

# **PUBLIC OPINION MONITOR**

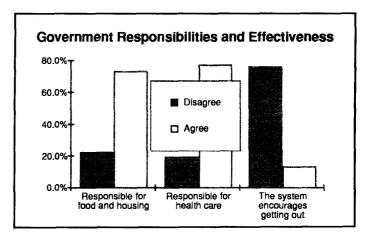
# In Focus: Michigan's Safety Nets for the Poor

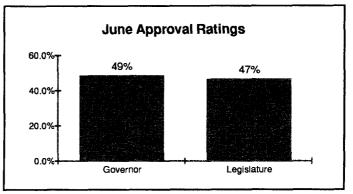
By William Sederburg
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July's *Public Opinion Monitor* focuses on Michiganians' attitudes toward state social and health services to the poor. Social safety nets, such as General Assistance, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and Medicaid, are dominating Lansing's budgetary debates. What does our survey tell us of public opinion on this issue?

## **Major Findings**

- The public believes state government has a "moral responsibility to help the poor."
- The public also believes the current system does little to help.
- Men and women, blacks and whites, Detroit and outstate areas are polarized on attitudes toward social services.
- Access to health care is an emerging issue.
- Approval ratings of the governor and legislature remain polarized by area, gender, and ideology.





The *Public Opinion Monitor* reports the findings of a series of surveys done each year on state policy issues. The *Monitor*, underwritten by the Michigan Hospital Association, interviewed 800 residents between June 19 and 29. The survey, conducted by the Center for Survey Research of the Social Science Research Bureau at Michigan State University, included trend data on the governor's and legislature's approval ratings, economic confidence, and party affiliation.

The special focus of this survey was the public's attitude toward social services. The complete survey, including questions and data, is available from Public Sector Consultants' Public Opinion Research Institute. For further information, call 484-4954.

# ISSUES IDENTIFIED AS MAJOR STATE PROBLEMS

#### **Findings**

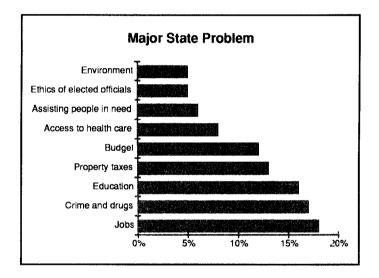
- Public interest in jobs issue drops from 38 percent in April to 18 percent in June.
- Public interest in property tax reduction remains steady.
- Regional variation by issue:

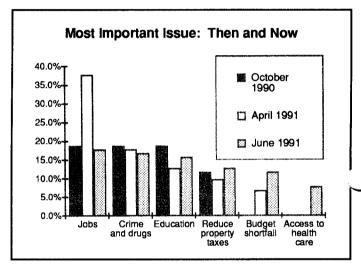
Crime/drugs is a major issue in metropolitan Detroit.

Education reform is a major issue in Detroit.

State budget/jobs concern are major issues in central and northern Michigan.

- There is little interest in abortion and ethics.
- Access to health care emerges as an issue.





#### **Analysis**

The decline in concern over jobs leaves Michigan without a dominant political issue. Even the state's budget problem was identified by only 12 percent as the major state problem. Interest in issues varied throughout the state, with crime and drugs and education being prominent in Detroit and jobs being the major issue in northern and central Michigan. Minorities were more concerned about jobs than whites. Men were substantially more interested in property taxes than women.

The *Public Opinion Monitor* found interesting variation in issue identification according to education level. As education levels increase, identification of crime/drugs as the major state issue dropped from 19 percent among high school graduates to 5 percent among those with postcollege education. Conversely, interest in the budget increased from 9 percent to 19

percent and education from 8 percent to 46 percent among those groups, respectively. The more education a respondent had, the less concern there was over access to health care, property tax reduction, and ethics in government.

In spite of all the media coverage, there was almost no interest in abortion (2 percent) or the ethics of state leaders (5 percent) as major issues.

Access to health care was included in the list of major issues for the first time in the June survey. Recent hearings in Washington and Lansing over the number of people without health care insurance has brought the issue to public attention. It may well by that access to health care will be a major issue for the early 1990s.

#### **SPECIAL FOCUS**

# Moral Obligations and Faltering Programs: Social Services in Michigan

by Peter Pratt and William Sederburg

#### Introduction

Lyndon Baines Johnson's Great Society institutionalized in national and state governments an ambitious set of programs to assist people in need. The goals of these programs were to provide an economic safety net guaranteeing everyone a minimum standard of living and, more ambitiously, to help people escape poverty.

Some of these programs—Medicare and Head Start, for example—have been successes. Others—job training and education programs and income maintenance programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and General Assistance (GA)—have been criticized because they give people either too much or too little help pulling themselves out of poverty.

The increasing financial problems of the federal government and states, including Michigan, have prompted a serious reevaluation of our social contract with the poor and individual programs aimed at assisting them. In Michigan, shrinking revenues—and most politicians' unwillingness to entertain the possibility of even small tax increases—are forcing substantial cuts. As some of the state's largest programs, Medicaid, AFDC, GA, and other social services programs have become targets for these cuts, a policy fueled in part by the belief that public assistance programs—at least as currently configured—are not reducing poverty. Others argue, however, that these programs fail precisely because they are inadequately funded or are not designed to address the changing education and job training needs and circumstances of the poor.

Several facts provide a context for understanding these complex issues. In Michigan the social services budget increased from 14 percent of the total state budget in 1960, a few years before the advent of major poverty-fighting programs, to its peak of 34 percent of the budget during the recession of 1983. It fell back to 28 percent in 1990. Medicaid, the largest social services program, has grown from 7.5 percent of the state general fund budget in 1971 to 13 percent in 1991.

Over the past decade, the maximum AFDC grant for a family of three in Wayne County has become smaller and smaller in relation to the federal poverty level and has not kept pace with the rate of inflation. In 1980 the maximum annual grant was \$5,100, 78 percent of the poverty level; by 1990 it was \$5,748, only 55 percent of the federal poverty level. If the grant level had increased only at the rate of inflation between 1980 and 1990, it would have risen to \$7.696. Poor mothers and children, then, have approximately \$2,000 less in spending power than they had in 1980. These numbers point to a problem of perspective in evaluating many public assistance programs: From the standpoint of state budgeting, these programs are budget busters; from the standpoint of recipients, they are increasingly inadequate in helping meet basic needs.

During his tenure, Governor James Blanchard backed away gradually from a commitment to help the poor. Between 1984 and 1990 (the budgets over which he had executive control), total funding for social services programs increased only 22 percent. This was significantly lower than the increases in other parts of the budget, such as education, prisons, mental health, general government, and state police. Funding for AFDC increased only 18 percent in those same years.

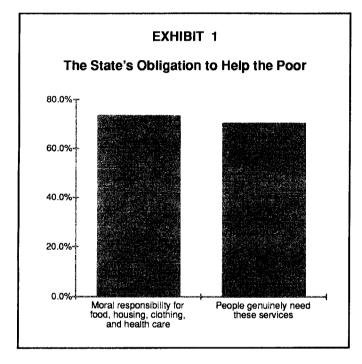
Governor John Engler is mounting an even more vigorous attack on funding for social programs. He has recommended elimination of General Assistance for the "able bodied," reductions in AFDC funding, and increased targeting of payments to providers for medical services. House Democrats have responded to gubernatorial initiatives by strongly supporting public assistance programs.

The issues the public must resolve are clear: What should the state do to help the disadvantaged? Should the state focus on income maintenance or on education and training programs to the exclusion of the former? How does the crisis in state budgeting affect the state's social contract with the poor?

The July *Public Opinion Monitor* assesses the publics' perceptions of these issues, based on a survey of 800 Michigan residents. Our analysis of the findings follows.

### The Moral Obligation

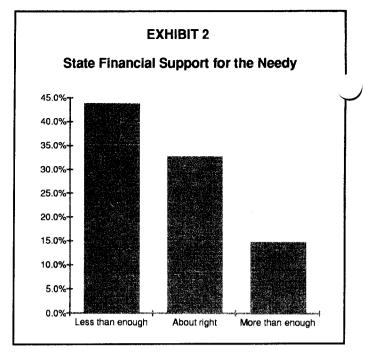
The public clearly feels that the state has an obligation to help the disadvantaged. More than three-quarters (76 percent) of Michigan residents believe that the state has a "moral responsibility" to provide food, clothing, shelter, and health care. This is likely related to the belief of 72 percent of respondents that people genuinely need these services. (See Exhibit 1.) There was little variation in these opinions by region, race, gender, and political philosophy.



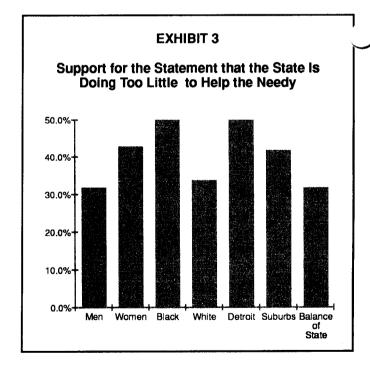
Given its obligation, how well does the state provide for basic living needs? A plurality of Michigan residents believe that the state could do more to help the poor with basic needs. More than three-quarters of the public say that the state's financial support is "less than enough" (44 percent) or "about right" (33 percent) to meet basic living needs. Only 15 percent say the state's financial support is "more than enough." (See Exhibit 2.)

On a broader, nonfinancial question about the general level of help given to the needy, almost 70 percent of respondents say that the state is "doing too little" (38 percent) or "doing the right amount" (31 percent) to help needy individuals. Only 22 percent believe that the state does too much for the poor.

In the general assessment of how well the state has fulfilled its responsibility to help the poor with basic needs, strong demographic differences emerge. More women than men say the state is doing too little (43 percent to 32 percent, respectively), as do Detroit



residents (57 percent compared to 42 percent in the Detroit suburbs and 40 percent outstate) and blacks (72 percent, compared to 34 percent for whites). (See Exhibit 3.)

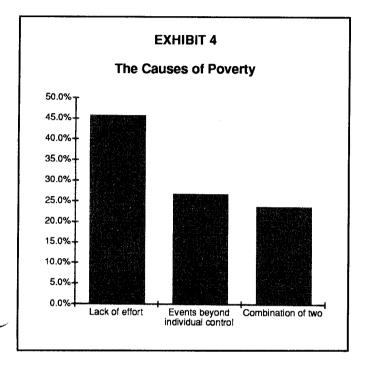


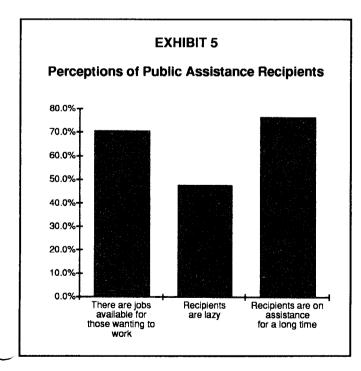
# Attitudes Toward Public Assistance Recipients

If the public agrees about the state's moral obligation to offer the poor food, clothing, shelter, and health care, it is divided in its attitudes toward the recipients of those basic services. Almost half of the survey



participants believe that people are poor because of lack of effort, while 27 percent feel poverty is a result of events beyond individual control and 24 percent feel it results from a combination of the two. (See Exhibit 4.) Seventy-one percent believe that there are jobs available if recipients of public assistance really want to work. Asked a more value-laden question, almost half (48 percent) say recipients are lazy. (See Exhibit 5.)





The image persists of the recipient who remains on assistance for long periods rather than seeking an available job. More than three-quarters of respondents believe people are long-term recipients. (See Exhibit 5.) In fact, nationwide only 24 percent remain on AFDC continuously for more than five years. However, a 1983 study of AFDC families by Mary Jo Bane and David Ellwood showed that while the typical recipient is a short-term user, the AFDC population at any given time is composed predominantly of long-term users.

These data call for a greater understanding of why some people remain on assistance for long periods and others leave and return to assistance before we pass judgement on the nature and the magnitude of "dependency." (For a more detailed discussion of public assistance and dependency, please see Public Sector Consultants' November 1987 *Public Policy Advisor* entitled "Welfare Dependency: Questioning Common Assumptions.")

The public's divided attitudes toward people living in poverty may stem from two deeply held but conflicting beliefs. Assuring people a minimum standard of living—giving people money for food, shelter, clothing, and health care—is consistent with the long-standing American belief that we should help the less fortunate without asking many questions. Individual character and initiative do not qualify our generosity, because we believe all of us have a right to basic sustenance whether we deserve it or not. This clashes with the belief that people who live in poverty do not deserve much help because their poverty is a direct result of their unwillingness to work hard. Individual initiative and character matter here; poverty is a result of a character flaw not of circumstances (such as poor education or discrimination) beyond the control of individuals.

These conflicting beliefs, however, do not reflect the attitudes of all survey participants. Large numbers of African-Americans and Detroit residents believe that events outside an individual's control are a more significant cause of poverty than lack of individual effort. More women than men (32 percent to 22 percent) view poverty as the result of events beyond an individual's control.

# **Faltering Public Assistance Programs**

If most survey participants believe that recipients are not working when they could, they also believe that state government programs to help people escape poverty are not working either. Thirty-eight percent of the public believe the state is "doing too little" to help the poor meet basic needs—the primary goal of

public assistance programs. As for the more ambitious second goal of public assistance programs—helping people escape poverty—the public feels the state's efforts are even less successful.

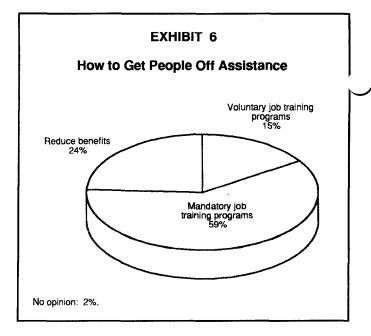
Seventy-seven percent of the public believe the current state social services system discourages people from getting out of poverty; only 14 percent believe the system helps people leave the public assistance rolls. Criticism of the system is least severe in Detroit, but even there 72 percent say the system's efforts are counterproductive. Cynicism about the present social services delivery system cuts across regions, race, gender, and income and education levels. But cynicism is high toward the effectiveness of government in general.

The survey also asked a more specific question about the extent to which the system helps people "get the skills and training needed to find suitable employment." Less than one-quarter say the system helps "to a great extent" (9 percent) or "quite a bit" (13 percent). A plurality (37 percent) say the system helps "somewhat," and 28 percent say it helps "not at all."

While the public is critical of both public assistance recipients and programs, there is evidence that some believe that even those who are trying to find work may be unsuccessful because government efforts are not productive. This can be seen in respondents' agreement (73 percent) with the statement that "more recipients would be willing to work if they were assured access to health care." In the public's estimation, the state is not offering the best available incentives to help people get off the public assistance rolls.

After condemning state job training programs, however, 59 percent of survey respondents say that requiring participation in such programs is the best way to help people off assistance. This compares with 24 percent who say that the state should reduce benefits to encourage people to look for work and 15 percent who believe that the state should establish voluntary job training programs. (See Exhibit 6.)

Several conclusions might be drawn from these responses. One may argue that many believe that recipients should do something for the benefits they receive, regardless of whether it will help them off assistance. In other words, job training may not work, but at least recipients can work at job training to justify receiving money for basic needs. One also may argue, less cynically, that many respondents recognize the shortcomings of existing state job training pro-



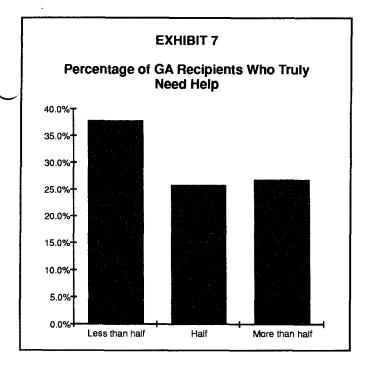
grams, but their support for such programs reflects a belief in the value of *improving* job training programs.

It is also worth noting that only one-quarter of survey respondents believe that reducing benefits is the best way to encourage recipients to seek employment; while the public by and large does want recipients to earn their benefits by (at least) participating in job training programs, most do not favor the more punitive lowering of benefits.

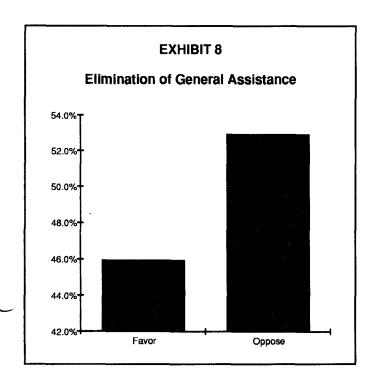
## Making Distinctions Among Programs

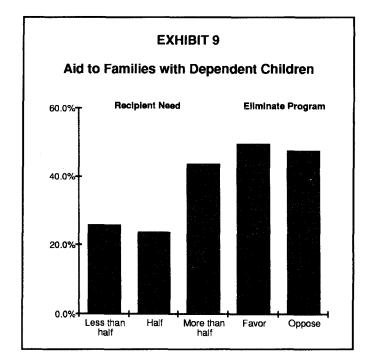
The public is decidedly less sympathetic toward assistance recipients when it comes to specific programs associated with "welfare." When asked early in the survey if people on public assistance genuinely need the help, 71 percent say yes. In contrast, only 27 percent say that more than half of General Assistance (GA) recipients truly need the help—after being informed that the average GA payment is \$172 per month and that it is available only to physically able men and women regardless of mental status or skills who have less than \$250 in resources (excluding their house, car, and personal possessions). (See Exhibit 7.)

Nevertheless, 53 percent of the public oppose elimination of GA; 46 percent favor elimination. Despite the skepticism about the worthiness of many GA recipients, a majority still is unwilling to cut off benefits entirely. Once again, the public's belief in the state's moral responsibility to help the needy trumps its desire to punish the poor. (See Exhibit 8.)



The public believes the merits of AFDC recipients exceed those of GA recipients, but again a specific program comes under greater attack than public assistance programs in general. Before being asked the questions on AFDC, survey participants were told that the program provides assistance mostly to single parents who receive an average of \$399 a month to help care for their children. Despite this emphasis on children's needs, only 44 percent of respondents believe that more than half of AFDC recipients truly need the help. A slight plurality (50 percent) favor the recent 9-percent cuts in AFDC grants; 48 percent oppose the cuts. (See Exhibit 9.)

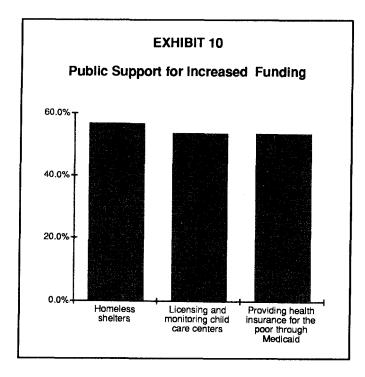




Indications of the public's perception that those on assistance have character flaws resurface in responses to other questions on AFDC. Two-thirds of the public believe that there should be a limit on the number of children in a single-parent family for which AFDC benefits are paid. This seems to reflect the persistence of the stereotype of the AFDC mother who has more children to increase her assistance grant, despite the fact that, on average, a new child adds only \$100 per month to the grant and the average size of an AFDC family is three persons. In addition, an overwhelming majority of respondents (84 percent) believe that child care education programs should be mandatory for AFDC mothers. If mothers are unable to work, the public seems to say, they should at least work on being good parents.

The public's divided assessment of GA and AFDC will make it difficult for the legislature and the governor to reach cost-cutting compromises on these programs. Public policy makers who favor cuts have the public's distrust of recipients' motivations on their side, but politicians who oppose the cuts have the public's unwillingness to punish the disadvantaged on their side. Policy that takes a middle ground seems most likely: mandatory job training and child care classes and limits on the number of children eligible for AFDC.

Other programs will be more difficult to cut, as the public makes a strong distinction between AFDC and GA and other social services programs. In fact, many favor increased funding in certain areas: 57 percent of the public say that funding for homeless shelters should be increased, 54 percent want more dollars for licensing and monitoring of child care centers, and 54 percent support increased funding for health insurance for the poor through Medicaid. Less than 10 percent of respondents preferred cuts in these three programs. (See Exhibit 10.)

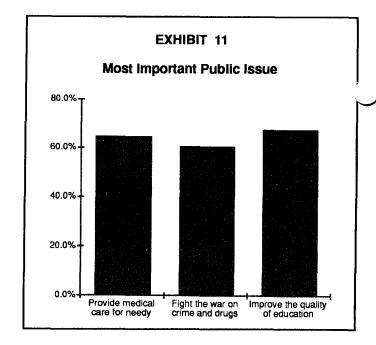


The public's hesitance to cut state assistance programs may have as much to do with fear of the consequences as with belief in the state's moral responsibility. Three-quarters of the survey participants believe that the crime rate will increase if assistance programs are reduced or eliminated, 59 percent think illegal drug use will rise, and 70 percent feel spouse and child abuse will increase. On a slightly more positive note, 78 percent believe that more people will try to find jobs or move out of the state if programs are cut.

# **Health Care's Growing Prominence**

The survey tracks the growing prominence of health care as an issue in the public mind. In addition to the 54 percent supporting more funding for Medicaid, 65 percent of respondents say they would support a small tax increase to provide medical care for people without health insurance. This puts health care in the same category as fighting crime and drugs (61 percent support a small tax increase) and improving the quality of education (68 percent support a small tax hike). (See Exhibit 11.)

In its assessment of basic needs, the public placed health care squarely alongside food, clothing, and



shelter. In fact, more believe (78 percent) that the state has a moral responsibility to offer health care to low-income individuals than believe (74 percent) it has a responsibility to provide food, shelter, and clothing.

Perhaps most significant, in the public's mind health care may offer a middle ground that bridges the belief in the state's moral responsibility to help the disadvantaged and the responsibility of the disadvantaged to help themselves: 73 percent of survey participants feel that more people would be willing to work if they were assured access to health care, presumably through employer-paid benefits. Policy makers should take note here, for the public believes that such a program may truly help people lift themselves out of poverty. On the evidence of this poll, no other program can even begin to make this claim.

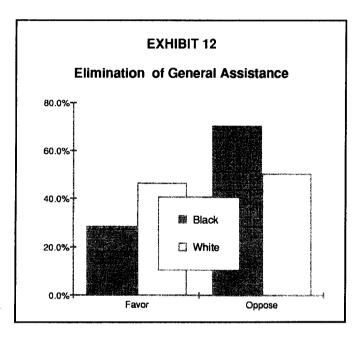
# **Demographic Gaps**

A gender gap separates attitudes toward public assistance. Far more than women, men believe that people on public assistance do not wish to work and that job opportunities go unexplored. Women are much more likely to believe that the poor really need help and that the state is doing too little to provide it. (Refer to Exhibit 3.) Significantly, however, majorities of both men and women believe that the state has a moral responsibility to provide for basic needs. Also, only a slightly higher percentage of women than men oppose the elimination of General Assistance.

The racial gap that divides Michigan public opinion is wider than the gender gap. More than twice as many blacks as whites believe the state is doing too



little to support the needy. Almost twice as many blacks as whites feel that the state's financial support for the poor is inadequate. More than 70 percent of African-Americans oppose the elimination of General Assistance; 51 percent of whites do. In general, African-Americans are more sympathetic than whites toward recipients' plights and more supportive of funding programs. Still, many blacks (63 percent) doubt programs' ability to help the needy escape poverty. (See Exhibit 12.)



#### Conclusion

Michigan residents are reluctant to dismantle the state's public assistance system, even as they disparage its effectiveness and its users. Nevertheless, the survey results suggest several productive courses of action.

First, the public needs to be better informed about the circumstances of those living in poverty and the actual scope of benefits available to them from the state. An understanding of grant levels and their relation to the federal poverty level, eligibility, and the length of time people are on public assistance must inform the debate on our obligation to help the disadvantaged. Stereotypes, anecdotes, and overgeneralizations will not suffice if we are to make sound decisions in this crucial policy area.

A large gap exists between public perception and the actual circumstances of people receiving state assistance. For example, given the stringent requirements for receiving General Assistance, it is highly unlikely that more than half do not really need the help. Yet 64 percent of our sample felt that was the case. The same thing is true of AFDC. On any number of issues, public opinion differs sharply from what advocates for the poor believe and argue are the facts about the poor in Michigan. The central issue of social services reform may well be whether policy makers should attempt to educate the public about the poor or implement policies reflecting current public perceptions of reality.

Second, the public's outcry against ineffective social service programs does not appear intractable. What the public appears to want is good programs; most are not so cynical as to believe that nothing that the state can do will help. This is a golden opportunity for politicians to cast aside ideology and work together in good faith on identifying, piloting, and evaluating job training and education programs that have been shown in other states to help the needy escape poverty. Whether one believes that persons living in poverty are there because of circumstances within or outside their control, the public appears to think that good programs can help the poor help themselves. Strategies for social services programs should attempt to bridge gaps, not polarize. A good start would be to take an accounting of recipients' perspectives on assistance programs. Certainly, recipients should participate in the debate over assistance. Ouestioning them would strengthen the public's and policy makers' understanding, and it might identify issues on which the public and recipients agree.

Finally, policy makers should not underestimate the importance of health care in the public mind. National polls show increasing worry on the part of the middle and upper-middle class about the security of their own health benefits. This probably helps explain the widespread public support in our survey for health care benefits for the poor and uninsured. The link between health care benefits and encouraging employment also should be examined by policy makers.

Political discourse on pressing social issues has become balkanized to the point of paralysis. Nowhere has this been more true than in the discussion of social services and "welfare." Perhaps it is time for "a new politics for the restive majority," as E.J. Dionne, Jr., calls it in his new book, *Why Americans Hate Politics*. We should take the best of both sides, combining conservative values of self-help and hard work with liberal values of tolerance and generosity, Mr. Dionne proposes. Certainly that would improve Michigan's current social policy.

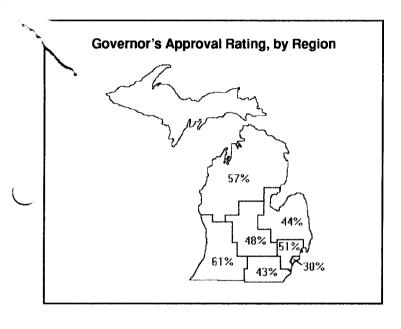
# Responses to Selected Survey Questions on Social Services (in percentages)

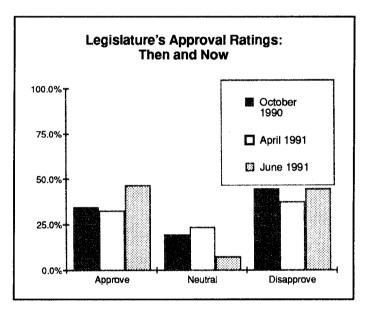
	Detroit	Metro Detroit	Southeast	Thumb	Central	Western	Northern	Male	Female	African American	White
Q. 6. Does the state have a "moral responsibility" to help											
low-income people?											
Yes	83	72	77	79	73	71	72	71	78	93	72
No	17	27	16	16	24	27	28	27	21	6	25
Q. 6a. Should [the state] help											
for a limited period?	40	50	58	45	51	57	42	48	50	40	51
as long as needed?	56	44	35	47	25	38	56	46	42	58	41
Q. 10. Is state financial support for the needy											
more than enough?	6	15	16	18	23	14	14	19	11	1	17
right amount?	22	31	32	31	40	41	38	39	28	16	35
less than enough?	67	47	40	43	27	36	43	34	53	80	40
Q. 13. Do you think people are poor be- cause of											
events beyond their											
control?	41	26	19	24	21	25	34	22	32	45	25
lack of effort?	38	49	45	45	47	48	41	53	40	38	46
both?	20	23	32	28	26	22	22	22	25	15	25
Q. 15b. There are jobs for anyone really wanting to work.											
Strongly agree	32	39	45	34	40	43	35	42	36	24	41
Somewhat agree	24	34	27	37	31	31	32	30	34	32	32
Somewhat disagree	24	16	13	9	20	14	19	16	16	17	16
Strongly disagree	18	8	15	19	7	10	13	11	13	26	10
Q. 16. Which method is most likely [to get] people off state assistance?											
Voluntary job train- ing Mandatory job train-	20	12	15	12	14	12	23	13	16	25	13
ing	66	61	55	58	56	59	54	58	59	59	59
Reduce benefits	14	25	23	26	29	26	22	27	21	15	25
Q. 21. If state assistance is reduced or eliminated, to what extent [will increases] in the following result?											
Crime rate	76	73	68	78	71	79	75	71	77	78	75
Drug use	69	61	53	53	52	60	59	52	66	77	58
Private help	49	57	55	61	61	62	53	58	57	41	60
Spouse and child abuse	69	71	71	73	61	70	70	65	74	74	69
Demand for state											
health care	63	71	68	66	78	73	67	69	70	56	72
Job seeking or move	74	73	82	79	87	80	78	78	77	78	78

# **POLITICS: APPROVAL RATINGS**

#### **Findings**

- Governor Engler's approval rating increased marginally from 41 percent to 49 percent, while his negative rating increased from 38 percent to 46 percent.
- The percentage of those undecided about the governor dropped by 16 percent, splitting evenly between approval and disapproval.
- The governor's approval rating varied among regions of the state, between men and women, and between the races.
- Approval of the legislature increased from 38 percent to 47 percent; the disapproval rating increased from 38 percent to 45 percent.





#### **Analysis**

There were substantial differences in attitudes toard the governor by region, race, gender, and philosophy. Governor Engler was strongest among men (56 percent approved), conservatives (63 percent), and whites (53 percent), and in the western part of the state (61 percent). He was weakest among blacks (13 percent approved), women (43 percent), Detroit residents (30 percent), and liberals (28 percent).

The governor will be pleased with these percentages. Market Resource Group did a survey in June 1983 and found former Governor Blanchard's approval rating to be 13 percent. Governor Engler has generated very strong feelings of both support and opposition. In Detroit 41 percent strongly disapprove of the job Engler has done as governor. Conservatives strongly approve of his performance (70%).

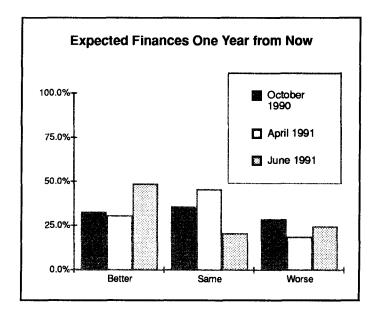
In October Public Sector Consultants' Incumbency Trust Scale revealed a direct relationship between attitudes toward Blanchard and cynicism toward incumbents. The Incumbency Trust Scale explained the election results better than any other indicator. We applied the scale in this survey and found that Engler, to date, has not been damaged substantially by an antiincumbent attitude among the public.

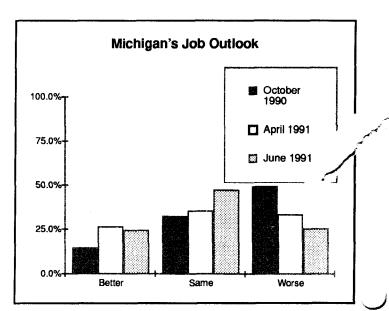
Legislative approval ratings increased dramatically from 33 percent to 47 percent. The negative rating increased from 38 percent to 45 percent. It may be that the budget resolution reached last month has helped sharpen perceptions of the legislature.

# TRENDS IN PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

#### **Findings**

- Economic confidence continues slow improvement from last October.
- The public is more optimistic about the state's job future.
- The public remains cynical toward incumbents.





#### **Analysis**

Michigan residents are beginning to believe job opportunities might increase in Michigan. The number of people saying the job picture would get worse next year has dropped by 50 percent since October (47 percent to 24 percent). Consumer confidence has improved substantially since then. In June 51 percent of respondents said they expected to be better off finan-

cially one year from now. This compared with 33 percent last October. This optimism existed throughout the state. In Detroit 58 percent expect next yea to be better financially. The most pessimistic part of Michigan was the Thumb, where only 40 percent expect to improve themselves financially.

#### Methodology

Public Sector Consultants' June 19–29 survey sampled 800 Michigan residents over the age of eighteen, yielding a margin of error of plus or minus 3.5 percent in 95 out of 100 samples. Survey participants were not required to be registered voters. This sample was stratified with respect to geography and gender and was designed to represent the population correctly. The surveys were conducted by the Center for Survey Research, part of the Social Science Research Bureau at Michigan State University. PSC is convinced that these numbers accurately reflect current political attitudes in Michigan.

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