Dutch	6	10	64	0	15	100
English	6	12	63	1	19	100
French	3	39	47	1	11	100
German	7	26	51	1	16	100
Irish	3	33	51	0	13	100
Italian	2	72	14	0	12	100
Jewish	1	5	6	66	22	100
Middle Eastern*	10	44	13	0	33	100
Polish	2	73	11	5	12	100
Scandinavian	3	22	61	0	14	100

*Small Sample

M E M O R A N D U M

RE: National Political Environment

DATE: October 10, 1990

Keep in mind that in October 1982, the national mood found 35% saying right direction/55% saying wrong track.

Last night's survey in NC 11 (Bush -- 59% in 1988) found:

- o Only 13% saying right direction/72% saying wrong track. That is the worst national mood measure I've ever seen in a district -- by at least 12 points.
- o President Bush has a 59% approval rating, with 28% disapproving. Those numbers are still good overall, but they are only 10 points above President Reagan's 49% approval rating in October 1982.

More importantly, the trend we picked up yesterday -- significantly lower numbers with seniors -- has been exacerbated. Only 34% of seniors approve, and 49% disapprove.

- o As in most districts, the generic ballot dropped. From a 40% GOP/37% Dem generic to a 36% GOP/39% Dem ballot.

In FL 04 (Bush -- 63% in 1988):

- o Only 23% say right direction/68% wrong track. This is a swing of 55 net points since September (50% right direction/40% wrong track).
- o The President's approval rating is 65%-27%. Among seniors in the district, he has a 54% approve/30% disapprove.

In CT 05 (Bush -- 58% in 1988):

- o Right direction/wrong track dropped from 38%/50% in late August to 26%/66% -- a net swing of 28 points.
- o The President's approval rating is still fairly good -- 69% approve/23% disapprove.

Among seniors, he has a 53% approve/37% disapprove rating.

In IL 11 (Bush -- 54% in 1988):

- o Right direction/wrong track is 28%/60%.
- o Bush approval is 58%/35%, with seniors not so negative (compared to other districts) -- 46% approve/39% disapprove.

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SENT BY:

NATIONAL INDICATORS
WEEK ONE -- 9/30-10/5

Date	CD	Right Direction	Wrong Track
10/3	TX 13	18	62
10/3	MA 05	20	69
10/3	OR 05	26	61
10/3	VT AL	26	59
10/3	GA 10	35	57
10/4	CA 17	32	52
10/4	NH 01	27	62
10/4	OK 01	29	49
10/4	MN 07	31	53
10/5	GA 04	39	48

AVG 28 57

WEEK TWO -- 10/8-10/12

Date	CD	Right Direction	Wrong Track
10/9	RI 02	22	68
10/9	TX 11	25	60
10/9	MI 03	20	67
10/9	FL 18	31	50
10/10	NC 11	13	72
10/10	FL 04	23	68
10/10	CT 05	26	66
10/10	IL 11	28	60

AVG 24 64

Date	CD	Bush Approve	Bush Disap
10/4	CA 36	76	18
10/5	GA 04	75	18

AVG 76 18

Date	CD	Bush Approve	Bush Disap
10/9	TX 11	64	20
10/9	RI 02	62	23
10/9	FL 18	55	30
10/10	NC 11	59	28
10/10	FL 04	65	27
10/10	CT 05	69	23
10/10	IL 11	58	35

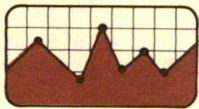
AVG 62 27

Date	CD	Generic GOP	Generic Dem
10/3	TX 13	38	40
10/3	GA 10	37	42
10/3	MA 05	46	30
10/4	CA 17	43	34
10/4	OK 01	36	38
10/4	CA 36	36	32
10/4	MN 07	34	34
10/4	CA 17	43	34
10/4	NH 01	48	28
10/5	GA 04	44	37

Average 41 35

Date	CD	Generic GOP	Generic Dem
10/9	RI 02	23	39
10/9	TX 11	35	42
10/9	MI 03	29	38
10/9	FL 18	34	44
10/10	NC 11	36	39
10/10	FL 04	43	36
10/10	CT 05	38	25
10/10	IL 11	35	51

Average 34 39



The Polling Report

Vol. 7, No. 7

AN INDEPENDENT SURVEY OF TRENDS AFFECTING ELECTIONS, GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

April 1, 1991

After the Storm

The Political Impact of the Gulf War

by Frederick S. Yang

Conventional wisdom notwithstanding, reports of the Democratic Party's demise in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War are greatly exaggerated. Indeed, much like heavyweight "Razor" Ruddock in his controversial bout with Mike Tyson, it appears that the Democrats are prematurely being counted out of contention for 1992.

While President Bush and the Republican Party have benefitted from the strong public support for the Gulf War, it remains to be seen whether the latest approval ratings and party identification figures are nothing more than temporary reactions. Recent comments by such figures as Texas Sen. Phil Gramm and Georgia Cong. Newt Gingrich indicate that Republicans believe the Gulf War is an issue that will transform the political landscape and threaten Democratic control of Congress.

A mid-March survey by the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press seems to confirm that the "no" vote by Democrats on military action against Iraq could have some effect at the polls: 47% of respondents say they would be *less* likely to reelect their congressman if he or she had voted against using force after the Jan. 15th deadline, while just 12% would be *more* likely. (Editor's Note: See page 6 for more from the Times Mirror poll.)

With the 1992 election nearly 20 months away, no one can say with any certainty the extent to which the Persian Gulf War will dominate voters' agendas. We will have to wait several months, until the euphoria over the decisive victory has subsided, to gauge the actual impact of the war and whether opposition to the President in the Jan. 12th congressional vote will prove to be a political liability.

Surveys of public attitudes on the war vote con-

Continued on page 3

Frederick S. Yang is an analyst with Peter D. Hart Research Assoc. in Washington.

Which Party Would Do a Better Job?

The polling organizations of Peter Hart and Robert Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. March 15-19, 1991. N=1,505 reg. voters nationwide:

"...When it comes to [see below], which party do you think would do a better job...?"

	Democrat Party %	Republican Party %	Both %	Neither %
Ensuring a strong national defense				
March 1991	10	48	30	5
Nov. 1989	15	51	21	5
Keeping world peace				
March 1991	15	43	23	9
Oct. 1990	22	25	36	11
Getting the country out of a recession				
March 1991	21	38	14	16
Controlling interest rates				
March 1991	23	38	15	11
Controlling inflation				
March 1991	20	37	19	14
Protecting America's interests on trade issues				
March 1991	21	35	22	9
Oct. 1990	22	35	24	9
Dealing with taxes				
March 1991	30	32	16	13
Oct. 1990	38	25	17	14
Dealing with the economy				
March 1991	30	31	19	11
Oct. 1990	31	30	21	13
Reducing the federal deficit				
March 1991	23	29	15	23
Oct. 1990	25	27	19	23
Reducing the drug problem				
March 1991	16	25	23	24
Oct. 1990	20	18	30	24
Reducing unemployment				
March 1991	42	23	15	10
Oct. 1990	40	24	18	11
Improving mass transit, roads, and highways				
March 1991	24	20	23	17
Protecting the environment				
March 1991	35	16	25	15
Oct. 1990	38	15	27	13
Strengthening our educational system				
March 1991	28	14	30	20
Oct. 1990	33	15	30	14
Providing better health care				
March 1991	47	14	16	13
Assisting the homeless				
March 1991	56	11	13	11
Nov. 1989	51	10	20	13

Israelis and Palestinians

The Gallup Poll. March 14-17, 1991. N=1,005 adults nationwide:

"In the Middle East situation, are your sympathies more with the Israelis or more with the Palestinian Arabs?" (Asked only of those who said they are following the Mideast situation very or fairly closely)

	March 1991	Oct. 1990	Dec. 1988	May 1986
	%	%	%	%
Israelis	60	48	46	43
Palestinian Arabs	17	23	24	20
Both/Neither (vol.)	16	19	16	20
Don't know	7	10	14	17

"As a way to bring peace to the Middle East, it has been proposed that Israel withdraw from occupied Arab lands if Arab nations in return recognize Israel's right to exist as a nation. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?"

	%
Favor	73
Oppose	17
Don't know	10

"How likely do you think it is that both sides will agree to this proposal?"

	%
Very likely	4
Somewhat likely	33
Not too likely	42
Not at all likely	17
Don't know	4

"If Israel did give up occupied Arab lands, how likely is it that this action would bring lasting peace to the Mideast?"

	%
Very likely	11
Somewhat likely	46
Not too likely	27
Not at all likely	12
Don't know	4

ICR Survey Research Group for the Associated Press. March 6-10, 1991. N=1,005 adults nationwide:

"I'm going to read you a list of nations and groups that played a role in the war with Iraq. For each, please tell me whether you have gained respect for them, lost respect for them, or whether your opinion of them is unchanged."

	Gained %	Lost %	Un- changed %	Don't Know %
Israel	55	6	35	5
Saudi Arabia	52	10	32	6
Syria	16	10	61	13
Jordan	7	43	41	9
The Palestine Liberation Organization or PLO	5	25	56	13

"The Palestinians have fought for many years for the establishment of a Palestinian state. Do you think the U.S. should support creation of a Palestinian state, oppose it, or haven't you thought enough about this issue to have an opinion?"

	%
Support	26
Oppose	17
Haven't thought enough	57

"Should a Palestinian state be established on the West Bank territory now held by Israel, or on land within an Arab country?" (Asked only of those who think the U.S. should support creation of a Palestinian state)

	%
West Bank	36
Arab lands	42
Don't know	22

"Since the PLO sided with Iraq in the Gulf War, do you think the United States should look to others to represent the Palestinians, or should the United States look to the PLO to represent the Palestinians?"

	%
Others	46
The PLO	28
Don't know	27

Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for Time and CNN. March 7, 1991. N=1,000 adults nationwide:

"Do you think that the United States should use political pressure to get Israel to reach a peace settlement with the Palestinians?"

	%
Yes	52
No	38
Not sure	10

"Do you think that the United States should use economic pressure to get Israel to reach a peace settlement with the Palestinians?"

	%
Yes	40
No	50
Not sure	10

"Do you favor or oppose convening an international conference—that would include the Palestinians—to help resolve problems in the Middle East?"

	%
Favor	73
Oppose	17
Not sure	10

"In order to reach a peace settlement, do you think that Israel should talk with the PLO or should Israel find other Palestinians to talk with?"

	%
Talk with PLO	35
Talk with other Palestinians	43
Not sure	22

CBS News/New York Times Poll. March 4-6, 1991. N=1,252 adults nationwide:

"With regard to the situation in the Middle East, at the present time, do you find yourself more in sympathy with Israel or more in sympathy with the Arab nations?"

	March 1991	June 1990
	%	%
More with Israel	49	40
More with Arab nations	20	19
Neither/Both	16	16
Don't know	15	25

"Do you favor or oppose giving the Palestinians a homeland in the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?"

	March 1991	June 1990
	%	%
Favor	46	47
Oppose	19	25
Don't know	35	28

ducted now need to be judged in context. With public support for the President's Gulf policy in the 80% range, and with the high salience of the issue, it should not be surprising that a plurality of voters currently say they disapprove of anti-war votes.

In fact, there is some evidence that the Gulf War might not benefit the Republican Party, as conventional wisdom assumes. There is the strong possibility that the American people could reject the politicization of the war, particularly if Republicans become too aggressive and cross the fine line between criticizing their opponents' judgment and questioning their patriotism. In an analysis of the political consequences of the Gulf War, columnist George Will noted that "Republicans have been dealt a strong hand, but they could overplay their cards too crudely."

Indeed, the emerging message on the war from voters is: Don't politicize Operation Desert Storm. A March 9-11 survey by the *Los Angeles Times* asked if the "politicians who opposed the original decision to go to war against Iraq" showed good judgment. A 58% majority said it is not possible to say, while one-fifth said they exercised good judgment and an equal number said they exercised bad judgment.

Furthermore, a four-to-one majority (76% to 19%) said they generally respect the convictions of those who originally opposed Bush's decision to fight. But most significantly, there is a clear consensus that this vote should not be debated as a political issue (71% thought it should not be debated, 26% said it should). Even a 73% majority of Republicans said that the war vote should not be politicized.

Americans seem to realize that the vote on Jan. 12th was a close call, with good intentions on both sides of the aisle and little display of partisan politics.

Even though the political repercussions of the Gulf War are not yet known, Democrats who opposed the President would be prudent to explain their position to the voters in anticipation of Republican attacks. In certain respects, the "no" vote is easily defensible and Democrats should not yield to anyone in their support for this country and its troops.

In talking about this issue, it is important to make the case to the voters with three distinct and simple arguments:

- First and foremost, it was a matter of conscience and deep personal conviction and had little to do with partisanship;
- The disagreement with the President was on timing and tactics, not the goal of getting Iraq out of Kuwait, or even on the use of military force; and
- Once American troops entered combat, President Bush enjoyed total support from Congress.

Interestingly, one of the primary Democratic arguments during the January debate—skepticism about the "New World Order" and the larger international role for

this country that it implies—has some validity with voters even after the overwhelming victory. In a mid-March NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* survey respondents were read the following statements and asked which came closer to their point of view:

Statement A: The war with Iraq has taught us that the United States should not be as reluctant to use its forces and superior weapons when American interests are threatened.

Statement B: The war with Iraq taught us that this was a special circumstance in which the United States had the support of many countries, and that the United States should use military force only as a last resort.

Overall, voters agreed with Statement B by an overwhelming 80% to 15% margin. Even those respondents less likely to support a representative who opposed giving Bush the authority to use force after Jan. 15 sided with Statement B by 75% to 21%.

The disagreement with the President was on timing and tactics, not the goal of getting Iraq out of Kuwait, or even on the use of military force . . .

It is not likely that voters will make their decision in the 1992 elections based on this one issue alone. The data show that while they give strong support to the war, they have yet to sort out all the implications or come to any grand conclusions. The quick and decisive nature of Operation Desert Storm, with the lack of any significant anti-war movement to create controversy, means that voters are not in a particular mood to seek retribution. Indeed, the first week of March, when a CBS News/*New York Times* survey asked which political party had given greater support to the war, just 18% said the GOP had, while nearly three-quarters (73%, including 72% of Republicans) said each party had given equal support.

Anyone who is banking on the public's strong support for the war being the decisive factor in next year's elections is making the assumption that this one issue will be the predominant element in voters' decision-making. An early March ABC News/*Washington Post* poll, which detected a high degree of concern on a variety of domestic issues (at least seven in ten felt the country is not making enough progress on the budget deficit, poverty, crime, drugs, health care, the economy, and education), indicates that there is still a long way to go before things play out. In this regard, the voters are way ahead of the politicians and pundits by turning their attention to problems which might not be as glamorous as war, but which have more immediate influence on their everyday lives and this country's future. ■

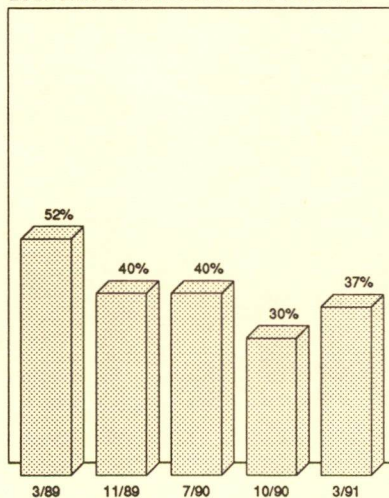
Rating Bush on the Issues

The Gallup Poll. March 7-10, 1991. N=1,018 adults nationwide:

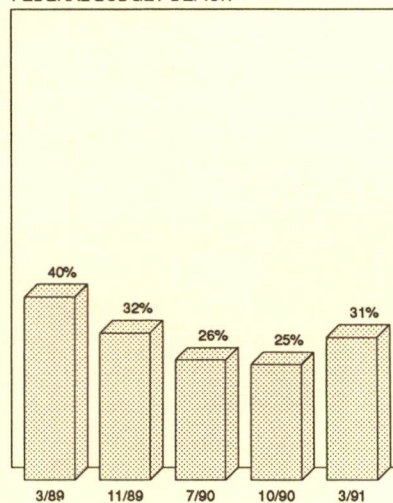
"Now let me ask you about some specific problems facing the country. As I read off each one, would you tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the way President Bush is handling that problem?"

Shown is the percent approving of the way the President is handling each problem.

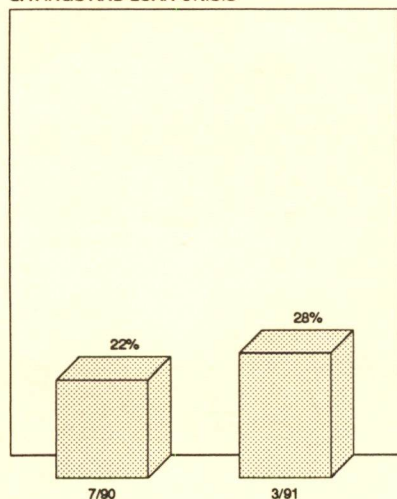
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THIS COUNTRY



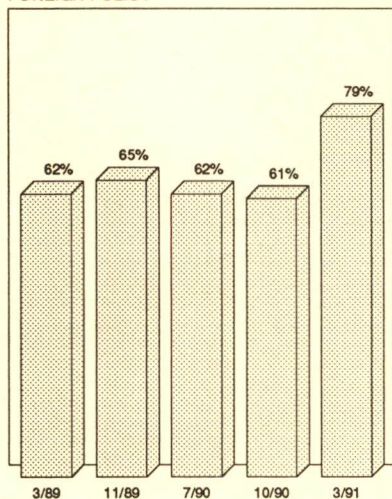
FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT



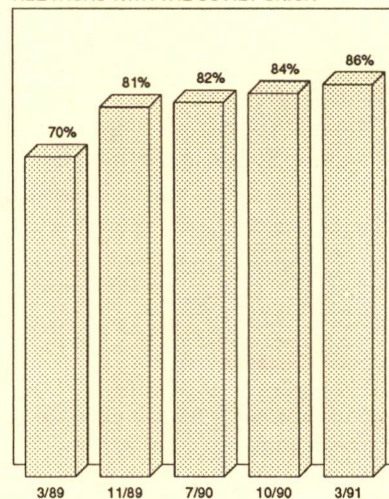
SAVINGS AND LOAN CRISIS



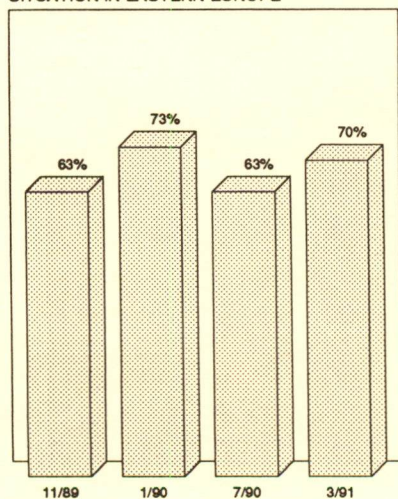
FOREIGN POLICY



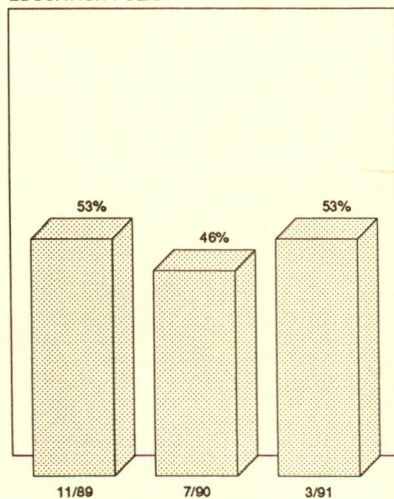
RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION



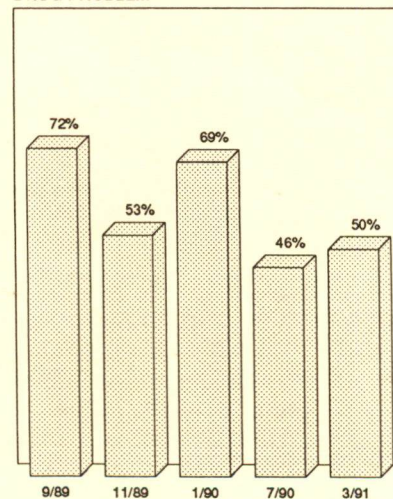
SITUATION IN EASTERN EUROPE



EDUCATION POLICY



DRUG PROBLEM



Continued on right

Police Brutality

The Gallup Poll. March 14-17, 1991. N=1,005 adults nationwide:

"In some places in the nation, there have been charges of police brutality. Do you think there is any police brutality in your area, or not?"

	1991	1965
	%	%
Yes	35	9
No	60	78
Don't know	5	13

"How frequently do you think incidents like this happen in police departments across the country? Do you think they happen very frequently, somewhat frequently, not very frequently, or not at all?"

	%
Very frequently	22
Somewhat frequently	46
Not very frequently	27
Not at all	2
Don't know	3

"Do you happen to know anyone who has been physically mistreated or abused by the police?"

	%
Yes	20
No	80

The Gallup Organization for Newsweek. March 14-15, 1991. N=763 adults nationwide:

"How much police brutality against members of minority groups do you think there is around the country these days?..."

	%
Very great	21
Considerable	41
Little	21
Very little	10
Don't know	7

A Fifth Face on Mount Rushmore?

The polling organizations of Peter Hart and Robert Teeter for NBC News and The Wall Street Journal. March 15-19, 1991. N=1,505 reg. voters nationwide:

"As you may know, the faces of four presidents—George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Teddy Roosevelt—are carved into the side of Mount Rushmore. Which one of the following presidents would you most like to see added as a fifth face on Mount Rushmore?"

	%
John F. Kennedy	36
Franklin Roosevelt	28
George Bush	11
Ronald Reagan	6
None of these (vol.)	16
Not sure	3

L.A.P.D. Poll

Los Angeles Times Poll. July 30-Sept. 25, 1990. N=398 L.A. police officers:

"Generally speaking, do you think 'street justice' administered by Los Angeles police officers has increased or decreased over the last ten years, or do you think it has remained about the same? And what I mean by 'street justice' is police officers striking suspects because they think these suspects will not be dealt with appropriately by the courts."

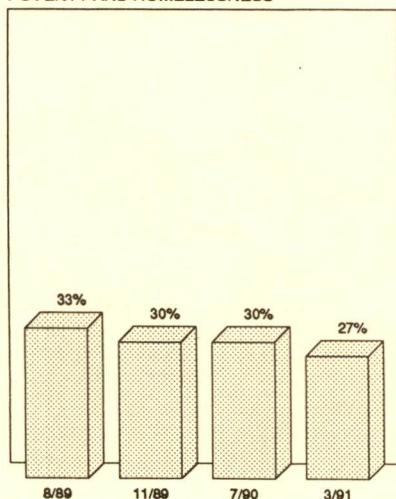
	%
Increased	3
Decreased	67
Remained the same	10
Not sure/Refused	20

"Generally speaking, how often, if ever, do you, yourself, administer 'street justice' because you think suspects you are arresting will not be dealt with appropriately by the courts? Do you do it frequently, or occasionally, or do you do it seldom or do you never administer 'street justice?'"

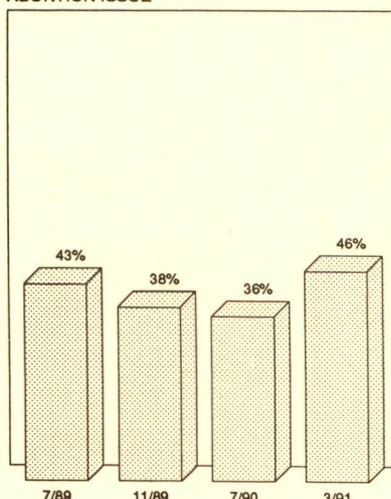
	%
Frequently	-
Occasionally	1
Seldom	6
Never	88
Not sure/Refused	5

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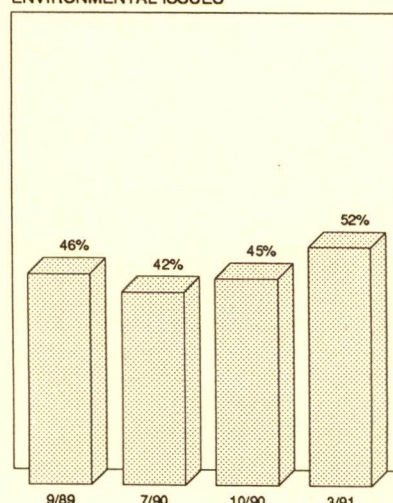
POVERTY AND HOMELESSNESS



ABORTION ISSUE



ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES



The Vote for War and the Vote for Congress

The polling organizations of Peter Hart and Robert Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. March 15-19, 1991. N=1,505 reg. voters nationwide:

"Looking ahead to the election for U.S. Congress in 1992, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?"

	%
Republican candidate	30
Democratic candidate	30
Depends (vol.)	27
Neither (vol.)	2
Not sure	11

"If you learned that your representative in Congress voted against giving President Bush the authority to take military action against Iraq after the January 15 U.N. deadline and in favor of giving economic sanctions more time to get Iraq out of Kuwait, would you be more likely or less likely to support your representative for reelection next year, or would it not make much difference?"

	%
More likely to support	18
Less likely to support	41
Would not make much difference	36
Not sure	5

Princeton Survey Research Assoc. for the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press. March 14-19, 1991:

"If the elections for Congress were being held today, which party would you like to see win in your congressional district?" (N=1,618 reg. voters nationwide)

	Republican Party		Democratic Party	
	March 1991	Spring 1990	March 1991	Spring 1990
	%	%	%	%
ALL	51	42	42	48
Male	54	47	39	42
Female	49	39	44	52
White	55	47	38	42
Black	23	9	73	82
Under 25 years	66	38	31	47
25-29	58	42	37	43
30-39	47	40	47	47
40-49	47	39	43	49
50-59	48	45	44	46
60 and older	51	47	42	48
Less than \$20,000	47	36	44	56
\$20,000-\$29,999	51	41	44	47
\$30,000-\$49,999	51	44	44	48
\$50,000 and over	58	54	37	35

"If you learned that your congressman had voted in favor of using force against Iraq after the Jan. 15 deadline had expired—would it make you more likely or less likely to vote for his or her reelection, or wouldn't it affect you?" (N=1,016 adults nationwide)

	%
More likely	44
Less likely	13
No effect	38
No opinion	5

"If you learned that your congressman had voted no to using force against Iraq after the Jan. 15 deadline had expired—would it make you more likely or less likely to vote for his or her reelection, or wouldn't it affect you?" (N=1,016 adults nationwide)

	%
More likely	12
Less likely	47
No effect	36
No opinion	5

"Why do you think the Democrats in Congress who voted against going to war did so?..." (N=1,016 adults nationwide)

	%
Mainly because they thought economic sanctions might work	46
Mainly because they wanted to oppose President Bush	19
Mainly because today's Democrats are reluctant to use military force	18
Don't know	17

Los Angeles Times Poll. March 9-11, 1991. N=1,518 adults nationwide:

"If the election for Congress were being held today, which party would you like to see win in this congressional district?"

	ALL	Dem.	Ind.	Rep.	Think we're In serious Reces- sion
	%	%	%	%	%
Democratic Party	41	88	41	5	55
Republican Party	51	10	50	95	35
Other (vol.)	1	-	1	-	2
Neither (vol.)	4	1	6	-	5
Don't know	3	1	2	-	3

Connecticut

U.S. SENATE: Chris Dodd (D), incumbent

Quinnipiac College Polling Institute. March 12-19, 1991. N=685 adults statewide:

Sen. Dodd—Job Rating:

	March 1991	June 1990	Oct. 1989	May 1989	Sept. 1988
	%	%	%	%	%
Excellent	7	15	12	6	11
Very good	42	49	45	47	46
Fair	40	29	37	41	37
Poor	11	7	6	5	6

New York

U.S. SENATE: Alfonse D'Amato (R), incumbent

Marist Institute for Public Opinion. Feb. 28 and March 4, 1991. N=583 reg. voters statewide:

"If Alfonse D'Amato runs for reelection to the U.S. Senate in 1992, do you definitely plan to vote for him, or do you definitely plan to vote against him?"

	%
Definitely vote for D'Amato	32
Definitely vote against D'Amato	32
Depends (vol.)	21
Undecided	15

Continued on right

Presidential Preference

The polling organizations of Peter Hart and Robert Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. March 15-19, 1991. N=1,505 reg. voters nationwide:

Democratic Primary Trial Heat (Asked of Democrats and independents only):

	March 1991	Oct. 1990
	%	%
Mario Cuomo	18	21
Jesse Jackson	16	17
Lloyd Bentsen	12	14
Richard Gephardt	7	9
Sam Nunn	7	6
Albert Gore	6	5
Doug Wilder	3	2
Bob Kerrey	1	2
Someone else (vol.)	2	3
None (vol.)	12	11
Not sure	16	10

General Election Trial Heats (Asked of all respondents):

	March 1991	Oct. 1990
	%	%
George Bush (R)	70	53
Lloyd Bentsen (D)	21	33
Neither (vol.)	2	3
Not sure	7	11

	March 1991	Oct. 1990
	%	%
George Bush (R)	67	52
Mario Cuomo (D)	22	35
Neither (vol.)	2	3
Not sure	9	10
George Bush (R)	68	
Albert Gore (D)	18	
Neither (vol.)	3	
Not sure	11	

Favorability Ratings (Asked of all respondents):

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Unfamiliar/ Not sure
	%	%	%	%
Colin Powell	71	8	3	18
James Baker (R)	63	15	13	9
Dick Cheney (R)	60	15	6	19
Richard Gephardt (D)	26	28	14	32
Mario Cuomo (D)	25	23	17	35
Lloyd Bentsen (D)	25	25	16	34
Sam Nunn (D)	25	23	12	40
Albert Gore (D)	21	26	11	42

Princeton Survey Research Assoc. for the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press. March 14-19, 1991. N=2,028 adults nationwide. (Note: Each trial heat was asked of approx. half of the total sample):

General Election Trial Heats:

	%
George Bush/Colin Powell (R)	79
Mario Cuomo/Bob Kerrey (D)	14
Other/Undecided	7
George Bush/Dan Quayle (R)	74
Mario Cuomo/Bob Kerrey (D)	17
Other/Undecided	9

Continued from left

General Election Trial Heats:

	%		%
Robert Abrams (D)	47	Alfonse D'Amato (R)	44
Alfonse D'Amato (R)	42	Elizabeth Holtzman (D)	42
Undecided	11	Undecided	15
Alfonse D'Amato (R)	53	Alfonse D'Amato (R)	43
Geraldine Ferraro (D)	34	Mark Green (D)	31
Undecided	13	Undecided	26

Sen. D'Amato—Job Rating:

	March 1991	Sept. 1990	Feb. 1990	Sept. 1989
	%	%	%	%
Excellent/Good	42	43	37	42
Fair/Poor	53	50	55	50
Don't know	6	8	8	9

Favorability Ratings (Among reg. Democrats only):

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Don't Know	Never Heard Of
	%	%	%	%
Robert Abrams (D)	56	10	21	13
Geraldine Ferraro (D)	48	33	17	2
Mark Green (D)	27	6	14	54
Elizabeth Holtzman (D)	51	16	11	22
Robert Mrazek (D)	9	5	8	78

Utah

GOVERNOR: Open

Dan Jones and Assoc. for the *Deseret News*. March 1-4, 1991. N=603 adults statewide:

"On political matters...the following Republicans and Democrats are being mentioned as possible candidates for governor in 1992. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being not in favor and 5 being very much in favor, please tell me how you feel about each candidate running for governor."

	In favor (4 and 5)	Neutral (3)	Opposed (1 and 2)
	%	%	%
Palmer DePaulis (D)	40	29	19
Scott Matheson, Jr. (D)	32	27	16
Jim Hansen (R)	30	24	31
Val Oveson (R)	28	25	21
Chase Peterson (D)	24	19	30
Merrill Cook (I)	16	17	52
Nolan Karras (R)	13	18	20
Steve Studdert (R)	11	16	17
Brent Ward (R)	11	23	18
Stewart Hansen, Jr. (D)	11	16	21
Tony Rampton (D)	11	18	18
Kem Gardner (D)	10	18	20
Scott Daniels (D)	10	13	18
John Nielsen (R)	8	16	21
Richard Eyre (R)	8	15	20
Scott Howell (D)	7	16	21

Denver

MAYOR: Open

Ciruli Assoc. for KUSA-TV. Feb. 19-21, 1991. N=355 reg. voters citywide:

Election Trial Heat (nonpartisan):

	%
Norm Early	39
Don Bain	22
Wellington Webb	15
Other	4
Undecided	20

Runoff Trial Heats:

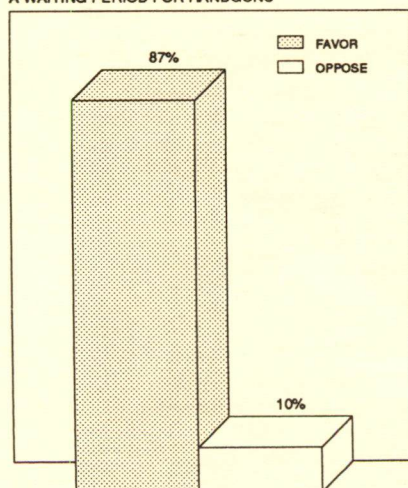
	%		%
Don Bain	45	Norm Early	58
Wellington Webb	38	Wellington Webb	19
Undecided	17	Undecided	23
Norm Early	52		
Don Bain	31		
Undecided	17		

A Waiting Period for Purchasing a Handgun

The Gallup Organization for Newsweek. March 14-15, 1991. N=763 adults nationwide:

"Would you favor or oppose a national law requiring a seven day waiting period before a handgun could be purchased, in order to determine whether the prospective buyer has been convicted of a felony, or is mentally ill?"

A WAITING PERIOD FOR HANDGUNS



Philadelphia

MAYOR: Open

Strategy Assoc. for Pennsylvanians for Effective Government. March 3-7, 1991. N=503 voters citywide ("...Republicans were polled at roughly twice their actual proportion," according to the press release):

Republican Primary Trial Heat (among Republican voters):

	First Choice %	Second Choice %	Unacceptable %
Ron Castille	35	29	3
Frank Rizzo	30	23	21
Sam Katz	14	18	5
Dennis Morrison-Wesley	1	3	5
Undecided	19	27	

Democratic Primary Trial Heat (among Democratic voters):

	First Choice %	Second Choice %	Unacceptable %
Ed Rendell	20	21	7
Peter Hearn	12	10	4
Lucien Blackwell	10	7	17
George Burell	7	11	7
Jim White	5	14	7
Undecided	46	37	

Fabrizio & McLaughlin Assoc. for Frank Rizzo. Feb. 28-March 3, 1991. N=300 likely Republican primary voters citywide:

Republican Primary Trial Heat:

	%
Ronald Castille	40
Frank Rizzo	35
Sam Katz	13
Dennis Morrison-Wesley	-
Undecided	11

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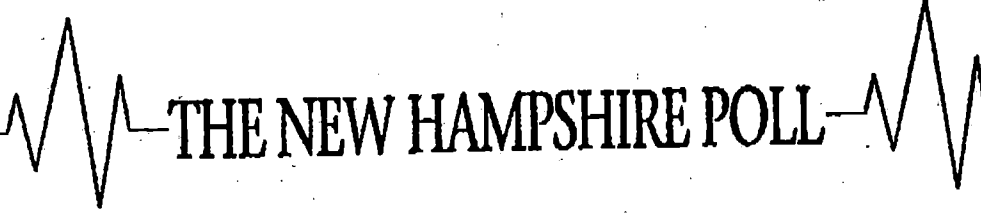
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7-7



THE NEW HAMPSHIRE POLL

The following results are based on a total of 1380 completed telephone interviews among a random sample of registered voters living in New Hampshire from March 12 through 25, 1991.

The overall sample of 1380 consists of 538 completed interviews among registered Republicans, 400 completed interviews of registered Democrats, and 442 completed interviews of undeclared registered voters (Independents). This reflects the composition of registered voters by party in New Hampshire.

The theoretical margin of error for the total sample of 1380 voters is plus or minus 2.64%, 95% of the time, on questions where opinion is evenly split. The theoretical margin of error for the sample of 538 registered Republicans is plus or minus 4.2%, 95% of the time, on questions where opinion is evenly split. The theoretical margin of error for the sample of 400 registered Democrats is plus or minus 4.9%, 95% of the time, on questions where opinion is evenly split.

Random-digit dialing was used to select households in this probability-proportionate-to-size sample by party registration and county. A quota system was used to select eligible respondents in selected households by gender, splitting the sample 50%-50% male/female.

Overall Results

Overall, 76% of respondents approve of the job George Bush is doing as president, 11% disapprove, and 13% are undecided.

Among registered Republicans, 88% say they approve of the job George Bush is doing as president, 4% disapprove, and 8% are undecided.

Among registered Democrats, 63% say they approve of the job George Bush is doing as president, 21% say they disapprove, and 16% are undecided.

Among undeclared voters, 74% say they approve of the job George Bush is doing as president, 11% disapprove, and 15% are undecided.



Question:

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

1...Approve 2...Disapprove 3...Undecided

	1	2	3	(N)
TOTAL:	76%	11%	13%	(1380)

PARTY REGISTRATION:

Republican	88	4	8	(538)
Democrat	63	21	16	(400)
Undeclared	74	11	15	(442)

Republicans

George Bush is known by all registered Republicans in the sample. Among registered Republicans, 78% indicate a strong preference to vote for George Bush for president and 2% say they would never vote for George Bush for president.

Democrats

The names of 22 potential Democratic presidential candidates were tested for awareness and the likelihood of voting for that person for president. The following table indicates the results.

An analysis of the responses comprising the table indicates that Mario Cuomo, Lloyd Bentsen, Richard Gephardt, and Albert Gore form an upper-tier of potential candidates based on this measure of voting-based awareness. The composition of those saying they would never vote for Lloyd Bentsen, however, could be damaging to him in an effort to broaden his appeal.

A large and fairly homogeneous block of respondents say they would never vote for Michael Dukakis, George McGovern, Jesse Jackson, John Silber, or Jay Rockefeller for president.

With the exception of Paul Tsongas, the others on the list fall below the upper-tier of potential candidates reflecting their lower levels of awareness. As with Lloyd Bentsen, a potentially damaging number of respondents say they would never vote for Paul Tsongas.

**AWARENESS AND PREFERENCE LEVELS OF POTENTIAL
DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT
AS OF MARCH 1991***

POTENTIAL CANDIDATE	AWARE/UNAWARE		STRONG VOTE FOR	STRONG NOT VOTE FOR
Lloyd Bentsen	78%	22%	8%	21%
David Boren	16%	84%	-	5%
Bill Bradley	67%	33%	2%	7%
Richard Celeste	16%	84%	-	3%
William Clinton	13%	87%	-	3%
Mario Cuomo	90%	10%	14%	15%
Michael Dukakis	99%	1%	1%	63%
Richard Gephardt	98%	2%	3%	17%
Albert Gore	87%	13%	1%	20%
Bob Graham	34%	66%	-	11%
Tom Harkin	17%	83%	-	7%
Jesse Jackson	97%	3%	2%	52%
Bob Kerrey	50%	50%	-	16%
George McGovern	98%	2%	5%	48%
George Mitchell	60%	40%	2%	16%
Sam Nunn	69%	31%	1%	18%
Charles Robb	47%	53%	-	12%
Jay Rockefeller	77%	23%	-	27%
John Silber	80%	20%	3%	41%
Stephen Solarz	22%	78%	-	11%
Paul Tsongas	87%	13%	3%	23%
Douglas Wilder	26%	74%	1%	11%

* Based on 400 completed telephone interviews among a statewide random sample of registered Democrats.

TARRANCE & ASSOCIATES

Research for Decisions in Politics and Public Affairs

Governor Sununu

MEMORANDUM

TO: Roger Ailes
Greg Stevens
Don Walter

FROM: V. Lance Tarrance, Jr.
Ed Gooss
Brian C. Tringali

DATE: March 11, 1991

RE: Summary of Kentucky Statewide Survey for Governor

FYI
from
Roger
Ailes

The Larry Hopkins for Governor campaign contracted with Tarrance & Associates to conduct a telephone survey of 700 registered voters - 400 randomly selected voters across the state and an additional 300 registered Republicans. The total number of Republicans interviewed in this study was n=428. Responses were gathered February 11-13, 1991.

Our most important findings are summarized in bullet form as:

- o The attitudes of the Republican primary electorate do not differ significantly from those of the general election audience, and that gives us a tremendous advantage in terms of message selection. The messages we communicate to the primary voters can essentially be the same as the ones we will use during the general election.
- o Even excluding black voters, a majority (50%) of those over the age of 65 are Democrats. That means that as we look toward those most likely to turn out on election day, the ballot may shift by at least a percentage point or two toward the Democrat candidate. In a state like Kentucky, that is enough to swing the election.
- o Only 35% of the electorate in Kentucky would describe themselves as Republican. That is important in terms of understanding how difficult it will be to put a coalition together on election day -- even in an open-seat.
- o By about a 2 to 1 margin, voters in Kentucky feel that things in the state are headed in the right direction. Forty-eight percent (48%) feel that things are headed in the right direction, while only 28% think that things are off on the wrong track.

2

- o A plurality of Republican voters would like abortion to be prohibited except in cases of rape, incest, or when the life of the mother is in danger. A third of the total electorate (33%) fit into this category as well.
- o The Kentucky state legislature has only recently passed a \$1.3 billion tax increase. When it comes to what should be done about the tax situation, 59% of the voters already think that some kind of new action needs to be taken. Twenty-three percent (23%) think that the tax increase should be cut down to the level required by the court to equalize education around the state. A 36% plurality think that a partial reduction of the tax increase is required. Positions on the tax issue will remain volatile as the tax increase is implemented.
- o By far the most important attribute for the next Governor to have is "honesty and trustworthiness." Sixty-two percent (62%) of all voters think this attribute is extremely important, while another 36% think it is very important. Because most voters would consider Kentucky government to be "bought" by special interests, it is not difficult to see why honesty is a priority for the next Governor.
- o In terms of the primary election, Larry Hopkins has a substantial lead in awareness among the GOP voters. That lead in awareness will give a false impression of security on the primary ballot, since the ballot is a "lagging" indicator.

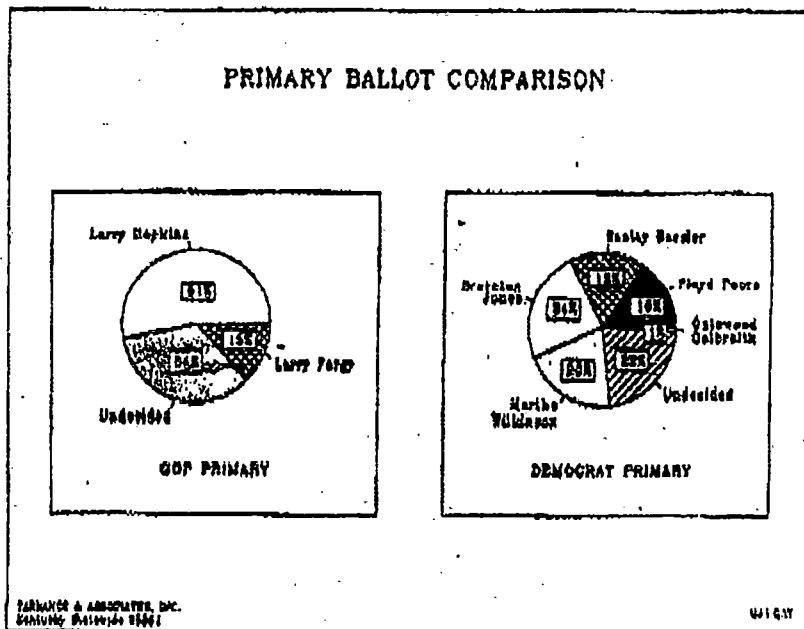
IMAGE COMPARISON
(AMONG GOP VOTERS)

	HOPKINS %	FORGY %
Image		
Favorable	46	24
Unfavorable	5	6
No Opinion	23	26
Never heard of	26	43

- o Brereton Jones is known to all but a third of the overall electorate.

IMAGE COMPARISON
(AMONG ALL VOTERS)

	HOPKINS %	JONES %	BAERLEB %	WILKINSON %	POORE %
Image					
Favorable	42	31	27	30	22
Unfavorable	6	9	9	53	11
No Opinion	26	27	17	16	20
Never heard of	27	33	47	3	48



- o Targeting the 34% who remain undecided is critical for Hopkins in the GOP primary. These voters are likely to be: 2nd and 4th C.D. residents; women, especially women at home; 35-54 years of age; without a high school education.
- o Given the margin of error within the survey, the race for Governor is essentially tied at this time should the race come down to Larry Hopkins and Brereton Jones.

GENERAL ELECTION BALLOT FOR GOVERNOR

	HOPKINS %	JONES %
Education		
Less than H.S.	33	51
H.S. graduate	36	46
Some college	47	33
College graduate	48	38
Total	40	43

- o Keeping in mind that some of these voters are more likely to make up their minds later in a campaign, the following groups are more likely to remain undecided to date:
 - o Residents of the 1st, 4th & 7th C.D.s
 - o Ticket-splitters
 - o Women/45 and over
 - o 45-54 year-olds
- o As the table below indicates, building a winning coalition begins with a careful assessment of our current situation.

4

TARGET GROUP	MINIMUM WINNING COALITION			
	PERCENT OF ELECTORATE	TARGET PERFORMANCE	CONTRIBUTING PERCENTAGE	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE
Republican	35	20	32	32
Ticket-splitter	13	65	8	40
Cons. Democrat	25	40	10	50
Mod/Lib Democrat	21	10	2	52
Black	6	0	0	52

- o There seems to be some level of awareness among the GOP primary electorate that Larry Forgy dropped out of the race in 1987 at the last minute and that this was damaging to the Party. The most devastating issue for Forgy seems to be his support for public financing of political campaigns with taxpayer dollars. An equally difficult issue for Forgy is his employment in a coal firm which overcharged a utility company -- resulting in higher electric bills.
- o Both in terms of the overall electorate, and especially among Republican voters, Senator Mitch McConnell is by far the most potent endorsement imaginable. Fifty-six percent (56%) of the general electorate and 69% of the GOP electorate would be more likely to vote for a candidate endorsed by Mitch McConnell.