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The People, The Press & Politics

On The Eve of '92:

Fault Lines In The Electorate

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SUMMARY

Ask the American public what's on its mind and it can't stop talking about the economy and the sad shape it's in. Ask the American public what event has most shaped its political thinking and it says the Gulf War. At least in part, the outcome of this push-pull will determine if the Democrats have a chance to take the White House away from George Bush next year.

Dissatisfaction with the way things are going in the country has now reached pre-Reagan economic recovery levels with over six in ten expressing fundamental discontent with the country's course. Yet the President's rating at 55% approve, 33% disapprove is at least as good if not better than that of recent GOP predecessors who went on to win big second term victories. In November of 1971, Nixon's approval/disapproval score in the Gallup Poll was 49% to 37% and in November 1983, Reagan's was 53% to 37%.

Analysis of the Times Mirror survey illustrates the extent to which feelings about the Gulf War shelter the President's approval ratings from discontent with the nation's course. Fifty percent of those dissatisfied with the state of the nation continue to approve of Bush's performance, providing they feel that the *"Gulf War showed that the country can still unite to accomplish things"*. But those with doubts about what the Gulf War proved *and* with serious reservations about the state of the nation, are nearly 20 percentage points less likely to approve of George Bush (31%).

George Bush's desert shield is most effective with younger voters and Republicans who are dissatisfied with the state of the nation - these groups continue to give the President strong approval ratings, even though many express dissatisfaction with the state of the nation. Indeed, the survey shows that generational differences and growing disquiet among Republicans themselves may be two of the more important elements in the coming campaign.

Compared to the generations born after WWII, people 50 years of age and older stand out in the latest Times Mirror survey as angrier, as having grown more disillusioned with the political system, and as more disposed to vote for change than people under 50 years of age.

People 50 years of age and older less often say they are financially better off than they were four years ago (26% vs. 43% among 30-49 year olds and 55% among under 30's). Older people judge the condition of the country more harshly than do the young - only 25% of the 50 & older are satisfied with the way things are going, compared to 44% among those under 30 years of age.

Times Mirror's trend measures on political alienation reveal that since 1987 skepticism with the political system has grown more among older people than among the young. Overall the percentage of Americans who think that government is run for the benefit of the people has fallen from 57% to 48% and the percentage who feel that politicians care what people think declined from 47% to 36%. Both trends are more extreme among older people than among those under 50 years of age.

An important element in the heightened political discontent of older people is they are a generation that follows what's going on closely and votes at very high rates. Unlike other alienated groups, older people are not likely to stay away from the polls because they are disillusioned with politics. Instead they seem to be leading the anti-incumbency charge. Nearly half (48%) think the political system needs a major shake-up rather than just a few new leaders, while only little more than a third of young voters feel this way.

In 1987 two in three agreed with the statement *"it's time for Washington officials to step aside and make room for new leaders"*. In the current poll, 81% concurred (compared to 73%

among younger people). Similarly, support for term limits reaches a high of 85% among the fifty and over generation.

As older people lead the young in their animus toward the political system, they also express more concern about two other issues that have become key elements in the populist agenda, protection from healthcare costs and protection of American jobs. Americans have the most difficulty affording healthcare and the cost concerns of older people are focused in this area. Thirty-one percent of the public cite healthcare as the cost most difficult to afford and that figure increases to 45% among older people. Over eight in ten agreed that the government should guarantee everyone is covered by health insurance and as many as 53% completely agreed with this concept.

Over eight in ten also agree that American jobs should be protected from foreign competition. Again the views of older people are more intense than those of younger people. Six in ten of 50 & olders completely agree, compared to five in ten among younger Americans.

Republicans themselves are not untouched by the rising tide of resentment about conditions in the country and calls for a more activist government to deal with these problems. When George Bush took office, 64% of Republicans were satisfied with the way things were going in the country. The current survey finds just 48% of GOP identifiers contented. This is in fact a larger decline than is found for Democrats or Independents over the course of the Bush term.

Populist Republicans, identified as Moralists in the Times Mirror Typology, show the most discontent with the country's course, the most desire for government action, and some second thoughts about George Bush. In contrast, pro-business, fiscally conservative, Enterpriser Republicans show more loyalty to the President, more contentment with the status quo and less enthusiasm for many of the programs and policies favored by their less affluent GOP brethren.

Over eight in ten Moralists who are drawn to the GOP because of their conservatism on social issues agree the government should play an active role in improving healthcare, housing and education for middle income families; as many as 48% completely agree with this idea. In contrast, just 30% of Enterpriser Republicans completely agree.

Enterprisers stand apart from other Republicans and the public at large in that a 58% majority of them continue to see themselves as better off today than they were four years ago. The public at large divides fairly evenly on this famous question that Ronald Reagan used so effectively against Jimmy Carter - 40% say better off, 43% say worse off. A significant number of Republicans and Independent-leaning Republicans feel they have been financially set back over the past four years. Fully 58% of Disaffecteds see themselves as worse off today. (Disaffecteds, who are the modern day equivalents of Wallace voters, have given wavering support to both George Bush and Ronald Reagan).

The findings of the survey suggest that the potential for division within the ranks of the Republican party along socioeconomic lines is very strong. Republican groups differ in their enthusiasm for protectionism, government guaranteed health insurance and even fundamental financial priorities. For example, a majority of Enterpriser Republicans (50%) want to see the peace dividend used to help reduce the budget deficit rather than to use it for domestic spending (35%) or even a tax cut (14%). Among Moralists, a 49% plurality want the peace dividend to go for domestic spending and among Disaffecteds, 72% favor this option.

Some Republican disloyalty plays a role in how well "*a nameless Democrat*" tests against George Bush. Bush only gets the support of 79% of Republicans on this measure. However, this disloyalty is focused among Moralists - just 72% say they would like to see Bush beat a Democrat next November. Among Enterprisers, 85% are loyal to the President.

Similarly, Independent groups that lean to the Republican party also show a substantial inclination to consider a Democratic alternative. In particular, Disaffecteds, who played a pivotal role in 1988 when they deserted Michael Dukakis for George Bush, were evenly divided between Bush and the nameless Democrat (34% favored Bush and 38% the nameless Democrat).

As they have been in the past, Democratic candidates could be key to uniting the diverse interests within the GOP coalition. When Bush was tested against Cuomo in this survey, Republican support for Bush went up to the customary 90% level. (Bush was favored by 89% of the Moralists when pitted against the New York Governor and by 53% of the Disaffecteds).

Bush's overseas triumphs are another basis for rallying Republicans and other groups of voters with GOP inclinations. Eighty-four percent of the public at large agreed that the war in the Gulf showed that the U.S. can still unite to accomplish things and 56% agreed that Bush/Reagan policies helped speed the fall of Communism. The survey found equal levels of assent to these ideas among all varieties of Republicans.

Wavering support for Bush's re-election among young people might also be shored up by Gulf War themes. The survey indicates that younger voters, who continue to approve of the President at higher rates than older people, were more influenced by the Gulf War and credited Bush and Reagan more for the fall of Communism.

Other Findings...

* Female candidates may fare better in 1992 than ever before. Six in ten say the country would be better off, if more women were elected to Congress. Results of this direct question were reinforced by the findings of a small experiment conducted as part of the survey. Using a split sample voter appeals for three hypothetical candidates were tested. In half the cases the hypothetical candidate was identified as a female and in half a male. In all three tests the female hypothetical candidate tested significantly better than the male ... among both men and women.

* Opinion of the women's movement has improved since the mid-1980s mostly as a result of changing opinions of women. Unfavorable opinion of the women's movement *among women* has decreased from 31% to 22% since 1985.

* Dan Quayle's favorability ratings are unchanged since Times Mirror's 1990 rating. Quayle gets about the same favorable to unfavorable ratio as Jerry Brown. Other Democratic aspirants get higher favorability scores among people who know them.

* Despite the war in the Gulf, the country remains as divided as it was in 1987 and 1990 over whether military strength is the best way to ensure peace.

* Compared to 1987, more whites agree today that the position of blacks has not improved in recent years (41% vs. 25%).

THE MOOD OF AMERICA

Public discontent with the state of the nation has not been as great as it is today since pre-Reagan economic recovery days. August of 1983 was the last time opinion surveys found as many as six in ten Americans dissatisfied with the way things were going in the country. To put this finding in perspective, however, there has been widespread public contentment with the state of the nation for only short periods of time over the past decade - in the early part of Reagan's second term before Iran-Contra, prior to Bush's election in the fall of 1988, and just after victory in the Gulf.

OUTLOOK TOWARD THE NATION

	<i>Satisfied</i>	<i>Dissatisfied</i>	<i>No Opinion</i>	<i>Total</i>
1991				
November	34%	61	5	= 100%
¹ Late February	66%	31	3	= 100%
1990				
May	41%	54	5	= 100%
1989				
January	45%	50	5	= 100%
1988				
September/October	56%	40	4	= 100%
January	39%	55	6	= 100%
1987				
August/September	45%	49	6	= 100%
¹1986				
September	58%	38	4	= 100%
March	66%	30	4	= 100%
¹1985				
November	51%	46	3	= 100%
¹1984				
December	52%	40	8	= 100%
February	50%	46	4	= 100%
¹1983				
August	35%	59	6	= 100%
¹1982				
November	24%	72	4	= 100%
¹1981				
December	27%	67	6	= 100%
January	17%	78	5	= 100%

¹ All surveys are Gallup Polls.

	<i>Satisfied</i>	<i>Dissatisfied</i>	<i>No Opinion</i>	<i>Total</i>
¹ 1979				
November	19%	77	4	= 100%
August	12%	84	4	= 100%

Question 2: In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the U.S. at this time?

The growth in public discontent with the state of the nation over the course of the Bush administration is apparent among all political and demographic groupings, but in relative terms the greatest increases in discontent have occurred among Republicans and demographic groups that lean to the Republican party.

In January of 1989, 64% of Republicans were satisfied with the way things were going in the country. The current survey finds just 48% of people who identify with the GOP satisfied - a 16 percentage point decline! The decline in the proportion satisfied has been more modest among Democrats (32% to 23%) and among political independents (41% to 32%). Similarly, contentment with the state of the nation has eroded more among upper and middle income people (-14% points) than among poorer people (9%).

The erosion of confidence in the country's direction among Republicans can be further defined by the Times Mirror political typology. The loss of faith in the way things are going in the country is most evident among GOP stalwarts who hold populist values. Only 42% of Moralistic Republicans are content with the state of the nation. In contrast, among pro-business, fiscally conservative Enterpriser Republicans, a 54% majority continue to express satisfaction.

Regionally, the decline in satisfaction with the way things are going in the country is more apparent in the economically hard hit East (-16 percentage points) and less apparent in the Midwest (-5 percentage points) which has not borne the brunt of the current recession. Additionally, the survey finds that discontent with the state of the nation has grown more sharply among older people and is less evident among young adults. In the current survey, only 24% of people 50 years of age and older express contentment with the state of the nation, while 44% of people under 30 years of age say they are happy with the way things are going in the country.

PERCENT SATISFIED WITH WAY THINGS ARE GOING IN THE COUNTRY

	<i>1989</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>Difference</i>
TOTAL	45	34	-11
Sex			
Male	48	38	-10
Female	42	30	-12
Age			
18-29	51	44	- 7
30-49	46	35	-11
50+	38	24	-14
Race			
White	47	36	-11
Black	26	18	- 8
Family Income			
\$50K+	56	42	-14
\$30-49,999	48	35	-13
² \$20-29,999	41	34	- 7
³ >\$20K	38	29	- 9
Party ID			
Republican	64	48	-16
Democrat	32	23	- 9
Independent	41	32	- 9
Region			
East	46	30	-16
Midwest	43	38	- 5
South	45	34	-11
West	44	32	-12

² In 1989 the income category was \$15,000-\$29,999

³ In 1989 the income category was Under \$15,000

George Bush's Desert Shield

Perhaps one of the most puzzling aspects of the climate of opinion this fall has been the President's continued high approval rating in the face of discontent with the state of the nation and the ongoing recession. Indeed, while the current survey shows continuing erosion in Bush's approval score, his rating (55%) is still 21 percentage points higher than contentment with the state of the nation.

Analysis of the survey reveals that opinion about victory in the Gulf plays an important role in protecting the President's approval rating from widespread discontent with conditions in the country. A remarkably high 40% of all people *who are dissatisfied with the way things are going in the country* approve of the way George Bush is handling his job. However, when this group is divided into two camps: 1) those who feel the Gulf war showed that the U.S. can still unite and achieve things, versus 2) those who disagree with this view, there is a dramatic difference in approval of Bush. Fifty-one percent of the "Gulfites" approve of Bush, compared to only 31% of those who take no satisfaction in the Gulf War.

<i>Satisfied With The Nation</i>	<i>DISSATISFIED BUT...</i>		
	<i>Felt Gulf War Showed Unity</i>	<i>Did Not Feel The Gulf War Showed Unity</i>	
Approve of George Bush	82	51	32
Disapprove of George Bush	10	36	56
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>
100	100	100	

The war in the Gulf is the recent event that most Americans say has greatly influenced their political views; however, the second most frequently mentioned event is, surprisingly, the S&L crisis. Twenty-six percent name the war in the Gulf, while 17% named the S&L crisis. Fewer Americans mention the end of Communism (12%), the *Webster* Supreme Court decision (12%) or the Thomas/Hill imbroglio (14%).

Younger people are far more likely than those over thirty to say the Gulf War shaped their political opinions, perhaps providing further insight into Bush's continued strong standing with the young. People over 30 are twice as likely as the young to say they have been influenced by the S&L crisis. People over fifty years of age are more apt to cite the end of Communism than the post-WWII generations.

Equal numbers of men and women say their views were influenced by Thomas/Hill. However, blacks are more than three times as likely as whites to say their opinions were influenced by this controversy. The Times Mirror typology identifies one other group besides blacks as saying their political views were principally shaped by the Thomas/Hill affair, the *Sixties Democrats*. This heavily female, socially liberal group stands alone in feeling that the Thomas/Hill controversy had more of an effect on their views than the war in the Gulf.

While the *Webster* decision tends to be more salient to Democratic groups than Republican groups, it clearly has affected the views of women under 30 years of age more than any other demographic or political grouping. Twenty-two percent of young women name the *Webster* decision as an important influence on them, compared with 12% among all other Americans.

EVENT WITH GREATEST EFFECT ON POLITICAL BELIEFS

<i>Gulf War</i>	<i>S&L Crisis</i>	<i>End of Communism</i>	<i>Hill/</i>	<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Don't Webster</i>	<i>Know</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	26	17	12	14	12	19 =100
<i>Sex</i>						
Men	25	22	14	12	8	19 =100
Women	28	12	10	15	15	20 =100
<i>Age</i>						
18-29	38	10	9	15	17	11 =100
30-49	27	18	11	13	12	19 =100
50+	17	21	16	14	8	24 =100
<i>Race</i>						
White	27	18	13	11	12	19 =100
Black	20	10	4	38	13	15 =100
<i>Family Income</i>						
\$50K+	21	19	14	13	13	20 =100
\$30-49,999	26	23	14	8	9	20 =100
\$20-29,999	31	16	12	14	13	14 =100
>\$20K	28	14	10	18	13	17 =100
<i>Party ID</i>						
Republican	32	14	16	11	10	17 =100
Democrat	22	19	8	19	14	18 =100
Independent	27	19	14	12	11	17 =100
<i>Other</i>						
Wom. >30	38	7	8	16	22	9 =100
60s Dems.	17	24	10	21	12	16 =100

POLITICAL INDICATORS

This survey records the fourth consecutive decline in the President's approval ratings since the end of the Gulf War, and the first time that a clear plurality of the public has not preferred George Bush to a Democratic alternative in response to a test election question. Bush's approval rating is 55%. Forty-one percent say they would like to see him re-elected, compared to 43% who say they would like to see an unnamed Democrat win the election. However, when George Bush is pitted against Mario Cuomo in a test election question responses divide clearly in the President's favor - 58% choose Bush, 37% choose Cuomo and 5% say they are undecided.

Obviously, early test election questions have little absolute meaning. A test of Bush against an unnamed Democrat is "*unfair*" to Bush because hypothetical opponents carry fewer negatives than real live candidates. The Bush-Cuomo test is "*unfair*" to Cuomo, in that only 70% of the public currently know enough about him to make any evaluation of the New York Governor. When such questions provide different outcomes, however, they give clues as to what the winning elements might be for each side. The following demographic and partisan patterns appear relevant:

Sex - In the wide Bush sweep over Cuomo, the President wins re-election among both men and women with a small gender gap evident. In the race with a nameless Democrat, Bush carries men but a solid plurality of women vote for the Democratic alternative.

	<i>Bush vs Cuomo</i>		<i>Bush vs Democrat</i>	
Men	60	36	45	41
Women	56	37	37	45

Age - In both scenarios Bush fails to get a plurality of support from people over fifty years of age. The greatest difference is in the opinions of people under 50 years of age. In the Bush/Cuomo race they vote overwhelmingly for Bush.

	<i>Bush vs Cuomo</i>		<i>Bush vs Democrat</i>	
18-29	68	26	44	42
30-49	61	34	41	42
50+	47	48	38	45

Region - In the Bush blowout the President wins all four regions; in the tight race the East goes to the Democratic challenger, and all other regions are close.

	<i>Bush vs Cuomo</i>		<i>Bush vs Democrat</i>	
East	54	41	32	50
Midwest	56	37	44	40
South	60	36	46	43
West	62	32	40	38

Race & Income - In both tests Bush wins the white vote and the \$50,000 and over vote, while he loses the black vote in both. However, in the Cuomo test Bush picks up a sizable number of black votes and wins in all income categories.

	<i>Bush vs Cuomo</i>		<i>Bush vs Democrat</i>	
Race:				
White	61	34	45	38
Black	32	59	10	81
Family Income:				
\$50K+	67	28	53	38
\$30-\$49,999	56	39	46	44
\$20-\$29,999	61	35	44	41
Less than \$20K	53	40	30	49

Party ID - In both tests the President wins among both Republicans *and* Independents. However, in the contest against a nameless Democrat the Bush margin among Independents is thin and he earns the support of only eight in ten Republicans.

	<i>Bush vs Cuomo</i>		<i>Bush vs Democrat</i>	
Republican	90	7	79	11
Democrat	26	70	12	79
Independent	56	36	39	35

The Typology - The typological groupings show that Republican disloyalty in the Bush vs. nameless Democrat test is most evident among *Moralists*. As they were in 1988, *Disaffecteds* are the pivotal Independent swing group. In the current test they fail to show up for Mario Cuomo in much the way they deserted Michael Dukakis between June and September of 1988. Also as in 1988 the greatest rate of defection on the Democratic side is among *New Dealers*.

	<i>Bush vs Cuomo</i>		<i>Bush vs Democrat</i>	
Enterprisers	93	5	85	5
Moralists	89	9	72	10
Upbeats	69	28	56	28
Disaffecteds	53	36	34	38
Seculars	38	58	26	58
60's Democrats	24	75	5	84
New Dealers	38	62	21	71
Pocketbook Dems	24	68	10	79
Bystanders/Other	61	27	44	36

A major problem in evaluating the candidates for the nomination with respect to each other and George Bush is the low levels of public familiarity with them. However, we get some indication of how the public responds to these candidates by looking at their relative favorability scores among people who are able to rate them. On this basis there appear to be two tiers of candidates. Kerrey, Clinton, Wilder, Harkin and Cuomo are rated favorably by about seven in ten. Tsongas and especially Brown get lower ratings. The former California Governor's rating is comparable to the current Vice President's.

BASED ON THOSE WHO CAN RATE

	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>% Who Could Rate</i>
George Bush	73	27	97
Dan Quayle	53	47	92
Mario Cuomo	70	30	71
Paul Tsongas	63	37	38
Douglas Wilder	68	32	43
Robert Kerrey	75	25	38
Tom Harkin	68	32	38
Bill Clinton	74	26	40
Jesse Jackson	60	40	94
David Duke	20	80	62
⁴ Jerry Brown	51	49	88

⁴ Source: November 1991 Gallup Poll

ECONOMIC ATTITUDES

The Better Off-Worse Off Test

George Bush fails the better off-worse off test that his predecessor in office used so effectively to defeat Jimmy Carter in 1980. Today, most Americans do not feel better off financially than they did four years ago. In fact, the public is about equally divided between those who feel better off (40%) and those who feel worse off (43%). By way of comparison, in the spring of 1987 just months after the stock market crash, the public judged its financial position as better off by a wide 48% to 20% margin.

Looking at how people judge their financial progress now compared to the answers they gave 4 years ago, the largest relative declines in the percent reporting being "*better off*" have occurred among whites, middle aged people, people living outside the Midwest and people who earn more than \$20,000 a year.

Again on this measure the survey indicates that Republican groups are not immune from discontent with the current situation. Within the Republican camp, only a majority of *Enterpriser Republicans* (58%) see themselves as better off than they were four years ago. At the other extreme, Republican-leaning *Disaffecteds* see themselves as worse off rather than better off by a stunning 58% to 25% margin. (Disaffecteds are the modern day equivalent of Wallace voters - they were attracted to Ronald Reagan's foreign policy and outsider positions and have been equivocal supporters of George Bush). The discontent of Disaffecteds, with their relative financial position, almost matches that of heavily minority, low-income groups on the Democratic side. Among *Pocketbook Democrats*, no fewer than 65% judge their financial position as worse than it was four years ago.

**FINANCIAL EVALUATION:
PERCENT WHO FEEL THEY ARE
BETTER OFF TODAY THAN 5 YEARS AGO⁵**

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>Difference</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	48	40	- 8
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	49	43	- 6
Female	47	38	- 9
<i>Age</i>			
18-29	59	55	- 4
30-49	54	43	-11
50+	32	26	- 6
<i>Race</i>			
White	49	41	- 8
Black	42	35	- 7
<i>Family Income</i>			
\$50K+	71	60	-11
\$30-49,999K	59	47	-12
\$20-29,999K	54	39	-15
>\$20K	34	25	- 9
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republicans	57	52	- 5
Democrats	39	34	- 5
Independents	50	34	-16
<i>Region</i>			
East	47	38	- 9
Midwest	50	46	- 4
South	47	38	- 9
West	47	39	- 8

⁵ The current survey asks respondents if they feel they are better off than they were four years ago, while the 1987 survey asked respondents if they felt they were better off than five years earlier.

Fear of Unemployment Fuels "I'm Worse Off" View

More Americans worry about rising prices than the prospects of unemployment. Feeling worse off financially than four years ago is more tied to worries about the prospect of unemployment than to concerns about prices.

A fifty-two percent majority of Americans report they worry more about rising prices than unemployment. Thirty-nine percent report they worry more about unemployment. When questioned further, as many as 27% say there is a **"high chance"** that a member of their household might lose a job over the course of the next year. Among people who say they are worse off than they were four years ago, 40% feel that unemployment may strike their homes this year, compared to 17% among the **"better off"** group.

CHANCES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

	<i>All</i>	<i>Better Off</i>	<i>Worse Off</i>
Chance high	27%	17%	40%
Low	28%	36%	23%
Almost zero	30%	39%	22%
Out now	5%	2%	7%
Retired	6%	3%	5%
Don't know	4%	3%	4%

Housing, Health care and Higher Education Most Burdensome

While the prospect of unemployment tends to separate those who feel better off from those who feel worse off, specific cost concerns are shared equally by both groups of people. In fact, having difficulty affording health care (31%), housing (19%) or a college education (18%) are the predominant concerns among all sectors of the public. However, there is a clear generational difference in emphasis between the three. Among people over fifty, concern for health care costs dominates, almost to the exclusion of the other two concerns. Among people under 30 years of age, there is less concern about health care cost and much more concern about the cost of housing and paying for higher education. Middle-age people divide their cost concerns about equally between housing, health care and higher education.

WHAT DO YOU HAVE THE MOST DIFFICULTY AFFORDING?

	<u>AGE</u>		
	<u>18-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50+</u>
Cost of health care	19	26	45
Cost of housing	29	24	7
Cost of college education	27	21	6
Cost of food/clothes	9	11	11
Cost of an automobile	12	7	10
Cost of retirement	2	7	11
None	1	2	8
Don't know/NA	1	1	2

VOTER DISPOSITIONS

The Voter Revolt

The power of voter discontent is underscored by its bipartisan character. Eighty percent of Republicans, Democrats, and Independents agree that there should be a limit on how many terms one can serve in Congress. The only measurable levels of disagreement with this idea occur among better-informed elements in each party, but even at that only one in five *Enterpriser Republicans* and a similar proportion of Democratic-leaning *Seculars* think term limits are a bad idea.

On the other hand, the highest levels of discontent with the political system also can be found within each party. A 58% majority of aging *New Dealers* think the political system needs a major shake-up rather than only some new leaders. A similar 53% of *Disaffected* Independent voters who lean to the Republican party and voted for Bush and Reagan feel that major changes in the political system are required. In contrast, while many Americans feel the political system needs a major shake-up, a 52% majority overall think the system is basically sound and only needs new leaders.

To put these figures in perspective, despite hard times and concerns about competitiveness and other longterm economic problems, there is less of a public outcry for fundamental economic changes in this country than there is for political change. Only 35% of the Times Mirror sample think the economic system needs shaking up, while 62% see the system as basically sound.

Analysis of the survey indicates that the most intense views about political change are held by older people. People over 50 years of age, who vote more and are more attentive to most public issues are much more enthusiastic supporters of term limits and more likely than succeeding generations to think the political system needs a major shake-up.

	<u>AGE</u>		
	<u>18-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50+</u>
Feels: Political system needs a major shake up	35	44	48
There should be limits on how many terms one can serve in Congress	71	80	85

An Activist Government

In a variety of ways respondents in this survey give voice to a strong desire for a government that takes a more activist role in dealing with major social problems. A lopsided 61% majority favor using the peace dividend for spending on major domestic problems such as health, education and the environment, rather than using it to reduce the deficit (27%) or for a tax cut (10%). Even a plurality of Republicans (48%) favor more domestic spending rather than applying money that would have been spent on defense to deficit reduction (39%) or to a tax cut (12%).

When asked directly about the President's priorities, the public calls for efforts on domestic programs such as improving the quality of education (22%) and improving health care (18%) more often than on all other issues, save reducing unemployment (25%). In particular, foreign policy objectives are far down on the public priority list, with only 5% naming making sure that Iraq does not get nuclear weapons, 4% naming achieving a lasting peace in the Mideast or 2% citing helping the Russians as the things that should be of most importance to the President.

Over eight in ten (84%) agree with the statement that the government should play a more active role in improving the health care, housing and education for middle income families. As many as 52% of the people questioned say they ***completely agree*** with that statement. The survey also finds an almost equal level of support for the idea that the government should play an active role in improving things for ***lower income people*** - 88% totally agree and 53% ***completely agree*** with this idea.

Republicans classified in the populist category, ***Moralists***, are the only political group in the country to express meaningfully more support for the government improving things for middle income families (49% completely agree) than for lower income families (36% completely agree). In contrast, most Democratic groups are somewhat more likely to express strong support for programs directed at lower-income people than for middle class programs. On balance, however, large majorities of all Democratic groups express support for aid directed to both the middle class and to lower-income people.

Perhaps more significantly, one Republican group appears out of step with the general tenor of public opinion. A majority of ***Enterpriser Republicans*** (50%) favors using the peace dividend

for deficit reduction rather than for social spending (35%) and only a third of these fiscally conservative, pro-business GOP stalwarts are in complete agreement that a more activist government is required to deal with the problems of the middle class and the problems of poor people. Among populist Republicans, a plurality of Moralists prefer using the peace dividend for domestic programs and 49% are strong advocates of the government playing an activist role in solving the problems of the middle class.

Health Insurance Guarantees

Enterprisers also are distinguished from other segments of the public and other Republican or Republican-leaning groups by their lack of enthusiasm for the idea that the government should guarantee that everyone is covered by health insurance. Eighty-two percent of the public agree with this idea and 54% ***completely*** agree. Among Enterprisers just 28% completely agree. In contrast, 49% of Moralist Republicans totally support health insurance guarantees, as do six in ten Independents who lean to the Republican party. This is the same level at which Democratic groups concur that health insurance is required.

Altruism - Helping Others, Being Less Greedy

Enterpriser Republicans are also out of step with other Republicans, not to mention the public at large, on the issue of the country "***becoming less greedy and more caring about the less fortunate.***" Sixty percent of all people completely agree with this idea, but only 30% of Enterprisers feel this way. Among other Republicans, 63% completely agree with this statement. It's noteworthy that 70% of Disaffected Independent voters who lean to the Republican party, but are the most angry and mistrusting segment of the public, completely agree with this statement.

The strong sentiments expressed by the public in this regard are quite consistent with the Times Mirror Value trends showing the public expressing more support for government action to help the disadvantaged.

On the opposite side of the altruism argument, just 26% of those sampled express agreement with the statement that the "***government should worry more about the problems of middle income people and less about the problems of poor people***" and only 9% of the sample say they completely agree with the statement. Feeling that the problems of the poor should get less attention is more prevalent among more affluent people, among whites and among people who say they have already made up their minds to vote for George Bush next year. However, even among these groups, solid majorities of the public disagree with this idea.

Protectionism and Tax Hikes for the Rich

The survey shows the Republican party also divided on two issues that generate significant public emotion: protecting American jobs and taxing the rich. Enterpriser Republicans are unenthusiastic about protectionism and express significant opposition to the idea of increasing taxes for people who earn \$100,000 a year or more.

Among the public at large, 53% completely agree that US jobs should be protected from foreign competition, and 47% feel the same way about increasing taxes on affluent people. Among Enterprisers, only 36% favor protectionism, and 23% are strong supporters of the idea

of taxing the rich. Seculars, who are sophisticated, unreligious, socially liberal Independents, share the Enterprisers' lack of enthusiasm for protectionism - only 34% were strongly disposed toward it. Unlike Enterprisers, however, this relatively affluent group is as likely as the public at large to favor increasing the amount of taxes paid by people earning \$100,000 a year or more.

Both protectionism and tax the rich proposals strike a more responsive chord among poorer people than among affluent people. Protectionism also has greater appeal to people over fifty years of age than it does to younger elements of the population. Six in ten of those over 50 years of age completely agree that American jobs should be protected from foreign competition, compared to only 50% among younger Americans.

Triumphs Abroad

The public seems responsive to likely Republican campaign appeals that play to the victory in the Gulf and the fall of communism. A fifty-six percent majority of the public agree with the statement that the policies of Reagan and Bush helped speed the end of Communism and nearly everyone in the survey (84%) expressed agreement that the war in the Gulf showed that the U.S. can still unite and accomplish things. Almost half the public (49%) ***agree completely*** with the latter proposition and 18% ***agree completely*** that the two Republican presidents' policies abetted the end of communism.

The broad based Gulf appeal can reach voters at all points on the political spectrum, but its greatest utility to the GOP may be in rekindling the loyalty of more populist Republicans, who seem somewhat disillusioned with the course of the nation and George Bush himself. One of the few things that Enterprisers and Moralists totally agree on in the current survey is what the war in the Gulf showed and that Bush and Reagan helped bury Communism.

COMPLETELY AGREE

	<i>The Gulf War Showed That The U.S. Can Still Unite and Accomplish Things</i>	<i>The Policies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush Helped Speed The End of Communism in Russia</i>
TOTAL	49	18
Enterprisers	60	28
Moralists	58	27
Upbeats	56	27
Disaffecteds	47	13
Seculars	30	7
60's Democrats	40	10
New Dealers	44	17
Pocketbooks	50	17
Bystanders/Others	42	12

Generational and Gender Appeals

While most people agree to some extent that *"it's time for a new generation of leaders to take over in Washington"*, only one in four (24%) completely agree with the concept. However, even this is undercut by the fact that people under 30 (26%) and those 30-49 (21%) are no more likely to agree with this idea than older people (26%).

Gender appeals, on the other hand, appear to have more going for them. A somewhat larger percentage (31%) completely agreed that the country would be better served if more women were elected to Congress. Women are significantly more likely to express this view (37%) than were men (22%). Well-educated women are especially likely to feel strongly about this - 44% completely agree that the country would be improved if more women served in Congress.

There is greater support for increasing female representation in Congress among Independents (32%) and Democrats (38%) than among Republicans (21%). Among Independents who lean to the Republican party, however, there is a much greater inclination to feel there should be more women in Congress. Specifically, *Disaffecteds*, who lean to the Republican party even though they are extremely distrustful of politicians and the "system", are especially likely to say they completely agree that the country would be better off if there were more women in Congress.

A small experiment conducted in the course of the survey confirms these results. Respondent disposition to vote for three types of candidate was measured. Using a split sample

design, in half the cases the hypothetical political candidate was identified as a male and in the other half a female for each of the three candidate types.

The female version of the candidate achieves a higher *"sounds like a very good candidate"* score than the male version for each of the three hypothetical tests. A female tests better than a male as a candidate who *"headed a public health agency and was involved with Planned Parenthood"* (22% respond "very good candidate" for a female so described, versus 16% for the male). A female candidate tests better than a male as a *"public defender who had headed a an environmental commission"* (24% vs 17%). And a female version of a candidate described as a *"business executive named person of the year by the Chamber of Commerce"* tests 10% points better than the male version (37% vs 27%).

Interestingly, the experiment shows *both* men and women as more likely to vote for a female than a male candidate. Analysis of the results of the experiment also shows that Democrats and Independents are more likely to vote for a conservative-sounding business candidate when identified as a woman; Republicans, however, are not more inclined to vote for a female version of the liberal-sounding candidates.

PERCENT SAYING SOUNDS LIKE A VERY GOOD CANDIDATE

	<u>MALE VERSION</u>			<u>FEMALE VERSION</u>		
	<i>All</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
A 45 year old ___ who has headed a public health agency for 10 years and has been closely involved with Planned Parenthood	16	13	19	22	21	24
A 35 year old _____ who has worked as a public defender and the head of a local environmental commission	17	18	17	24	22	25
A business executive who was named man/woman of the year by the Chamber of Commerce for his/her commitment to community service	27	30	25	37	37	36

As the climate of opinion appears good for female candidates, the survey indicates that the public has an improved opinion of the women's movement since the mid-1980s. In the current survey 71% said they had a favorable opinion of the women's movement, while 22% rated it unfavorably. A 1985 nationwide Times Mirror survey found the public rating the women's movement 53% favorable and 30% unfavorable.

The improved image of the women's movement in the current survey is mostly a result of women having a more favorable opinion of the movement than they had in 1985. Men's opinions have improved only a little since the earlier survey.

<i>Opinion of the Women's Movement:</i>	<u>MEN</u>		<u>WOMEN</u>	
	<i>1985</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>1985</i>	<i>1991</i>
Favorable	64	69	63	72
Unfavorable	28	24	31	21
Don't know	7	8	5	7

TRENDS IN POLITICAL VALUES AND ATTITUDES

Militarism

Even in the wake of the Persian Gulf War, American attitudes about militarism are essentially unchanged since 1987. A bare majority (52%) still say that the best way to ensure peace is through military strength, although the number who disagree has risen slightly, from 40% in 1987 to 45% in the current survey. The population is divided by the belief that the United States should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of it: 45% agree with this and 51% disagree. Three-quarters (74%) *don't* believe that American lives are worth more than the lives of people in other countries. One issue that has seen a small increase in support since the Gulf War is a moral obligation to military service. Sixty percent today say that we should all be willing to fight for our country, right or wrong, compared with 54% in 1987.

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>
MILITARISM			
It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the United States			
Agree	44	47	45
Disagree	47	46	51
Don't know	$\frac{9}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$
Total	100	100	100
The best way to ensure peace is through military strength			
Agree	54	52	52
Disagree	40	44	45
Don't know	$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$
Total	100	100	100
American lives are worth more than the lives of people in other countries			
Agree	24	28	23
Disagree	71	68	74
Don't know	$\frac{5}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$
Total	100	100	100
	<i>1987</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>
We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong			
Agree	54	55	60
Disagree	40	40	37
Don't know	$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{5}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$
Total	100	100	100

Political Alienation and Participation

The 1990 Times Mirror Typology Survey found an alienated electorate that was tired of business as usual in Washington. This trend has continued and grown stronger in 1991. Eighty-four percent of the public now say that elected officials in Washington lose touch with people pretty quickly, up from 78% in 1990 and 73% in 1987. In 1987, nearly half of Americans agreed that elected officials ***"care about people like me"*** (47%). In 1991 that figure has dwindled to one-third (36%). Three-quarters of the public (77%) now say that it is time for DC politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders, and this is a substantial increase in just the past year (61%). The older and wealthier segments of society register the most frustration with the Washington status quo: there has been a seventeen-point increase in the number of people over age 50 who feel this way (64% in 1987 to 81% in 1991), and a twenty-point increase among people from families with incomes of \$50,000 or more (50% in '87 to 70% in '91).

There has also been a slow, steady erosion of the public's confidence that the government is run for the benefit of all people. Only 48% agree with this statement today, compared with 52% in 1990 and 57% in 1987. Once again, older Americans show some of the highest levels of alienation: only two in five (42%) people over age fifty now believe this, compared with three in five (57%) in 1987. Whites (58% in 1987 vs. 48% in 1991) and people from households with annual incomes between \$20,000 and \$50,000 (60% in '87 vs. 48% in '91) also having growing doubts that the government is run for the benefit of all people.

Despite a professed lack of faith in politicians, Americans continue to express feelings of empowerment. Three-quarters (74%) believe that ***"voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things"***. Ninety-three percent now say they feel it is their duty as a citizen to vote, up from 85% in 1987 and 1990. Even in the face of such high support for the power of the vote, just as many people agree (50%) as disagree (50%) that ***"people like me have any say about what the government does"***.

Paradoxically, the public reports greater interest in following current events at the same time that it expresses strong feelings of alienation. More Americans today say that they are interested in keeping up with national affairs (90% in 1991 vs. 81% in 1987) but at the same time more are bored by what goes on in Washington (52% in '91 vs. 42% in '87). One-third (34%) feel that most issues in Washington don't affect them personally.

Local politics are also attracting increased interest: 77% in the current survey say they follow local politics, up from 70% in 1990 and 1987.

Given the current mistrust of politicians and their interests, it is not surprising that two-thirds of the public (64%) claim they do not pay attention to what a candidate calls himself. But half (54%) admit they sometimes vote for a candidate without knowing enough about them.

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>
<i>POLITICAL ALIENATION</i>			
People like me don't have any say about what the government does			
Agree	52	57	50
Disagree	46	52	50
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
Total	100	100	100
Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly			
Agree	73	78	84
Disagree	24	19	15
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100
Most elected officials care what people like me think			
Agree	47	44	36
Disagree	49	53	62
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100
Voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things			
Agree	78	73	74
Disagree	19	25	24
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100
The government is really run for the benefit of all the people			
Agree	57	52	48
Disagree	39	45	50
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>
<i>POLITICAL PARTICIPATION</i>			
I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote			
Agree	85	85	93
Disagree	12	13	6
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100
I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs			
Agree	81	82	90
Disagree	15	16	9
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100
I'm pretty interested in following local politics			
Agree	70	70	77
Disagree	26	29	21
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100
I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote			
Agree	66	67	74
Disagree	28	30	22
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100
I'm generally bored by what goes on in Washington			
Agree	42	48	52
Disagree	54	50	46
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100
Most issues in Washington don't affect me personally			
Agree	31	35	34
Disagree	65	62	64
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100
	<i>1987</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>
I sometimes vote for a candidate without knowing enough about them			
Agree	53	53	54
Disagree	41	42	44
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100

ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLITICIANS

Time for politicians to step
aside and make room for new
leaders

Agree	62	61	77
Disagree	29	30	20
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100

I don't pay attention to what a
candidate calls himself

Agree	61	64	64
Disagree	33	32	32
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100

Individual Alienation

At the same time that Americans are feeling politically alienated, there has been a rising sense of individual alienation as well. In the face of the recession, more and more people agree that hard work offers no guarantee of success. Forty-four percent say this in 1991, compared with 36% last year and less than a third (29%) in the relative boom times of 1987. There has also been a six-point increase since 1987 (74% in 1987 vs. 80% in 1991) in the number saying that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Increased support for this sentiment is expressed most strongly by Democrats (74% in 1987 vs. 90% in 1991) and members of families with incomes between \$20,000 and \$50,000 (72% in '87 vs. 82% in '91), who are feeling the current financial crunch more acutely than families with lower or upper incomes.

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>
<i>INDIVIDUAL ALIENATION</i>			
Hard work offers little guarantee of success			
Agree	29	36	44
Disagree	68	63	54
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100
It's true that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer			
Agree	74	78	80
Disagree	22	19	18
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100

Personal Financial Pressure

The recession has had an obvious impact on questions pertaining to the pocketbook. Today half of all Americans (52%) say that money is one of their most important concerns. Since 1987 the number of people who say they often don't have enough money to make ends meet has grown consistently. Half (51%) the population now agree with this, up four points since last year (47%) and eight points since 1987 (43%).

Predictably, there has been a steady decline in the number who say that they are pretty well satisfied with the way things are going financially. In 1991 56% say this, compared with 58% in 1990 and 63% in 1987. This trend is most pronounced among women (62% in 1987 vs. 53% in 1991), people from families with annual incomes between \$20,000 and \$50,000 (70% in '87 vs. 56% in '91), and Easterners (67% in '87 vs. 55% in '91), who benefitted highly from the Eighties' real estate and financial markets that are now struggling.

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>
<i>PERSONAL FINANCIAL PRESSURE</i>			
I often don't have enough money to make ends meet			
Agree	43	47	51
Disagree	55	52	48
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100
Money is one of my most important concerns			
Agree	47	53	52
Disagree	51	46	47
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100
I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially			
Agree	63	58	56
Disagree	35	41	42
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100

Personal Freedoms

Tolerance for gays has risen substantially since 1987. More than half (56%) the population now thinks it is wrong for school boards to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals. This is a fourteen-point increase since the question was asked in 1987 (42%).

The public remains divided on the question of banning books that contain dangerous ideas from public school libraries: 49% agree, and 48% disagree.

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>
<i>PERSONAL FREEDOMS</i>			
School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals			
Agree	51	49	39
Disagree	42	45	56
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	100	100	100
Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries			
Agree	50	50	49
Disagree	44	45	48
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100

Racial Tolerance and Equal Rights

There is a growing awareness among whites that the lives of blacks have not improved much in the past few years. In 1987⁶, only 25% of whites agreed with this idea, but in 1991 two in five (41%) now believe this to be true. Blacks have consistently agreed with this much more than whites: two-thirds (67%) expressed this view in 1987, and agreement has climbed slightly (73%) in the current survey.

As many previous surveys have demonstrated, blacks and whites differ widely on the question of quotas. Only one-quarter of whites (26%) believe that every possible effort should be made to improve the standing of blacks and other minorities, even if this means giving preferential treatment. Three in five (60%) blacks espouse this view. But despite this opposition to preferential treatment, most Americans (59%) disagree with the idea that we have gone too far pushing equal rights in this country. Ninety-four percent say that our society should do whatever is necessary to ensure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed. Americans like to think of themselves as fair, and white disapproval of quotas reflects the feeling that affirmative action measures give unfair advantages to blacks.

⁶ Due to an observed methodological difference in responses to racial questions in personal and telephone interviews, only results of phone interviews conducted in 1987 and the current survey are compared. In 1990 only personal interviews were conducted, so comparisons are not made.

Interracial dating is now seen as OK by nearly two-thirds of whites (63%), compared with 56% in 1987. Blacks largely approved of this in 1987 (84%) and still do (86%).

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1991</i>
<i>RACIAL TOLERANCE/BASED ON WHITES</i>		
In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country		
Agree	25	41
Disagree	72	52
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	100	100
I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other		
Agree	56	63
Disagree	40	33
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100
We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment		
Agree	25	26
Disagree	72	71
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1991</i>
<i>RACIAL TOLERANCE/BASED ON BLACKS</i>		
In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country		
Agree	67	73
Disagree	32	25
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100
I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other		
Agree	84	86
Disagree	12	10
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100
We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment		
Agree	62	60
Disagree	37	34
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>
Total	100	100

Welfarism

With more awareness of homelessness and stronger calls for government action to solve social problems, there is increased support for the notion that the government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep. The current survey finds seventy-three percent in agreement with this, compared with 62% in 1987 and 1990. Support for this topic has grown most strongly in the past four years among Democrats (62% in 1987 vs. 82% in 1991) and people under age 30 (64% in '87 vs. 84% in '91). Half the public (50%) believes that the government should do more to help needy people, even if this means going deeper into debt.

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>
<i>WELFARISM</i>			
Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed			
Agree	90	91	94
Disagree	8	7	5
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100
The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt			
Agree	53	51	50
Disagree	40	44	46
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100
The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep			
Agree	62	62	73
Disagree	33	34	25
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100
We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country			
Agree	42	43	38
Disagree	53	53	59
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100

Attitudes Toward Government

At the same time that the public would like government to adopt a more activist approach to handling social problems for both the middle class and poor people, the public continues to subscribe to the longstanding view that government doesn't work well. Two-thirds (68%) say that when something is run by the government it is usually wasteful and inefficient, and a similar proportion (62%) feel that the federal government controls too much of our daily lives.

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>
<i>GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES</i>			
When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful			
Agree	63	67	68
Disagree	31	29	30
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100
The federal government controls too much of our daily lives			
Agree	58	62	62
Disagree	37	34	36
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100

Importance of Religion and Traditionalist Values

Religion remains extremely important to a vast majority of Americans. Eighty-eight percent say they never doubt the existence of God, and four out of five Americans (80%) say that prayer is an important part of their daily lives. Three-quarters (76%) of the public says that there are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone, regardless of their situation.

After a decade with a divorce rate hovering near the fifty percent mark, slightly fewer Americans say they have old-fashioned values about family and marriage. Although the percentage agreeing is still quite high (81%), it is down six percent from 1990 and 1987 (87%). There has been a similar drop in the number who feel that women should return to their traditional role in society: only 23% now agree with this, down from 30% in 1990 and 1987.

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>
<i>RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM</i>			
Prayer is an important part of my daily life			
Agree	76	77	80
Disagree	23	22	19
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100
 I never doubt the existence of God			
Agree	88	87	88
Disagree	10	11	11
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100
 <i>TRADITIONALIST VALUES</i>			
Women should return to their traditional role in society			
Agree	30	30	23
Disagree	66	67	74
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100
 I have old-fashioned values about family and marriage			
Agree	87	87	81
Disagree	11	12	18
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100
 There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation			
Agree	79	79	76
Disagree	16	17	22
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100

Business Attitudes

The 1987 and 1990 surveys found the public to be very critical of business, and these attitudes are largely unchanged. Four out of five (80%) feel that too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few big companies, and two thirds (65%) think corporations make too much profit. Since the recession, business has actually gained detractors: 57% now disagree with the assertion that corporations strike a fair balance between profits and public interest, compared with 48% in 1987. At the same time, three-quarters (76%) acknowledge that the strength of the U.S. today is based on American business.

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>
<i>BUSINESS ATTITUDES</i>			
There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies			
Agree	77	77	80
Disagree	18	18	17
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100
Business corporations make too much profit			
Agree	65	63	65
Disagree	28	30	30
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	100	100	100
The strength of the U.S. today is based on american business			
Agree	76	77	77
Disagree	19	17	20
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100
Corporations strike fair balance between profits and public interest			
Agree	43	43	40
Disagree	48	50	57
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100

THE GOVERNMENT IS REALLY RUN FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL THE PEOPLE

MOSTLY & COMPLETELY AGREE

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>% Diff.</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	57	48	9
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	58	48	10
Female	56	48	8
<i>Age</i>			
18-29	63	60	3
30-49	54	46	8
50+	57	42	15
<i>Race</i>			
White	58	48	10
Black	49	46	3
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republican	67	54	13
Democrat	54	48	6
Independent	55	44	11
<i>Family Income</i>			
\$50K+	55	51	4
\$30-49,999	59	48	11
\$20-29,999	61	48	13
>\$20K	55	48	7
<i>Region</i>			
East	58	49	9
Midwest	56	46	10
South	60	50	10
West	54	46	8

MOST ELECTED OFFICIALS CARE WHAT PEOPLE LIKE ME THINK

MOSTLY & COMPLETELY AGREE

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>% Diff.</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	47	36	11
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	47	36	11
Female	48	36	12
<i>Age</i>			
18-29	44	35	9
30-49	46	34	12
50+	51	39	12
<i>Race</i>			
White	49	36	13
Black	37	34	3
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republican	57	39	18
Democrat	41	36	5
Independent	47	32	15
<i>Income</i>			
\$50K+	51	38	13
\$30-49,999	52	36	16
\$20-29,999	45	36	9
>\$20K	45	34	11
<i>Region</i>			
East	49	31	18
Midwest	46	40	6
South	48	37	11
West	46	35	11

IT'S TIME FOR POLITICIANS TO STEP ASIDE AND MAKE ROOM FOR NEW LEADERS

MOSTLY & COMPLETELY AGREE

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>% Diff.</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	62	77	15
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	62	76	14
Female	61	78	17
<i>Age</i>			
18-29	60	73	13
30-49	60	76	16
50+	64	81	17
<i>Race</i>			
White	60	76	16
Black	73	85	12
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republican	50	71	21
Democrat	61	81	20
Independent	70	80	10
<i>Income</i>			
\$50K+	50	70	20
\$30-49,999	57	78	21
\$20-29,999	64	78	14
>\$20K	67	80	13
<i>Region</i>			
East	59	82	23
Midwest	65	75	10
South	61	78	17
West	62	74	12

TODAY IT'S TRUE THAT THE RICH GET RICHER AND THE POOR GET POORER

MOSTLY & COMPLETELY AGREE

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>% Diff.</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	74	80	6
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	73	78	5
Female	76	81	5
<i>Age</i>			
18-29	73	80	7
30-49	74	82	8
50+	76	77	1
<i>Race</i>			
White	72	78	6
Black	87	93	6
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republican	62	68	6
Democrat	74	90	6
Independent	84	79	5
<i>Income</i>			
\$50K+	65	66	1
\$30-49,999	70	79	9
\$20-29,999	75	87	12
>\$20K	80	85	5
<i>Region</i>			
East	74	81	7
Midwest	77	76	1
South	74	81	7
West	72	81	9

I'M PRETTY WELL SATISFIED WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING FOR ME FINANCIALLY

MOSTLY & COMPLETELY AGREE

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>% Diff.</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	63	56	7
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	64	61	3
Female	62	53	9
<i>Age</i>			
18-29	54	49	5
30-49	61	54	7
50+	72	65	7
<i>Race</i>			
White	67	59	8
Black	39	38	1
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republican	73	66	7
Democrat	61	53	8
Independent	59	52	7
<i>Income</i>			
\$50K+	82	74	8
\$30-49,999	73	62	11
\$20-29,999	64	49	15
>\$20K	52	45	7
<i>Region</i>			
East	67	55	12
Midwest	65	62	3
South	61	57	4
West	59	51	8

THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD GUARANTEE EVERY CITIZEN ENOUGH TO EAT AND A PLACE TO SLEEP

MOSTLY & COMPLETELY AGREE

	<i>1987</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>% Diff.</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	62	73	11
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	59	68	9
Female	65	77	12
<i>Age</i>			
18-29	64	84	20
30-49	60	72	12
50+	62	67	5
<i>Race</i>			
White	59	71	12
Black	80	92	12
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republican	46	62	16
Democrat	62	82	20
Independent	73	74	1
<i>Income</i>			
\$50K+	54	68	14
\$30-49,999	57	67	10
\$20-29,999	57	73	16
>\$20K	69	81	12
<i>Region</i>			
East	71	80	9
Midwest	62	73	11
South	58	70	12
West	56	68	12

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in *THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990*. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year *The Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press* has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research. There are two core Republican groups - *Enterprisers and Moralists*. Enterprisers are fiscal conservatives, who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. Moralists are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older and many live in the South.

There are three core Democratic groups. *Sixties Democrats* are strong believers in social justice, are adverse to the use of military force and experience low financial pressure. They are a heavily female, middle class, middle aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers also do not experience a lot of financial pressure, but they are advocates of a tough defense policy and are socially conservative. Drawn heavily from the South, the roots of these Democrats who defected in some numbers to Reagan and Bush go all the way back to FDR's presidency. *Pocketbook Democrats* are very concerned with social justice and the government taking a more active role in the solution of the social and economic problems these people face on a day to day basis. Many minority members, poor people and people with less than a high school education are Pocketbook Dems.

There are three typology groups who are basically Independent. *Seculars* lean to the Democratic party, however some identify more closely with the GOP. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms and profess no religious belief. Seculars are well-informed, relatively affluent and more often found in the East and on the West Coast.

Two Independent groups lean to the Republican party. *Disaffecteds* are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle aged, lower middle income group contains many blue collar workers. *Upbeats* are also Independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats contain many young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also

have American Exceptionalist values, believing that Americans can always solve their problems and there are not limits to this country's power.

The final group in the Times Mirror typology are *Bystanders* who reflect an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socioeconomic group contains many young singles.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

	<i>PERCENT</i>
Enterprisers	12
Moralists	14
Upbeats	10
Disaffecteds	17
Bystanders	6
Seculars	9
60's Democrats	9
New Dealers	7
Pocketbook Dems.	11
Unclassified	5

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2,020 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of October 31 - November 10, 1991. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points.

For the questions that measured preferences for the presidential election the sample was divided into two random halves. 1,010 respondents were asked to choose between George Bush and an unnamed Democrat, while the other half sample was asked to choose between George Bush and Mario Cuomo. The sampling error for results of each question is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

The results of the Democratic nomination question is based upon 868 interviews with Democrats and Independents who say they lean to the Democratic party. The margin of sampling error for these results is plus or minus 4 percentage points

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

**TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
POLITICAL SURVEY I
OCTOBER 31 - NOVEMBER 10, 1991
N=2,020**

SEX: 1[]Male 2[]Female INTERVIEWER'S NAME:
 TIME STARTED: INTERVIEWER'S I.D.:
 TIME FINISHED: PAGE NUMBER:
 LENGTH: REPLICATE NUMBER:
 REGION: 1 East STRATUM: 1 Stratum One
 2 Midwest 2 Stratum Two
 3 South 3 Remainder
 4 West
 DATE:

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am _____ calling for the Princeton Survey Research Associates from Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

My first question is...

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

		NEWS INTEREST INDEX					
		Oct 1991	July 1991	May 1991	March 1991	Jan 25 1991	Jan 3 1991
55	Approve	61	67	77	84	79	59
33	Disapprove	28	23	16	10	14	24
<u>12</u> 100	Don't know	<u>10</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100

Q.2 I am going to read to you the names of some possible candidates for the Democratic nomination for President. After I read all the names would you tell me which one you would most like to see nominated as the Democratic parties candidate for President?
(ROTATE LIST)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '8' JACKSON TO Q.2 ASK:

Q.2a And who would be your second choice?

IF ANSWERED '9' OTHER OR '10' DON'T KNOW IN Q.2 ASK:

Q.3 Well as of today, to whom do you most lean? (REREAD LIST)

7BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND LEANERS

- 4 Former Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas
- 8 Virginia Governor Douglas Wilder
- 5 Nebraska Senator Robert Kerrey
- 6 Iowa Senator Tom Harkin
- 30 New York Governor Mario Cuomo
- 18 Former California Governor Jerry Brown
- 9 Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton
- 0 District of Columbia Senate Representative Jesse Jackson
- 2 Other
- 25 Don't know

FORM 1

Q.4 Would you like to see George Bush re-elected President in 1992 or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election?

	<u>Total Registered Respondents</u>	<u>Voters</u>
Bush re-elected - GO TO Q4B	41	41
Prefer Democrat - GO TO Q4B	43	44
Not sure (VOL) - GO TO Q.5C	<u>16</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100

⁷ Jackson preferences redistributed on the basis of second choices.

IF ANSWERED '1' BUSH RE-ELECTED OR '2' PREFER DEMOCRAT ASK:

Q.4b Have you pretty much decided how you will vote in the Presidential election or is there a chance that you might change your mind?

	<u>Total Registered Respondents</u>	<u>Voters</u>
<u>Bush</u> Made up mind - GO TO Q5C	19	19
Might change - GO TO Q5C	22	22
<u>Democrat</u> Made up mind - GO TO Q5C	17	18
Might change - GO TO Q5C	26	26
Not sure (VOL) - GO TO Q5C	$\frac{16}{100}$	$\frac{15}{100}$

FORM 2

Q.5 Suppose the 1992 Presidential election were being held today. If George Bush was the Republican candidate and New York Governor Mario Cuomo were the Democratic candidate who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.5 ASK:

Q.5a As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican or do you lean more to Mario Cuomo the Democrat?

	<u>Total Registered Respondents</u>	<u>Voters</u>
Bush with leaners	58	57
Cuomo with leaners	37	39
Other/Undecided	$\frac{5}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$

Q.5b Have you pretty much decided how you will vote in the Presidential election or is there a chance that you might change your mind?

	<u>Total Registered Respondents</u>	<u>Voters</u>
Bush firm	21	22
Bush soft	28	27
Cuomo firm	15	16
Cuomo soft	25	25

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.5c What is the most important problem facing you in your life these days?

- 25 Finances/Money/Making ends meet
- 18 Economy/Recession
- 13 Jobs/Unemployment
- 8 Have no pressing problems
- 8 Taxes
- 6 Cost of health care/Insurance/Drugs
- 4 Old age/Social Security/Medicare
- 3 Personal health
- 3 Health care-quality/Availability
- 3 Crime/drugs
- 3 Quality of education
- 2 Personal/Interpersonal issues
- 2 Cost of education
- 2 Raising/Caring for children
- 1 Morality/General decline
- 1 Bush's inattention to domestic issues
- 6 Other
- 3 Refused/No answer

Q.6 In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the U.S. at this time?

		May <u>1990</u>	Jan. <u>1989</u>	Oct. <u>1988</u>	May <u>1988</u>	Jan. <u>1988</u>
34	Satisfied	<u>41</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>39</u>
61	Dissatisfied	54	50	40	54	55
<u>5</u> 100	Don't know	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100

Q.6a As I read from a list, tell me which ONE of the following eight items is the most important thing for the President to do in the future?

Q.6b Which should be the President's second highest priority? (**REREAD LIST**)

	Reduce unemployment
25	Highest
20	Second
	Improve the quality of education
22	Highest
16	Second
	Improve healthcare
18	Highest
20	Second
	Reform the U.S. banking and financial industry
12	Highest
14	Second
	Improve the environment
8	Highest
10	Second
	Make sure that Iraq does not get nuclear weapons
5	Highest
6	Second
	Achieve a lasting peace in the Mideast
4	Highest
5	Second
	Help the Russians convert to a market economy
2	Highest
3	Second

FORM 1

Q.6c Do you think our economic system needs a major shake up or do you think that our economic system is basically sound but needs some reform?

35	Major changes
62	Sound some reform
*	No change needed
<u>3</u>	Don't know
100	

FORM 2

Q.6c Do you think our political system needs a major shake up or do you think that our political system is basically sound and only needs some new leaders?

43	Major changes
52	Sound, some new leaders
1	No change needed (VOL)
$\frac{4}{100}$	Don't worry (VOL)

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.7 Thinking about your own situation, compared to four years ago, would you say that you are better off financially today or worse off financially today?

		⁸ May <u>1987</u>
40	Better off	$\frac{48}{100}$
43	Worse off	20
16	Same (VOL)	31
$\frac{1}{100}$	Don't know (VOL)	$\frac{1}{100}$

Q.8 Now looking ahead, do you expect that at this time next year you will be financially better off than now, or worse off than now?

		May <u>1990</u>	Jan. <u>1989</u>	May <u>1988</u>	Jan. <u>1988</u>
49	Better	$\frac{44}{100}$	$\frac{54}{100}$	$\frac{54}{100}$	$\frac{46}{100}$
26	Worse	24	15	10	18
17	Same (VOL)	27	28	31	30
$\frac{8}{100}$	Don't know (VOL)	$\frac{5}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{5}{100}$	$\frac{6}{100}$

⁸ In 1987 the question was asked, "Compared to five years ago, would you say you are better off financially, worse off financially, or about the same?"

Q.8a What do you personally worry about more -- that prices will go up, or that you or a family member will become unemployed?

52 Prices
39 Unemployment
7 Neither (**VOL**)
 $\frac{2}{100}$ Don't know (**VOL**)

Q.9 Do you think the chances are high, low or almost zero that some time in the next 12 months an adult in your family will be out of work and actively looking for a job?

27 High
28 Low
30 Almost zero
5 Someone out of work now (**VOL**)
6 Retired (**VOL**)
 $\frac{4}{100}$ Don't know/No answer

Q.10 Which one of the following do you have the most difficulty affording?

19 The cost of housing
9 The cost of an automobile
11 The cost of food, clothing and other regular expenses
31 The cost of health care
7 The cost of retirement or,
18 The cost of a college education
4 None (**VOL**)
 $\frac{1}{100}$ Don't know (**VOL**)

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.11 I'd like your opinion of some types of candidates who are considering running for office. As I read a description tell me, if you think that such a person generally sounds like someone who would make a good candidate for Congress.

(READ DESCRIPTION)

Does such a person sound like a very good candidate, a fairly good candidate or not a good candidate?

	<u>Very Good Candidate</u>	<u>Fairly Good Candidate</u>	<u>Not a Good Candidate</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Form 1				
a. A 45 year old woman who has headed a public health agency for 10 years and has been closely involved with Planned Parenthood	22	51	22	5=100
Form 2				
a. A 45 year old man who has headed a public health agency for 10 years and has been closely involved with Planned Parenthood	16	55	23	6=100
Form 1				
b. A 35 year old woman who has worked as a public defender and the head of a local environmental commission	24	50	20	6=100
Form 2				
b. A 35 year old man who has worked as a public defender and the head of a local environmental commission	17	51	27	5=100
Form 1				
c. A business executive who was named man of the year by the Chamber of Commerce for his commitment to community service	27	46	21	6=100
Form 2				
c. A business executive who was named woman of the year by the Chamber of Commerce for her commitment to community service	37	42	17	4=100

Q.12 I am going to read some statements that candidates may be making next year in the election campaign. For each statement tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is ...

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Drugs should be legalized to take the profits out of drug dealing	7	9	19	63	2=100
b. It's time for a younger generation of leaders to take over in Washington	24	38	24	10	4=100
c. The Gulf War showed that the U.S. can still unite and accomplish things	49	35	7	6	3=100
d. There should be a limit on how many terms a person can serve in Congress	55	25	10	8	2=100
e. The country would be better off if there were more women serving in Congress in the future	31	38	16	8	7=100
f. The policies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush helped speed the end of communism in Russia	18	38	19	14	11=100
g. Taxes should be increased for people who earn \$100,000 a year or more	47	27	12	11	3=100

FORM 1

h. Government should play an active role in improving healthcare, housing and education for middle income families	52	32	10	4	2=100
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FORM 2

h. Government should play an active role in improving healthcare, housing and education for lower income families	53	35	7	4	1=100
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	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
i. It's time that people in this country become less greedy and care more about the less fortunate	60	29	6	4	1=100
j. American jobs should be protected from foreign competition	53	27	12	5	3=100
k. We should stop reducing the quantity and quality of needed government services such as police, hospitals and roads and highway repairs	30	23	18	26	3=100
l. A woman's right to decide about abortion should be preserved	55	19	8	15	3=100
m. The government should worry more about the problems of middle class people and less about the problems of poor people	9	17	33	36	5=100
n. The government should guarantee that everyone is covered by health insurance	53	29	10	6	2=100

ON A DIFFERENT TOPIC ...

Q.13 Which ONE of the following, if any, has had the greatest effect on your political beliefs?
(**READ LIST, RE-READ IF NECESSARY**)

Q.14 And which would you name next? (**RE-READ LIST IF NECESSARY**)

	The War in the Gulf
26	Highest
18	Second
	The Saving & Loan Crisis
17	Highest
13	Second
	The end of Communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union
12	Highest
16	Second
	The Clarence Thomas - Anita Hill Controversy
14	Highest
13	Second
	The Supreme Court decision that allows states to restrict abortion
12	Highest
14	Second

Q.14a Do you happen to know in what year the War in the Gulf ended?

87 Yes

$\frac{13}{100}$ No/Don't know - **SKIP TO Q.15**

Q.14b Which year?

76 1991

10 1990

* Earlier than 1990

$\frac{14}{100}$ Don't know/No answer

Q.15 If it turns out that less money will be spent on defense than in the past because of reduced tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, which ONE of the following should we do with the money we save on defense? (**READ LIST**)

10 Use it for a tax cut

27 Use it to reduce the budget deficit, or

61 Use it for increased spending on domestic programs such as health, education and the environment

$\frac{2}{100}$ Don't know

Q.16 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)**

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	22	28	28	21	1=100
b. Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly	41	43	11	4	1=100
c. Most elected officials care what people like me think	7	29	39	23	2=100
d. Voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things	32	42	15	9	2=100
e. Hard work offers little guarantee of success	20	24	29	25	2=100
f. The strength of this country today is mostly based on the success of American business	29	47	15	6	3=100
g. When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful	32	36	23	7	2=100
h. The federal government controls too much of our daily lives	32	31	28	7	2=100
i. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	11	37	34	16	2=100

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
j. Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public interest	8	32	38	19	3=100
k. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	41	39	14	3	3=100
l. Business corporations make too much profit	29	36	23	7	5=100
m. It is time for Washington politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders	32	45	16	4	3=100
n. As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	19	49	22	8	2=100
o. I don't believe that there are any real limits to growth in this country today	24	38	26	9	3=100
p. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed	64	30	3	2	1=100
q. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country	16	22	32	27	3=100
r. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	20	31	31	15	3=100
s. The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep	41	32	16	9	2=100
t. I don't pay attention to whether a candidate calls himself a liberal or a conservative	31	33	18	14	4=100

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
u. I am very patriotic	58	33	5	2	2=100
v. In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country	17	28	33	16	6=100
w. I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other	35	31	12	18	4=100
x. We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment	10	20	33	34	3=100
y. It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the United States	21	24	31	20	4=100
z. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	21	31	29	16	3=100
aa. American lives are worth more than the lives of people in other countries	11	12	28	46	3=100
bb. We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	30	30	21	16	3=100
cc. It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs	54	38	4	2	2=100

Q.17 I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. First, would you describe your opinion of (ITEM) as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
a. George Bush	25	46	17	9	0	3=100
May, 1990	24	52	15	7	0	2=100
January, 1989	24	54	9	4		9=100
*October, 1988	23	35	20	17		5=100
*September, 1988	19	40	20	17		4=100
*August, 1988	25	40	18	12		5=100
May, 1988	11	40	25	17		7=100
January, 1988	11	41	26	13		9=100
September, 1987	18	51	19	8		4=100
May, 1987	11	56	19	7		7=100
b. Dan Quayle	9	40	28	15	1	7=100
May, 1990	6	41	24	15	4	10=100
*October, 1988	10	33	21	24	*	12=100
*September, 1988	9	32	17	15	2	25=100
*August, 1988	12	38	19	9	2	20=100
c. Mario Cuomo	13	37	14	7	17	12=100
May, 1990	9	28	12	5	30	16=100
d. Paul Tsongas	3	21	11	3	40	22=100
e. Douglas Wilder	4	25	11	3	35	22=100
f. Bob Kerrey	5	24	8	2	41	20=100
g. Tom Harkin	3	24	10	2	38	23=100
h. Bill Clinton	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
i. Jesse Jackson	12	44	25	13	1	5=100
May, 1990	12	38	23	22	1	4=100
May, 1988	11	35	27	19	1	7=100
September, 1987	12	37	26	19	*	6=100
May, 1987	13	38	24	17	2	6=100
j. The Supreme Court	18	54	16	5	0	7=100
May, 1990	10	55	18	7	1	9=100
January, 1988	14	65	11	2	*	8=100
May, 1987	13	63	15	2	*	7=100

*Based on registered voters

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
k. The Congress	7	44	34	9	0	6=100
May, 1990	6	53	25	9	1	6=100
May, 1988	8	56	23	5	0	8=100
January, 1988	6	58	25	4	0	7=100
May, 1987	10	64	16	4	*	6=100
January, 1987	7	52	23	8	0	10=100
June, 1985	9	58	21	5	*	7=100
l. The daily newspaper you are most familiar with	24	56	11	5	0	4=100
March, 1991	30	55	7	3	*	5=100
May, 1990	22	56	12	5	*	5=100
August, 1989	25	52	12	5		6=100
January, 1989	22	56	13	4		5=100
*August, 1988	30	48	10	5		7=100
May, 1988	19	59	13	4		5=100
January 27, 1988	19	62	11	3		5=100
January 7-18, 1988	21	59	12	4		4=100
October, 1987	21	58	9	4		8=100
May, 1987	22	59	12	3		4=100
January, 1987	19	57	13	6		5=100
July, 1986	28	51	11	6		4=100
August, 1985	25	52	10	5		8=100
June, 1985	25	56	8	3		8=100
m. Network TV news	24	51	16	5	0	4=100
March, 1991	40	51	5	2	0	2=100
May, 1990	22	60	12	3	*	3=100
August, 1989	28	54	11	3		4=100
January, 1989	21	61	12	3		3=100
*August, 1988	29	52	9	5		5=100
May, 1988	20	58	14	4		4=100
January 27, 1988	12	69	13	3		3=100
January 7-18, 1988	18	60	14	4		4=100
October, 1987	19	62	10	3		6=100
May, 1987	21	63	11	3		2=100
January, 1987	19	55	16	6		4=100
July, 1986	30	53	10	4		3=100
August, 1985	30	51	8	2		7=100
June, 1985	25	59	8	2		6=100

***Based on registered voters**

		<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	(VOL) <u>Never Heard Of</u>	(VOL) <u>Can't Rate</u>
n.	The CIA	8	42	26	9	0	15=100
	May, 1990	8	40	22	11	1	18=100
	May, 1987	5	35	35	11	*	14=100
	January, 1987	6	32	23	11	0	28=100
	July, 1986	7	43	18	6	1	25=100
	June, 1985	7	42	23	10	2	16=100
o.	Business corporations	8	57	22	6	0	7=100
	January, 1988	6	53	27	5	*	9=100
	June, 1985	8	50	24	7	1	10=100
p.	The women's movement	19	52	16	6	0	7=100
	June, 1985	19	44	19	11	1	6=100
q.	David Duke	1	11	17	32	28	11=100

Q.18 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is...
(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Prayer is an important part of my daily life	50	30	13	6	1=100
b. I never doubt the existence of God	71	17	8	3	1=100
c. School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals	23	16	28	28	5=100
d. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	29	20	20	28	3=100
e. Women should return to their traditional role in society	10	13	26	49	2=100
f. I have old-fashioned values about family and marriage	49	32	10	8	1=100
g. There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	42	34	13	9	2=100
h. Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	45	35	13	5	2=100
i. I can usually tell whether I'll have a lot in common with someone by knowing how much education he or she has	10	22	40	27	1=100
j. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	27	24	32	16	1=100

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
k. Money is one of my most important concerns	23	29	29	18	1=100
l. I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially	16	41	26	16	1=100
m. I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote	72	21	4	2	1=100
n. I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	46	44	7	2	1=100
o. I'm generally bored by what goes on in Washington	16	36	30	16	2=100
p. I'm pretty interested in following local politics	29	48	16	5	2=100
q. Most issues discussed in Washington don't affect me personally	8	25	41	23	3=100
r. I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	46	28	14	8	4=100
s. Sometimes I vote for a candidate without really knowing enough about him or her	18	36	22	22	2=100

Q.19 How often would you say you vote -- always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

38 Always

37 Nearly always

13 Part of the time

9 Seldom

0 Other (SPECIFY)

3 Never vote

$\frac{*}{100}$ Don't know/no answer