The original documents are located in Box 72, folder "1984 - U.S. National Post-Election Study - Summary Tables (prepared for National Republican Congressional Committee) (2)" of the Robert M. Teeter Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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

(cont'd.)

			sponses		Res	sponses	5		
				Total	Right Direction	Wrong Track	Don't know/ Refused	(a) Number	
Re	egion (cont	'd.)							
	Mountain								
	November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average Average	1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983	288 28 28 29 36 36 47 47 47	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	66% 66 51 61 53 60 42 55 40 38	26% 23 41 29 39 32 54 37 49 52 41	8% 11 8 10 9 6 4 8 10 10	+40 (+43 (+10 (+32 (+14 (+28 (-12 (+18 (-9 (-14 + 5	151) 61) 61) 77) 76) 77) 71) 75) 77)
	Pacific								
	November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average Average	1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983		100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	60 53 54 54 51 44 40 53 42 34	33 34 33 39 38 42 51 40 50 56	6 13 14 7 10 14 8 8 8	+27 (+19 (+21 (+15 (+13 (-11 (+13 - 8 (-22 -15	410) 162) 162) 203) 204) 204) 212) 205) 206)



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

(cont'd.)

						Res	sponses	S		
				Total	Right Direction	Wrong Track	Don't know/ Refused	(a) Numbe		
Se	ex									
	Male									
151 61 77 77 77 77 77 77	November October 12 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average Average	-20,	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983 1982 1981		100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	66% 64 62 63 55 52 49 55 46 38	25% 28 29 29 36 38 42 36 47 53 45	9% 9 8 8 9 11 9 7 10	+41 +36 +33 +34 +19 +14 + 7 +19 - 1 -15 0	(1437) (574) (580) (731) (720) (720) (728) (728) (719)
	Female									
	November October 12 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average Average	14 10 14 8 8	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983 1983		100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	57 51 50 48 46 42 38 39 34 28	22 37 42 42 43 47 53 51 57 62 52	11 12 9 10 11 11 10 10 9 11	+25 +14 + 8 + 6 + 3 - 5 -15 -12 -23 -34 -18	(1565) (624) (620) (772) (780) (780) (790) (773) (782)

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

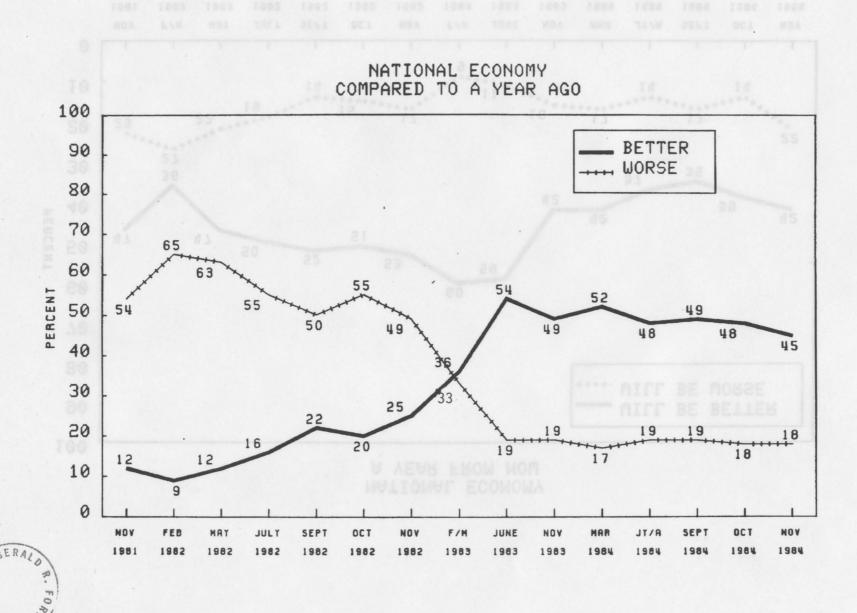
(cont'd.)

			Res	sponse	S		
		Total	Right Direction	Wrong Track	Don't know/ Refused		Number of Cases
atus Groups							
High Income				484 489			
November	1984	100%	75%	17%	8%	+58	(682)
October 12-20,	1984	100%	68	24	8	+44	(287)
September	1984	100%	71	21		+50	(263)
July/Aug.	1984	100%	68	25	7	+43	(369)
June	1984	100%	64	28	8	+36	(373)
March	1984	100%	59	32	9	+27	(350)
November	1983	100%	57	36	8	+21	(240)
June	1983	100%	60	32	9	+28	(353)
Feb./March	1983	100%	58	36	5	+22	(339)
Intelligentisa							
November	1984	100%	65	31	4	+34	(256)
October 12-20,	1984	100%	59	35	6	+24	(108)
September	1984	100%	59	34	8	+25	(110)
July/Aug.	1984	100%	62	33	4	+29	(147)
June	1984	100%	54	36	10	+18	(137)
March	1984	100%	53	37	10	+16	(123)
November	1983	100%	42	53	5	-11	(132)
June	1983	100%	55	36	10	+19	(154)
Feb./March	1983	100%	48	44	8	+ 4	(149)
Middle Class							
November	1984	100%	68	23	9	+45	(688)
October 12-20,	1984	100%	65	26	8	+39	(267)
September	1984	100%	63	29	9	+34	(322)
July/Aug.	1984	100%	60	31	10	+39	(386)
June	1984	100%	52	38	10	+14	(384)
March	1984	100%	53	37	9	+16	(402)
November	1983	100%	53	38	8	+15	(327)
June	1983	100%	54	38	8	+16	(389)
Feb./March	1983	100%	40	52	8	-12	(423)
na_ a	er.	22	won t	rac		andraun	(.20)



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

(cont'd.)			Res	sponses	3	(.b'inoo)		
Lower End		Total	Right Direction	Wrong Track	Don't know/ Refused		Number f Cases	
November	1984	100%	55%	33%	12%	+22	542)	
October 12-20,	1984	100%	45	42	13	+ 3	223)	
September	1984	100%	48	46	7	+ 2	206)	
July/Aug.	1984	100%	.47	42	11	+ 5	243)	
June	1984	100%	41	47	12	- 6	229)	
March	1984	100%	35	51	15	-16	285)	
November	1983	100%	36	54	10	-18	369)	
June	1983	100%	35	56	9	-21	268)	
Feb./March	1983	100%	28	62	10	-34	267)	
Jews	28							
November	1984	100%	49	41	11	+ 8	(86)	
October 12-20,	1984	100%	49	40	9	+ 9	43)	
September	1984	100%	42	47	11	- 5	38)	
July/Aug.	1984	100%	51	49	2	+ 2	41)	
June	1984	100%	50	34	16	+16	(44)	
March	1984	100%	38	52	10	-14	(48)	
November	1983	100%	45	43	12	+ 2	(42)	
June	1983	100%	41	51	8	-10	(51)	
Feb./March	1983	100%	30	59	8	29	(37)	
Hispanics								
November	1984	100%	55	30	14	+25	(113)	
October 12-20,	1984	100%	62	29	12	+33	(42)	
September	1984	100%	48	45	8	+ 3	(40)	
July/Aug.	1984	100%	47	45	8	+ 2	(47)	
June	1984	100%	43	47	10	- 4	(58)	
March	1984	100%	43	48	9	- 5	(56)	
November	1983	100%	29	58	14	-29	(65)	
June	1983	100%	50	35	15	+15	(48)	
Feb./March	1983	100%	45	52	2	- 7	(44)	
Black	98	6.0	1002	A80	1	Septembe		
November	1984	100%	31	56	13	-25	(329)	
October 12-20,	1984	100%	32	58	9	-26	(124)	
September	1984	100%	24	67	9	-43	(129)	
July/Aug.	1984	100%	32	56	11	-24	(170)	
June	1984	100%	27	62	11	-35	(162)	
March	1984	100%	18	69	14	-51	(156)	
November	1983	100%	22	72	6	-50	(159)	
June	1983	100%	16	75	10	-59	(150)	
Feb./March	1983	100%	11	85	5	-74	(155)	



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Perceptions of Current Economy

	lov. .984	Oct. 1984	Sept. 1984	July/ Aug. 1984	March 1984						Sept. 1982			Feb. 1982		
Compared to a year ago																
National Econo	my															
Better Stayed same Worse Don't know/NA Unemployment	45% 33 18 4	48% 31 18 3	49% 29 19 3	48% 31 19 3	52% 30 17 1	49% 30 19 2	54% 26 19 1	33% 29 36 2	25% 23 49 3	20% 23 55 2	22% 27 50 1	16% 27 55 2		9% 24 65 2	12% 31 54 3	
Better Stayed same Worse Don't know/NA	X X X	X X X	X X X X	52 20 24 4	52 22 24 2	X X X	X X X	11 20 68 2	5 9 86 1	X X X	3 11 84 2	5 12 81 1	3 7 88 1	3 13 82 1	4 19 73 4	
Inflation																
Better Stayed same Worse Don't know/NA	X X X	X X X	X X X	40 33 25 2	40 35 23 2	X X X	X X X	43 28 27 2	40 24 33 2	33 29 36 3	34 26 39 2	27 28 44 1	28 25 46 2	15 23 60 2	13 23 64 1	
Interest Rates	33 2								X · X							
Better Stayed same Worse Don't know/NA	X X X	X X X	X X X	23 27 42 7	37 30 26 7	X X X	X X X	69 12 15 4	64 13 19 4	60 14 22 4	53 28 16 3	X X X	X X X	11 61 24 4	23 57 16 4	
DOIL C KHOW/ HA	^	^	0.0	0.5	x '	^	36	25	X	, T	X	4011	ad ad	FFEW	7	

x = Not asked.



Perceptions of Future Economy

(cont'd.)

July/							Feb./							
Nov.	Oct.	Sept.	Aug.	March	Nov.	June	March	Nov.	Oct.	Sept.	July	May	Feb.	Nov.
1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1983	1983	1983	1982	1982	1982	1982	1982	1982	1981

Thinking about a year from now, do you expect....

National Economy	,														
16 121 591	22%	300	0.54	0.74	104	404	3		504	485		504	1933	198	0.70
Will be better Will be the	42%	39%	35%	37%	42%	42%	59%	60%	53%	51%	52%	50%	47%	36%	47%
same	29	35	33	33	37	36	27	26	24	26	28	26	23	28	24
Will be worse	22	14	17	16	14	16	11	9	17	15	14	19	22	27	23
Don't know/NA	7	13	16	13	7	6	4	5	6	8	6	5	8	9	6
Unemployment					x · ×										
Will be better	X	х	X	41	48	x	X	60	49	44	44	45	42	32	37
Will be the					X			+	*	- 3	X	Wil fmou	N 3.1	100	
same	X	X	X	34	. 33	X	X	24	22	26	25	25	22	29	7
Will be worse	X	X	X	16	13	X	X	12	23	23	26	27	31	32	31
Don't know/NA	X	X	X	10	5	X	X	4	7	7	5	3	5	7	4
Inflation														255	
Will be better Will be the	x	X	×	24	27	х	X	42	45	X	41	39	37	33	41
same	X	X	X	37	42	X	X	39	32	X	33	33	32	31	25
Will be worse	X	X	X	28	27	χ .	X	13	17	X	21	25	26	29	30
Don't know/NA	X	X	X	11	5	X	X	9	6	X	5	3	5	7	4
19 x x															
Interest Rates															
Will be better Will be the	X	Х	Х	26	25	X	X	49	50	х	54	Х	х	34	49
same	X	Х	X	27	34	X	X	32	27	X	16	X	X	25	20
Will be worse	X	X	X	35	34	X	X	12	15	X	24	X	Х	30	24
Don't know/NA	X	X	X	12	8	X	X	7	9	X	5	X	X	10	6

x = Not asked

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

	Responses									
	Better Off	About the Same	Worse Off	No Opinion						
Total	42%	38%	18%	1%						
Segmentation										
Groups	٠									
High income Intelligentsia Middle income Lower end Jews Hispanics Blacks	61 44 46 30 41 33 15	30 38 37 45 38 43 42	7 16 16 24 15 21 42	1 3 1 1 4 2						
Sex										
Men Women	48 37	35 41	16 20	1 2						
Age										
18-24 25-39 40-54 55-64 65+	45 49 44 33 27	37 31 36 48 52	16 19 19 17 19	2 1 2 2 2						

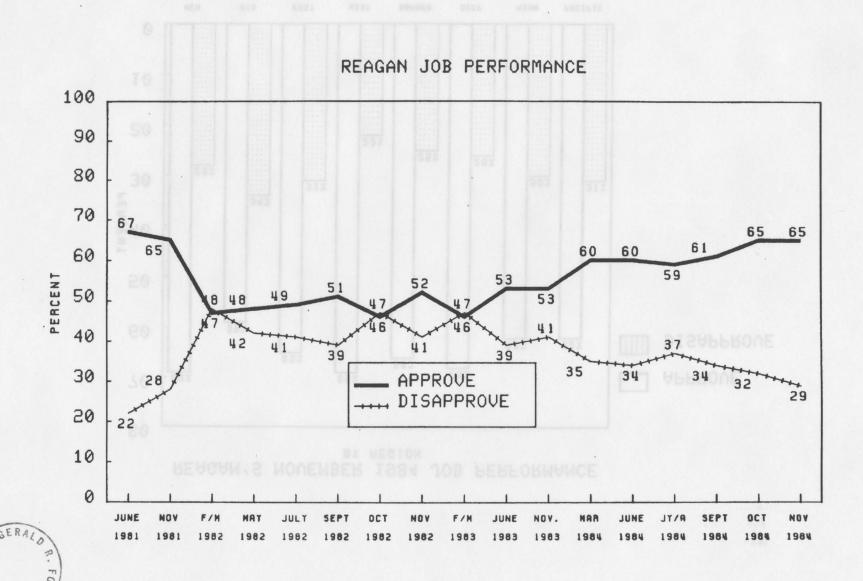
	Tr	rend		
	ter		Worse Off	
Nov., 1984	42%	38%	18%	1%
Oct., 1984	42	37	19	1
	42	34	22	1
July/Aug. 1984	42	36	20	1
March, 1984	39	37	23	1
Nov., 1983 Feb./	40	37	21	1
March, 1983(a)	19%	48%	31 %	1%
June, 1981(b)	31	27	40	3
(a)"A yea question			d in	
(b)"About	the	same"	anded	ac

⁽b)"About the same" coded as volunteered response in 1981. "A year ago" used in question wording.

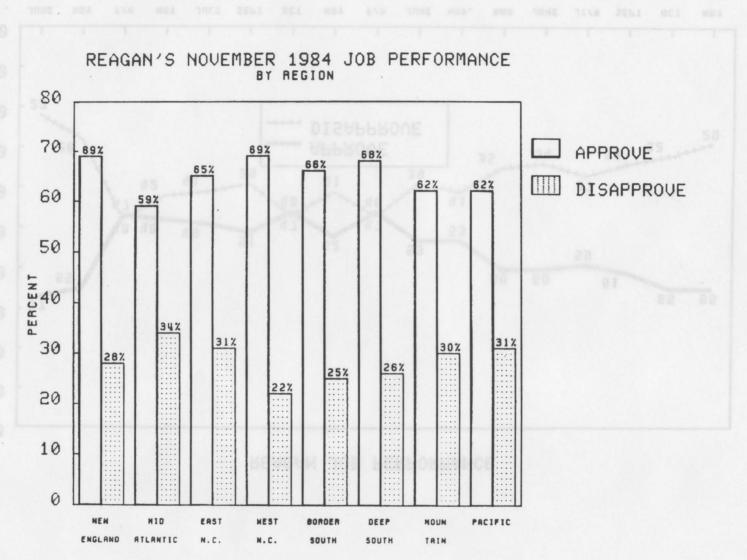


^{*}Less than .5%.

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Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly approve/disapprove or just somewhat approve/disapprove?

Early in Interview	<u>Total</u>	Strongly Approve		Somewhat Dis- approve	Strongly Dis- approve	Don't Know/ NA	Number of Cases
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/Aug., 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 Feb./March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	37% 36 35 32 29 27 21 23 19	28% 29 26 27 31 34 33 30 28	11% 11 14 14 14 15 22 16 17	17% 21 20 23 20 19 19 23 29	6% 4 5 4 5 4 6 8 7	(3002) (1198) (1200) (1503) (1500) (1500) (1518) (1500) (1501)
November, 1982 October, 1982 September, 1982 July, 1982 May, 1982 February, 1982	100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	25 23 23 20 20 21	27 25 29 29 29 29	15 18 17 16 17 20	27 28 22 25 24 27	7 6 9 10 10 5	(800) (1200) (1199) (1501) (1503) (1511)
February, 1982 November, 1981 June, 1981	100% 100% 100%	21 32 35	32 33 32	18 12 11	25 15 11	4 8 12	(1511) (1503) (1505)



Trend to President Reagan's General Job Performance Rating(a)

			Co1	lapsed Resu	lts		, ,
		Total	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know	PDI (b)	Party Average
Total							
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March	1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	65% 65 61 59 60 60 53 53	29% 32 34 37 34 35 41 39 46	6% 4 5 4 5 4 6 8 7	+36 +33 +27 +22 +26 +25 +12 +14 + 1	4.1 3.9 4.0 3.8 3.9 4.0 3.8 3.6 3.7
Average Party ID	1982	100%	49	43	8	+ 6	3.7
Strong Repub	lican						
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	97 96 94 94 96 95 91 93 85	2 2 4 4 3 4 10 5	1 2 2 2 2 1 2 5 3	+95 +94 +90 +90 +93 +91 +81 +88 +75 +81	7.0 7.0 7.0 7.0 7.0 7.0 7.0 7.0 7.0
Weak Republi	can					1981	
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average	1984 1984 1984 1984 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	92 93 86 88 87 84 79 79 78	6 5 10 10 10 13 17 13 18 20	2 2 3 3 4 3 5 9 4 7	+86 +88 +76 +78 +77 +71 +62 +66 +60 +54	6.0 6.0 6.0 6.0 6.0 6.0 6.0

Trend to President Reagan's General Job Performance Rating(a)

(cont'd.)

			(c)				
	Don't-	Total	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know	PDI (b)	Party Average
Independent F	Republican						
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	90% 96 91 92 87 85 80 83 78	5% 2 8 7 12 11 17 12 15	5% 2 1 1 2 4 4 5 7	+85 +94 +83 +85 +75 +74 +63 +71 +63 +62	5.0 5.0 5.0 5.0 5.0 5.0 5.0 5.0
Average Independent	1902	100%	30	15	1983	+02	5.0
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	68 69 63 61 61 59 52 44 54	21 20 25 30 28 34 38 33 37 36	12 11 12 9 11 7 10 22 9 14	+47 +49 +38 +31 +33 +25 +14 +11 +17 +13	4.0 4.0 4.0 4.0 4.0 4.0 4.0 4.0 4.0
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	35 39 33 31 35 39 32 34 21 27	57 55 62 64 58 54 63 59 72 65	8 5 6 5 8 7 5 7 7 8	-22 -16 -29 -33 -23 -15 -31 -25 -51 -38	3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0



Trend to President Reagan's General Job Performance Rating(a)

(cont'd.)

			Col	lapsed Resu	lts		
(b) Parti PDI Avera		Total	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know	\ /	(c) Party Average
Party ID (cont'd.)						
Weak Democ	rat						
November Oct. 12- Septembe July/Aug June March November June Feb./Mare Average	r 1984 • 1984 • 1984 • 1984 • 1983 • 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	47% 50 45 45 49 46 42 41 30 41	43% 46 47 49 45 50 51 58	10% 4 7 6 6 4 8 9	+ 4 + 4 - 2 - 4 - 4 - 8 -10 -28 -10	2.0 2.0 2.0 2.0 2.0 2.0 2.0 2.0 2.0
Strong Dem	ocrat	20 20	88				
November Oct. 12- Septembe July/Aug June March November June Feb./Mar Average	20 1984 r 1984 • 1984 1984 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	19 21 21 16 20 19 22 22 14 16	73 77 75 80 75 75 71 71 80 77	9 2 4 3 6 6 8 7 6 8	-54 -56 -54 -64 -55 -56 -49 -49 -66	1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0
-22 3.0 -16 3.0 -29 3.0 -33 3.0 -15 3.0 -31 3.0 -25 3.0 -51 3.0		57 55 62 64 58 58 54 59 63 59			1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983		1

Trend to President Reagan's General Job Performance Rating(a)

(cont'd.)

			Co1	lapsed Resu	lts		
		Total	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know	PDI (b)	Party (c) Average
Region New England							
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	69% 67 60 52 62 65 55 57 51	28% 32 37 41 35 26 40 37 42 43	3% 1 7 2 9 6 7 7 8	+41 +35 +23 +11 +27 +41 +15 +20 + 9 + 7	4.1 4.2 3.7 3.9 3.7 3.8 3.8 3.6 3.9 3.6
Mid-Atlantic			•				
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	59 60 61 53 54 59 55 48 47 45	34 34 35 44 40 37 38 42 48	7 7 5 4 6 4 8 11 5	+25 +26 +26 + 9 +14 +22 +17 + 6 - 1 + 0	4.0 3.9 4.1 3.8 4.0 4.0 4.1 3.8 3.8 3.8
East NC							
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	65 64 59 65 61 62 49 48 41 48	31 33 36 32 34 35 44 42 51	4 3 4 4 5 3 6 10 8	+34 +31 +23 +33 +27 +27 + 5 + 6 -10 + 4	4.1 3.9 4.1 4.0 3.9 4.1 3.9 4.0 3.6



Trend to President Reagan's General Job Performance Rating(a)

(cont'd.)

			Co1	lapsed Resu	lts		
		Total	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know	(b) Party (c) Average
Region (cont	'd.)						
West NC							
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average	1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	69% 65 70 58 65 62 57 56 54	22% 34 26 37 31 33 41 36 37 40	8% 1 5 5 4 2 8 9	+47 +31 +44 +21 +34 +29 +16 +20 +17 +13	4.3 3.7 4.4 3.9 4.2 3.9 4.1 3.7 3.9 3.7
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	66 63 63 54 57 58 53 58 38	25 36 26 44 38 40 40 37 56 46	8 1 11 3 3 2 7 5 6 5	+41 +27 +37 +10 +19 +18 +13 +21 -18 + 4	4.1 3.7 3.6 3.6 3.6 3.8 3.6 3.7 3.4
(continued o	#84 #84 #83 #83 #84 # # # #	t page)				1984 1984 1984 1983 1983	

Trend to President Reagan's General Job Performance Rating(a)

(cont'd.)

		Co1	lapsed Res	sults		
	Total	Approve	Disappro	Don't ve know	PDI (b)	Party (c) Average
Region (cont	'd.)					
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average	1984 100% 1984 100% 1984 100% 1984 100% 1983 100% 1983 100%	68% 70 61 63 64 60 57 53 50	26% 25 34 33 29 36 37 39 43 40	6% 4 5 5 6 4 6 8 7	+27 +30 +25 +24	3.9 4.1 3.8 3.8 3.7 3.8 3.5 3.4 3.6 3.5
Mountain						
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average	1984 100% 1984 100% 1984 100% 1983 100% 1983 100% 1983 100%	62 69 66 73 68 70 52 65 49 58	30 26 26 27 32 18 44 29 39 35	7 5 9 1 12 4 5 12 8	+40 +46 +38 +52 + 8 +36	4.2 4.2 3.9 4.1 3.9 4.4 4.0 4.0 3.9 4.1

Trend to President Reagan's General Job Performance (a) (cont'd.)

			Co1	lapsed Resu	lts		
		Total	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/NA	PDI (b)	Party(c) Average
Pacific							
September July/Aug. June March November June	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	62% 60 57 53 56 55 50 57 46 47	43 38 40 44 38 47 44	7% 2 4 4 6 4 6 7 9	+19 - 1 + 3	4.1 3.8 3.9 3.8 4.2 4.0 3.7 3.8 3.9 3.8
Sex		8					
Male							
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	69 67 67 65 66 66 59 59 51	30 29 32 30 32 36 34 42	6 3 4 4 4 2 5 7 7	+44 +37 +38 +33 +36 +34 +23 +25 + 9 +16	4.2 4.1 4.1 4.0 4.0 4.0 4.0 3.8 3.8 3.8
Female							
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	61 63 56 54 55 56 49 47 43 45	32 33 38 42 38 37 45 43 49	7 4 6 4 6 7 7 9	+29 +30 +18 +12 +17 +19 + 4 + 4	4.0 3.8 3.8 3.7 3.7 3.9 3.6 3.6 3.6

Trend to President Reagan's General Job Performance(a) (cont'd.)

		Total	Approve	Disapprov	Don't e know/NA	PDI (b)	Party(c) Average
tatus Groups							
High Income							9WUJ
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	79% 73 73 72 73 71 65	18% 23 25 25 24 27 32 25	3% 4 3 4 2 2 4 5	+61 +50 +48 +47 +49 +44 +33 +46	4.6 4.5 4.5 4.5 4.4 4.5 4.4
Feb./March	1983	100%	.61	32	7	+29	4.2
Intelligent	sia						
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	64 65 66 61 69 56 50 55	37 45	5 2 3 7 5 6 2	+33 +32 +32 +25 +38 +19 + 5 +15 +12	4.3 4.2 4.2 4.0 4.2 4.1 3.9 3.8 4.0
Middle Clas	0.						Nove
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	72 74 71 68 66 70 67 60	24 25 30 28 25 29	5 1 4 2 5 5 3 9	+49 +50 +46 +38 +38 +45 +38 +29 + 9	4.3 4.4 4.3 4.2 4.1 4.2 4.1 3.9 3.8



Trend to President Reagan's General Job Performance Rating(a)

(cont'd.)

			A be	Co1	lapsed Resu	lts		
		Total	App	prove	Disapprove	Don't know/NA	PDI (b)	Party(c) Average
Status Groups Lower End	(cont	'd.)						
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%		63% 61 51 55 52 56 50 48 40	42 38	8% 3 9 5 7 7 9 9	+34 +26 +12 +15 +10 +18 + 8 + 5 -10	4.0 3.8 3.9 3.7 3.8 4.0 3.5 3.5 3.5
Jews								
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Hispanics	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%		44 51 34 44 55 35 36 27 27	51 42 53 56 34 58 60 63 65	5 7 13 11 4 4 10 8	- 7 + 9 -19 -12 +21 -23 -24 -36 -38	3.2 3.1 3.3 3.2 3.3 3.2 3.4 2.7 2.7
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%		61 64 60 43 45 57 42 52 41		10 2 3 9 9 13 6 4 16	+32 +31 +25 - 6 - 2 +27 -12 + 8 - 2	3.6 3.1 3.1 2.9 3.1 3.3 3.2 3.1 3.5

Trend to President Reagan's General Job Performance Rating(a)

(cont'd.)

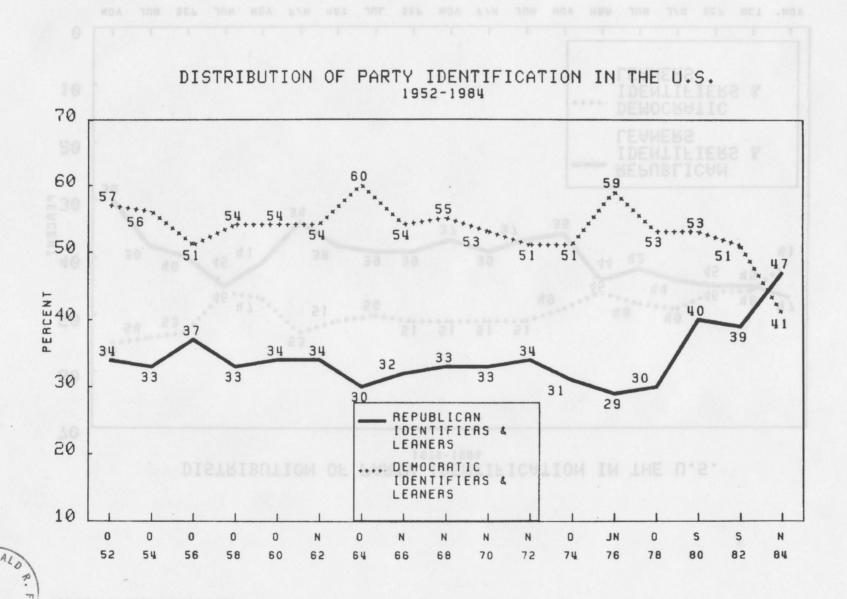
			Co1	lapsed Resul	lts		
		Total	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/NA) Party(c) Average
Status Groups Non-Black (to		'd.)					
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March November June Feb./March Average	1984 1984 1984 1929 1984 1983 1983 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	69% 69 66 64 65 64 58 57 51	25% 27 29 33 31 31 37 34 42 39	6% 4 5 4 4 5 6 8 7	+44 +42 +37 +31 +34 +33 +11 +14 + 9 +15	4.1 4.1 4.1 4.0 4.1 3.8 3.8 3.9 3.9
November Oct. 12-20 September July/Aug. June March Nov. June Feb./March Average	1984 1984 1984 1984 1984 1983 1983 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	25 27 22 28 20 26 18 14 6	64 69 71 67 70 68 74 77 83 75	11 3 7 5 10 5 9 11 11	-39 -42 -49 -39 -50 -42 -56 -63 -77 -59	2.1 2.1 2.3 2.1 2.4 2.2 2.1 2.2 2.1 2.3

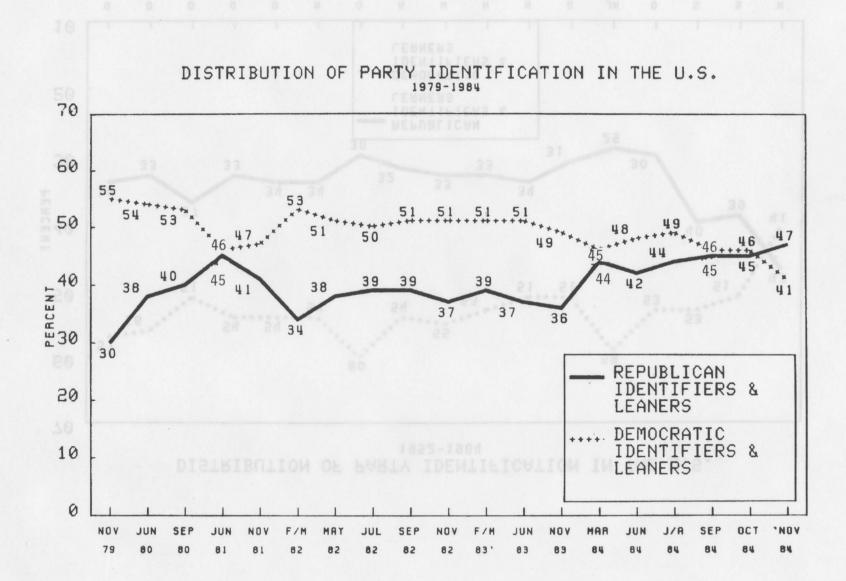
⁽a) Results are for the job performance rating asked <u>early</u> in the interview.

⁽c) Average is based on a 7-point scale on which "Strong Democrat =1 and "Strong Republican" = 7.6



⁽b) Percentage Difference Index = % "Approve" minus "Disapprove".





The Distribution of Party Identification in the United States: 1952-1984

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, an Independent, or what? (IF REPUBLICAN \overline{OR} DEMOCRAT) Would you call yourself a strong (R)/(D) or not very strong (R)/(D)? (IF INDEPENDENT) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

	June 1981	Nov. 1981	Feb./ March 1982	May 1982	July 1982	Sept. 1982	Nov. 1982	Feb./ March 1983	June 1983	Nov. 1983	March 1984	June 1984	July, Aug. 1984	Sept. 1984	0ct.	Nov. 1984
Democrat			3.													
Strong Weak	15% 19	14% 18	21% 20	17% 19	17% 17	18% 17	16% 20	17% 18	18% 17	19% 20	15% 17	16% 16	20% 15	17% 14	20% 15	17% 13
Independent																
Democrat Independent Republican	12 9 18	15 11 15	12 11 11	15 12 15	16 10 15	16 10 15	15 10 14	16 10 16	16 11 15	10 12 9	14 8 17	16 10 17	14 7 17	15 9 18	12 8 16	11 10 18
Republican																
Weak Strong	14 13	14 12	11 12	13 10	12 12	12 12	12 11	12	11 11	13 14	13 14	11 14	12 15	13 15	11 18	13 17
Apolitical, Don't know	*	*	2	*	_1_	*	2	*	_1_	2	*	*	*	*	_1_	_1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(1505)	(1503)	(1511)	(1503)	(1501)	(1199)	(800)	(1501)((1500)(1518)(1500)	(1500)	(1503)	(1200)	(1198)	(3000)



The Distribution of Party Identification in the United States: 1952-1984

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, an Independent, or what? (IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT) Would you call yourself a strong (R)/(D)? (IF INDEPENDENT) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

(cont'd.)

	Oct. 1952	Oct. 1954	Oct. 1956	Oct. 1958	Oct. 1960	Nov . 1962	Oct. 1964	Nov. 1966	Nov. 1968	Nov. 1970	Nov. 1972	Oct. 1974	Dec. 1974	June 1976	Oct. 1978	Nov . 1979	June 1980	Sept. 1980
Democrat								3.										
Strong Weak	22% 25	22% 25	21%	23% 24	21% 25	23% 23	26% 25	18% 27	20% 25	20% 23	15% 25	17% 21	22% 20	21% 23	15% 24	18% 25	16% 23	15% 22
Independent																		
Democrat Independent Republican	10 5 7	9 7 6	7 9 8	7 8 4	8 8 7	8 8 6	9 8 6	9 12 7	10 11 9	10 13 8	11 13 11	13 15 9	16 16 8	15 11 8	14 14 9	12 14 8	15 9 15	16 8 16
Republican																		
Weak Strong Apolitical,	14 13	14 13	14 15	16 13	13 14	16 12	13 11	15 10	14 10	15 10	13 10	14 8	11 7	12	13	12 10	13 10	14 10
Don't know	4	4	3_	5	4	4	2	_2	_1_	_1	_2	*	*	*	_3_	1	*	*
Number of Cases	100% (1614)(100% 1139)(100% 1772)(100% 1269)(100% 3021)(100% 1289)(100% 1571)(100% 1291)(100% 1553)(100% 1802)	100%	100%	100%	100% (1537)	100% (NA)	100% (1506)	100%	100%

Center for Political Studies
The University of Michigan 1953-1974 (October), October, 1978.

Market Opinion Research, December, 1974, June 1976-1983.

^{*}Less than 1% mention.

Social Group Profile of the Party Coalitions, 1952-1982

	Dem	ocrat P	arty Ic	lentifi	ers
	1952- 1960	1962- 1972	1976	1980	1984
WASPs Catholics Northern Union	19% 13 22	20% 16 19	17% 19 18	17% 16 18	19% 23 13
White Cauthanna	31 5 10	25 3 16	23 4 18	23 6 21	20 5 20
2001 2001 2001 20	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(a)	Repu	blican	Party	Identifiers		
cification Republicans	1952- 1960	1962- 1972	1976	1980	1984	
WASPs Catholics Northern Union White Southerners Jews Blacks	56% 10 18 11 1	51% 10 13 23 1	51% 14 11 21 1 2	43% 16 14 24 *	34% 16 10 34 2	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	



Party Identification by Age

		Party Identification						
	Total	Strong Dem.	Weak Dem.	Lean Dem.	Indep.	Lean Rep.	Weak Rep.	Strong Rep.
Age*								
18-20 21-29 30-39 40-54 55-64 65+	6% 22 23 21 13 15	5% 17 19 19 16 24	6% 20 21 25 13 16	6% 21 28 21 11 13	4% 19 31 22 13 12	5% 23 25 23 14 9	9% 26 21 18 11	7% 23 18 21 11 21
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

		Party Iden	(a) tification
		Democrat	Republicans
Age* 18-20 21-29 30-39 40-54 55-64 65+		5.5% 19 22 22 14 18	7% 24 22 21 12
007		100%	100%

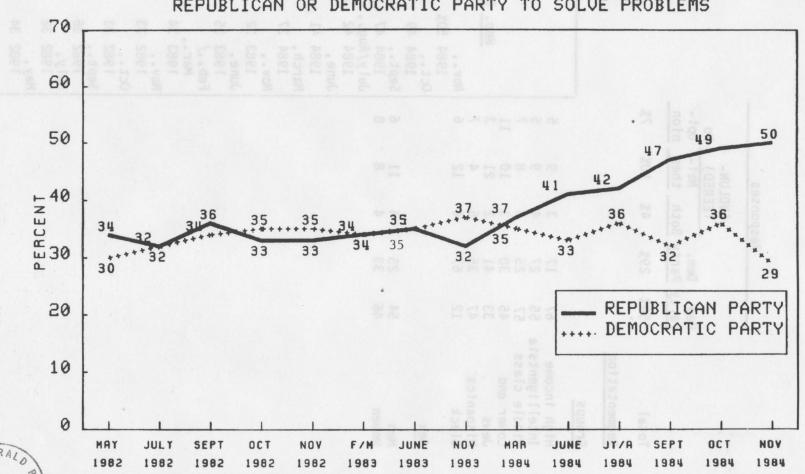
^{*}Non-black.



⁽a)Collapsed: Strong + Weak + Lean.

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MORE CONFIDENCE IN THE PROGRAMS AND POLICIES OF THE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO SOLVE PROBLEMS



Do you have more confidence in the policies and programs of the Republican party or the Democratic party to solve the problems facing the country?

	33	Re	espons	es	18						
	Rep. Party	Dem. Party	TEE	LUN- RED) Nei- ther	No Opi- nion						
Total	50%	29%	4%	10%	7%						
Segmentation	日間										
Groups								EE			
High income Intelligentsia Middle class Lower end Jews	67 55 57 45 33	17 27 25 30 41	3 4 3 3 2	9 9 8 10 21	5 5 7 11 3		Rep.	Tre	end Both	Nei-	
Hispanics Black	47 12	35 67	6 4	4 12	7	Nov.,		29%	4%	10%	7%
Sex						Oct.,	49	36	4	3	8
Men Women	54 46	25 33	4	11 8	6 8	Sept., 1984		32	3	8	10
						July/At 1984		36	4	8	9
						June, 1984	41	33	3	10	13
						March, 1984	37	35	5	11	13
						Nov., 1983 June,	32	37	9	13	9
						1983 Feb.,/		35	7	11	12
						1983 Nov.,	34	34	4	13	14
						1982 Oct.,	33	35	4	18	11
						1982 Sept.,	33	35	5	12	15
						1982 July,	36	34	5	12	13
						1982 May,	32	32	7	14	16
						1982	34	30	6	13	11

Average Thermometer Ratings*

	Nov. 1984	0ct. 12-20, 1984	Sept. 1984	July/ Aug. 1984	Nov. 1983		Feb./ March 1982	Nov. 1981	June 1981
Number of Cases	(3000)	(1198)	(1200)	(1503)	(1518)	(1500)	(1511)	(1503)	(1505)
Ronald Reagan	63°	64°	62°	61°	55°	57°	54°	65°	69°
House of Rep.	61	81	59	58	1	101 05	- 3- 75	00	
REPUBLICAN PARTY	60	60	58	57	52	54	52	58	60
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	57	59	58	60	57	61	58	58	58
Gary Hart	57	SA		1002			1984	JUHRE, Narch	
George Bush	54	56	56	53	49	56	50	59	60
Edward Kennedy	54	10		55		49	51		47
Walter Mondale	50	54	51	54	50	55	49	U-HH-1	54
Tip O'Neill	49	49	49	50		55	49	51	52
Geraldine			15			200100		Polite	012
Ferraro	48	53	51	59			bnafor		
Jerry Falwell	30						30		
Jimmy Carter		47	49	49		49	49	49	48
Jesse Jackson	0	44	47	47	37	19 1 03			45
Nancy Reagan	01-1	01	53	51		1921	44	193448	
John Anderson	8	[49	J SHIPUA	Avalett	50
John Ander Son						13			30
Liberals	8	11		1001	47		41	11M	41
Alexander Haig	31			1001		-189	45		51
David Stockman	81	58		100%		45	42		
Jerry Brown	21	55		100%	-480		42		45
Jesse Helms						42			44
oesse nems						3136		Thorn	77
Moral Majority									41
George Wallace	01	a		1001		40	37	10001	
Jane Fonda	01_	53		100%		39	45	00220	
Feminists	01			100%			38	Seeter	
Ann Gorsuch				1001		36		AvJat.	
Ann dor such	51	0.0		2001		30	AGO I	omit.	
James Watt	0	91		1001		35	35	noa4M	
Richard Nixon	01	25		1001		34	32	ineil	
Conservatives	61	N. D.		100%	53		45	. erui	48
Gerald Ford	8	ni		53		55	53	Februi	56
Howard Baker							50	57	58
	-						50	5/	50
Paul Volker						52			
John Glenn					50	59	paun	Sudo)	
Bob Dole						52			
Barry Goldwater							47		

Based on scale in which 0=very cold or unfavorable, 100=very warm or favorable.

Trend to Party Identification by Subgroups (1983-1984)

Nov. March March Nov. 1983 1983 1982 1981	Total	Repu	ublican	Independen	t Democrat	PDI (a)
Total [13] (002] (8131)(
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%		47% 45 45 44 42 44	10% 8 9 7 10 8	41% 46 46 49 48 46	+ 6 - 1 - 1 - 5 - 6 - 2
November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100%		36 41 39	12 12 10	49 47 51	-13 - 6 -12
Political Regions New England						
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983 Middle Atlantic	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%		47 44 40 43 39 41 35 32 44	12 9 13 5 14 8 16 18	39 45 47 50 47 51 50 51 45	+ 8 - 1 - 7 - 7 - 8 -10 -15 -19 - 1
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%		46 42 45 43 40 42 38 36 40	10 10 10 6 12 9 10 12 8	42 49 43 50 46 49 48 51 50	+ 4 - 7 + 2 - 7 - 6 - 7 -10 -15 -10

Trend to Party Identification by Subgroups (1983-1984)

(cont'd.)

Total	Republican	Independent	Democrat	PDI (a)
Political Regions (cont'd.)		ions (cont'd.		
East North Central				
November, 1984 100% October 12-20, 1984 100% September, 1984 100% July/August, 1984 100% June, 1984 100% March, 1984 100% November, 1983 100% June, 1983 100% February/March, 1983 100%	49% 44 48 46 41 47 40 42 35	11 10 11 13 7 14 14	40% 44 41 43 47 45 46 42 53	+ 9 + 0 + 7 + 3 - 6 + 2 - 6 + 0 -18
West North Central				
November, 1984 100% October 12-20, 1984 100% September, 1984 100% July/August, 1984 100% June, 1984 100% November, 1983 100% June, 1983 100% February/March, 1983 100%	52 44 58 47 53 47 48 43 44	8 3 4 6 4 5 7	39 47 40 48 42 49 48 50 44	
Border States				
November, 1984 100% October 12-20, 1984 100% September, 1984 100% July/August, 1984 100% June, 1984 100% March, 1984 100% November, 1983 100% June, 1983 100% February/March, 1983 100%	47 42 38 37 39 44 35 36 33	7 10 8 6 7	40 50 52 54 55 49 53 52 62	+ 7 - 8 -14 -17 -16 - 5 -18 -16 -29



Trend to Party Identification by Subgroups (1983-1984) (cont'd.)

	Total	Repu	blic	an Inde	pendent De	emocrat_	PDA (a)
Political Regions (cont'o	1.)						
Deep South							
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%		50 43 45 41 43 31 32		10% 7 8 5 8 9 16 11	43% 43 48 49 49 47 52 57	+ 3 + 7 - 5 - 4 - 8 - 4 -21 -25 -15
Mountain							
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%		52 49 52 41 56 44 45		13 8 7 4 8 12 10 8 6	40 41 44 45 49 31 43 46 49	+ 5 +11 + 5 + 7 - 8 +25 + 1 - 1
Pacific							
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%		40		11 6 7 6 8 9 12 7	40 51 50 51 44 47 53 52 49	+ 8 - 8 - 7 -10 + 4 - 4 -21 -12 - 9

Trend to Party Identification by Subgroups (1983-1984) (cont'd.)

	Total Republican Independent Democra	at PDI
Non-Black Regions		
Middle Atlantic		Deep.Sc
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 45 9 45 100% 51 10 37 100% 47 6 46 100% 46 13 41 100% 48 10 41 100% 40 10 43	+ 1 + 5 + 7 - 3 - 7
East North Central		
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 46 12 42 100% 53 11 36	
Border States		
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 49 8 43 100% 43 9 48 100% 46 8 48 100% 44 6 50 100% 47 8 43 100% 36 10 52 100% 39 10 49	- 2 - 6 + 4



Trend to Party Identification by Subgroups (1983-1984) (cont'd.)

	Total	Rep	ublic	an Ir	ndependent	Democrat	PDI (a
Non-Black Regions (cont	'd.)						
Deep South							
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%		55% 58 50 52 47 49 35 37 45		9% 7 7 5 9 10 18 12	44 40 45 50	+ 8 + 9 + 3 + 9 -10 -13
North							
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%		51 46 50 47 47 49 40 42 42		7 11 9 12 12	40 45 42 42 46	+ 1 +10 + 2 + 5 + 7 - 6 - 4
South							
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%		54 57 48 51 46 49 36 38 42			44 43 45 41 47 49	+21 + 4 + 8 + 1 + 8 -11 -11

Trend to Party Identification by Subgroups (1983-1984) (cont'd.)

Independent Democrat PD	Total Repu	ublican Inde	ependent De	emocrat	PDI (a)
Age					
18-24					
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	53% 61 53 43 45 52 35 38 42	9% 6 9 4 7 7 20 12	37 53	+26 +16 -10 - 2 +11 - 8 -12
25-39					
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/Larch, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	47 45 43 49 40 42 34 34 39	12 9 11 5 11 9 14 11	40 46 46 45 48 48 49 54 50	- 3 + 4 - 8 - 6 -15 - 9
40-54					
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	47 39 43 39 49 41 34 41	10 8 6 9 8 9 11 12 9	41 54 50 50 43 49 53 46 50	-15 - 7 -11 + 6 - 8 -19 - 5 - 9



Trend to Party Identification by Subgroups (1983-1984)

(cont'd.)

Total Re	publican <u>Ir</u>	ndependent	Democrat	PDI (a)
100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	46% 42 45 42 40 42 38 39 33	10% 7 7 5 10 7 10 8	43% 49 47 53 50 50 52 54	+ 3 - 7 - 2 -11 -10 - 8 -14 -15 -24
100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	45 41 43 44 39 51 43 37	8 8 6 9 11 8 5 13 9	46 50 49 48 51 40 52 51 54	- 1 - 9 - 6 - 4 -12 +11 - 9 -14 -17
100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	50 48 50 49 46 47 41 40 41	11 9 8 6 10 8 12 11	38 41 42 45 43 45 44 48 49	+12 + 7 + 8 + 4 + 3 + 2 - 3 - 8
	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	100% 46% 100% 42 100% 45 100% 40 100% 42 100% 38 100% 39 100% 33 100% 41 100% 43 100% 44 100% 39 100% 51 100% 37 100% 37 100% 37 100% 37 100% 48 100% 48 100% 49 100% 49 100% 47 100% 41 100% 40	100% 46% 10% 100% 42 7 100% 45 7 100% 42 5 100% 40 10 100% 42 7 100% 38 10 100% 39 8 100% 33 10 100% 41 8 100% 43 6 100% 43 6 100% 44 9 100% 39 11 100% 51 8 100% 51 8 100% 37 13 100% 37 9	100% 46% 10% 43% 100% 42 7 49 100% 45 7 47 100% 42 5 53 100% 40 10 50 100% 38 10 52 100% 39 8 54 100% 41 8 50 100% 44 9 48 100% 44 9 48 100% 44 9 48 100% 37 13 51 100% 37 13 51 100% 37 9 54

Trend to Party Identification by Subgroups (1983-1984) (cont'd.)

Independent Democrat Pl	Total	Republican	Independent	Democrat	PDI (a)
Sex (cont'd.)					
Female					
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	35	8 9 7 9 9 13 11	44% 50 50 52 52 48 54 54	- 8 - 9 -12 -13 - 5 -23 -19
Status Groups					
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%		7 8 6	29 34 35 35 38 38 38 38 39	+33 +24 +25 +23 +16 +18 + 9 +14 +14
Intelligentsia November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	53 46 52 48 50 47 44 39	10 8 5 7 7	37 45 45 45 43 43 48 52 44	+16 + 1 + 7 + 3 + 7 + 4 - 4 -13 + 1

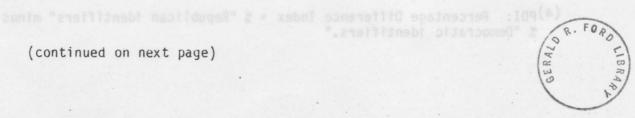


Trend to Party Identification by Subgroups (1983-1984) (cont'd.)

I		Total Repu	ublican Inde	ependent De	emocrat	PDI (a)
	Status Groups (cont'd.)					
	Middle Class					
	November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	55% 54 53 51 48 51 43 43	9% 7 8 8 9 10 12 14	36% 37 38 40 44 39 44 44 49	+19 +17 +15 +11 + 4 +12 - 1 - 1 - 8
	Lower End					
	November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	45 41 45 42 38 43 31 32 31	13 10 10 6 13 11 15 13	42 48 45 53 48 46 53 53 56	+ 3 - 7 + 0 -11 -10 - 3 -22 -21 -25
	Jews					
	November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	26 26 26 29 22 31 22 14	10 12 5 2 16 10 16 8	68 61	-34 -40 -39 -39 -38 -40 -57

Trend to Party Identification by Subgroups (1983-1984) (cont'd.)

	Total Rep	ublican In	dependent	Democrat	(a) PDI
Status Groups (cont'd.)			(.b'3noo)	icer Groups	nī
Hispanics					
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	35% 34 28 20 23 36 16 29 36	12% 3 6 7 5 17 6 2	53% 67 68 75 67 58 65 64	-18 -33 -40 -55 -44 -22 -49 -35 -25
Black					
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	8 10 8 11 9 10 12 7	9 5 12 6 6 5 6 7 5	82 84 81 81 83 85 83 87	-74 -74 -73 -72 -74 -75 -71 -80 -82
Tracer Groups					
Non-Union W.A.S.P.					
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	60 58 59 58 54 56 51	10 8 9 5 10 7 13 12	30 33 32 37 37 37 37 37 33	+30 +25 +27 +21 +17 +19 +14 +21



Trend to Party Identification by Subgroups (1983-1984) (cont'd.)

	Total Rep	ublican	Independent	Democrat	(a) <u>PDI</u>
Tracer Groups (cont'd.)					
Non-Union Catholic					
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	47% 38 46 41 42 46 36 33	12% 8 9 7 11 9 9	40% 54 46 51 48 47 52 53	+ 7 -16 + 0 -10 - 6 - 1 -16 -20
Union North					
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 Htly/August, 1884 Hund, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 000% 100% 100% 100% 100%	47 42 47 43 NA 43 38 40	12 7 6 8 NA 11 13 7	40 51 46 40 NA 45 48 54	+ 7 - 9 + 1 - 7 NA - 2 -10 -14
White South					
November, 1984 October 12-20, 1984 September, 1984 July/August, 1984 June, 1984 March, 1984 November, 1983 June, 1983 February/March, 1983	100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%	56 58 51 53 47 50 37 38	9 8 8 6 8 10 14 12	33 35 41 42 45 39 47 48	+23 +23 +10 +11 + 2 +11 -10 -10

⁽a)pDI: Percentage Difference Index = % "Republican identifiers" minus % "Democratic identifiers."

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

	Attracts You To The Republican Party		rom No can Or	das Effect Your Dinion	Don't Know/ Refused	(a)
Its support of a balanced budget						
amendment.	59%	13%		21%	7%	+46
Its tough-minded approach toward the						
Soviet Union	.57	21		15	7	+36
Its position on national defense.	57	23		13	7	+34
Its opposition to big government.	48	19		21	12	+29
Its support of voluntary school praye	r. 50	21		25	4	+29
Its opposition to a tax increase to						
reduce the deficit.	50	28		16	6	+22
Its position on nuclear arms control. Its opposition to the liberal welfare	49	28		15	8	+21
state.	38	22		25	14	+16
Its position on government spending. Its support for military action to	45	29		18	8	+16
contain Communist influence in						
Central America.	43	30		17	10	+13
The assisting on Contal Committee	12	20		17	11	+13
Its position on Social Security.	43 36	30 24	NV2L	28	11 13	+13
Its position on the environment. Its position on women's rights.	35	27		29	9	+ 12
	29	36		29	5	- 7
Its general opposition to abortion. Its connection to Jerry Falwell.	9	44		29	19	-35

Other Status/

(a)PDI: Percentage Difference Index = % "Attracts" minus % "Pushes Away."



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Percentage Difference Indices for Republican Party Issue Positions (a)

		Falwell.	Status	Groups	dd.		Tracer	Groups	-35		er Stat cer Gro	
	Total	High Income	Intelli- gentsia	Middle Class	Lower End	WASP	Catholic	Union North	White South	Jews	His- panics	Blacks
Total Courtal America	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases (3002)	(682)	(256)	(688)	(542)	(852)	(429)	(332)	(762)	(86)	(113)	(329)
Its support of a balanced		it spend			29							
budget amendment. Its tough-minded approach	+46	+58	+49	+52	+48	+52	+52	+41	+56	+19	+38	+16
toward the Soviet Union.	+36	+54	+41	+41	+29	+43	+33	+43	+18	+ 6	+33	- 4
Its position on national defense.	+34	+49	+29	+44	+37	+40	+33	+38	+54	-13	+39	-11
Its opposition to big government	+29	+55	+43	+33	+16	+36	+32	+33	+40	+ 3	+13	- 7
Its support of voluntary school prayer.	+29	+24	+ 5	+36	+51	+25	+27	+26	+50	-48	+24	+30
Its apposition to a tax		toward										
Its opposition to a tax increase to reduce the					133							
deficit.	+22	+40	+22	+31	+13	+30	+29	+15	+31	- 5	+28	-14
Its position on nuclear arms control.	+21	+34	+17	+28	+27	+29	+20	+19	+41	-17	+25	-24
Its opposition to the liberal welfare state.	+16	+36	+16	+18	+10	+19	+20	+13	+29	-13	+ 8	-13
Its position on govern- ment spending. Its support for military action to contain	+16	+39	+24	+23	+ 9	+27	+13	+16	+34	-21	- 2	-30
Communist influence in												
Central America.	+13	+22	+ 2	+20	+14	+15	+ 7	+16	+29	-32	+31	-15

Percentage Difference Indices for Republican Party Issue Positions (a)

(cont'd.)

			Status	Groups		,	Tracer	Groups			acer Gr	
increase to reduce the deficit. Its position on nuclear	Total	High Income	Intelli- gentsia	- Middle Class	Lower End	WASP	Catholic	Union North	White South	Jews	His- panics	Blacks
Its position on Social Security. Its position on the	+13	+22	+ 2	+16	+19	+20	+ 6	+ 3	+30	-21	+21	-22
environment.	+12	+13	- 8	+14	+21	+13	+ 6	+ 8	+24	-28	+28	+ 1
<pre>Its position on women's rights. Its general opposition</pre>	+ 8	+ 8	- 5	+12	+23	+ 9	+13	+ 1	+22	-33	+23	-12
to abortion.	- 7	- 6	-16	- 3	+ 4	- 7	+ 2	- 4	+ 2	-54	- 5	-22
Its connection with Jerry Falwell.	-35	-41	-52	-33	-24	-36	-41	-38	-27	-74	-17	-36
												(288)
GERALD												

Other Status/

⁽a) Numbers in table are calculated from % "Position attracts you to Republican Party" minus % "position pushes you away from Republican Party."

Percentage Difference Indices for Republican Party Issue Positions (a)

TOVERSTO OF			Tar	get Gro	ups		Reported Vote: Congress			Reported Vote: President			1
	Total		Marg- inal Repub- lican		Marg. inal Dem- ocrat	Solid Dem- ocrat	Repub-	Dem-	Differ- ence	Reagan/ Bush	Mondale, Ferraro		Reagan Dem-(b) ocrats
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%	100%		100%
Number of Cases	(3002)	(843)	(199)	(1204)	(93)	(664)	(1042)	(1082)		1381)	(877)		(288)
Its support of a balanced budget amendment. Its tough-minded approach	+46	+75	+44	+48	+40	+ 8	+69	+26	43	+68	+13	55	+61
toward the Soviet Union		+76	+31	+41	+15	-23	+68	+ 6	62	+73	-18	91	+67
Its position on national defense.	+34	+82	+32	+40	+ 2	-31	+72	- 1	73	+77	-29	106	+70
<pre>Its opposition to big government.</pre>	+29	+64	+34	+28	+ 7	-11	+58	+ 8	50	+59	- 7	66	+49
Its support of voluntary school prayer.	+29	+52	+19	+34	+16	- 5	+45	+ 9	36	+48	- 3	51	+40
Its opposition to a tax													
increase to reduce the deficit.	+22	+58	+14	+26	-10	-21	+49	- 2	51	+54	-20	74	+44
<pre>Its position on nuclear arms control.</pre>	+21	+65	+13	+29	- 5	-41	+55	-14	69	+58	-35	93	+44
Its opposition to the liberal welfare state.	+16	+54	+14	+18	+ 2	-33	+46	-11	57	+47	-27	74	+36
<pre>Its position on govern- ment spending.</pre>	+16	+65	+ 8	+19	-22	-42	+53	-16	69	+55	-39	94	+44
Its support for military action to contain Communist influence in Central America.	+13	+52	+ 8	+16	-18	-37	+44	-18	62	+45	- 35	80	+29

Percentage Difference Indices for Republican Party Issue Positions (a) (cont'd.)

			Target Groups					Reported Vote Congress:			Reported Vote: President:			
	<u>Total</u>	Solid Repub- lican	Marg- inal Repub- lican		Marg. inal Dem- ocrat	Solid Dem- ocrat	Repub- lican		Differ- ence	Reagan/ Bush	Mondale/I	Differ- ence	Reagan Dem-(b)	
Its position on Social Security. Its position on the	+13	+53	+ 6	+19	-19	-45	+44	-19	63	63	-41	88	+40	
environment.	+12	+43	- 5	+17	-11	-29	+34	-15	49	49	-28	64	+20	
Its position on women's rights.	+ 8	+37	- 1	+17	-21	-37	+30	-21	51	51	-36	68	+15	
Its general opposition to abortion.	- 7	+17	-17	- 3	-17	-39	+11	-26	38	37	-39	53	+ 7	
Its connection with Jerry Falwell.	-35	-18	-43	-30	-56	-61	-23	-53	30	30	-61	82	-34	

⁽b) Reagan voters who voted Democratic for Congress.



⁽a) Numbers in table are calculated from % "Position attracts you to Republican Party" minus % "position pushes you away from Republican Party."

Ratings of What Attracts and Repels the Voters About the Republican Party(a)

Democrats*		Republicans	
		Defense USSR	.87
		B.B.A.	.84
B.B.A.	.62		0.0
		Spending	.79
Prayer	.51	Big Gov't	.79
Big Gov't	.51	Arms	.79
		Taxes	.76
USSR	.49	Prayer	.73
Taxes	.45	LWS	.73
Defense	.45	Soc. Sec.	.73
LWS	.42	C. America	.71
Arms	.41		Fig
Environment	.40	Environment	.67
2		Women	.57
C. America	.39		
Women	. 39	Abortion	.56
Spending	.37		
Soc. Sec.	.37		16.1
Abortion	.35	Falwell	.39
Falwell	.22		

KEY: Abortion = its general opposition to...; Spending = its position on government spending; B.B.A. = its position on a balanced budget amendment; Taxes = its opposition to a tax increase to reduce the deficit; Prayer = its support of voluntary school prayer; Environment = its position on...; C. America = its support of military action to contain communist influence in.

..; Women = its position on women's rights; LWS = its opposition to the liberal welfare state; USSR = its tough-minded approach toward the Soviet Union; Big Gov't = its opposition to...; Arms = its position on nuclear arms control; Soc. Sec. = its position on Social Security; Defense = its position on national defense; Falwell = its connection with Jerry Falwell.

(a)Results are averages based on 0 = "pushes you away", .5 = "has no effect", 1.0 = "attracts you to".

^{*}Non black.

Ratings of What Attracts and Repels the Voters About the Republican Party(a)

8 4-519	Democ	rats*	85	Republicans						
18-39		40+	1 1	18-39	10 8	40+				
				Defense	.87	Defense	.87			
				USSR	.86	B. B. A.	.85			
		8 8 8 8 8		B.B.A.	.83	USSR Big Gov't	.85			
B.B.A.	.65			Spending Big Gov't	.79 .78	Arms	.80			
Big Gov't	.54	B.B.A.	.59	Arms	.78	Spending	.79			
USSR	.50	Prayer	.56	Taxes	.77	Soc. Sec.	.79			
				Prayer	.71	Taxes	.75			
Taxes	. 47	Defense	.49	C. America	.71	Prayer	.75			
Prayer	.46	USSR	.48	LWS	.70	LWS	.75			
Defense	.42	Big Gov't	.48			C. America	.72			
LWS	.41	Arms	.46	Soc. Sec.	.68					
		Environment	.44	Women	.67	Environment	.69			
Spending C. America	.39	Women LWS	.43	Environment	.65	Women	.66			
Environment	. 37	Taxes	.43	Abortion	.56	Abortion	.55			
Women	.37	Soc. Sec.	.41							
Arms	.34	C. America	.40			Falwell	.40			
Soc. Sec.	.33									
Abortion	.31	Abortion Spending	.39	Fal well	. 38					
Falwell	.22	1 3 58 8								
		Falwell	.22							

KEY: Abortion = its general opposition to...; Spending = its position on government spending; B.B.A. = its position on a balanced budget amendment; Taxes = its opposition to a tax increase to reduce the deficit; Prayer = its support of voluntary school prayer; Environment = its position on...; C. America = its support of military action to contain communist influence in...; Women = its position on women's rights; LWS = its opposition to the liberal welfare state; USSR = its tough-minded approach toward the Soviet Union; Big Gov't = its opposition to...; Arms = its position on nuclear arms control; Soc. Sec. = its position on Social Security; Defense = its position on national defense; Falwell = its connection with Jerry Falwell.

⁽a) Results are averages based on 0 = "pushes you away", 5 = "has no effect", 1.0 = "attracts you to".

^{*}Non black.

De	mocra	ats*	Inde	pendents*	Weak/Leaning Rep	publicans	Strong	Republicans
18-39		40+	18-39	40+	18-39	40+	18-39	40+
3	10	4	2	2	12 5 5 2 3 5 1	2 2 2 2 2 2	0	0
BBA	.65	BBA .59	BBA .74	BBA .75 Prayer .72	Defense .85 Def USSR .83 BB/	fense .85 A .84	Defense .91 USSR .91	Defense .91
-	.54	Prayer .56	Defense .68 Prayer .67	Defense .72	BBA .82 US	SR .84	BBA .86	USSR .87 BBA .85
Taxes	. 47	Defense .49 USSR .48	USSR .67 Big gov't.67	USSR .68 Arms .67		g gov't.78 ending .77	Arms .84 Spending .83	Arms .84 Big Gov't.83
Prayer	.46	Big gov't.48	Taxes .64	Big gov't.63	Arms .76 Arm		Taxes .81	Soc. Sec83
Defense LWS	.42	Arms .46 Environ44 Women .43	Arms .62 Environ60	Taxes .61 Environ59	ESE LWS	c. Sec76 S .74 ayer .73	Big gov't.80 Prayer .77	Spending .81 Taxes .81
Spending C. Amer.	.39	LWS .43 Taxes .43	Spending .57 LWS .57	LWS .59 Soc. Sec59		kes .71	C. Amer76 Soc. Sec75	Prayer .78 LWS .78
	.37	Soc. Sec41 C. Amer40	Soc. Sec57 C. Amer56	Women .56 Spending .55		Amer69	LWS .74 Environ71	C. Amer76 Environ74
Arms	.34	Abortion .39	Women .51	C. Amer53		nen .63	Women .71	Women .72
	.31	Spending .34	Abortion .47	Abortion .47	Abortion .53 Abo	ortion .53	Abortion .63	Abortion .60
Falwell	.22	Falwell .22	Falwell .37	Falwell .33	Falwell .36 Fal	lwell .36	Falwell .43	Falwell .46

KEY: Abortion = its general opposition to...; Spending = its position on government spending; BBA = its position on a balanced budget amendment; Taxes = its opposition to a tax increase to reduce the deficit; Prayer = its support of voluntary school prayer; Environment = its position on...; C. Amer. = its support of military action to contain communist influence in...; Women = its position on women's rights; LWS = its opposition to the liberal welfare state; USSR = its tough-minded approach toward the Soviet Union; Big Gov't = its opposition to ...; Arms = its position on nuclear arms control; Soc. Sec. = its position on Social Security; Defense = its position on national defense; Falwell = its connection with Jerry Falwell.

⁽a) Results are averages based on 0 = "pushes you away", .5 = "has no effect", 1.0 = "attracts you to".

Ratings of What Attracts and Repels the Voters About the Republican Party(a)

(b Republicans

		21-29		30-39		40+	
USSR	. 82	Defense	.87	Defense	.89	Defense	.87
BBA	.81	USSR	.84	USSR	.89	BBA	.85
Defense	.81	BBA	.83	BBA	.84	USSR	.85
				Spending	.82	Big gov't	.80
Arms	.76	Arms	.79	Big gov't	.81	Arms	.80
Soc. Sec.	.75	Big gov't	.78				
Taxes	.73	Spending	.77	Arms	.79	Spending	.79
Spending	.72	Taxes	.77	Taxes	.79	Soc. Sec.	.79
Women	.70	C. Amer.	.71	Prayer	.75	Taxes	.75
Big gov't	.70			LWS	.75	Prayer	.75
		Prayer	.69	C. Amer.	.74	LWS	.75
Environ.	.69	LWS	.68			C. Amer.	.72
LWS	.65	Environ.	.67	Soc. Sec.	.68		
C. Amer.	.64	Women	.67	Women	.65	Environ.	.69
Prayer	.61	Soc. Sec.	.65	Environ.	.63	Women	.66
Abortion	•54	Abortion	.56	Abortion	•57	Abortion	.55
Falwell	.43					Falwell	.40
		Falwell	.37	Falwell	.38		

KEY: Abortion = its general opposition to. . .; Spending = its position on government spending; BBA = its position on a balanced budget amendment; Taxes = its opposition to a tax increase to reduce the deficit; Prayer = its support of voluntary school prayer; Environment = its position on. . .; C. Amer. = its support of military action to contain communist influence in. . .; Women = its position on women's rights; LWS = its opposition to the liberal welfare state; USSR = its tough-minded approach toward the Soviet Union; Big Gov't = its opposition to . . .; Arms = its position on nuclear arms control; Soc. Sec. = its position on Social Security; Defense = its position on national defense; Falwell = its connection with Jerry Falwell.



⁽a) Results are averages based on 0 = "pushes you away", .5 = "has no effect", 1.0 = "attracts you to".

⁽b)Collapsed: "Strong" + "Weak" + Lean.

When Congress and the President begin a new year in 1985 what do you think should be their first priority?

					Party Ide	ntification
				Total	Democrats*	Republicans
	Total			100%	100%	100%
D	Balance budge budget/Defi National de the deficit	icit/ ebt/Lower		33%		
EC	Unemployment, jobs/Create Job training	e jobs/		15	ted States United ok on71eet	
W-P	Arms race/Arm Nuclear fre	ms control		12	16	en deeregol 3
	Defense/Defensending	*		11	10	14
EC	Economy/Get of back	economy		11	\enth9eq2	
T FP W	Soviet Union Relations Taxes (unspectoreign affair policies Help the poor Feed the not Lower taxes/	with Russia cified) irs/Foreign r/Homeless/ eedy	11	8 7 6 5 5	10 6 6 6 5	8 7 6 3 4
FP	Social Secur Central Amer Nicaragua/ Latin Amer World peace	ica/ El Salvador/		4 4 4	3 5 4	P ponses
EL/A	Care for eldo Senior cit Education			2 2	4 2	2 2



When Congress and the President begin a new year in 1985 what do you think should be their first priority?

(cont'd.)

			Party Ide	ntification
		Total	Democrats*	Republicans
	Keep inflation down Social benefits/Social	2%	2%	2%
	programs/Public programs/Use lottery money for social			
	programs Clean up United States first/Get United	2	2 3	the defici Unemployment Jobs/Creat
	States back on feet	2		2
EC	Interest rates	2		1A\
	Tax reform	2 2		2
S	Welfare/Decrease			
	welfare	1	100000	Econoly/Get
S	Spending/Cut spending/			
	Cut government waste			
	in spending/Monitoring			
	government expend-			
	itures	1		Taxes 1 (unspe
	Medicare	1	irs/rireign	Foreign affa
EC	Foreign imports/Trade			
	deficit	1	_	oog ant glatt
EN	Environmental issue	1		Fee* the n
	All other miscellaneous			
	responses	2	_	2
	Don't know	13		12
	Refused/No answer	*	\nobsv1s2 E	

When Congress and the President begin a new year in 1985 what do you think should be their first priority?

(cont'd.)

	Welfare abuse. Deficit	Party Ide	ntification	
	Total De	mocrats*	Republicans	
Combined Categories				
Foreign policy/War- peace/Defense (FP/ W-P/DEF) Deficit (D) Economy (EC) Foreign policy (FP) War-Peace (W-P) Taxes/Spending (T/S) Taxes (T) Assistance (A) Defense (DEF) Elderly (EL) Welfare-pro (W) Big spending (S) Morality-Individual rights (M-I) Environment (EN) Abortion (AB) Crime (C)	41% 34 27 17 16 15 13 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11	45% 33 27 20 19 14 13 12 10 7 7 2	43% 39 26	
of fille (c)	•	1	fack.	

Less than 1% mention: abortion issue, farm issue, work together/agree on something/try to get along/President and Congress get along, raise taxes/raise taxes to reduce the deficit, immigration reform/illegal aliens, work for the people/welfare of the people, crime/stand on crime/Reagan's crime package, housing/low income housing, prayer in school, pay scales - higher wages/give state people a raise, steel import, get rid of Tip O'Neill/Tip O'Neill out, stop hurting unions/union make America strong, foreign aid, take care of veterans, fraud in government.

*Non black.



Ratings of Problems for Government Attention in 1985(a)

Democrats*		Republicans	their first pr	
Elderly	8.6	Defense	8.4	
Arms control	8.4	Lower taxes	8.4	
Unemployment	8.4	Welfare abuse	8.3	
Education	8.3	Deficit	8.2	
Environment	8.3	Crime	8.2	
Deficit	8.2	Waste	8.1	
Crime	8.2	Elderly	8.1	
Waste	8.1			
Inflation	7.8	Education	7.9	
Lower taxes	7.7	Inflation	7.8	
Welfare abuse	7.6	Arms control	7.8	
Increase welfare	7.4	Unemployment	7.8	
Simplify tax	7.4	Environment	7.8	
Defense	7.2	Simplify tax	7.7	
Detelise	1.0	C. America	7.6	
Pal Pudget			7.0 pnibne	
Bal. Budget	6 0	Bal. Budget	7 5	
Amend.	6.9	Amend.	7.5	
C. America	6.3	2		
		Prayer	6.4	
Prayer	5.3	Increase Welfare	6.2	
Abortion	4.4	Abortion	5.4	

⁽a)Results are averages based on a zero-to-ten scale with zero representing lowest priority and ten representing highest priority.

Key:

Inflation = Controlling inflation.

Waste = Reducing waste in federal spending.

Arms control = Reaching a nuclear arms control agreement.

Unemployment = Reducing unemployment.

Defense = Maintaining a strong national defense

Deficit = Reducing the federal budget deficit.

Increase welfare = Increasing assistance to lower income families.

Education = Improving the quality of public education.

Simplify tax = Simplifying the federal tax system.

Environment = Protecting the environment and controlling hazardous waste.

Crime = Reducing crime.

C. America = Containing communist influence in Central America.

Prayer = Allowing prayers in the public schools.

Lower taxes = holding down taxes.

Bal. Budget Amend = Passing a balanced budget amendment.

Abortion = Making most abortions illegal.

Welfare abuse = Reducing welfare fraud and abuse.

Elderly = Helping the elderly and retired.

^{*}Non black.

Ratings of Problems for Government Attention in 1985(a)

	Democr	rats*	2.5	Republicans						
18-39	MeI	40+	100	18-39	0.0	40+				
Education	8.5	Elderly	8.8	Defense	8.3	Waste	8.6			
Arms	8.5	Unemployment	8.6	L. Taxes	8.3	L. Taxes	8.6			
Elderly	8.4	Deficit	8.4	Deficit	8.1	Abuse	8.6			
Environment	8.3	Crime	8.4	Education	8.1	Defense	8.5			
Unemployment	8.2	Waste	8.4	Abuse	8.1	Crime	8.5			
Deficit	8.1	Arms	8.3	Elderly	8.0	Deficit	8.4			
		Environment	8.3			Simp Tax	8.1			
Crime	7.9	Education	8.2	Crime	7.9	Elderly	8.1			
Waste	7.7	L. Taxes	8.1	Inflation	7.8					
L. Taxes	7.4	Simp Tax	8.0	Environment	7.8	Inflation	7.9			
Abuse	7.3			Waste	7.7	Arms	7.9			
Inflation	7.3	Abuse	7.9	Unemployment	7.7	Unemployment	7.9			
Welfare	7.3	Inflation	7.9	Arms	7.6	Education	7.8			
		Defense	7.6	C. America	7.4	Environment	7.8			
Simp Tax	6.8	Welfare	7.6	Simp Tax	7.3	C. America	7.8			
Defense	6.7	B.B.A.	7.3	B. B. A.	7.3	B. B. A.	7.6			
B.B.A.	6.5									
		C. America	6.7	Welfare	6.3	Prayer	6.9			
C. America	5.9			Prayer	6.0	Welfare	6.2			
		Prayer	5.9							
Prayer	4.5	5		Abortion	5.3	Abortion	5.5			
50		Abortion	4.8							
Abortion	3.9									

⁽a) Results are averages based on a zero-to-ten scale with zero representing lowest priority and ten representing highest priority.



^{*}Non black.

Democrats*			90	Independents*			Weak/Leaning Republicans				Strong Republicans				
18-39		40+		18-3	9	40+	60	18-39		40+	LI	18-39		40+	
Educat	8.5	Elderly	8.8	Elderly	8.5	Elderly	8.9	L. Taxes	8.3	Waste	8.6	Defense	8.5	Defense	8.8
Arms	8.5	Unemp1	8.6	Educat	8.4	Environ	8.5	Defense	8.1	Abuse	8.6	L. Taxes	8.4	L. Taxes	8.8
Elderly	8.4	Deficit	8.4	Environ	8.3	Crime	8.4	Deficit	8.1	Crime	8.5	Abuse	8.2	Waste	8.5
Environ	8.3	Crime	8.4	Unemp1	8.3	Deficit	8.4	Educat	8.1	Defense	8.4	Deficit	8.1	Deficit	8.5
Unemp1	8.2	Waste	8.4	Crime	8.2	Waste	8.3	Abuse	8.1	L. Taxes	8.4	Educat	8.1	Crime	8.5
Deficit	8.1	Arms	8.3	L. Taxes	8.3	Arms	8.3	Elderly	8.1	Deficit	8.3			Abuse	8.4
		Environ	8.3	Abuse	8.1	Defense	8.3	Crime	8.0	Simp Tax	8.0	Crime	7.9	Elderly	8.3
Crime	7.9	Educat	8.2	6 7		Educat	8.3			Elderly	8.0	Elderly	7.9	Simp Tax	8.2
Waste	7.7	L. Taxes	8.1	Arms	7.8	Simp Tax	8.3	Waste	7.9			Inflation		Arms	8.1
L. Taxes	7.4	Simp Tax	8.0	Inflation	7.7	L. Taxes	8.3	Environ	7.9	Arms	7.9	Unempl	7.7	C. Amer	8.1
Abuse	7.3			Waste	7.6	Abuse	8.2	Inflation	7.8	Unemp1	7.9	Environ	7.7	Inflation	8.0
Inflation	7.3	Abuse	7.9	Defense	7.5	Unemp1	8.1	Arms	7.7	Inflation	7.8	C. Amer	7.7	Unemp1	8.0
Welfare	7.3	Inflation	7.9	Deficit	7.5	B.B.A.	8.0	Unemp1	7.7	Environ	7.8	Waste	7.5	Environ	8.0
		Defense	7.6	Simp Tax	7.5			B.B.A.	7.3	Educat	7.7	Arms	7.5		
Simp Tax	6.8	Welfare	7.6	Welfare	7.2	Inflation	7.7	Simp Tax	7.2	C. Amer	7.6	Simp Tax		Educat	7.9
Defense	6.7	B.B.A.	7.3			C. Amer	7.3	C Amer.	7.2	B.B.A.	7.5	B.B.A.	7.4	B.B.A.	7.9
B.B.A.	6.5			B.B.A.	6.9	Welfare	7.1				9 9			Prayer	7.3
		C. Amer	6.7	C. Amer	6.6	Prayer	7.0	Welfare	6.4	Prayer	6.6	Prayer	6.5	2	
C. Amer	5.9			Prayer	6.1					Welfare	6.0			Welfare	6.5
		Prayer	5.9	N in			0.10	Prayer	5.8		Can Can	Welfare	5.9		
Prayer	4.5			2 0		Abortion	5.1	Abortion	5.1	Abortion	5.4	Abortion	5.7	Abortion	5.7
		Abortion	4.8	Abortion	4.6										
Abortion	3.9			× 19 N							i				
			100	5 - 7							3				

⁽a)Results are averages based on a zero-to-ten scale with zero representing lowest priority and ten representing highest priority.

^{*}Non black.

Ratings of Problems for Government Attention in 1985(a)

(b) Republicans

- A D A		1	epublicans		1-10	0.0		
18-20	<u>B</u>	21-29	5 2	30-39	18 8	40+		
Crime	8.4	L. Taxes	8.3	Defense	8.5	Waste	8.6	
L. Taxes	8.4	Defense	8.1	Deficit	8.5	L. Taxes	8.6	
Educat	8.2	Educat	8.1	Abuse	8.4	Abuse	8.6	
Elderly	8.1	Abuse	8.1	L. Taxes	8.3	Defense	8.5	
Defense	8.0	Elderly	8.1	Waste	8.1	Crime	8.5	
Environ	8.0			Educat	8.0	Deficit	8.4	
		Deficit	7.9	Crime	8.0	Simp Tax	8.1	
Inflation	7.9	Crime	7.9	Elderly	8.0	Elderly	8.1	
Arms	7.8	Environ	7.8			Arms	8.0	
Unemp1	7.7	Inflation	7.7	Inflation	7.8			
Deficit	7.7	Unemp1	7.7	Environ	7.8	Inflation	7.9	
Abuse	7.6	Waste	7.6	Arms	7.7	Unemp1	7.9	
C. Amer	7.3	Arms	7.6	Unemp1	7.7	Educat	7.8	
B.B.A.	7.2	B.B.A.	7.3	Simp Tax	7.6	Environ	7.8	
Waste	7.1	Simp Tax	7.2	C. Amer	7.6	C. Amer	7.8	
		C. Amer	7.2	B.B.A.	7.4	B.B.A.	7.6	
Simp Tax	6.9							
Welfare	6.8	Welfare	6.4	Prayer	6.0	Prayer	6.9	
		Prayer	6.2			Welfare	6.2	
Abortion	5.6			Welfare	5.9			
Prayer	5.5	Abortion	5.1	Abortion	5.3	Abortion	5.5	

⁽a) Results are averages based on zero-to-ten scale with zero representing lowest priority and ten representing highest priority.

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⁽b)Collapsed: "Strong" + "Weak" + Lean.

Thinking about government spending, which do you think should be the emphasis for the federal government next year?

	Democrats*			Republicans		
	Total	18-39	40+	18-39	40+	
Increasing spending on domestic programs such as education and health care in order to help more people.	43%	61%	51%	33%	24%	
Keeping spending on domestic programs at their present levels in order to move closer to a						
balanced budget.	51	35	42	63	71	
Don't know/Refused	5	4	7	4	5	
8 8 84 808888	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

Some people would be willing to pay higher taxes in order for the federal government to expand its programs and services to the people. Others think taxes are high enough and the federal government is receiving enough money to support its programs and services. Which of those two positions do you most agree with?

		Democrats*		Republicans	
	Total	18-39	40+	18-39	40+
Willing to pay higher taxes for more services	20%	31%	29%	16%	12%
Taxes high enough/has enough money .	76	68	66	81	84
Don't know/Refused	4	_1_	5	3	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Would you favor or oppose a tax increase next year as part of an overall program to reduce the federal budget deficit?

100 000		Democrats*		Republicans		
	Total	18-39	40+	18-39	40+	
Favor Oppose Don't know/NA	32% 59 9	39% 54 7	41% 49 10	27% 66 7	30% 62 8	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

*Non black.

Thinking about government spending, which do you think should be the emphasis for the federal government next year?

		Democ	rats*	Indepe	ndents*	Weak/ Repub	Lean licans	Stron Repub	g licans
	Total	18-39	9 40+	18-39	40+	18-39	40+	18-39	40+
a. Increasing spending on domestic programs such as education and health care in order to help more people.	43%	61%	51%	53%	37%		22%	28%	27%
 Keeping spending on domestic programs at their present levels in order to move closer to a balanced budget. 	51 bet si				55			68	70
Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u> 100%	4 100%	7 100%	100%	9 100%	4 100%	6 100%	3 100%	4 100%
Number of Cases	(3002)	(444)	(506)	(147)	(129)	(497)	(412)	(233)	(250)

		299	Republica	ns (a)	nī I
	Total	18-20	21-29	30-39	40+
a. Increasing spending on domestic programs such as education and health care in order to help more people.	29%	38%		31%	
 Keeping spending on domestic programs at their present levels in order to move closer to a balanced budget. 	67	60 on a	63		71 ok
Don't know/Refused	4 100%	2 100%	3 100%	4 100%	5 100%
Number of Cases	(1392)	(96)	(332)	(302)	(662)

^{*}Non-black



⁽a) Collapsed: Strong + Weak + Lean

In general, do you think the federal income tax is fair or not fair to the average citizen?

					June 1984
Fair Not Don'	fair t know/N	A			32% 64 4
					100%

Here are some proposals for changing the federal tax system in this country. For each one please tell me if you think the change is greatly needed, somewhat needed or not needed.

		Novembe	r 1984	
	0 17	(3000)		Don't
	Greatly Needed	Somewhat Needed	Not Needed	Know/ Refused
Eliminating loopholes Increasing taxes on large corporations and wealthy	66%	21%	7%	6%
people Reducing taxes on middle	62	20	13	5
income families	57	27	12	5
Simplifying the tax form Changing from a graduated income tax to a single, flat tax rate for	53	28	15	edu 5 ere in order ere people.
everyone	35	21	31	13

Would you favor or oppose a tax increase next year as part of an overall program to reduce the federal budget deficit?

		(60)	November 1984
	vor		32%
Op Do	pose n't know/NA		59 9
			100%

Now I'd like to read to you one proposal that has been made and tell me whether you would favor or oppose changing our present income tax system in this way. Under this proposed system, a family of four with less than \$11,000 income would pay no federal income taxes. A family of four with an income between \$11,000 and \$40,000 would pay 20% of their income in taxes, and a family with an income of more than \$40,000 would pay 25% of their income in taxes. At the same time, all the deductions except home mortgage interest, medical expenses and charitable contributions would be eliminated. Would you favor or oppose changing our present tax system to this plan?

	25	Democr	ats*	Inde pende			/Lean licans	Str Repub	ong licans
	Total	18-39	40+	18-39	40+	18-39	40+	18-39	40+
Favor Oppose Don't know/	47% 38	46% 40	52% 33	36% 43	47% 35	48% 41	45% 39	47% 44	48% 32
Refused	_15_	14	15	21	18	_11_	16	9	20
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(3002)	(444) (506)	(147) ((129)	(497)	(412)	(233)	(250)

	(a) Republicans							
	Total	18-20	21-29	30-39	40+			
Favor Oppose Don't know/Refused	47% 40 13	50% 40 10	47% 43 11	48% 42 11	46% 37 18			
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%			
Number of Cases	(1392)	(96)	(332)	(302)	(662)			

^{*}Non-black.



⁽a)Collapsed: Strong + Weak + Lean.

Do you agree or disagree that a woman should have the legal right to an abortion if she wants one?

		Democ	crats*	Republicans	
	Total	18-39	40+	18-39	40+
Strongly agree	47%	59%	52%	40%	39%
Somewhat agree	15	16	14	19	14
Neither/depends (Vol.)	7	4	6	7	10
Somewhat disagree	5	5	5	6	5
Strongly disagree	21	13	19	25	27
Don't know/Refused	5	2	5	_1	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Non black.

Do you agree or disagree that a woman should have the legal right to an abortion if she wants one?

		Democrats*		Inde pende		Weak, Repub	/Lean licans	Strong Republican	
	Total	18-39	40+	18-39	40+	18-39	40+	18-39	40+
Strongly agree Somewhat agree Neither/Depend	15	59% 16	52% 14	49% 13	48% 9	42% 19	41% 13	37% 16	36% 14
(volunteered Somewhat disag Strongly disag Don't know/) 7 ree 5	4 5 13	6 5 19	12 4 18	10 6 20	6 7 23	10 5 25	11 5 30	11 5 29
Refused	5	2	5	5	7	3	5	2	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(3002)	(444)	(506)	(147)	(129)	(497)	(412)	(233)	(250)

	(a) Republicans						
	Total	18-20	21-29	30-39	40+		
Strongly agree Somewhat agree Neither/Depends	40% 16	39% 15	43% 19	39% 19	39% 14		
(volunteered) Somewhat disagree Strongly disagree Don't know/Refused	9 6 26 4	3 7 34 1	8 7 22 2	8 5 25 4	10 5 27 5		
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%		
Number of Cases	(1392)	(96)	(332)	(302)	(662)		

*Non-black.

(a)Collapsed: Strong + Weak + Lean.



Attitudes Predicting Presidential Vote (Full Ticket)

	Nov.(Post)	October	September	July/August
	1984	1984	1984	1984
Party identification	.57	.60	.61	.66
Future economy	.27	.12	.08	.06
Present economy	.15	.21	.19	.17
R ² = 88	.67	•57	•53	•58
Party identification Future economy Family finances Present economy R ² =	.53	.53	.57	.63
	.25	.11	.07	.05
	.16	.21	.16	.11
	.10	.15	<u>.14</u>	.14
Reagan thermometer Party identification Mondale thermometer Bush thermometer Ferraro thermometer	.39	.35	.43	.39
	.28	.29	.34	.35
	24	18	.17	.16
	.09	.05	.07	X
	07	13	.09	.08
R ² =	.80	.69	•67	.69

X = not significant.



Attitudes Predicting Congressional and Presidential Votes

dential	Presid	ongressional	Tedotal		
55 26 09 12	.2	.54 .12 .08 .06	. 80 . 12.	identification - nation finances progress	Track Family
68	$R^2 = .6$.46		R ² =	
		.32 .07 .06 x .49	.53	identification - nation finances progress em. candidate R2 =	Track Family Local
		.39 28 24 09			

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Attitudes Predicting Congressional Vote

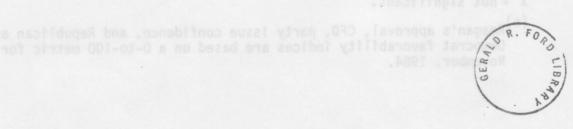
temper July/August	11 6						ed Congressional Districts				
	U.S. National	AZ5	In8	MD2	MI10	M02	M09	NC4	<u>0K1</u>	PA7	TX13
CFD*	.470	.48	.44	.73	.59	. 585	.64	.59	.65	.50	.58
Party identification	.220	NC	.20	NC	.13	.285	.17	NC	NC	.14	NC
Presidential vote	.185	.24	.29	.20	.17	X	X	.158	X	X	. 29
Party confidence	.061	.21	X	X	Χ	X	X	.190	.24	.18	X
Direction of country	<u>X</u>	X	X	X	X	X	.09	X	X	X	X
R ² =	.64	.68	.61	.69	.56	.58	.55	.67	.64	.49	.56

		U.S. Nati	onals
		Nov. Post 1984	Oct. 1984
CFD*		.48	.15
Party identif	ication	.25	.44
Party issue c		.11	.30
Reagan's appro	oval	.09	.06
R 2 =		.63	.61

^{*}Candidate Favorability Differential

X=Not significant at 95% confidence level.

NC=Cannot be calculated for non-MOR districts (no party id question)



Purty identification

Attitudes Predicting House Vote

	Nov. Post 1984	October 1984	September 1984	July/August 1984
Party identification Future economy Present economy	.56 .13 .08	.65 .09 .13	.68 X .09	.70 .05 .10
R2 = 001 X X	.45	.56	.53	.57
Party identification Future economy Family finances Present economy	.53 .12 .11 .05	.62 .09 .09	.65 X .11 .06	.67 .04 .09 .08
R ² =	•46	.56	•54	.58
Party identification Reagan's approval Local incumbent index R ² =	- II.	.55 .20 .16	.52 .28 .12	.58 .23 .09
Republican candidate Democratic candidate Party identification Reagan's approval	.32 33 .30 .12	.07 .14 .57 .19	T NA	NA NA
R ² =	.65	.58		
Rep./Dem. candidate (CFD) Party identification Party issue confidence Reagan's approval	.48 .25 .11 .09	.15 .44 .30 .06	NA NA	NA
R ² =	.63	.61		

X = not significant.

⁽a) Reagan's approval, CFD, party issue confidence, and Republican and Democrat favorability indices are based on a 0-to-100 metric for November, 1984.

Attitudes Predicting House Vote(a)

1983-1984 Election Cycle

				Elec	tion Cy	/CTE			
	Nov. (Post) 1984	Oct. 1984	Sept. 1984	July/ Aug. 1984	June 1984	March	Nov. 1983	June 1983	Feb./ March 1983
Party identification Future economy Present economy	.56 .13 .08	.65 .09 .13	.68 X .09	.70 .05 .10	NA L	.72 .07 .07	NA L	NA	NA L
R ² =	.45	.56	.53	.57		.58			
Party identification Reagan's approval PRESENT ECONOMY	.49 .22 .05	.59 .16 .10	.55 .28 X	.59 .22 .05	NA I	.62 .21 X	.67 .17 X	.68 .19 X	.62 .22 .06
R ² =	.46	.56	.57	.59		.60	.60	.63	.63
Party identification Reagan's approval FUTURE ECONOMY	.49 .20 .08	.59 .18 .08	.55 .29 X	.59 .23 X	NA L	.62 .21 .04	.67 .17 X	.68 .19 X	.62 .24 X
_R 2 =	.47	.56	.57	.59		.60	.60	.63	.63
Party identification Overall Reagan approval Reagan economic approval	X X X	oa X X X	X X X	.57 .13 .10	.62 .17 X	.61 .13 .08	.64 .09 .08	.67 .14 X	.61 .16 .11
Reagan foreign policy approval	Х	X	X	.07	X	.06	.06	.06	<u> </u>
R ² =				.60	.55	.60	.60	.63	.63
Party identification Reagan's approval Local incumbent index	NA I	.55 .20 .16	.52 .28 .12	.58 .23 .09	NA I	.60 .21	.65	NA NA	T NA

⁽a) Results are betas which vary between zero and one depending on the strength of the relationship.

X = not significant. The second months and the second months are second months are second months and the second months are second

NA = not calculated. One or more questions not asked.



Attitudes Predicting House Vote

	a G	1981-1982 Election Cycle					
	Nov. 1982	0ct. 1982	Sept. 1982	(b) July 1982	(b) May 1982	Feb./ March 1982	March 1981
Party identification Reagan's approval PRESENT ECONOMY	.53 .20 .08	.56 .20 .10	.67 .16 X	.59 .23 X	.55 .25 X	.63 .22 .04	.59 .22 .05
R ² =	.50	.55	.59	.59	.56	.64	.52
Party identification Reagan's approval FUTURE ECONOMY	.54 .24 X	.57 .23 X	.67 .15 .06	.60 .23 X	.55 .24 .06	.64 .20 X	.59 .20 .09
R ² =	.49	.54	.59	.59	.56	.64	.52
Party identification Overall Reagan approval Reagan economic approval Reagan foreign policy	NA	NA	.64 .07 .17*	.65 .17 .14*	NA	.60 .15 .08	.59 .16 .10
approval	69.	104	X	X		.06	X
R ² =			.60	.60		.65	.52
Party identification Reagan's approval Local incumbent index	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

X = not significant.

R2=

NA = not calculated. One or more questions not asked.

⁽a)Results are betas which vary between zero and one depending on the strength of the relationship.

⁽b) Voting intention late in interview, others are early in the interview.

^{*}Uses "right direction/wrong track" question on the "national economy" and "foreign policy" rather than the "approve/disapprove" question which was not asked in July, 1982.

Relationships of Attitudes About the Republican Party With Presidential Vote and Party Identification(a)

			Presidential Vote	Congressional Vote	Party Identi- fication
Agree	e/Disagree	w/Rep Party on:			
Social USSR Taxe: Liber Wome Nucle Bala Big Abor: Centr Falw Praye	t spending al Security s ral Welfare n's rights ear arms conced Budget gov't tion ral America ell	ntrol	.299 .140 .135 .124 .090 .076 .071 .062 .061 .061 .051 .040	.119 .120 .085 .057 X .088 .069 .068 .072 .080 X .065 .046	.122 .159 .117 .097 .071 .058 X .109 .069 .078 .037 X
		R	•58	.31	.38

X=not significant at 95% confidence level.



⁽a) Results are betas which vary between zero and one depending on the strength of the relationship.

Attitudes Predicting Right Direction/Wrong Track Perception

	Nov.(Post) 1984	October 1984	September 1984	July/ August 1984	March 1984
Future economy Party identification Present economy	.26 .24 .24	.16 .34 .27	.13 .35 .28	.12 .25 .27	.12 .23 .33
R ² = 051	.34	.35	.34	.23	.25
Family finances Future economy Party identification Present economy	.26 .23 .18 .17	.23 .15 .27 .20	.20 .11 .30 .21	.15 .11 .21 .23	.22 .11 .19 .27
R2 = 000	.39	•38	• 37	.25	. 29

Attitudes Predicting Reagan Job Performance Perceptions

	Nov.(Post) 1984	October 1984	September 1984	July/ August 1984	March 1984
Party identification Future economy Present economy	.41 .30 .22	.50 .17 .26	.46 .16 .25	.52 .09 .25	.47 .17 .25
R ² =	•56	•53	•45	•48	.43
Party identification Future economy Family finances Present economy	.37 .28 .18	.42 .16 .24 .19	.41 .15 .19	• 48 • 08 • 17 • 20	.44 .16 .16
R ² =	•59	•57	.48	•50	• 45
Party identification Reagan economic appr Reagan foreign polic	oval X	X	X X	.19 .52	•18 •50
approval	Χ	Χ	X	.71	.67

X = not asked.



