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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 10/30/91

8 TO:

Governor Sununu

FROM: DAVID M. CARNEY
Special Assistant to the President and
Director, Office of Political Affairs

I am sorry that you were unable to attend the briefing in my office on October 29.

Neil Newhouse and Bill McInturff gave a very interesting presentation on their recent national survey (taken October 16-18) and their work on new typologies. They are trying to develop new typologies that are more useful in targeting specific segments of the population.

I hope you find the attached material useful.



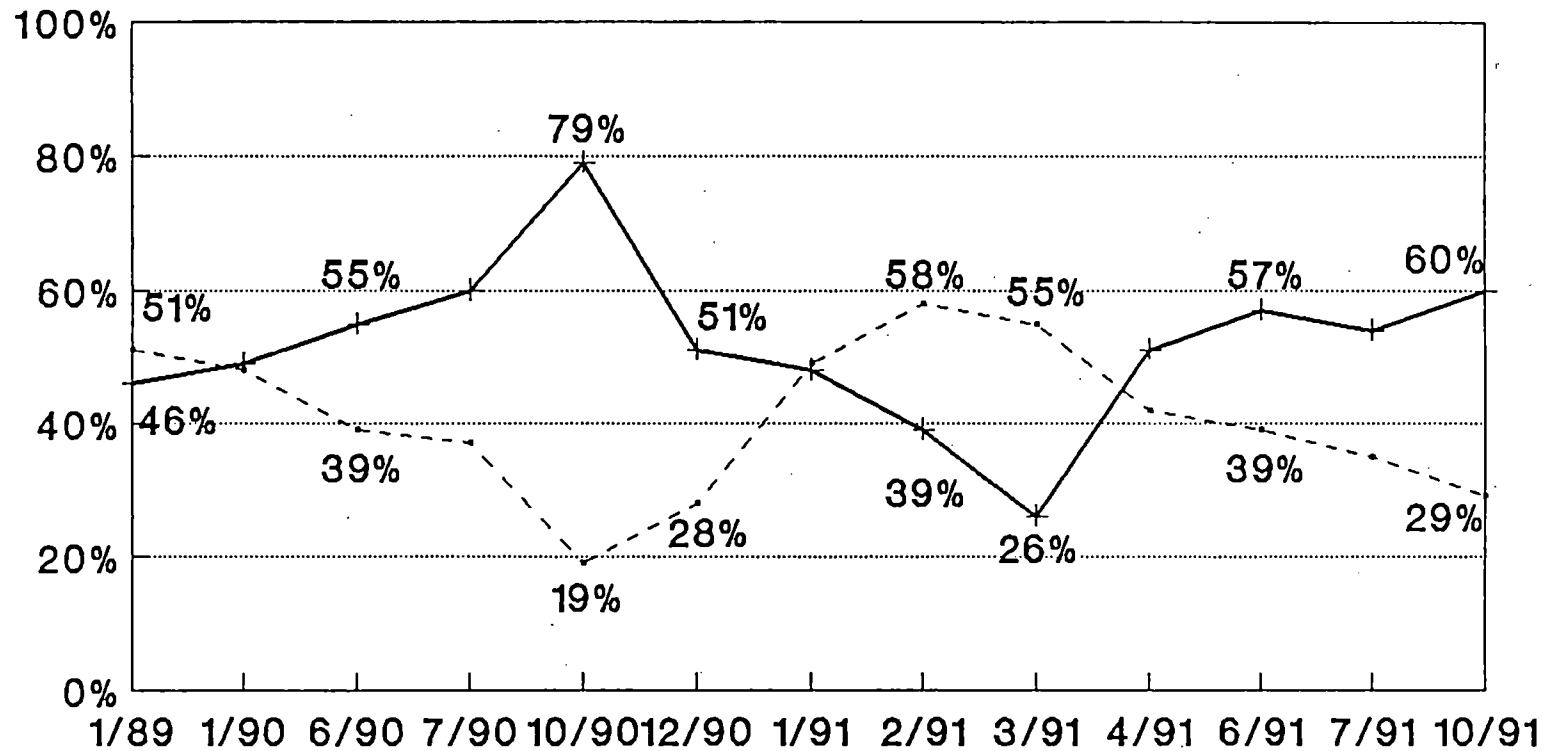
NATIONAL SURVEY BRIEFING

prepared for

WHITE HOUSE POLITICAL STAFF

October 16-18, 1991

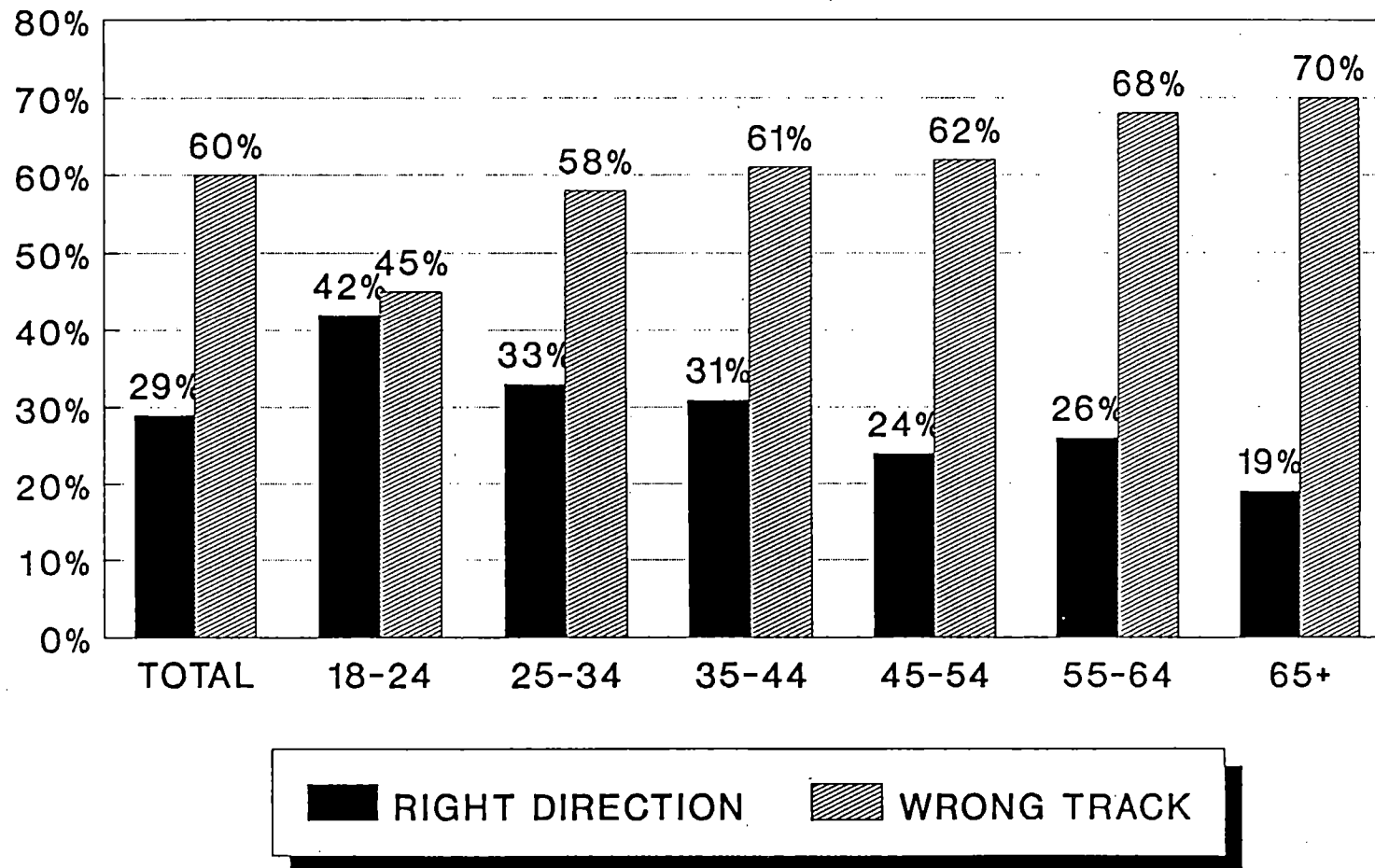
RIGHT DIRECTION/WRONG TRACK NATIONAL TREND



----- RIGHT DIRECTION —+— WRONG TRACK

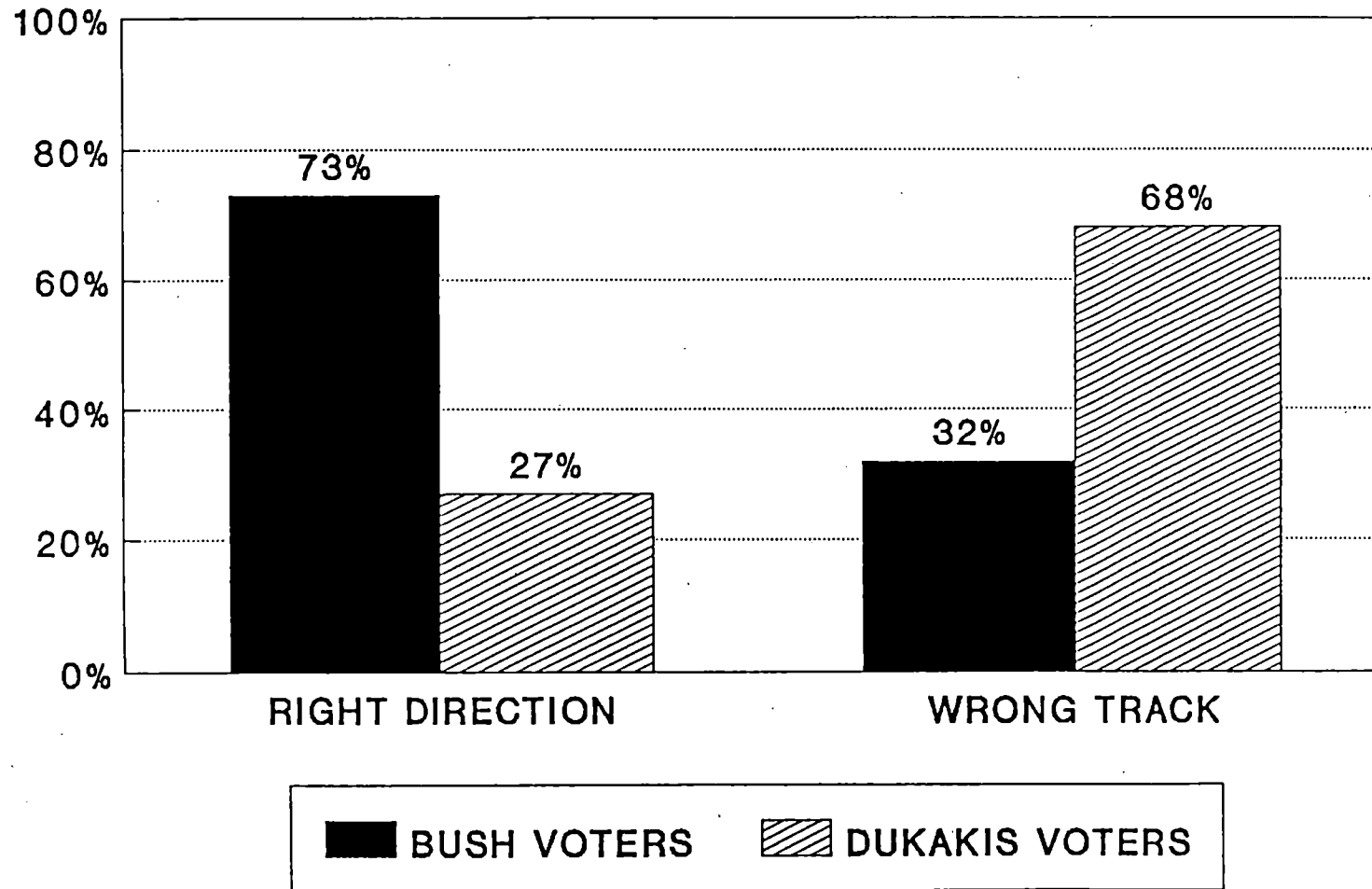
PUBLIC AND POS SURVEYS

RIGHT DIRECTION/WRONG TRACK: GENERATION GAP

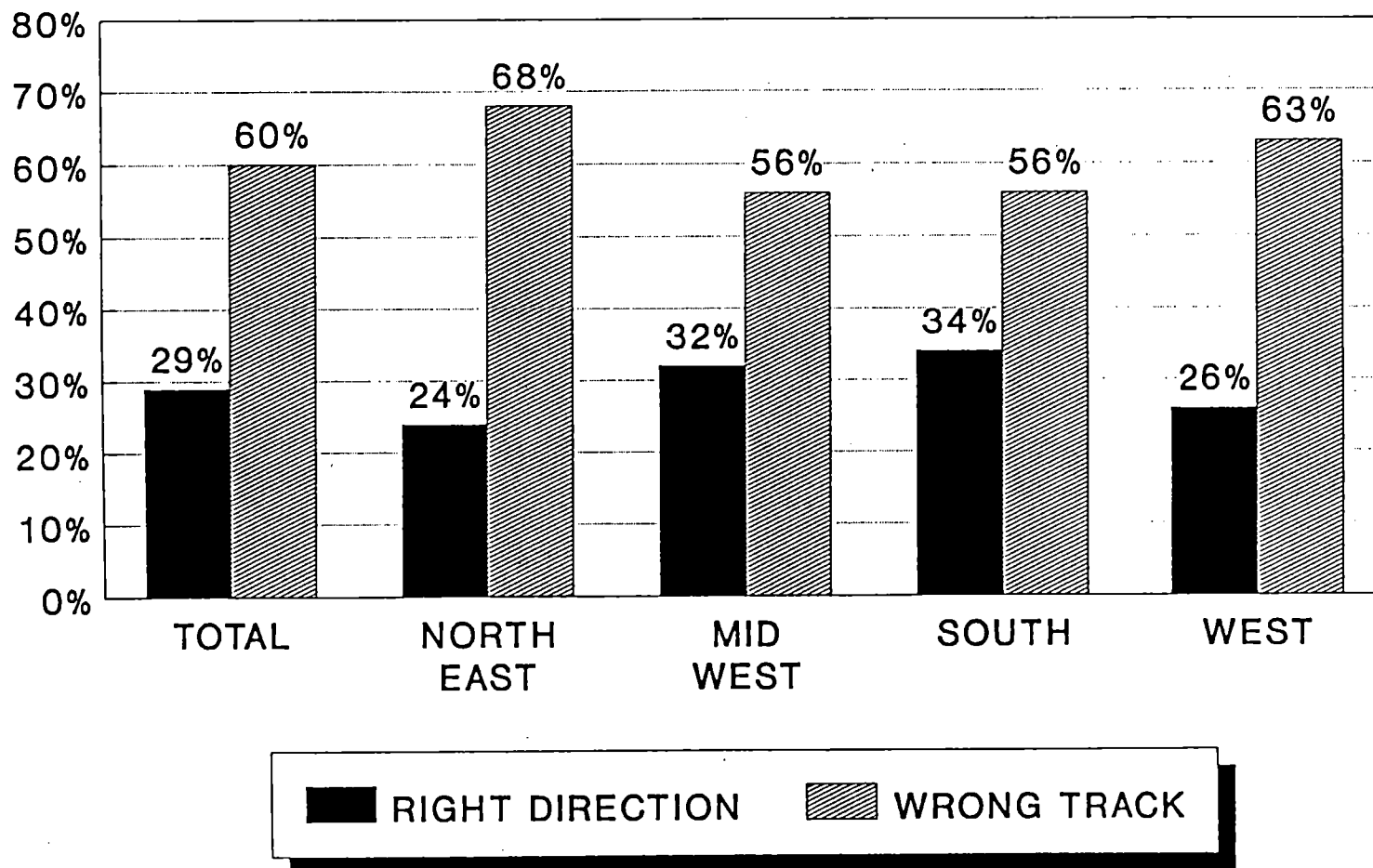


PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES: 10/91

1988 PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT BY "RIGHT DIRECTION/WRONG TRACK"

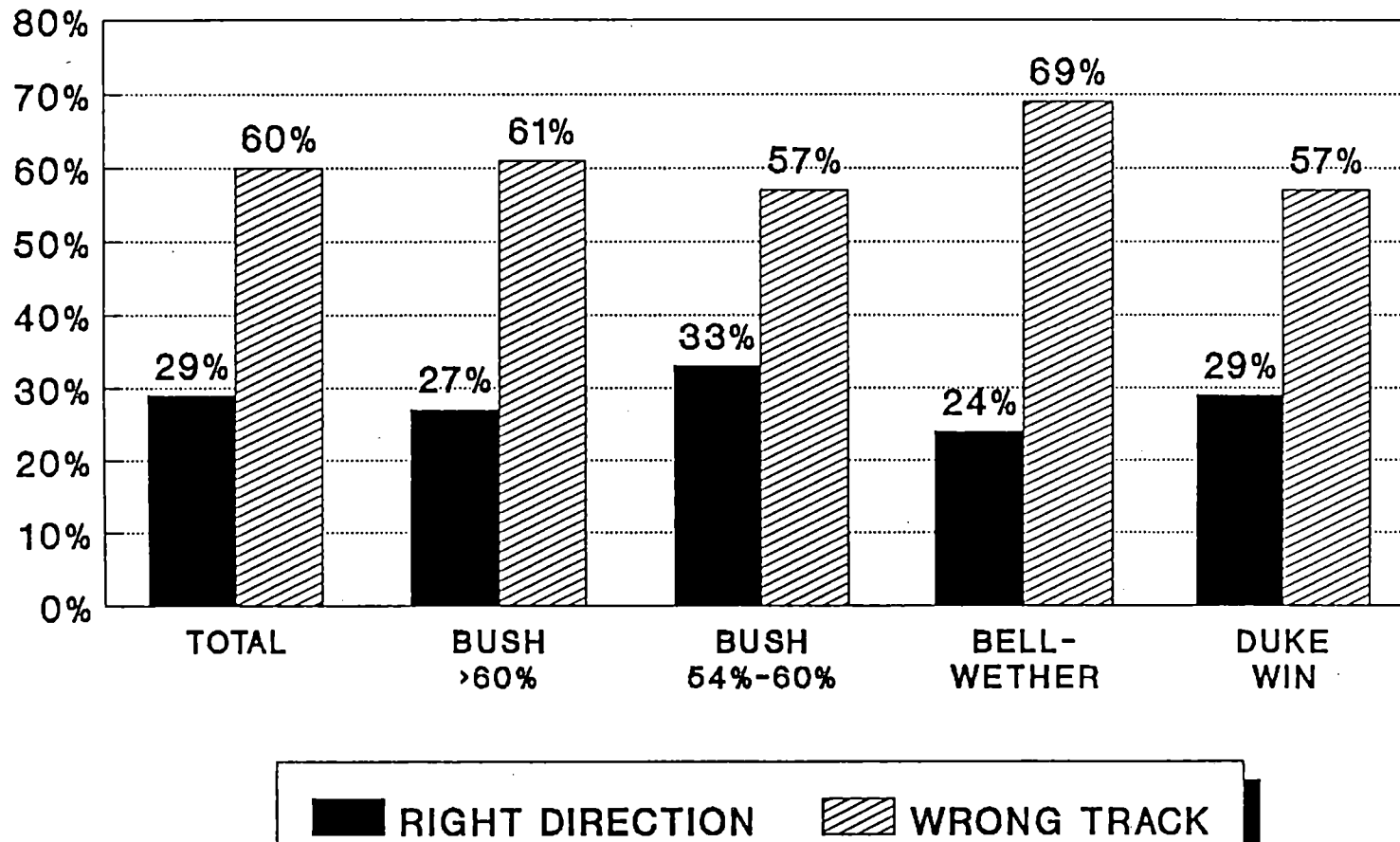


RIGHT DIRECTION/WRONG TRACK: AREA OF THE COUNTRY



PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES: 10/91

RIGHT DIRECTION/WRONG TRACK: BY 1988 VOTE RESULTS



1988 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE RESULTS BY STATE

**BUSH
GREATER THAN
60%**

Florida
Idaho
Nebraska
New Hampshire
South Carolina
Utah
Wyoming

**BUSH
54-60%**

Alabama
Alaska
Arizona
Arkansas
Delaware
Georgia
Indiana
Kansas
Kentucky
Louisiana
Maine
Michigan*
Mississippi
Nevada
New Jersey
North Carolina
North Dakota
Ohio
Oklahoma
Tennessee
Texas
Virginia

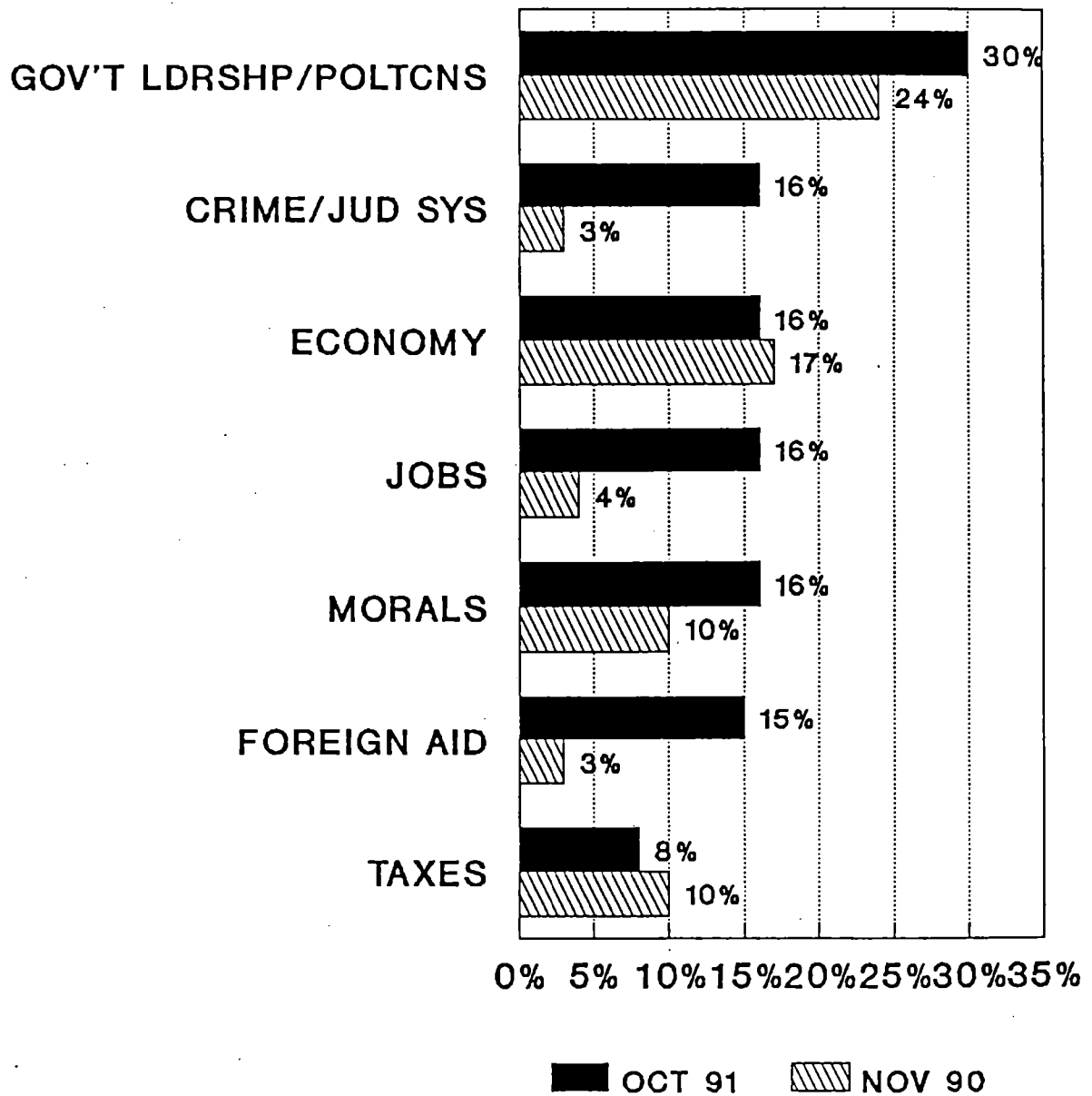
**BELL WETHER
STATES
50-53%**

California
Colorado
Connecticut
Illinois
Missouri
Montana
New Mexico
Pennsylvania
South Dakota

**"DUKAKIS"
WIN**

Hawaii
Iowa
Maryland*
Massachusetts
Minnesota
New York
Oregon
Rhode Island
Washington
Washington, D.C.
West Virginia
Wisconsin
Vermont*

WHY VOTERS SAY COUNTRY IS OFF ON WRONG TRACK



FOCUS GROUP TYPOLOGIES

GOVERNMENT WASTE/TAXES

- "Your senators and congressmen just think they live with an endless budget, that they can just spend as much money as they like, and you can't do it, I can't do it."
- "As you see, we already have started with some rebellions against the taxes, and I think if it keeps going, you're going to have another Boston Tea Party."
- "I had to pay sales tax on an exterminator."

OCTOBER NATIONAL SAMPLE COMMENTS

QUESTION 2:

AND CAN YOU PLEASE TELL ME, IN YOUR OPINION, WHY YOU THINK THINGS IN THE COUNTRY ARE OFF ON THE WRONG TRACK? AND CAN YOU TELL ME MORE ABOUT THAT? WHY ELSE? ANY OTHER REASONS?

1. GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP / POLITICIANS - 30%

In the first place, the government is not in touch with the people / Our taxes are going way out of sight / You can't afford to own your own home / Congress gives themselves raises and want to cut the lower class of people.

Taxation without representation / Our Congressmen aren't doing their jobs / The way the Congressmen pretend they don't understand questions asked, avoid the issue and act like the public is stupid.

Because of a bunch of crooked politicians and we need to clean it up / Turn back to the good Lord and vote from the heart.

Politicians basically have everything screwed up and out of control / They tend to be self centered, self serving arrogant individuals / Because they control it and the public has no say in it.

We got a bunch of lousy Congressmen and Senators / Because they tax the heck out of people and take our money too much / They just throw money away.

The judge and Senators are stupid on the Clarence Thomas case and to think those guys are running our country / Gun control -- people are still able to buy guns, regardless.

Our leadership in our government is mainly at fault / Leaders are more interested in foreign policy / Not interested with people in own country / Too much corruption in government.

The biggest is the Thomas trial / I believe that people should be responsible for their actions / Price of health care / High health care is a problem for the middle class.

Senate and the Congress are paid too much / Thomas hearing was a waste of taxpayers dollars / Don't like the cutbacks on military spending and defense budget.

Political things are going on and making things bad / Political programs misused / Especially the prayers in school / Religion going haywire; like the things you can and can't do anymore.

2. CRIME / LAW ENFORCEMENT / JUDICIAL SYSTEM - 16%

Judicial system is messed up / Have to let criminals go / Giving major sentences for minor crimes and minor sentences for major crimes / Corrupt government is overspending.

There's too much drug abuse, raping, killing, and gays.

First of all people can't walk the street at night, the victims are being slain; we're protecting the criminals / Take back the electric chair and public whipping / The senate budget is a farce / The Senators are too anxious to pay themselves, instead of concern for the people.

Law enforcement / Lack of funds, lack of jails, permissive judges / Accused appear to get a better deal / Permissive society / Society in which the judges allow certain things to occur where criminals get a better deal than they should / Lack of respect from children.

Kids are killing each other / Crime is overrunning the country.

3. ECONOMY (GENERAL) - 16%

Economically we are in bad shape / Indebtedness in the banks / Foreign investments in the U.S. that could pull out / It's gotten worse in the last ten years.

Looks like we're standing still / Not moving forward / Minimum wage needs to be increased.

The economic situation / I think we spend too much money abroad and not taking care of the needs of our people in our nation.

The economy generally / Look at Congress' deregulation of the savings and loans / I think crime and the environment / The same thing is true in all areas, there is dishonesty -- no one has integrity / Education / Partially the lack of funding.

4. UNEMPLOYMENT / LACK OF JOBS - 16%

Jobless people / We should help our own / We need to consider our situation of joblessness and welfare before we send our money abroad / I think we ought to clean up the morals of this country.

People out of work / No jobs for them / Our leadership is not doing the right things / Not making the right decisions / They are worried more about foreign relations than problems here.

Hell of a lot of people unemployed / There are people without homes / The President needs to pay more attention at home / Congress needs to give back some of their 50 percent increase / The U.S. needs to quit giving out money to every foreign country with its hand out.

5. **LACK OF MORALS / RELIGIOUS VALUES / DISHONESTY** - 16%

The families are disintegrating / People have turned their back on God / Women are in the workplace and not raising children and they're turning out wrong and they wonder why. Because of immorality, calling wrong right and right wrong.

First they've taken prayer away / The punishment for the crimes committed aren't strong enough / Criminals commit murder and they are out on the street again in three years / They've taken away capital punishment / It was the death of education when they took it out, it was the foundation of the founding fathers and is what the country is founded on / We have the wimpy senators, no one will stand up for anyone, no matter white or black.

People are turning their back to religion, if people would turn to religion they could get their lives back in order / With religion out of the schools, kids aren't getting their moral teachings anymore / They aren't getting it at home.

6. **TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS / FOREIGN AID** - 15%

Basically the homeless and supporting other countries / We're putting a lot of money into other countries when we need it here / We're not paying enough attention to the homeless.

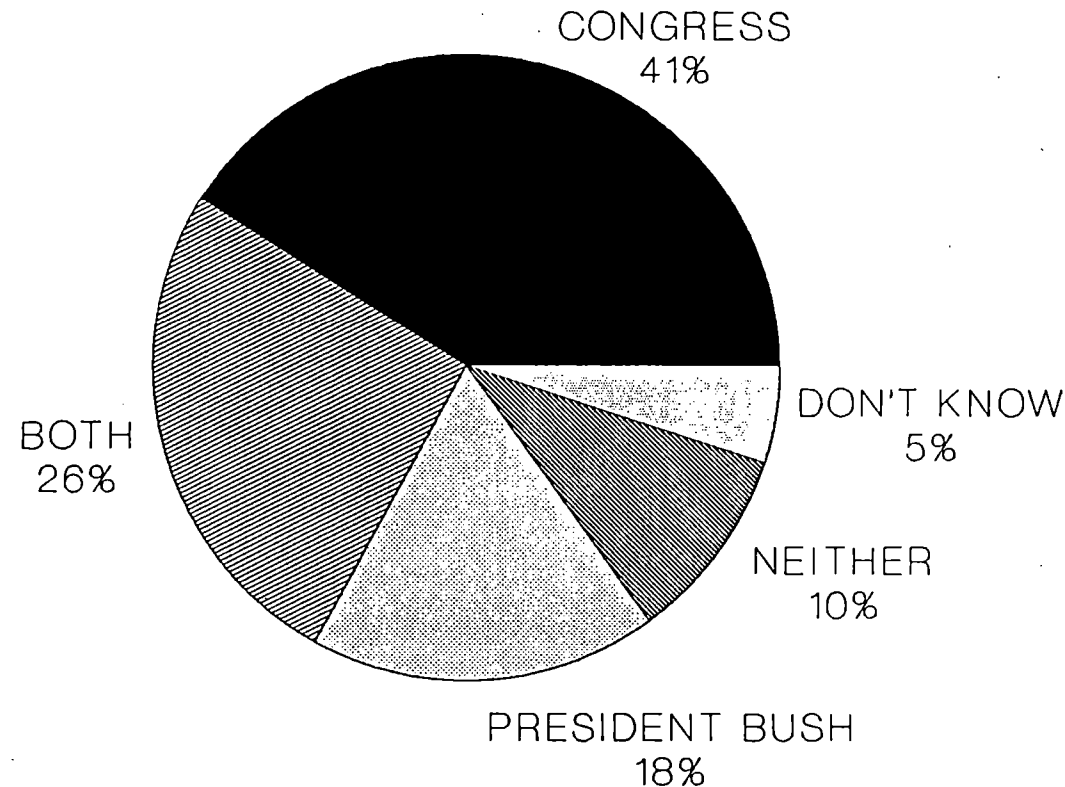
Because the President isn't taking care of domestic affairs as he should / Doesn't know what to do about budget / Congress is petrified about budget / Congress and Senators are serving too long, as well as Supreme Court / We need new faces.

We are paying too much attention to others / Foreign affairs and what not / We are not paying enough attention to our own country such as unemployment, the poor people and issues like that.

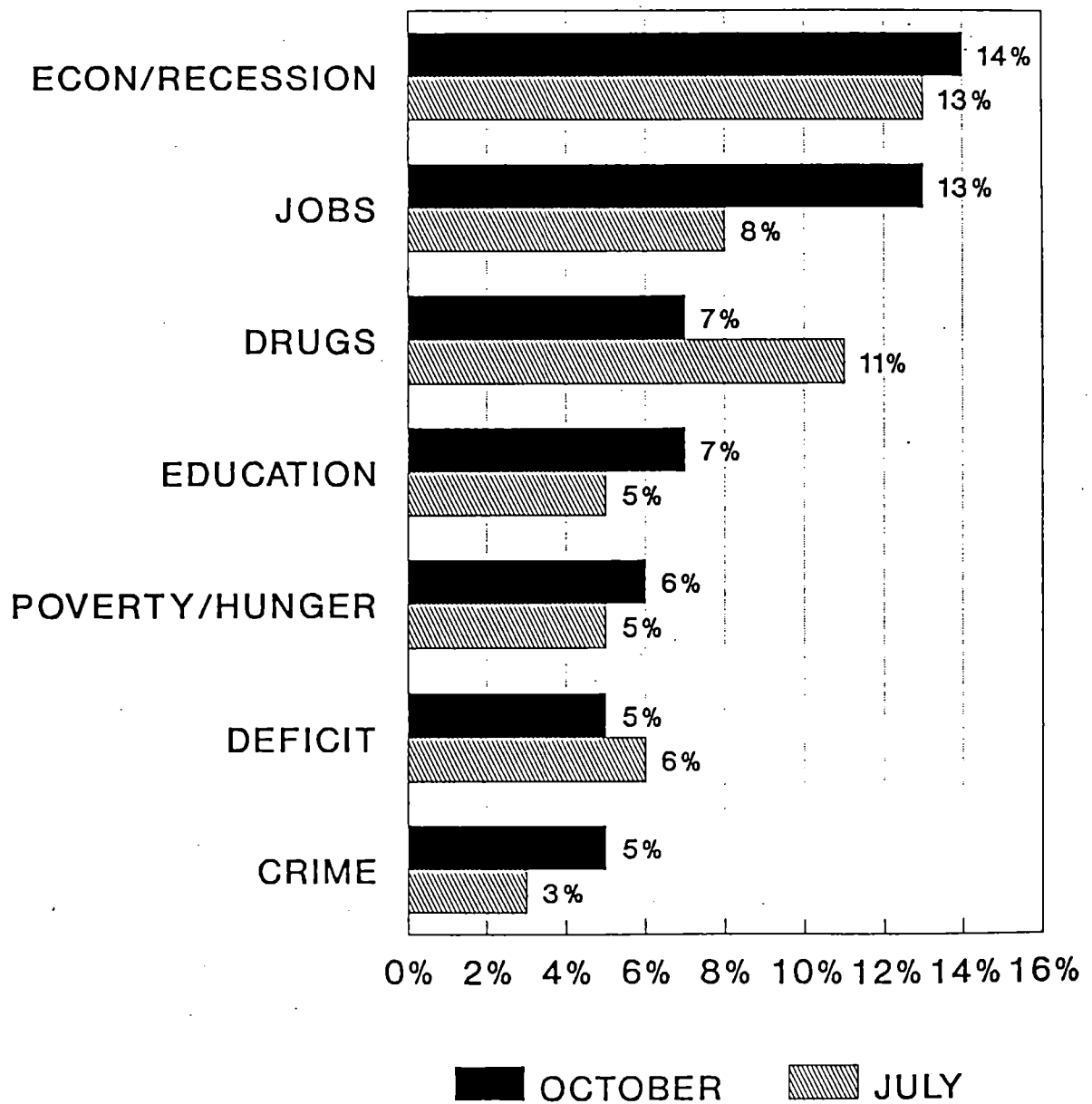
Too much attention overseas and not enough attention at home / Too much foreign policy and not enough attention given to problems at home, like recession / Not enough to stimulate economy.

We're not doing enough for our own country / Too much foreign policy / We have limited resources that are in great demand, and we send too much outside of our country / The whole social situation / Crime, unemployment / Also the decline of morals and corruption in our government.

And who would you say is more to blame
for the country being off on the wrong track,
President Bush or the United States Congress?

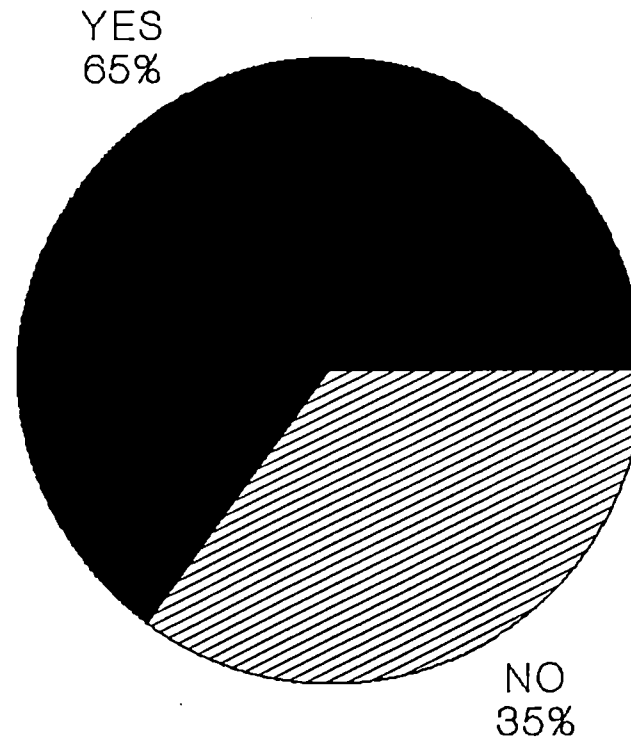


TOP U.S. ISSUE CONCERNS OCTOBER VS. JULY



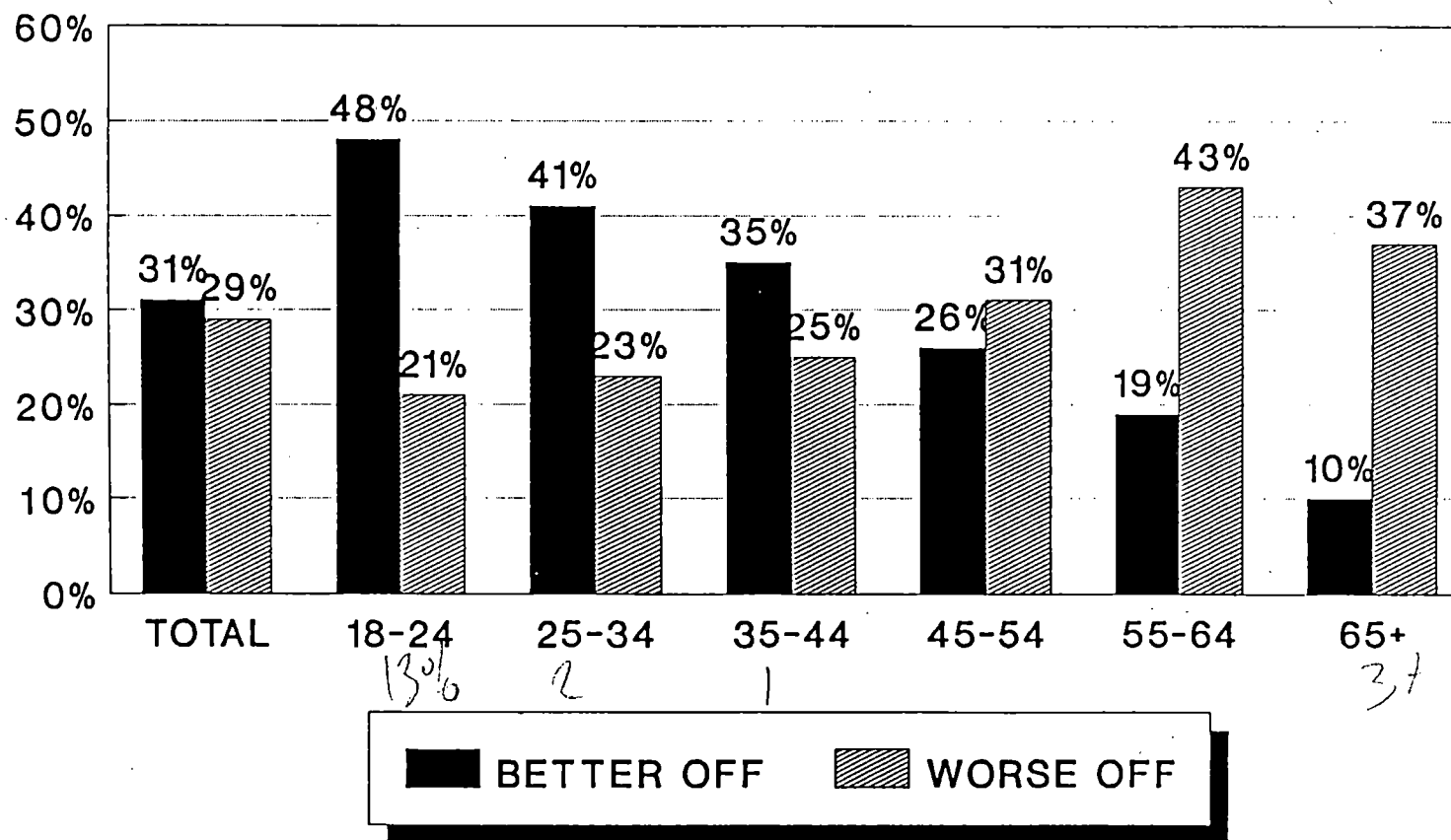
PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES

In the past month, have you heard your friends
or neighbors talk about the chance that
they could lose their jobs in the next year?

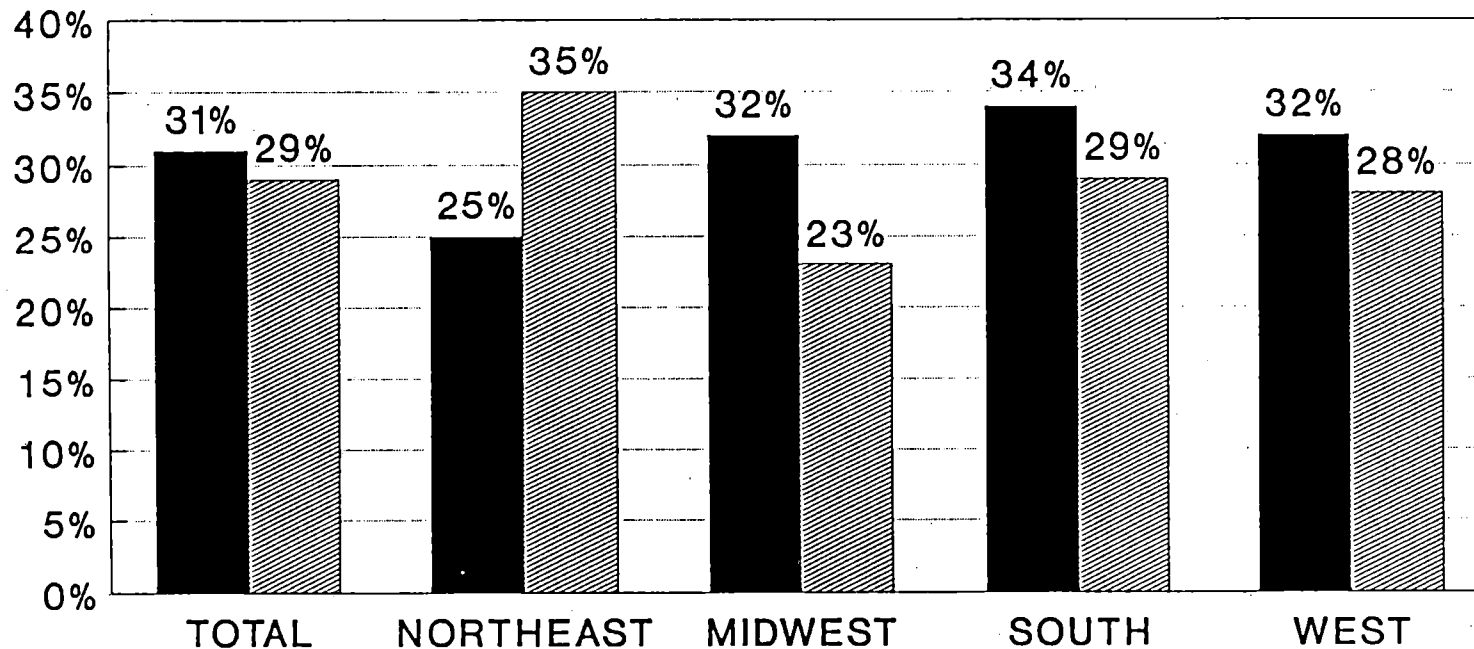


POS SURVEY: JULY 1991

PERSONAL/FAMILY FINANCES: BETTER OFF/WORSE COMPARED TO FOUR YEARS AGO: BY AGE



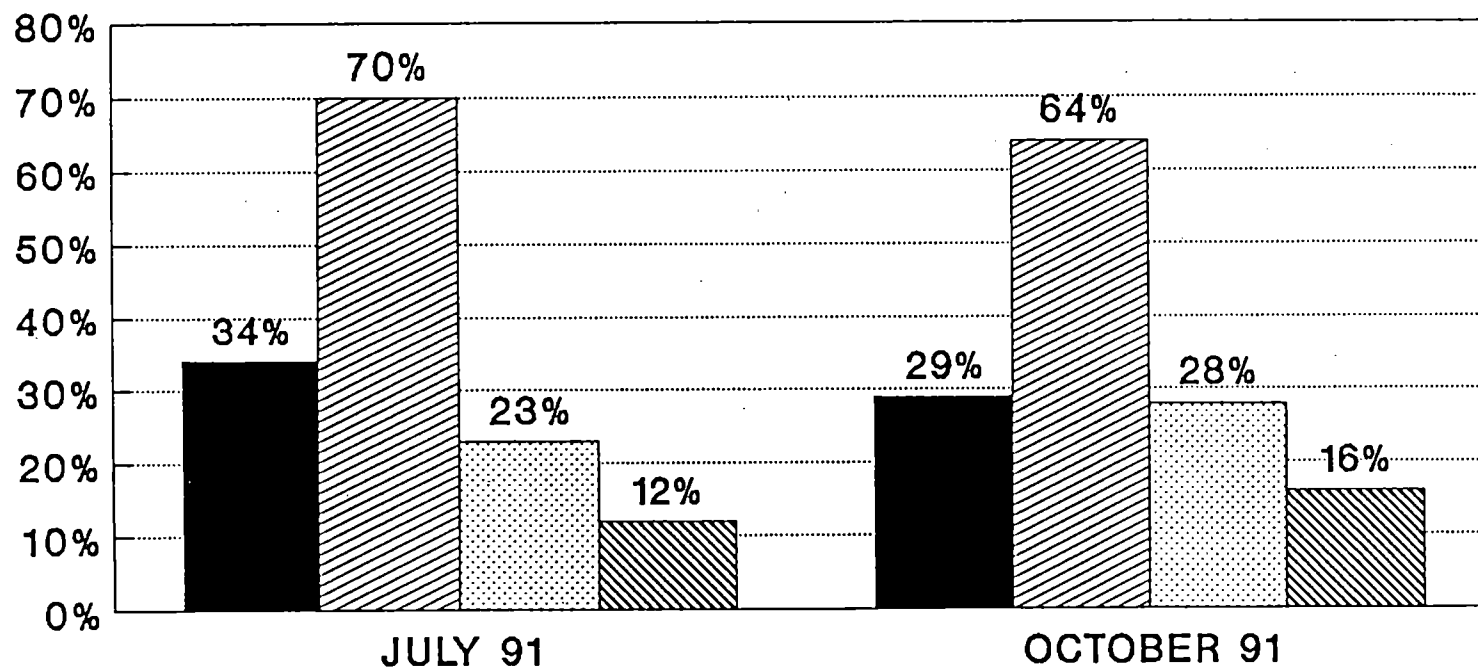
PERSONAL/FAMILY FINANCES: BETTER OFF/WORSE COMPARED TO FOUR YEARS AGO: BY REGION



■ BETTER OFF ▨ WORSE OFF

PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES: 10/91

PRESIDENT BUSH APPROVAL: JULY VS. OCTOBER

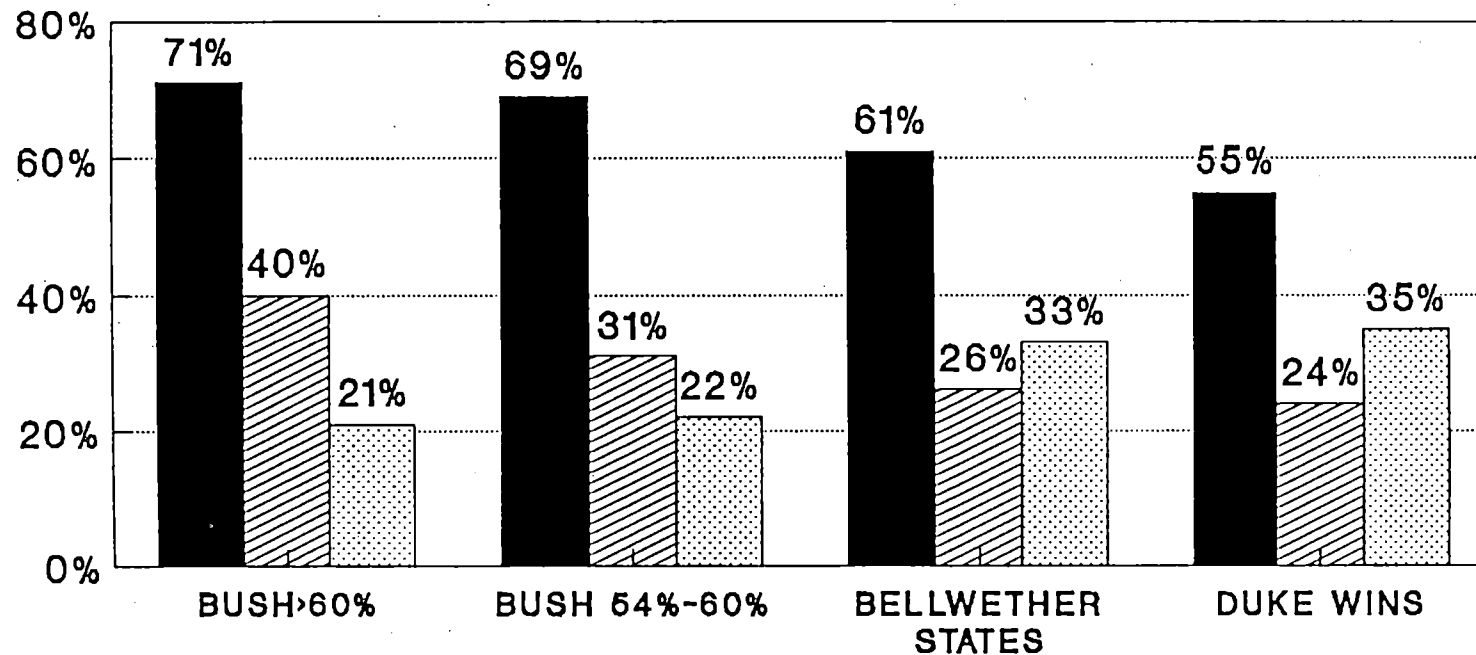


■ STRONG APPROVE
▒ TOTAL DISAPPROVE

▨ TOTAL APPROVE
▩ STRONG DISAPPROVE

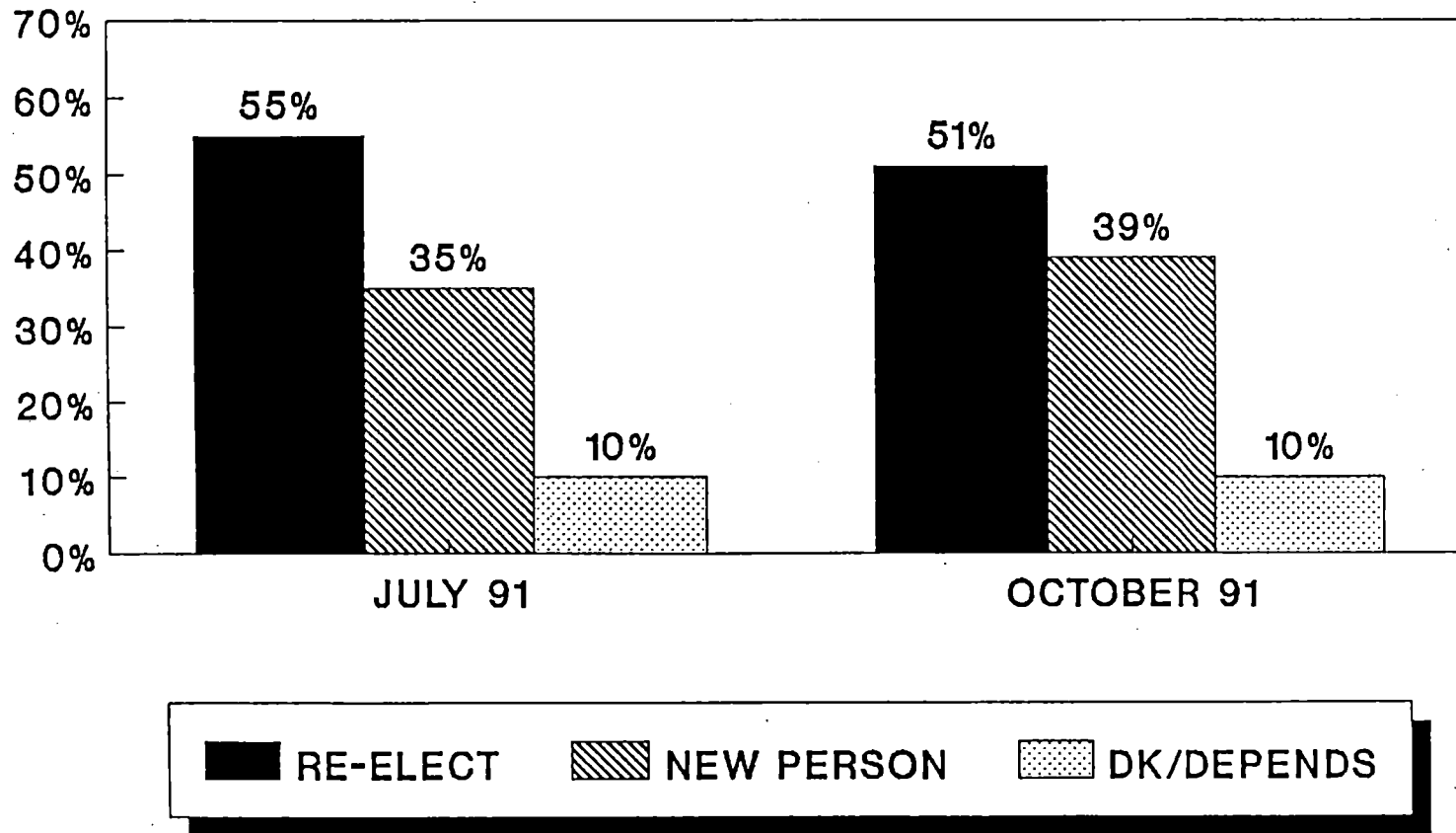
PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES: 10/91

PRESIDENT BUSH APPROVAL: BY 1988 VOTE



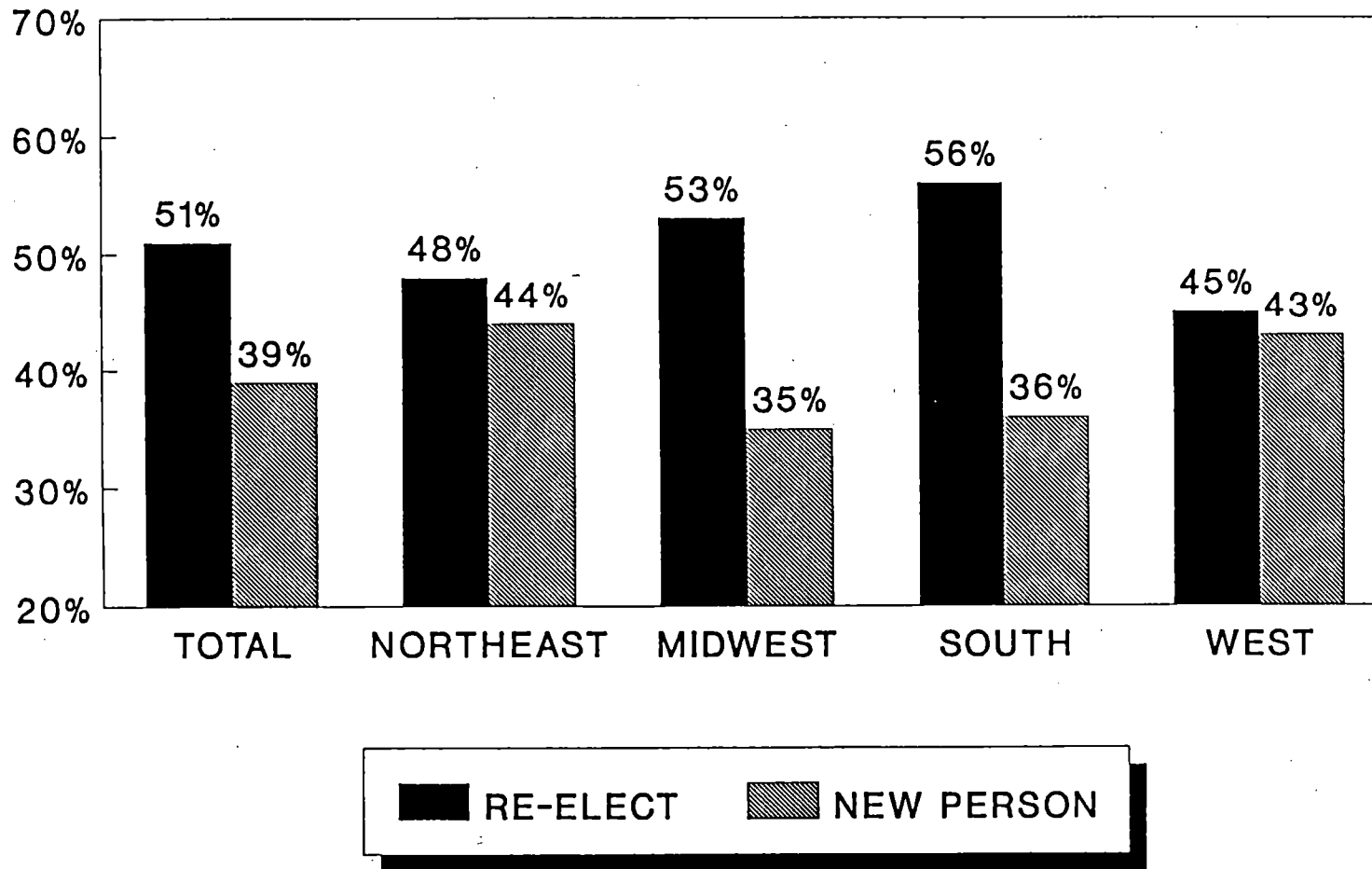
■ TOTAL APPROVE ▨ STRONG APPROVE
▤ TOTAL DISAPPROVE

PRESIDENT BUSH: VOTE TO RE-ELECT OR TIME FOR A NEW PERSON JULY VS. OCTOBER



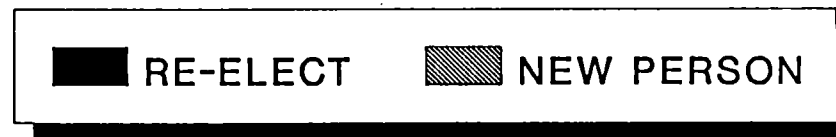
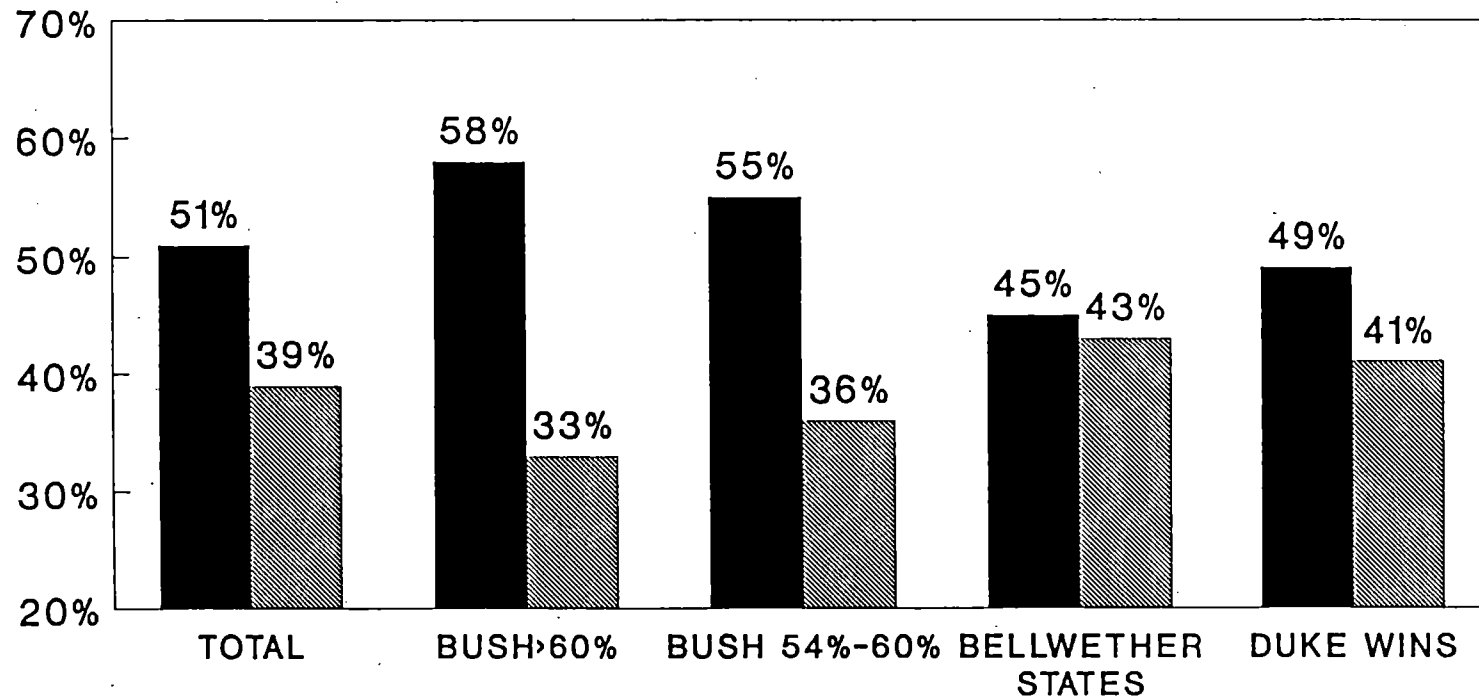
PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES: 10/91

PRESIDENT BUSH: VOTE TO RE-ELECT OR TIME FOR A NEW PERSON



PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES: 10/91

PRESIDENT BUSH: VOTE TO RE-ELECT OR TIME FOR A NEW PERSON



PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES: 10/91

FOCUS GROUP TYPOLOGIES

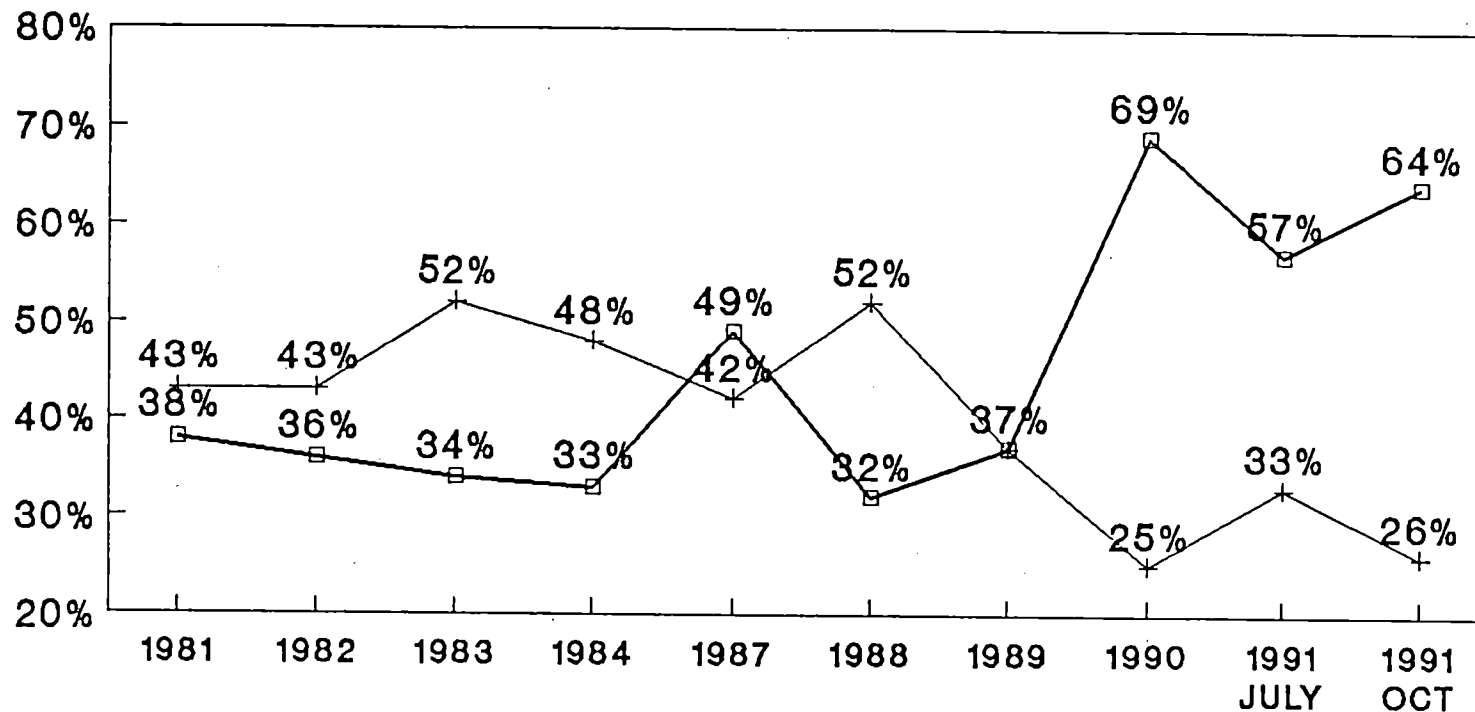
DEM MESSAGES/GOP VOICES

"President Bush, stay away from foreign affairs a bit more and get back to domestic policies and bring some of the money back here."

"One thing I think that's got to change to help our economy is we should be tougher on trading I think we're wimpy on our trading, that it's going one way."

"Control the foreign spending and get a national health care for people."

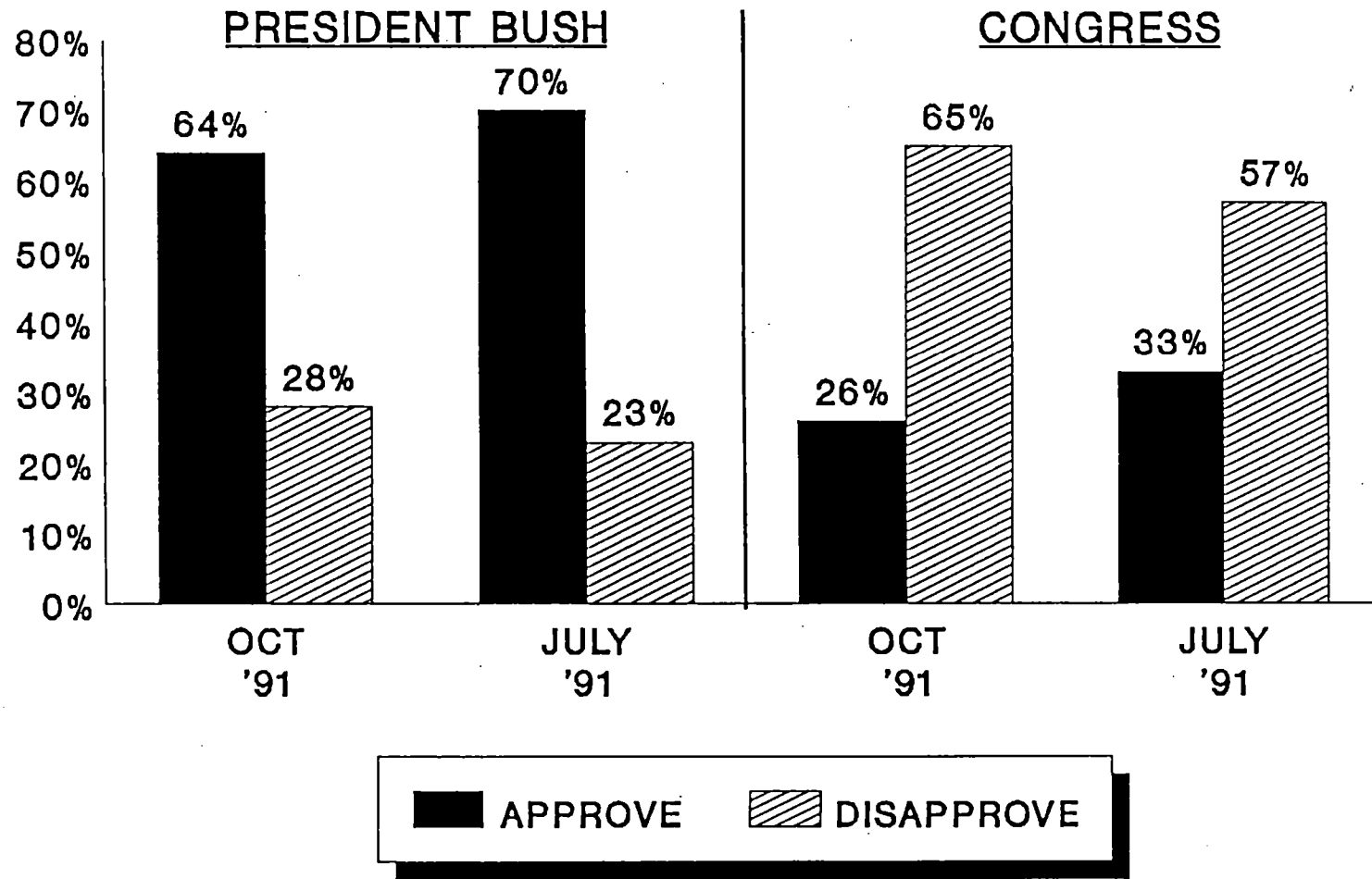
CONGRESSIONAL JOB RATING 1981-1991



—+— Approve —□— Disapprove

Source: Various GOP Polling Firms

PRESIDENTIAL vs. CONGRESSIONAL JOB APPROVAL RATINGS



PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES
OCTOBER 1991

VOTE FOR PRESIDENT/CONGRESS

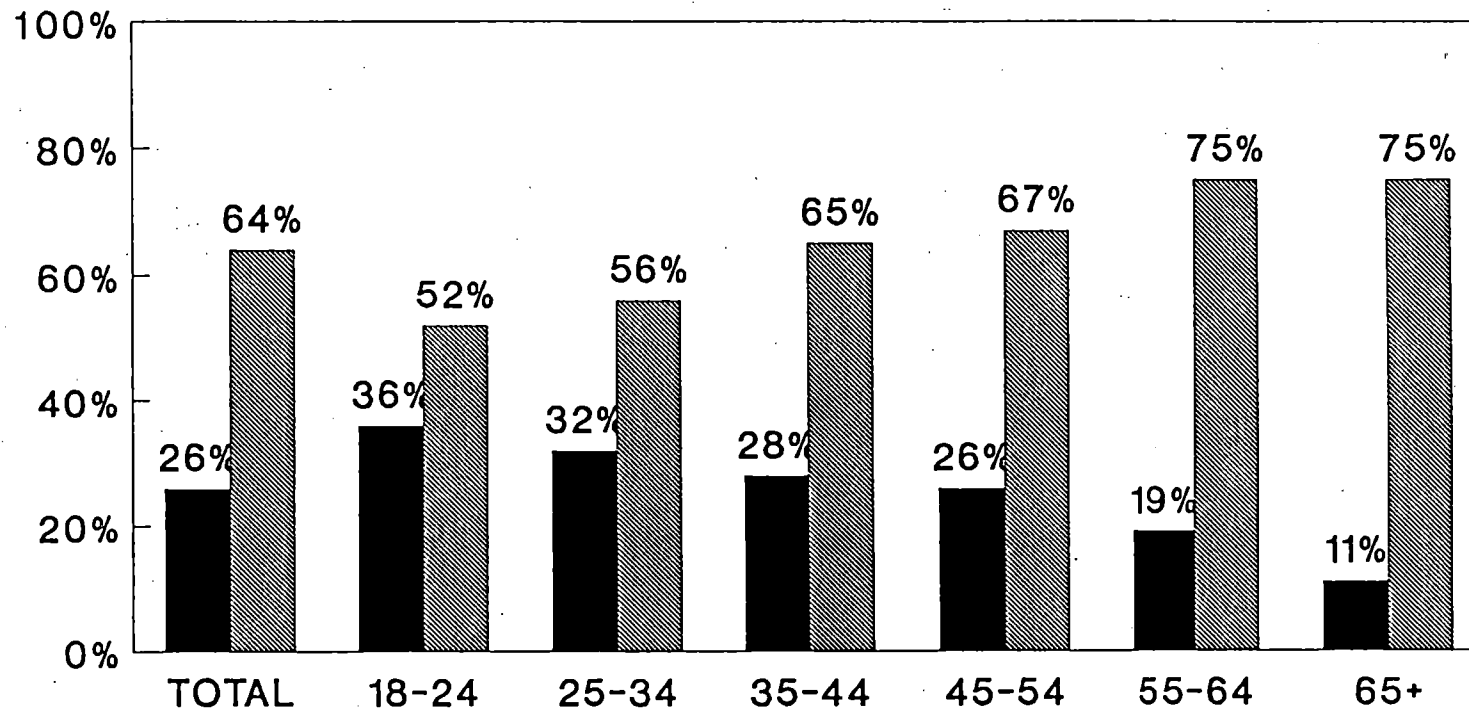
31% To break the deadlock and get things done,
I would vote Republican for Congress and give
President Bush a Congress he can work with.

32% I prefer the President and Congress to
be of different parties because that way they
balance each other out.

5% I would like to give President Bush a Republican
Congress to work with, but I like my Democratic
Congressman too much to vote against him.

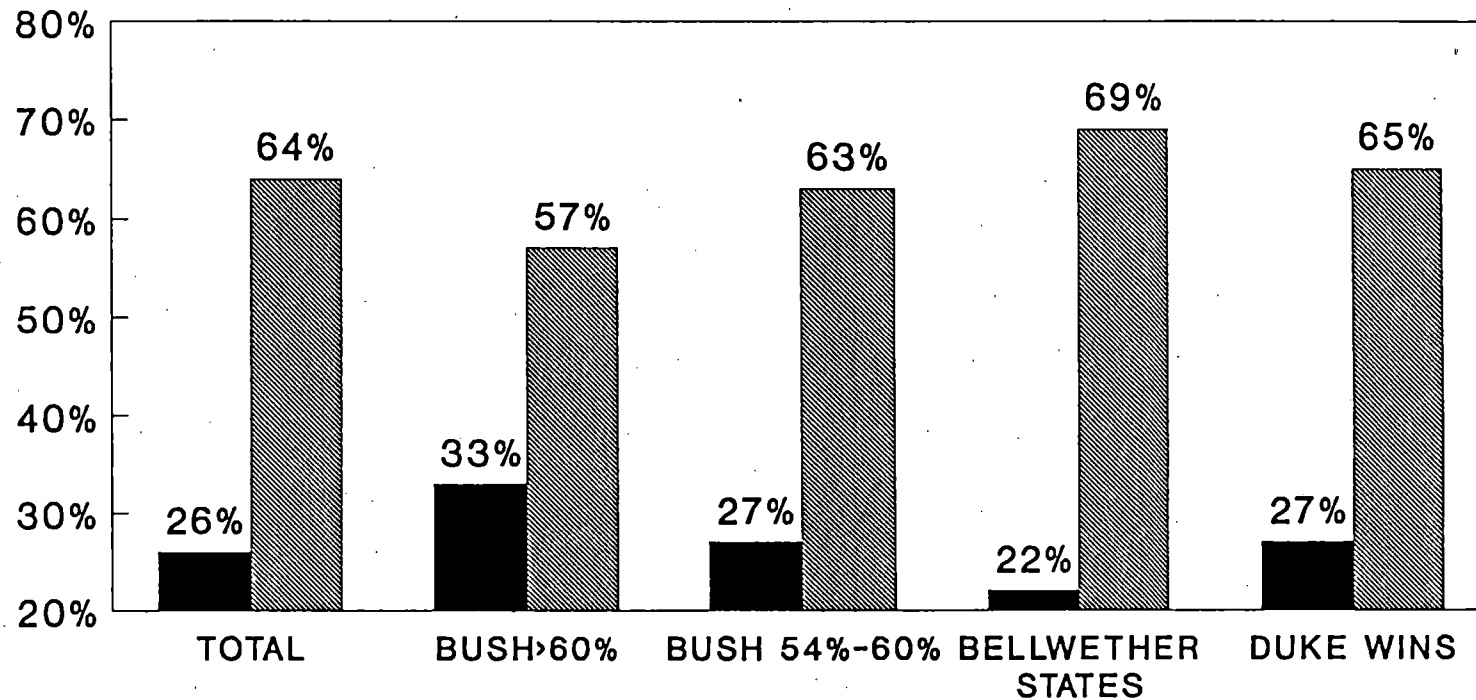
21% Instead of trying to change Congress, I would
like to elect a Democratic President who would
work with the Democrats in Congress.

CONGRESSIONAL JOB RATING BY AGE



■ Approve ▨ Disapprove

CONGRESSIONAL JOB RATING BY 1988 VOTE



■ Approve ▨ Disapprove

TYPOLOGY FOCUS GROUPS

Key Findings

- The "Four P's" driving the mood of the voters toward Congress is a unifying theme across all three groups:
- "I just think the American people are losing faith in their leaders. Their leaders aren't leaders no more, they're a bunch of crooks and shysters and they tell you one thing and mean another. When you lose faith in something like that, you have nothing to look up for."
(Working Person Male)

FOCUS GROUP TYPOLOGIES

Anti-Congress Mood

1. Perks and Privileges -- typified by checks:
"I think they have too many perks. They're privileged people, but they are not."
2. Powerlessness -- Lobbyists/Money dominates
"Special interests really make the rules, not Congress. The lobbyists, they really shape the government, not the people sitting here."
3. Paralysis -- "What pi.... me off about politicians, whether they're Democrats or Republicans, they're afraid to say things."

BOUNCED CHECKS: NO BIG DEAL, OR SERIOUS ENOUGH TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN HOW YOU VOTE NEXT YEAR?

This whole bounced check business is simply making a big deal out of nothing and this issue will not make any difference in how I actually vote for Congress next year.

The issue of check-bouncing is serious because it is another example that members of Congress are out of touch with the average person and it will definitely make a difference in how I plan to vote for Congress next year.

Issue no big deal/will not make difference

20%

Issue is serious enough/will make difference

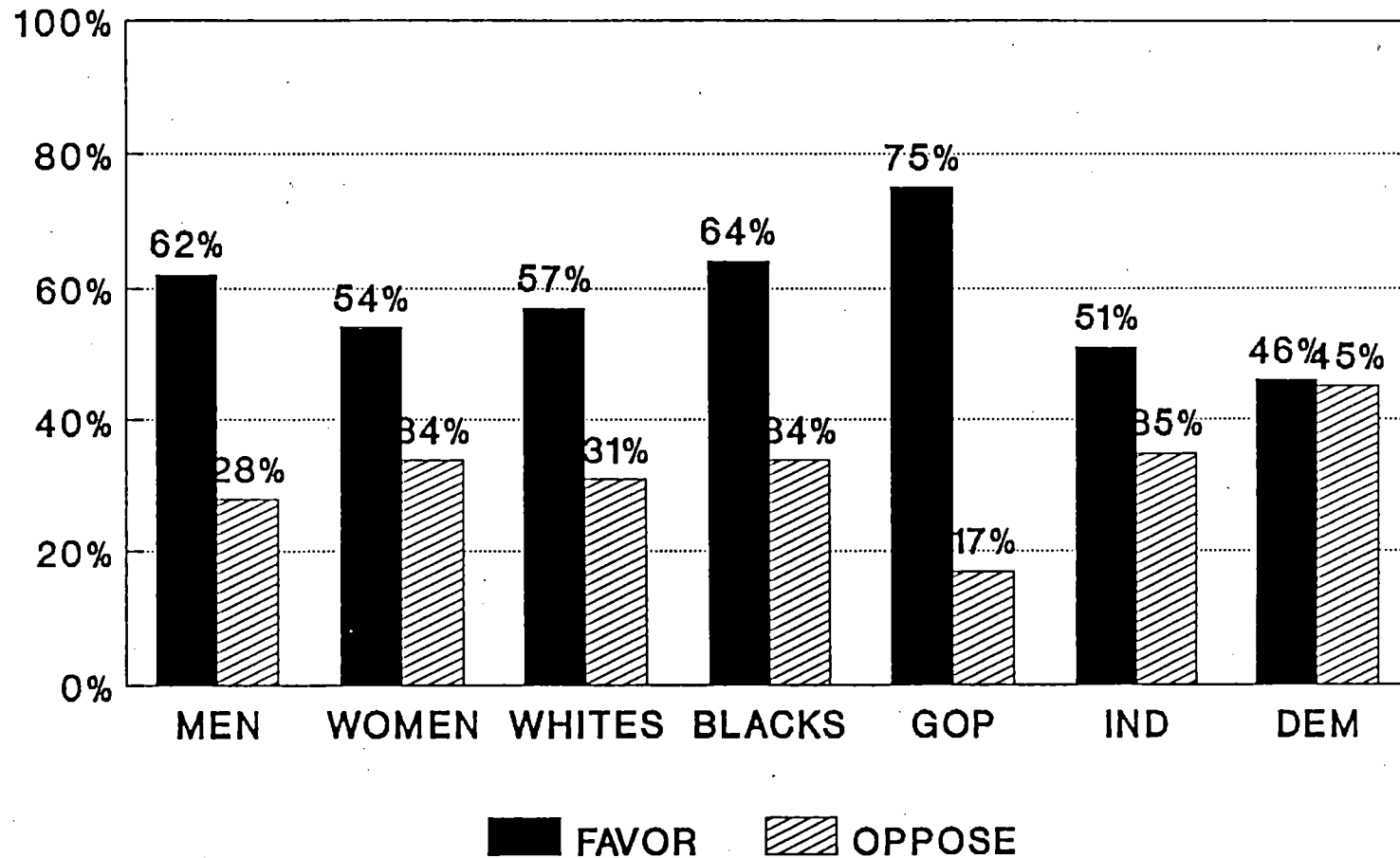
73%

FOCUS GROUP TYPOLOGIES

CHECK BOUNCING

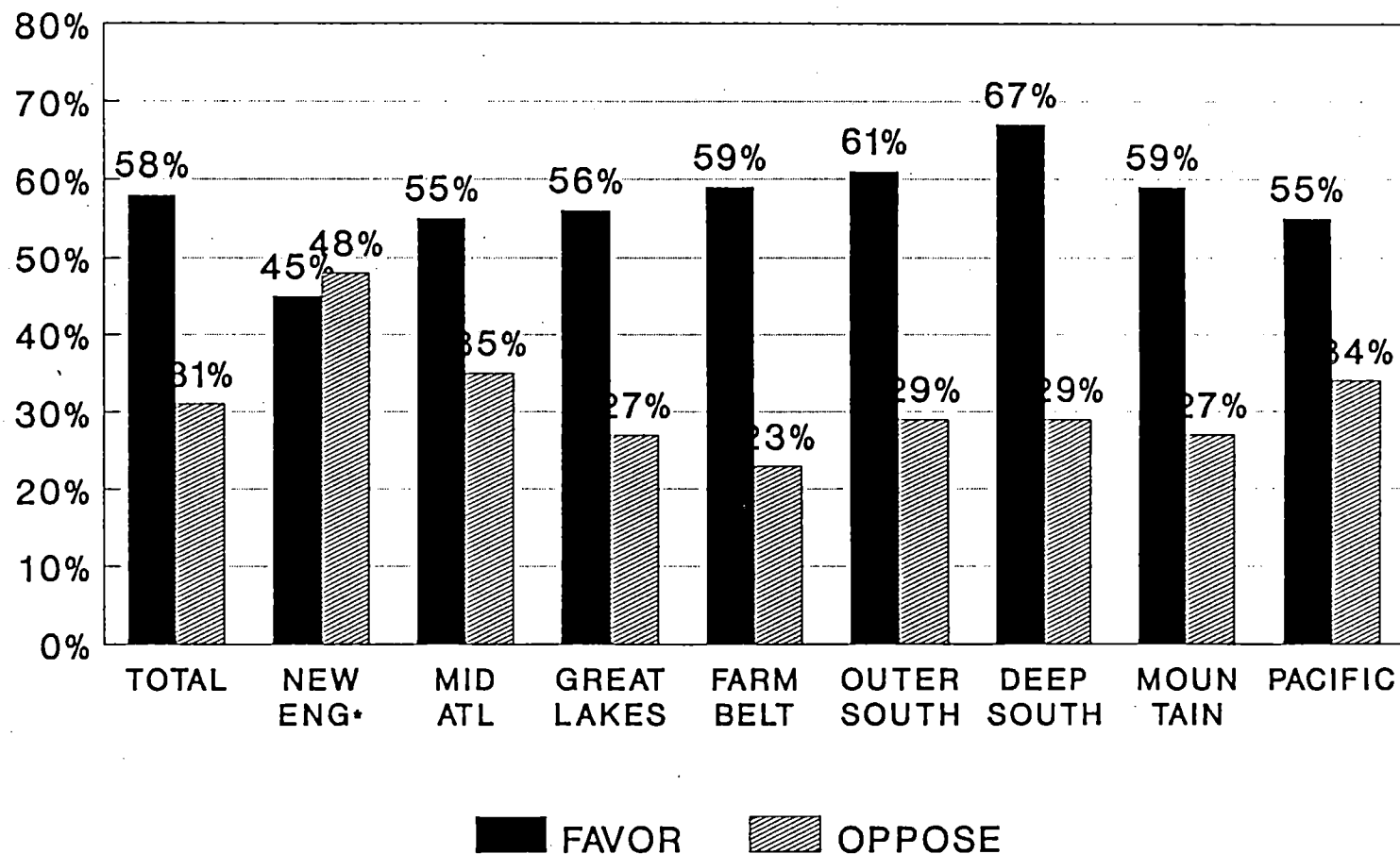
- With the possible exception of the Thomas hearings, no other issue stirred people like the Congressional check bouncing.
- Participants cut right through to the bigger picture of the issue.
- "It shows bad judgement."
- "I think it is a weakness of character."
- "Don't they live by the same set of rules and regulations that we do?"

CLARENCE THOMAS: FAVOR OR OPPOSE CONFIRMATION



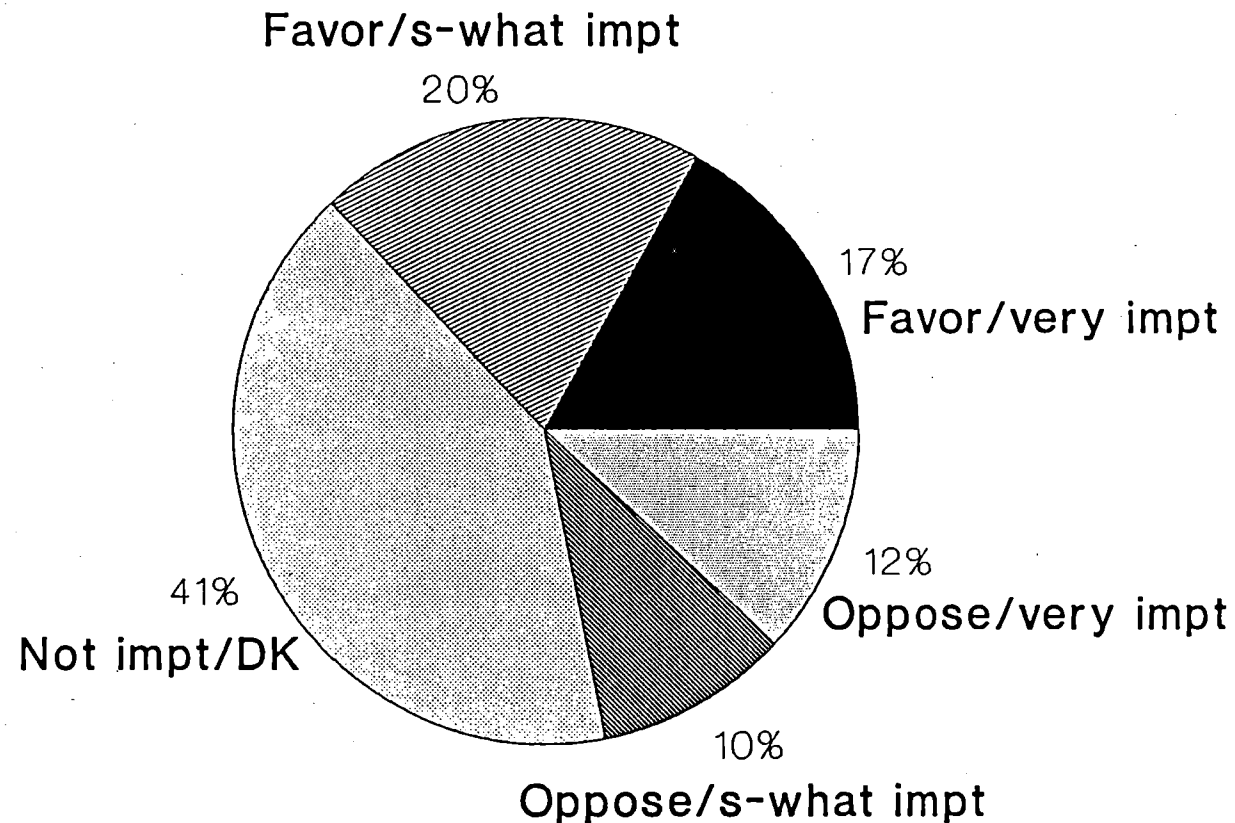
PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES: OCTOBER 1991

CLARENCE THOMAS CONFIRMATION: FAVOR OR OPPOSE BY REGION



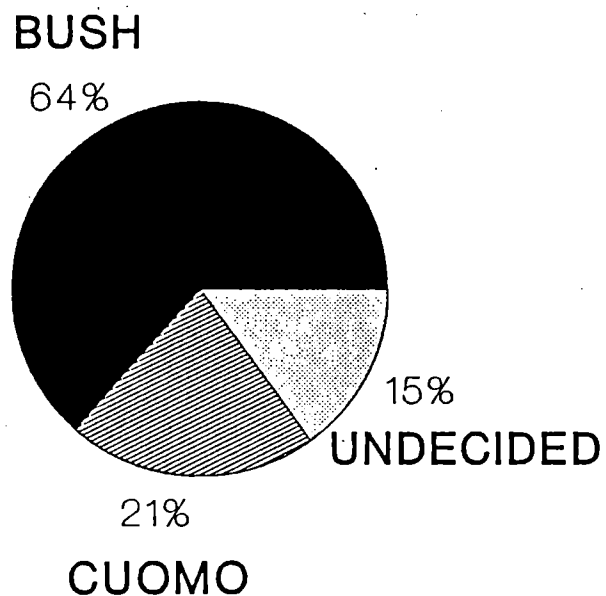
PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES: OCTOBER 1991

IMPORTANCE OF OWN SENATOR'S VOTE ON THOMAS AS VOTE DETERMINANT

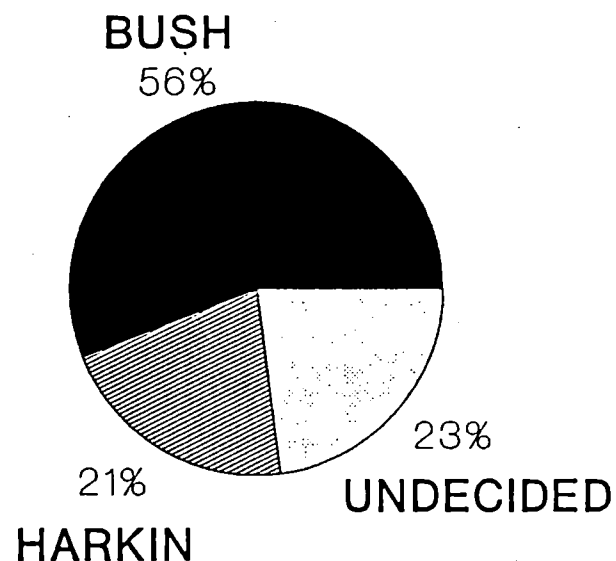


PRESIDENT BUSH BALLOT TEST: JULY VS. OCTOBER

JULY BALLOT:



OCTOBER BALLOT:



BUSH DEMOCRATS

ATTITUDINALLY

- More positive about direction of country than either all Democrats or the aggregate, but less so than Republicans.
- Blame Congress rather than Bush for the country being off on wrong track by a 57%-5% margin.
- Issue agenda more similar to Independents than Democrats or Republicans (less economic focus).
- Believe their personal financial status has improve significantly over the last four years;; more so than either Republicans or other Democrats.
- Believe Bush should be re-elected by 73%-14% margin.
- Support Clarence Thomas' confirmation to the Supreme Court by 61%-31%.
- Are less likely to be pro-choice (53%-39%) than other Democrats (63%-27%).

PARTISAN AFFILIATION: GENERIC DIFFERENCES

SEX

Men are significantly more GOP-oriented than women

AGE

Republican voters tend to be younger than Dems.
41% of GOP are under 35, compared to 26% of Dems

INCOME

In general, the higher the income level, the
more likely a voter is to be GOP-oriented

MARITAL STATUS

Both married men and women tend to side with
the GOP, while their single counterparts are more
likely to be Democrat partisans.

EDUCATION LEVEL

Lower educated Americans give the Democrat candidate
wide margins, while those with some college and college
grads favor the GOP. Post-Grads favor the Democrat by
about the same margin as those with less than H.S.

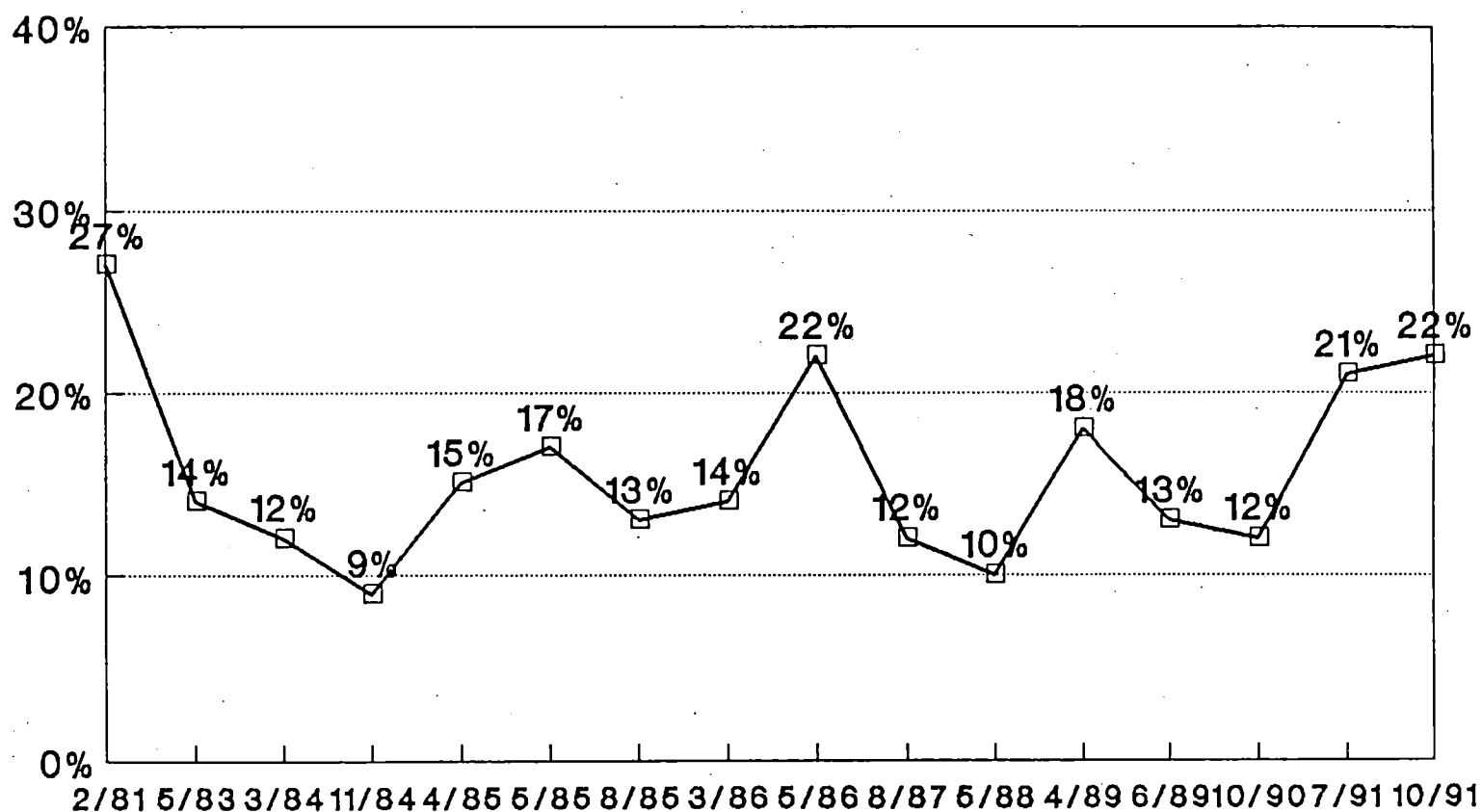
RELIGION

Protestants identify with the GOP by about the same
margin as Catholics identify as Democrats.

ABORTION

Pro-lifers are slightly more GOP-oriented (17 points),
than Pro-choicers are Democrat-oriented (9 points).

TRACKING INDEPENDENTS THROUGH THE REAGAN/BUSH YEARS: 1981-1991



COMPILED BY PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES

1992 ELECTION OUTLOOK

- ✓ Hostile electorate wanting to vent frustration.
- ✓ Anti-incumbent sentiment as strong as ever...
- ✓ The four "P's" (powerlessness, paralysis, perks and privileges)
- ✓ Perception of lingering recession will dominate early issue agenda.
- ✓ Abortion a major voting issue.
- ✓ Presidential election closer than CW says. Mood is still too negative to sustain Bush's approval scores.
- ✓ Campaign:
 - Dominated by DEM attack on domestic vs. foreign agenda
 - As negative as 1988
 - Late movement toward the DEMs
 - Younger voters (under 40) being key swing group

PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES

Republican and Democratic

T TYPOLOGY SEGMENTATION

OCTOBER 1991

DEFINING TYPOLOGIES

Party labels (*Republican, Democrat, Independent*), self-described ideology (*liberal, conservative*), or demographic factors (*younger versus older respondents*) could all be labeled as "typologies," because members of the respective groups presumably share a common set of political beliefs.

THE LIMITATIONS OF THE EXISTING TYPOLOGIES

1. "Liberal" and "conservative" do not have the same meaning for every voter. There is very direct evidence that how voters define "liberal" and "conservative" is quite a bit different than how we in the world of politics want to define these terms.
2. Current political typologies fail to provide much meaningful information about why voters choose a particular political candidate.
3. Current political typologies fail to explain why shifting coalitions come together on some issues and divide on other issues.

SUMMARY OBSERVATIONS

1. Ideological self-identification, whether one considers oneself a liberal or a conservative, does not play an important role for most Americans. It is a poor surrogate for one's basic political values.
2. The nine basic values and orientations that emerge from the research relate strongly to public attitudes on a wide range of issues. When combined with party identification, they also improve our understanding of the respondents' political choices.

SETTING UP A CRITERIA FOR A NEW TYPOLOGY SYSTEM

- *(Three goals as outlined in the Times-Mirror study in 1987:)*
 - 1 A new typology must do a better job than traditional typologies in measuring voter preferences.
 - 2 A new typology should show how personal attitudes shape voters' political behavior and influence their choice on political issues.
 - 3 A new typology would have to be able to classify Americans into mutually exclusive categories.
- *(One more goal required for use in today's campaigns ...)*
 - 4 To be useful in a campaign, a new typology must be able to integrate survey research data and Republican voter contact efforts. In plain English, we have to be able to develop a new typology that can be asked simply and inexpensively on both traditional surveys and on voter ID scripts.

HOW COULD A NEW TYPOLOGY SYSTEM BE USED ...

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT?

- Potentially critical in ideological Republican primaries ... help identify and secure different elements of the Republican coalition
- Can help identify and sway swing Democrats
- Can be integrated with traditional voter identification programs ... which would potentially allow very targeted messages to different types of Republicans and Democrats

Republican Typology Question

Although there are many reasons a person might think of themselves as (a **Republican/being somewhat closer to the Republican party**), now I am going to read you the beginning of a sentence and would like you to tell me which **ONE** of the following best describes what you personally believe?

The sentence begins ...

The best way to explain why I (am a **Republican/lean towards the Republican party**) is because the Republican party and its candidates generally support ...

- _____ Cutting government spending and lower taxes
- _____ A strong national defense
- _____ The private enterprise system, not big government to solve people's problems
- _____ More traditional family values

Now, which **ONE** of these four statements best describes why you think of yourself as (a **Republican/leaning towards the Republican party**)?

RESPONSES TO THE REPUBLICAN TYPOLOGY QUESTION...

OCT JUL

29%	19%	Cutting government spending and lower taxes
11%	22%	A strong national defense
23%	26%	The private enterprise system, not big government to solve people's problems
26%	25%	More traditional family values
6%	5%	NONE OF THE ABOVE (DO NOT READ)
5%	3%	NOT SURE/REFUSED (DO NOT READ)

Democratic Typology Question

Although there are many reasons a person might think of themselves as (a Democrat/being somewhat closer to the **Democratic party**), now I am going to read you the beginning of a sentence and would like you to tell me which **ONE** of the following best describes what you personally believe?

The sentence begins ...

The best way to explain why I (am a Democrat/lean towards the **Democratic party**) is because the Democratic party and its candidates generally ... **(ROTATE)**

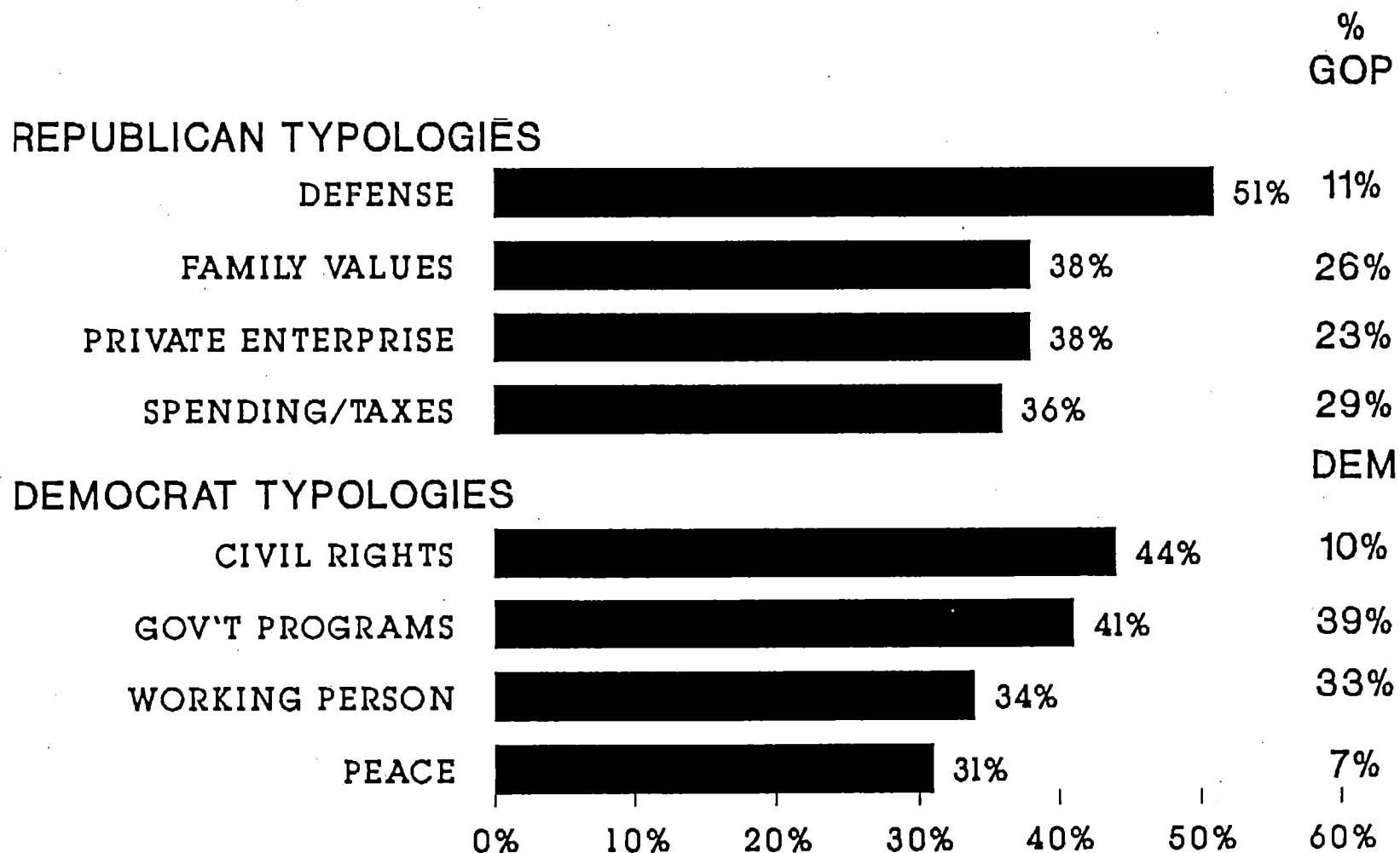
- _____ Historic support for the cause of civil rights
- _____ Support for needed government programs to help the needy, poor, children and America's elderly
- _____ Commitment to the interests of the everyday **WORKING** person
- _____ Efforts to secure peace by opposing unnecessary defense spending

Now, which **ONE** of these four statements best describes why you think of yourself as (a Democrat/leaning towards the **Democratic party**)?

Responses to the Democratic Typology Question

- 10% Historic support for civil rights
- 39% Support for gov't programs for
 needy, poor, elderly
- 33% Commitment to WORKING person
- 7% Efforts to secure peace
- 6% NONE OF THE ABOVE
 (DO NOT READ)
- 5% NOT SURE/REFUSED
 (DO NOT READ)

HOW WELL DO TYPOLOGIES DESCRIBE WHY YOU THINK OF YOURSELF AS A... (REP/DEM) PERCENT "VERY WELL"



P.O.S. DATA

TYPOLGY GROUPS

One very positive indicator is that the October data sets confirms important observations about some of the key demographic sub-groups that comprise each of the typology segments.

For example:

WORKING CLASS DEMOCRATS:

- 50 years old plus
- Northeast/Midwest
- Catholic
- Middle-income (\$15,000-\$40,000)
- Some college/high school graduates

REPUBLICAN TYPOLOGY GROUPS ... a few notes

DEFENSE REPUBLICANS

- Male
- Southern
- Under 35 years old
- Strong Republicans

FAMILY VALUE REPUBLICANS

- Women
- Southern/Midwestern
- "Soft" Republicans
- Strongest Bush supporters
- Most pro-life segment of any typology group

REPUBLICAN TYPOLOGY GROUPS ... a few notes

ANTI-GOVERNMENT REPUBLICANS

- 35-54 years old
- College/post-graduates
- Very affluent
- Most politically active

ANTI-TAX & SPEND

- Classic profile of GOP donor base ... older, well-educated, household income between \$30-\$50,000 per year ... split by gender
- For two studies in a row, "softest" Bush support

TYPOLOGY FOCUS GROUPS

KEY FINDINGS

- There are significant differences in the issue focus and tenor of the groups:
- Working Person Dems are echoing many of the economic messages of the Dem Party, but don't trust the Dems on social issues like crime. They also perceive a wide leadership gap between Dems and GOPers
- Family value GOPers and economic GOPers share many of the same values, but offer a much different focus.

FOCUS GROUP TYPOLOGIES

THE AMERICAN FAMILY

- All three typology groups defined many of the stresses and strains (education, crime/drugs, health care, the economy) within the context of the changing -- and beleaguered -- American family.
- Thus, people do a more skillful job of placing issues within a values-oriented/cultural context than many politicians.
- "Everybody wants to blame everything on everybody, but the problem is that people don't teach their kids the correct values of life."

TYPOLOGIES ...

The following charts demonstrate that indeed the proposed Republican and Democrat typology groups do provide an additional segmentation of the data as compared to "traditional" typology segments.

SUMMARY TABLE

Comparing "Traditional" and "Proposed" Typologies (Net Difference Scores)

Republican

Issue	Traditional	Typology
Abortion	19	34
Gulf War	5	21
Bush Ballot	9	12

Democrat

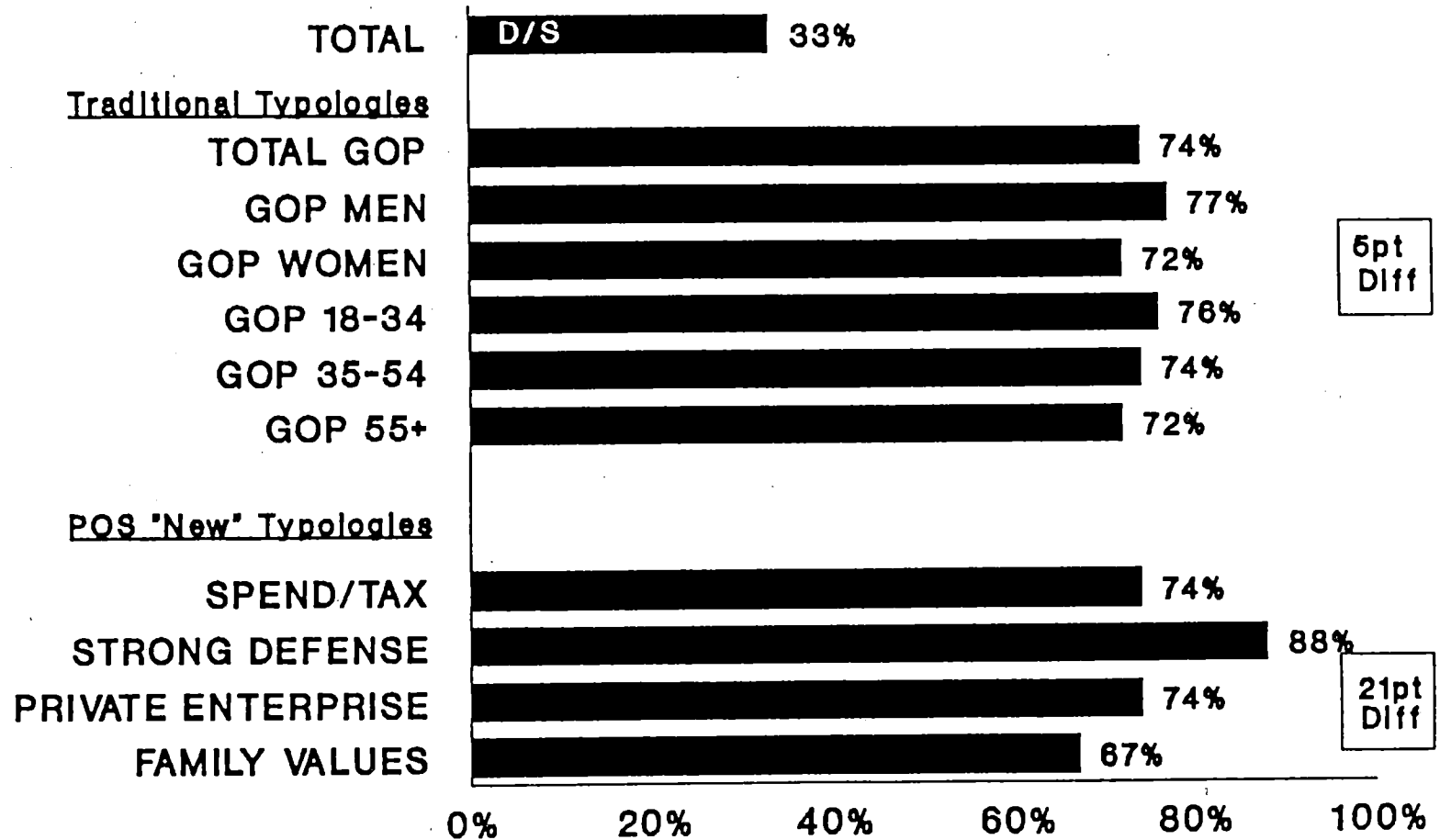
Traditional	Typology
16	49
11	42
14	23

GULF WAR VOTE

(57% GOP -24% DEM = 33% D/S)

Democrat

Republican



5pt
Diff

21pt
Diff

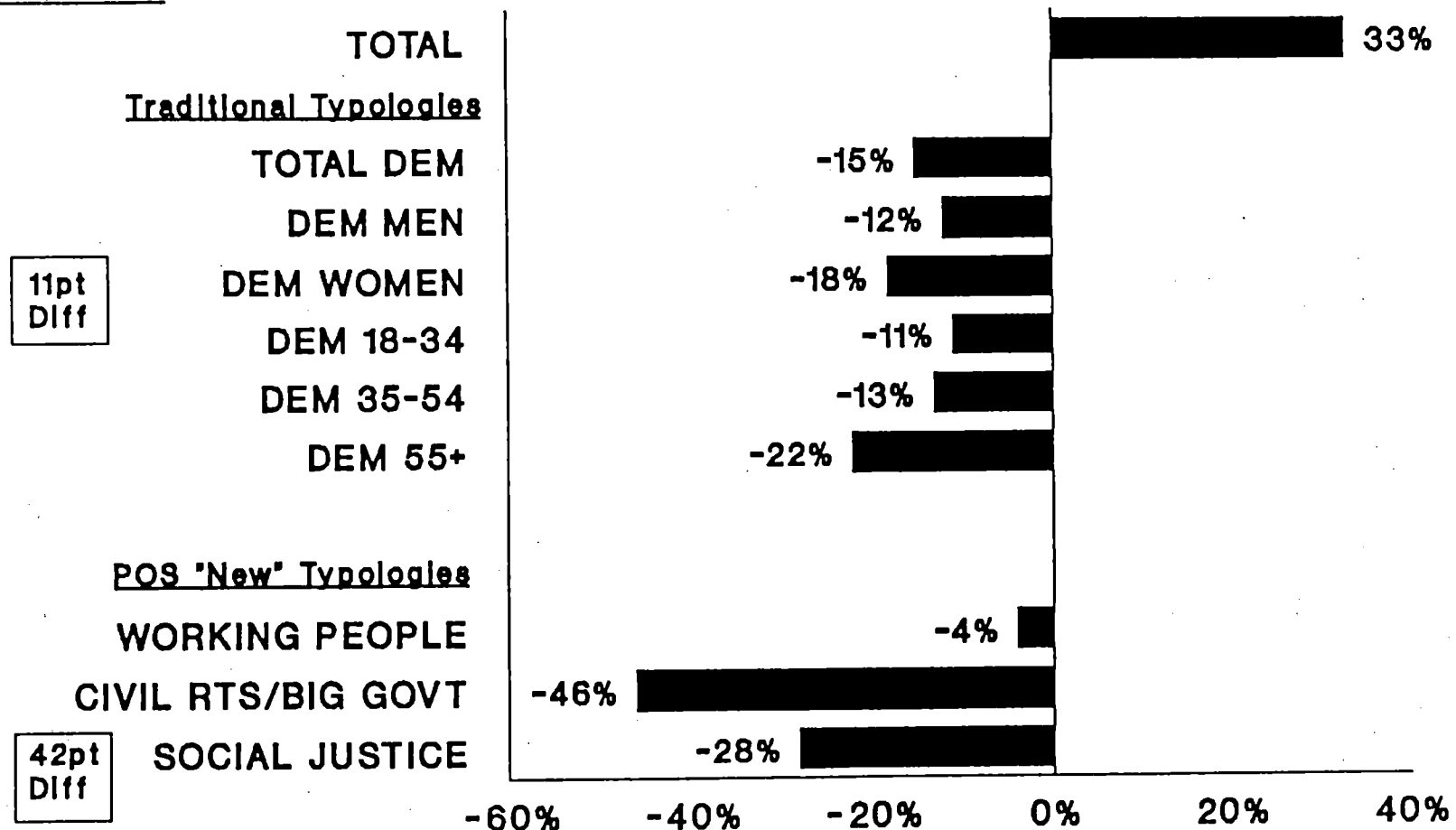
Public Opinion Strategies
National Survey: July 24-26, 1991

GULF WAR VOTE

(57% GOP -24% DEM = 33% D/S)

Democrat

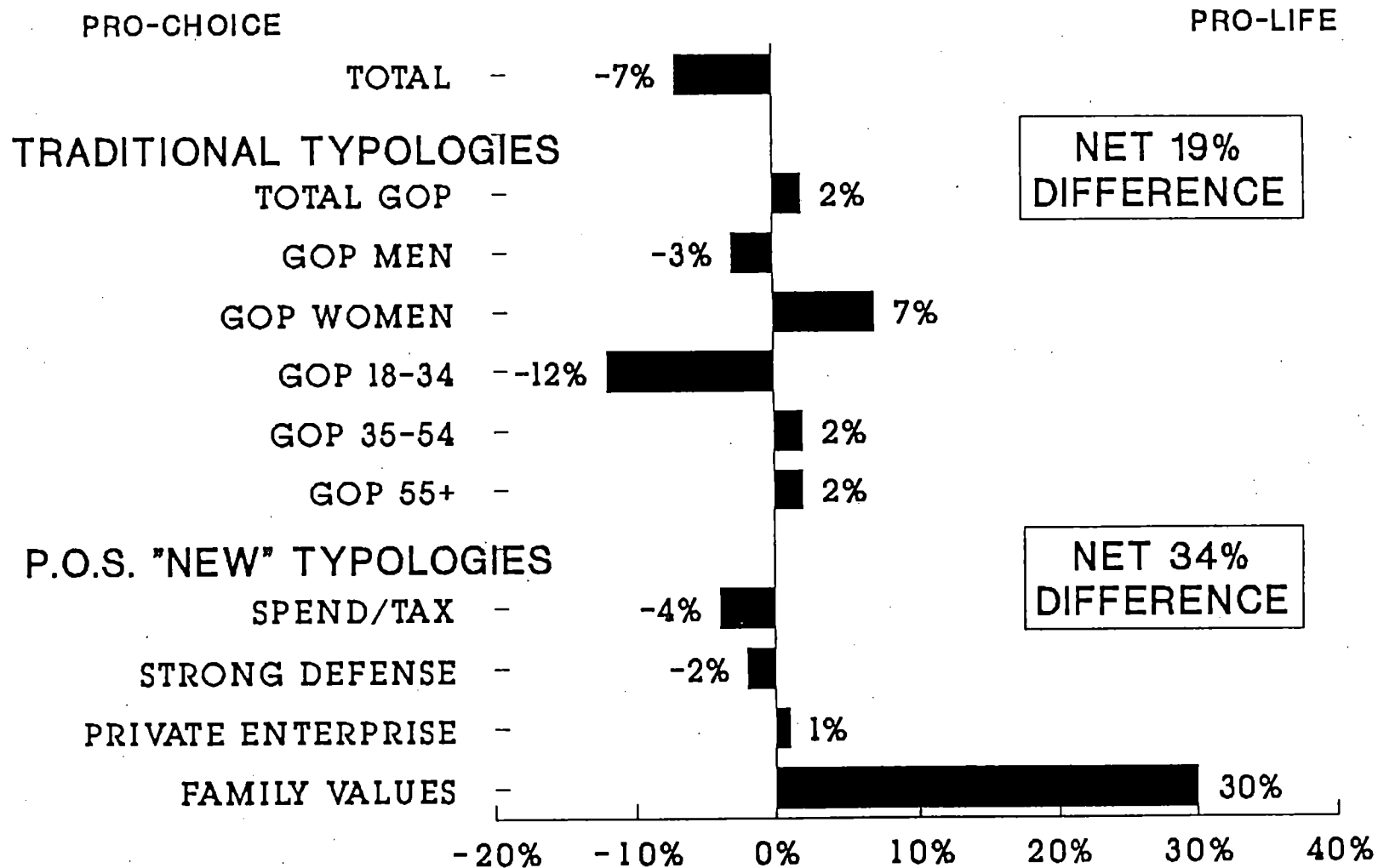
Republican



Public Opinion Strategies
National Survey: July 24-26, 1991

SELF DESCRIBED ABORTION

(45% PRO-LIFE - 52% PRO-CHOICE=-7% D/S)

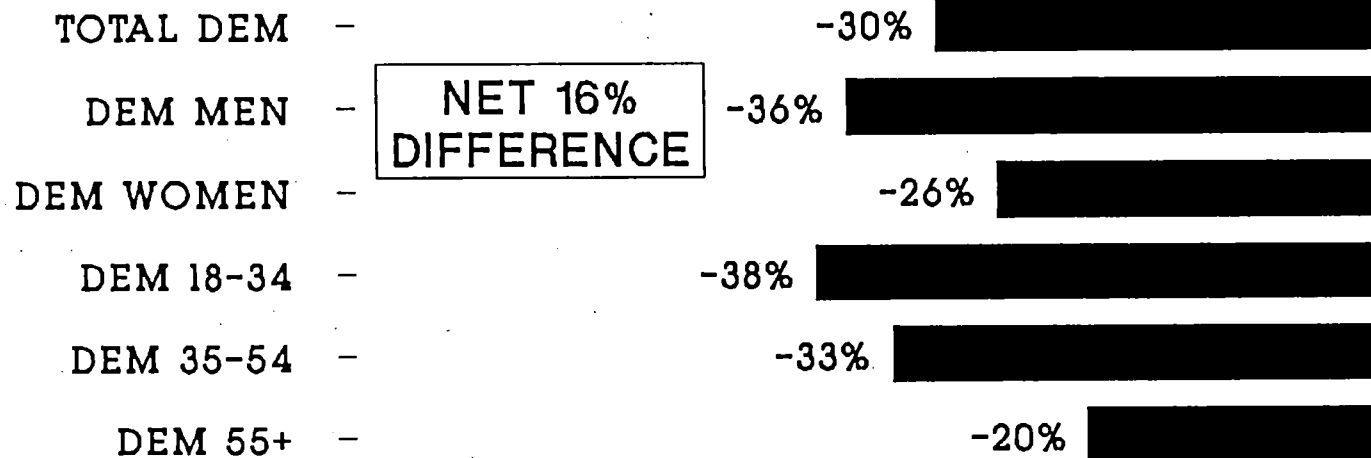


P.O.S. DATA

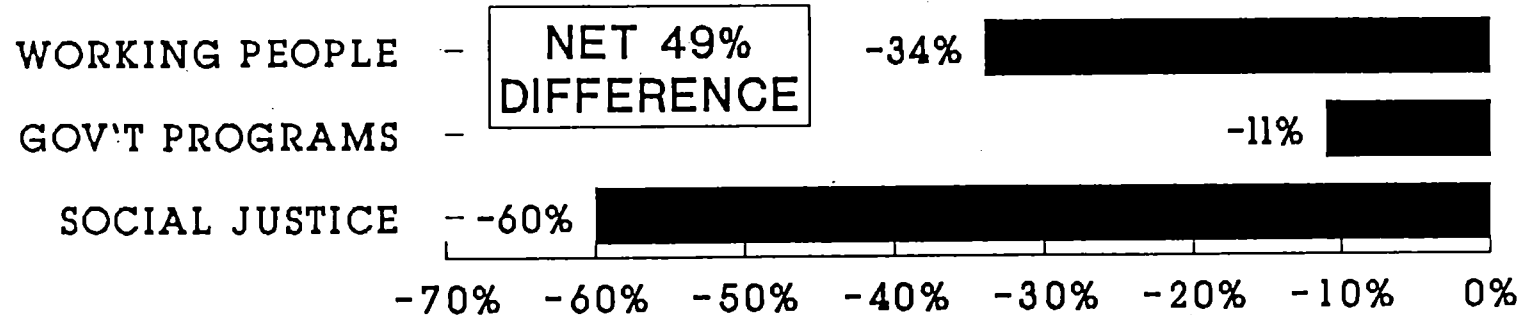
SELF DESCRIBED ABORTION
(45% PRO-LIFE - 52% PRO-CHOICE=-7% D/S)

TRADITIONAL TYPOLOGIES

PRO-CHOICE



P.O.S. "NEW" TYPOLOGIES

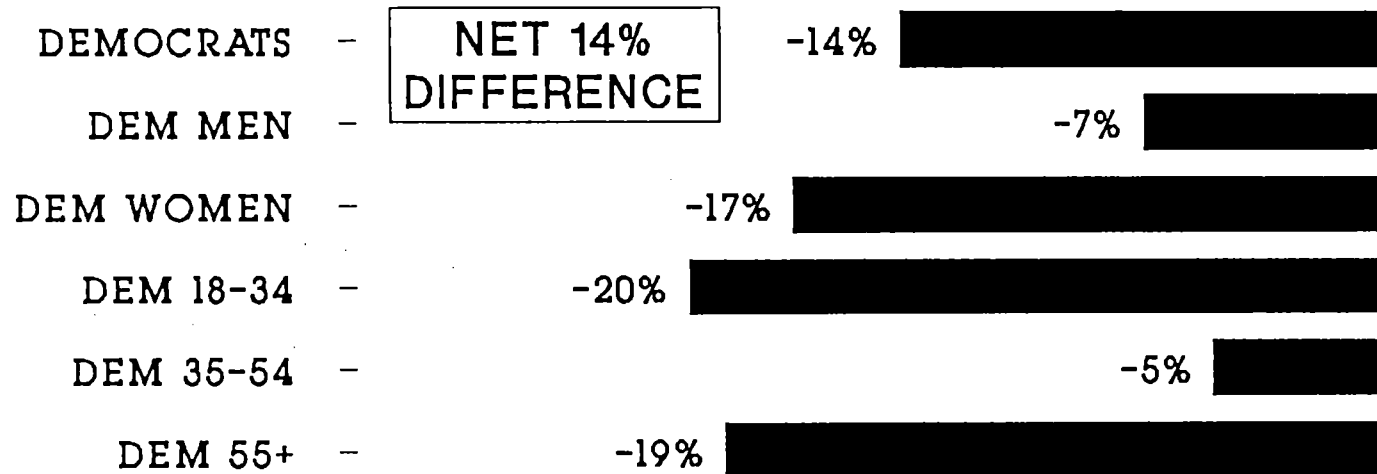


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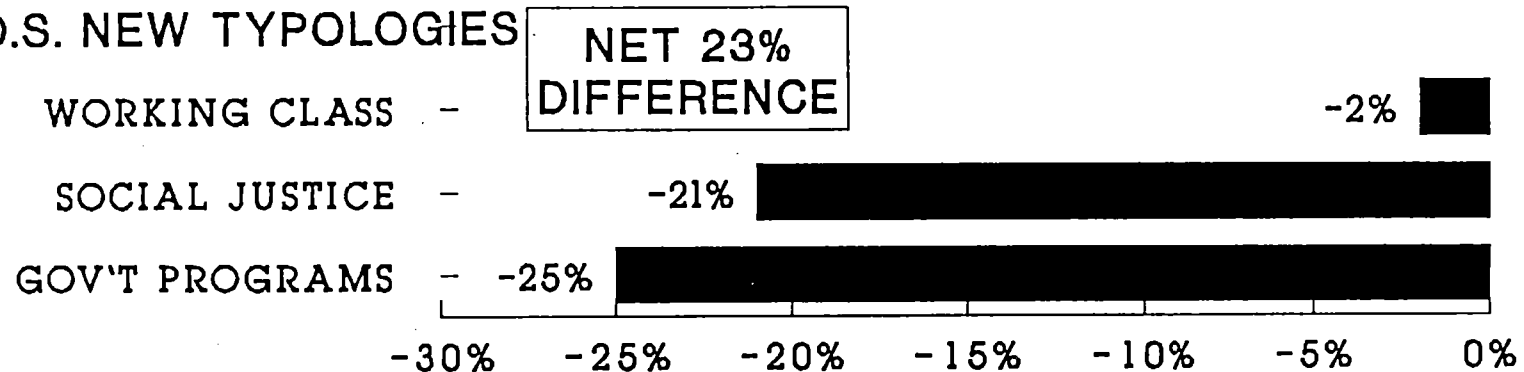
BUSH - HARKIN BALLOT
(56% BUSH - 21% HARKIN = 35% D/S)

TRADITIONAL TYPOLOGIES

PRO-CHOICE



P.O.S. NEW TYPOLOGIES



P.O.S. DATA

8
GALLUP POLL NEWS SERVICE

For release Wednesday, October 23, 1991
(CNN release Tuesday, October 22, 8 p.m.)
By Larry Hugick

Political Fallout from the Thomas Hearings

RATINGS FOR CONGRESS, DEMOCRATIC PARTY FALL; BUT ANTI-
INCUMBENT SENTIMENT NOT EVIDENT

PRINCETON, N.J. -- Congressional Democrats have had a bad month. A new Gallup poll, completed since the Senate confirmed Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court, shows sharp declines in the public's ratings of Congress and the Democratic Party since the Thomas hearings began in early September. Currently, only half (50%) of Americans have a favorable opinion of Congress, down from 59% in a September poll. The Democratic Party's image, already at a historical low point, fell further: 58% now have a favorable opinion of the Democratic Party, compared with 63% last month.

The declining image of Congress and the Democratic Party cannot be attributed entirely to the Thomas hearings and the controversy over Anita Hill's charges of sexual harassment. In the past month, Congress has come under fire for bouncing checks at the House bank and other questionable practices, including unpaid restaurant bills and fixed traffic tickets.

While these poll results may strike fear in the hearts of some Democratic members of the House and Senate, other findings might allay those concerns. There are few signs of anti-incumbent sentiment among the voters. Three in ten (28%) voters say recent events in Washington make them less likely to re-elect their incumbent Senators and Congressman; twice as many (61%) say they are more likely to re-elect an incumbent. Also, voters do not seem less inclined to vote for Democratic as opposed to Republican congressional candidates: 38% say recent events make them less likely to vote Democratic; 40% say they are now less likely to vote Republican.

SENT BY: GALLUP ORG. World HQ. :10-21-91 : 6:38PM :Int'l./Media/Con. East-

3

Bush Ratings Change Little Over Past Month

George Bush, who has largely stayed above the fray, appears to have neither gained nor lost much ground politically from the battle over Clarence Thomas. The President's approval rating, now 66%, has not varied significantly since mid-September. His overall favorability score -- 76% today vs. 81% -- is down slightly over the same period. On the other hand, a majority of voters (55%) say recent events in Washington make them more likely to vote to re-elect Bush in 1992.

Blacks, Men Shift Most on Thomas

The political fallout from the Thomas vote may be less severe than many political observers have been predicting. Majorities of voters say their Senator's vote in favor (52%) or against (57%) Thomas will have little bearing on whether they vote to reelect that Senator. If the Senator voted in favor of Thomas, 25% say they are more likely to support him, while 20% are less likely to support him. If a Senator voted against Thomas, 17% say they are more likely to support him, while 23% are less likely to support him.

That is not to say that the televised hearings have failed to make Clarence Thomas a more salient issue among the electorate. In mid-September, well before Anita Hill came forward with her allegations, close to three-quarters (72%) said that a Senator's vote on Thomas wouldn't much affect their voting behavior. The balance of opinion among voter subgroups has shifted little over the past month, with two notable exceptions: Since Hill's charges and the subsequent hearings, blacks and men have become more sympathetic toward Thomas. Black voters and male voters are now more inclined to say a pro-Thomas confirmation vote increases, rather than decreases their chances of voting for the Senator.

Women voters, a focus of much media attention since the hearings, remain sharply divided on the Thomas confirmation. About a quarter (24%) of female voters now say they are more likely to support a Senator who backed Thomas; a similar proportion (23%) are less likely to do so. Both college-educated women and less well educated women are about evenly divided on this issue.

Expected Effects on Sexual Harassment

Although most Americans ended up believing that Anita Hill's charges were untrue, the public believes the resulting publicity will lead to progress in combatting sexual harassment. A majority (60%) of Americans say that, because of the Thomas-Hill hearings, more women will report cases of sexual harassment. A similar majority (60%) say that companies are likely to take stronger steps against sexual harassment now that the issue has been so well publicized.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The results are based on telephone interviews with a randomly selected national sample of 1,000 adults, 18 years and older, conducted October 17-20, 1991. For results based on samples of this size, one can say with 95 percent confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects could be plus or minus 3 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls.

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

	&1991		
	&Dis	No	
	&Approve	approve	Opinion
	%	%	%
10/17-20	&66	26	8
10/10-13	&66	28	6
10/3-6	&65	27	8
9/26-29	&66	25	9
9/13-15	&68	22	10
9/5-8	&70	21	9
8/29-9/3	&69	22	9
8/23-25	&74	19	7
8/8-11	&71	22	7
7/25-28	&71	21	8
7/18-21	&70	21	9
7/11-14	&72	21	7
6/27-30	&72	22	6
6/13-16	&71	19	10
5/30-6/2	&74	17	9
5/23-26	&76	16	8
5/16-19	&76	16	8
5/2-5	&74	19	7
4/25-28	&76	15	9
4/11-14	&77	13	10
4/4-6	&83	12	5
3/28-30	&82	11	7
3/21-24	&84	10	6
3/14-17	&86	9	5
3/7-10	&87	8	5
2/28-3/3	&89	8	3
2/14-17	&80	14	6
2/7-10	&79	18	3
1/30-2/2	&82	15	3
1/23-26	&85	11	4
1/19-22	&80	14	6
1/17-20	&82	12	6
1/11-13	&64	25	11
1/3-6	&58	31	11

1.....&1990.....			
12/13-16.....	&63.....	30.....	7.....
12/6-9.....	&58.....	33.....	9.....
11/29-12/2.....	&61.....	29.....	10.....
11/15-18.....	&54.....	33.....	13.....
11/8-11.....	&58.....	34.....	8.....
11/1-4.....	&58.....	32.....	10.....
10/25-28.....	&54.....	36.....	10.....
10/18-21.....	&53.....	37.....	10.....
10/11-14.....	&56.....	33.....	11.....
10/3-4.....	&66.....	25.....	9.....
9/27-30.....	&67.....	20.....	13.....
9/14-16.....	&73.....	17.....	10.....
9/10-11.....	&76.....	16.....	8.....
8/30-9/2.....	&74.....	17.....	9.....
8/23-26.....	&76.....	16.....	8.....

Bush approval continued...

1.....&1990.....			
8/16-19.....	&75.....	16.....	9.....
8/9-12.....	&74.....	16.....	10.....
7/19-22.....	&60.....	25.....	15.....
7/6-8.....	&63.....	24.....	13.....
6/15-17.....	&69.....	17.....	14.....
6/7-10.....	&67.....	18.....	15.....
5/17-20.....	&65.....	20.....	15.....
4/19-22.....	&67.....	17.....	16.....
4/5-8.....	&68.....	16.....	16.....
3/15-18.....	&74.....	15.....	11.....
3/8-11.....	&68.....	18.....	14.....
2/15-18.....	&73.....	16.....	11.....
2/8-11.....	&73.....	16.....	11.....
1/4-7.....	&80.....	11.....	9.....
1.....&1989.....			
12/7-10.....	&71.....	20.....	9.....
11/2-5.....	&70.....	17.....	13.....
10/5-8.....	&68.....	20.....	12.....
9/7-10.....	&70.....	17.....	13.....
8/10-13.....	&69.....	19.....	12.....
7/6-9.....	&66.....	19.....	15.....
6/8-11.....	&70.....	14.....	16.....
5/4-7.....	&56.....	22.....	22.....
4/10-16.....	&58.....	16.....	26.....
3/10-13.....	&56.....	16.....	28.....
2/28-3/2.....	&63.....	13.....	24.....
1/24-26.....	&51.....	6.....	43.....

2. I'd like you to rate President Bush on a scale. If you have a favorable opinion of him, name a number between plus one and plus five -- the higher the number, the more favorable your opinion. If you have an unfavorable opinion of him, name a number between minus one and minus five -- the higher the number the more unfavorable your opinion. How would you rate Bush on this scale?

!.....	&10/91.'
!.....	&%....'
!Highly favorable	
!..(+4,+5).....	&38....'
!Mildly favorable.	
!..(+1,+2,+3).....	&38....'
!Mildly unfavorable	
!..(-1,-2,-3).....	&14....'
!Highly unfavorable	
!..(-4,-5).....	&8....'
!No opinion.....&2....'	
!TOTAL.....&100....'	

!.....	&7/84..9/84..7/85..7/87..9/5-8/91.'
!.....	&%....%....%....%....%....'
!Highly favorable	
!..(+4,+5).....	&17...23...23...26...39....'
!Mildly favorable	
!..(+1,+2,+3).....	&53...49...56...47...42....'
!Mildly unfavorable	
!..(-1,-2,-3).....	&15...12...12...11...11....'
!Highly unfavorable	
!..(-4,-5).....	&8...8...5...6...6....'
!No opinion.....&7...8...4...10...2....'	
!TOTAL.....&100..100...100...100...100....'	

3. And how would you rate Congress on the same scale?

	1970..	1973..	1975..	9/5-8/91..	10/91..
!.....	100	100	100	100	100
!.....	8%				
!Highly favorable					
!..(+4,+5).....	36	27	18	10	8
!Mildly favorable					
!..(+1,+2,+3).....	48	52	49	49	42
!Mildly unfavorable					
!..(-1,-2,-3).....	7	11	21	22	26
!Highly unfavorable					
!..(-4,-5).....	3	3	8	12	18
!No opinion.....	6	7	4	7	6
!TOTAL.....	100	100	100	100	100

4. And how would you rate the U.S. Supreme Court on the same scale?

.....	&1973	...9/5-8/91	..10/91..
.....	&%	%	%
Highly favorable			
...(+4,+5).....	&28	18	19...
Mildly favorable.			
...(+1,+2,+3).....	&50	49	48...
Mildly unfavorable			
...(-1,-2,-3).....	&9	15	13...
Highly unfavorable			
...(-4,-5).....	&5	6	8...
No opinion.....	&8	12	12...
TOTAL.....	&100	100	100...

5. And how would you rate the Republican Party on the same scale?

	&FAVORABLE.....UNFAVORABLE.....			
	&Highly..Mildly..Mildly..Highly..No.....			
	&+4+5...+3,+2,+1...-3,-2,-1...-4,-5..Opinion.			
	%.....%.....%.....%.....%			
10/91..	18	47	17	11
9/91..	17	52	16	8
9/84..	26	39	15	14
13/81..	30	44	11	8
10/80..	18	47	19	11
15/80..	17	50	18	10
11/75..	15	47	20	14
18/73..	19	40	20	16
10/72..	29	43	14	9
10/70..	25	47	14	10
12/68..	25	42	17	13
9/68..	30	47	12	7
7/68..	27	43	16	9
5/68..	27	46	14	9
10/67..	34	39	15	8
4/67..	33	44	12	7
12/66..	28	41	15	7
18/66..	29	44	14	6
15/65..	26	39	12	7
10/64..	21	33	16	17
10/56..	33	29	13	12
12/56..	27	31	24	6

6. And how would you rate the Democratic Party on the same scale?

	FAVORABLE	UNFAVORABLE		
	Highly	Mildly	Mildly	Highly
	No			
	Opinion			
	%	%	%	%
10/91	16	42	22	13
9/91	16	47	21	8
9/84	26	39	18	9
3/81	34	41	12	6
10/80	27	46	15	7
5/80	28	48	14	6
11/75	30	48	13	5
8/73	29	43	15	7
10/72	30	44	14	6
10/70	35	44	11	6
12/68	41	33	15	6
9/68	32	38	17	10
7/68	36	37	14	8
5/68	42	36	12	7
10/67	31	35	18	14
4/67	40	37	11	7
12/66	33	37	13	9
8/66	36	40	10	7
5/65	44	34	7	4
10/64	45	29	10	5
10/56	38	25	12	10
12/56	43	26	22	7

7. As a result of recent events in Washington, please
tell me whether you are more likely or less likely to
do each of the following:

	More likely	Less likely	No change	DK/Refused
Vote at all in the next election	89	4	6	1
Vote to re-elect a Senator from your state or a Congressman from your district	61	28	5	6
Vote to re-elect George Bush in 1992	55	34	4	7
Vote for Democratic candidates for Senator or Congressman	46	38	7	9
Vote for Republican candidates for Senator or Congressman	44	40	7	9

SENT BY: GALLUP ORG. NOT TO BE USED FOR OTHER PURPOSES

8. If your Senator voted in favor of Clarence Thomas serving on the Supreme Court, would you be more likely or less likely to vote for his re-election -- or would it not much affect your vote?
[BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS]

	10/91		
	ALL	Men	Women
	%	%	%
More likely	25	27	24
Less likely	20	18	23
Not much affect vote	52	54	50
NO OPINION	3	1	3
TOTAL	100	100	100
NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	(812)	(419)	(393)

	10/91		
	White	Whites	Southerners
	Blacks	%	%
More likely	32	25	31
Less likely	12	21	23
Not much affect vote	52	52	44
NO OPINION	4	2	2
TOTAL	100	100	100
NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	(91)	(687)	(193)

TREND [BASED ON ALL ADULTS]:

	9/13-15/91		
	ALL	Men	Women
	%	%	%
More likely	12	11	13
Less likely	10	10	9
Not much affect vote	72	75	70
NO OPINION	6	4	8
TOTAL	100	100	100
NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	(1216)	(607)	(609)

	9/13-15/91		
	White	Whites	Southerners
	Blacks	%	%
More likely	10	12	17
Less likely	10	9	8
Not much affect vote	75	73	71
NO OPINION	5	6	4
TOTAL	100	100	100
NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	(79)	(1085)	(318)

9. If your Senator voted against Clarence Thomas serving on the Supreme Court, would you be more likely or less likely to vote for his re-election -- or would it not much affect your vote?

[BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS]

	ALL	Men	Women
%	%	%	%
More likely	17	13	22
Less likely	23	26	20
Not much affect vote	57	59	54
NO OPINION	3	2	4
TOTAL	100	100	100
NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	(812)	(419)	(393)

	White	Southerners	Blacks
%	%	%	%
More likely	17	20	21
Less likely	24	24	18
Not much affect vote	56	52	57
NO OPINION	3	4	4
TOTAL	100	100	100
NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	(687)	(193)	(91)

10. As a result of Anita Hill's charges of sexual harassment against Clarence Thomas and the recent Senate hearings, do you think each of the following is more likely or less likely -- or if things will not change much?

	Not	More	Less	Much	DON'T
likely					
Change					
%					

That women will
report cases of
sexual harassment

All Adults	60	19	19	2
Men	63	17	17	3
Women	57	20	21	2

That companies will
take strong steps
against sexual
harassment

All Adults	60	13	25	2
Men	65	9	23	3
Women	55	16	27	2

*17 CBS: BUSH APPROVAL 64%, BUT ONLY 30% ON ECONOMY
1,280 surveyed from 10/5-7; M/E +/- 3% (CBS release, 10/10).

BUSH JOB APPROVAL

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	9/91	3/91	1/91	10/90
Approve	64%	84%	52%	58%	70%	88%	62%	52%
Disapprove	26	12	37	29	19	8	27	37

APPROVE/DISAPPROVE BUSH'S HANDLING OF ...

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	8/91
FOREIGN POLICY					
Approve	63%	78%	51%	59%	67%
Disappr.	27	14	37	29	23

ECONOMY

Approve	30%	46%	19%	25%	38%
Disappr.	62	47	74	64	50

THE FUTURE FOR THE NEXT GENERATION OF AMERICANS WILL BE ...

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	3/91
Better	20%	23%	17%	20%	36%
Worse	52	45	57	53	26
Same	25	29	22	23	35

GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF BOTH FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY, BUSH SPENDS TOO MUCH OF HIS TIME ON ...

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	10/90
Too much foreign	59%	46%	72%	58%	36%
Too much at home	2	1	3	2	4
About right	34	50	21	32	51

IS BUSH PAYING ENOUGH ATTENTION TO THE ECONOMY?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	3/91
Paying enough	18%	25%	11%	18%	31%
Should be paying more	78	72	85	77	61

AGREE/DISAGREE THAT U.S. IS IN DECLINE AS WORLD POWER?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	3/91
Strong agree	18%	14%	22%	20%	8%
Somewhat agree	26	23	29	25	14
Somewhat disagree	27	27	25	29	28
Strong disagree	23	32	20	18	45

IN THE NEXT CENTURY, WHICH WILL BE NO. 1 WORLD ECONOMIC POWER?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND
Japan	58%	56%	61%	57%
United States	25	30	22	22
Germany	2	1	2	2
USSR	2	1	1	4
Other	7	8	7	7

DID THE U.S. MAKE A MISTAKE GETTING INVOLVED IN GULF WAR?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	6/91
Mistake	22%	10%	31%	24%	22%
Not a mistake	74	88	65	71	72

GIVEN THE LOSS OF LIFE AND OTHER COSTS OF WAR, WAS THE WAR TO DEFEAT IRAQ WORTH THE COSTS OR NOT?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	6/91
Worth it	61%	74%	52%	59%	66%
Not worth it	33	22	42	35	30

AC/TM

MEMORANDUM

To: Governor Sununu
From: Bob Teeter
Date: October 17, 1991

A couple of follow-ups on our conversation yesterday regarding the effect and opportunity brought about by the Thomas hearings.

First of all, it might be temporary, but Thornburgh's percent among blacks in the daily tracking clearly increased during the hearings. I've asked Fred to keep careful track of it, see if it holds up, and give us a paper when the election is over.

Also, the publisher of the Wall Street Journal had asked my help with the attached invitation which looks like something we should consider doing if it works out with the schedule.

DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.
Publishers
200 LIBERTY STREET - NEW YORK, N. Y. 10281

PETER R KANN
Chairman & Publisher

September 4, 1991

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to respectfully invite you to address a national forum, Black Entrepreneurship in America, to be held in Atlanta on April 2-4, 1992.

The forum, including black business leaders and entrepreneurs from around the country, is being organized and hosted by Dow Jones & Company and The Wall Street Journal in cooperation with Clark Atlanta University and Spelman College.

Your willingness to address the conference obviously would enormously enhance and amplify the goals of this event, which are to focus increased attention within and beyond the black community on the opportunities and challenges facing this important and growing business community. It is our belief that the successes of black entrepreneurs have received too little national attention. This forum, particularly with your participation, can focus a national spotlight on these successes and at the same time, provide an opportunity to explore and help solve challenges and problems facing black business people.

We also respectfully suggest that this audience of some 500 black entrepreneurs from across the U.S. would be an excellent one for you to address and would be a profoundly interested and receptive one for many of your administration's policies and for your personal priorities of enterprise, competitiveness and private sector initiative.

Other speakers will include leading black business people as well as chief executives and other leaders of the wider corporate community.

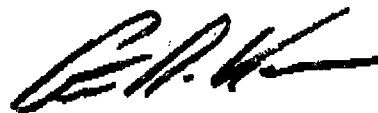
Mr. President
Page Two
September 4, 1991

We obviously would adjust the conference schedule over those several days to fit your convenience, but opportunities would include your speaking at an opening dinner on April 2, or a luncheon or dinner on April 3, or a breakfast session April 3 or 4. The events all will be held at the Marriott Marquis Hotel.

We know that Mrs. Bush has long been supportive of the forum cosponsor, Spelman College, and we would all be honored if she were able to accompany you to Atlanta.

We very much appreciate your consideration of this invitation and will be deeply appreciative of a favorable response.

Respectfully,



PRK:dt

bc: Miller
Coston
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 16, 1991

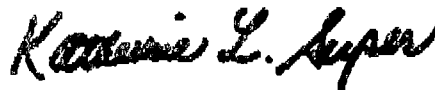
Dear Mr. Kann:

Thank you for your invitation for the President to address the Black Entrepreneurship in America forum, April 2-4, 1992.

We appreciate your extending this opportunity to the President. Although we are unable to make a commitment at this time, we are making a special note of this date. Your invitation will be carefully reviewed as the President's schedule develops, and we will be back in touch with you closer to the time about the possibility of his acceptance.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



KATHERINE L. SUPER
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Appointments and Scheduling

Mr. Peter R. Kann
Chairman and Publisher
Dow Jones and Company, Inc.
200 Liberty Street
New York, NY 10281

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL. DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC.

Publishers

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PETER R. KANN
Publisher & Chairman

September 24, 1991

Katherine L. Super
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Appointments and Scheduling
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ms. Super:

Thank you for your encouraging response to our invitation to the President to address our Black Entrepreneurship conference in Atlanta, April 2-4.

I certainly understand the obstacles to making a commitment at this time, but we very much appreciate your assistance in having the invitation actively considered for inclusion on the President's schedule as it develops.

With thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,



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