

SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW

On the eve of the national political conventions the American electorate is composed of three generations that are likely to play vastly different roles in the coming election. Americans over 50 may be the first generation of older people in modern history to spearhead a political revolution, and middle-aged people, clustered in the oversized "*baby boom*" generation, are at last poised to make their presence felt on election day.

"The Generations Divide," a Times Mirror survey of 3500 Americans of voting age, suggests a strong possibility that turnout this November will be higher than was the case in the presidential election of 1988. Nevertheless, the "*21st Century Voter*" generation of people under 35 continues to be uncritical of the American political system, indifferent to the process that shapes its content and substantially less likely than its older fellow citizens to go to the polls.

In dramatic contrast to past eras of social and political transition the vanguard of the movement toward political change is composed of older Americans. It is those citizens over 50, among Democrats, Independents and Republicans alike, who express most discontent with the way the system works, who call most vigorously for a change in political leadership and who are most ill at ease with the change in social attitudes and standards that are much more readily accepted by younger Americans.

The eighth in a series of Campaign '92 reports by the *Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press* is focused on how Americans of different generations are responding to the election campaign, on the nature of differences in the political values of the generations and on the foundations of the generation gap in political participation that is sapping the strength from voter participation in national elections.

While younger voters, especially those under 35, lean to the GOP, older voters, on balance, continue to show stronger support for the Democratic party and to be George Bush's harshest critics. Older voters were the first to be attracted to independent candidate Ross Perot and continue to express stronger personal enthusiasm for him than do people under 50 years of age.

Confounding basic concepts of political science and sociology, it is older people who say they want to run risks for the sake of change. Close to two out of three older Americans take the position that new leadership is needed, *even if* there's a chance it will be ineffective. Fewer than half of those under 30 favor following that course.

The 50 & older generation doesn't confine its anger to the political system. Older people are more likely than middle-aged people to rail against the inefficiencies of the federal bureaucracy while at the same time they call into question the power and profits of big business. On almost every measure of evaluation the post-New Deal generations

voice more criticism of politics, business and federal bureaucracy than do people who came of age in the 60's, 70's, or 80's.

Baby Boomers Weigh In

At the same time as the older generation expresses its discontent the "***baby boomers***" born in the aftermath of World War II appear ready to assume a larger role in the political process. The survey gives strong indication that these middle-aged progeny of World War II will vote in substantially higher numbers than ever before.

Middle-aged people accurately report a past voting record well below what older voters report. However, the gap between the middle-aged and older people disappears on measures that bear directly on voting turnout in November of 1992. Middle-aged people are paying as close attention to the campaign as older people, and are as likely to say they are "***absolutely certain***" to vote as older citizens.

There is independent historical evidence in the analysis of Gallup polls since 1968 indicating that voter registration among the baby boom generation has been increasing as this generation matures. In the case of most people categorized as "***middle-aged***", reported registration is at the same level as previous middle-aged generations.

Turnout Up

There are interesting signs of a potential upturn in voting totals. The percentage of people who say they have given quite a lot of thought to the coming election is higher than it has been in previous elections and people have told Times Mirror in three surveys this year that they are more interested in this election than they were in 1988.

The percentage reporting "***more interest***" is 13% points higher than it was in a 1976 *Newsweek* survey ¹.

The survey finds that while the awakening political interest of the baby boom generation may be playing a role in increased voting intentions, Ross Perot's candidacy is making a contribution of its own. Compared to Bush or Clinton backers, Perot's supporters are more likely to say they are more interested in politics this year, and appear to have given a lot more thought to the election than those who favor either of the two major party candidates.

These findings suggest that the possibility of higher turnout in November could be threatened if Perot's supporters are deflated by problems with his candidacy.

¹ A March 1976 Gallup survey for *Newsweek* is frequently used for a frame of reference in this report. The survey was taken in the aftermath of Watergate to measure voter disillusionment with the political process, therefore providing an important perspective on attitudes in 1992.

At the other extreme there seems little prospect that young people will go to the polls in November in any greater numbers than they have in the past. Even as the 60s generation shakes off its 20 years of political catatonia Americans 18 to 34 years old continue to sleep. People under 35 represent over one third of the voting age population, but only about a fourth (28%) will go to the polls on election day based upon the voting intentions measured in this poll.

	<u>Voting Age Population</u> %	<u>Probable Electorate</u> %
18-34	36	28
35-49	28	31
50 & Older	<u>36</u>	<u>41</u>
	100	100

The survey, which oversampled younger people and African Americans in order to understand the political lethargy of this generation finds that indifference to politics and public policy is common to young people in all walks of life. However, the voter problem, at least as it is manifested in voter registration, is concentrated in one segment of young America - those who have not attended college.

Registration Tumbles Among Less Well-Educated

While voting turnout has lagged among young people in recent presidential elections, there has been little change in voter registration *since the early 1960's* among young college-trained people. Almost all of the fall-off in registration, and much of the fall-off in voting we suspect, has occurred among people who have had no further formal education after high school.

In June of 1960, 74% of college graduates under 35 were registered to vote. In the late spring of each presidential election year comparable percentages of young college graduates have been registered. For example, in the current survey we observe 75%. Similarly, young people who attended college without graduating or attended technical or trades schools after high school show the same levels of registration today, as was observed in 1960 and 1964 by the Gallup Poll.

In contrast, *voting registration fell 17% points since 1960 among young Americans whose formal education ended with a high school diploma or earlier.* The widened gap in registration between well-educated young people and less well-educated people has been evident since the mid-1970's. This is coincident with the decline in voting among young people in recent national elections.

In exploring reasons for non-participation, the Times Mirror Center survey finds most people reporting that the physical barriers to registration or voting itself are not very great. Only one in four of those who say they don't always vote say it's difficult to get out to vote, and only one in eight say it's complicated to register. More often, non-voters of all ages say they don't know enough about the candidates or don't like any of the candidates.

Sense of Obligation Missing

These attitudes notwithstanding, the Times Mirror Center learned that failure to see voting as a civic duty is an even more important determinant of voting than discontent with the political system, lack of information about politics or even feeling that one's vote doesn't count.

Younger people, especially less well-educated young people, are far less likely than older people to see voting as an obligation of citizenship. Only half of new voters this year completely agree that it is their duty as citizens to always vote while nearly 80% of those over fifty are of that opinion.

The survey suggests that the indifference of young people to national affairs plays a large role in low turnout among this generation *because there is no sense of obligation to compel the young to vote despite their disinterest.* There is certainly more compulsion to vote among older people.

And it is among the less well-educated young where a lack of civic duty is most manifest and interest in the larger world least apparent.

College-trained people, young and old alike, are equally likely to feel it's their duty to vote. But less well-educated people under 35 feel that obligation to much less a degree than older people without much formal education (46% vs. 72%).

The indifference of young Americans of a lower social and economic order is an important element in partisan politics as well. The Democrats continue to enjoy an advantage over the GOP in party identification because less well-educated people over 35 years of age have a greater affinity to the Democratic party. ***But among people under 35, the Democrats attract no greater number of adherents among less well-educated young people than they do among young college graduates.***

As a consequence, this Times Mirror survey finds the GOP and George Bush better regarded among people under 35 than among older Americans. Bush has a 45% approval rating among 18-24 year olds, compared to a 25% approval rating among people 65 and older. The Republican party has an 8% point advantage over the Democrats among people under 25 years of age, while it trails the Democrats by that same margin among people 65 and older.

Young Blacks Bush Critics, But Independent

When it comes to George Bush there is no generation gap among African Americans. Young blacks are as critical of the President as older blacks. Just 14% of blacks under 35 approve of the way George Bush is handling his job. But, African Americans under 35 do not show the same loyalty to the Democratic party that older blacks do - 53% identify with the Democrats compared to 88% among blacks 50 and older. The GOP is failing to capitalize on this movement away from the Democratic party, as only 7% of blacks aged 18-34 identify with the Republican party. Fully 39% of young blacks see themselves as Independents ***and nearly three in ten support Perot.***

Racial issues themselves have a distinct generational character. Although middle-aged people are closer to older people on partisan issues and in civic attitudes, they are closer to younger people on questions of race and other social policy issues.

White Americans under 50 are more sensitive to the problems of black people than older people. Young white people see a lack of black progress and think that discrimination is common more often than do older people. However, the generation gap on race is greater on the social dimension than it is on questions of public policy.

The vast majority of people under 50 years of age think that inter-racial dating is acceptable, while most older people disapprove. But seventy percent of whites of all age groups vote down preferential treatment for blacks and other minorities.

Over 50, Under 50, A Social Values Gap

The post-World War II generations are more tolerant than people 50 years of age and older. They express more opposition to censorship and more support for the rights of homosexuals than voters who came of age before or during World War II. people 50 and older.

Abortion is the only leading issue of the day that has a decisive generational element to it. People under 50 express consistently more support for choice, while older people voice more support for increased restrictions on abortion. Times Mirror surveys since the *Webster* decision have shown on a number of occasions that women under 35 pay much more attention to abortion news than do people in other groups within the population.

Abortion is one of the few issues that young people pay as much attention to as older people. But there is no indication in the current survey that the under 35 generation is any less indifferent to the larger world around it than it has been in recent years.

Times Mirror's monthly polls since the beginning of the campaign find younger people paying less attention to news about the election than older people, and absorbing less about the candidates and the course of the contest than older people. These surveys have also shown that the media habits of young Americans reinforce the political vacuum that appears to surround significant numbers among them.

The current poll finds that nearly half of people under 35 years of age say they rely on television without the benefit of newspapers for news about the election campaign. Among this segment of the public, only 17% know that the Democratic party controls both houses of Congress. By comparison, 56% of people 50 and older who are relying on newspapers at least to some extent for campaign coverage know which party controls Congress.

GENERATIONAL POLITICS

Party Identification

As has been the case in recent years, fewer younger voters identify with the Democratic party than do older people. Among 18-24 year olds the GOP holds a 8% point advantage over the Democratic party. That advantage diminishes markedly for each incremental age category to the point that the *Democratic* party holds an 8% point advantage over the Republican party among people 65 years of age and older. As shown in the table below, age 35 appears to be the significant dividing point. Below that age more people self identify with the GOP, while the Democrats have an advantage among people 35 and over.

<u>Party Identification</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
Republican	28	29	32	27	27	25	31
Democrat	32	21	25	27	33	39	39
Independent	38	48	42	43	39	32	28

(Based on Q.D7, D7A and D8)

The Democrats enjoy an advantage among older people because older less well-educated people and older blacks have a strong affinity to the party. However, among people below fifty years of age education is not a strong determinant of party identification. The Democrats attract no greater number of adherents among less well-educated young people than they do among young college graduates.

Young blacks do not identify with the Democratic party nearly to the extent that older blacks do. But the Republican party is not a beneficiary of the Democratic party's problems with young blacks. Blacks under 35 years of age are much more likely to think of themselves as political *independents* than are older blacks, but are not more likely to identify with the GOP.

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Age By Education</u>				
18-34				
College graduate	35	24	40	(386)
College incomplete	32	26	41	(504)
High school or less	25	24	49	(640)
35-49				
College graduate	33	30	37	(352)
College incomplete	26	28	46	(266)
High school or less	25	37	36	(340)
50-64				
College graduate	37	25	35	(151)
College incomplete	28	27	42	(143)
High school or less	21	49	29	(294)
65+				
College incomplete	41	23	36	(165)
High school graduate	34	33	29	(155)
Less than high school	22	56	22	(104)

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Age By Race</u>				
18-34				
White	33	20	45	(1184)
Black	7	53	39	(227)
35-49				
White	30	29	40	(797)
Black	3	64	30	(120)
50+				
White	31	34	33	(883)
Black	1	88	11	(103)

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Age By Sex</u>				
18-34				
Men	32	22	45	(816)
Women	26	27	45	(716)
35-49				
Men	31	29	40	(497)
Women	24	36	39	(461)
50+				
Men	29	36	32	(435)
Women	27	42	29	(579)

Presidential Approval

Younger people also continue to be more positive about George Bush than older people. Bush's greater popularity among the young is linked to the support he has among less well-educated young people; those under 35 who have attended or graduated from college are far more critical of Bush's performance. Unlike others of their generation, young African-Americans disapprove of Bush as much as their elders do.

George Bush's Job Ratings
(Based on Q.1)

<u>Age</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
18-24	45	47	8
25-29	34	54	12
30-34	35	52	13
35-49	32	58	10
50-64	29	61	10
65+	25	63	12
 <u>Age By Education</u>			
18-34			
College graduate	37	57	6
College incomplete	35	55	10
High school or less	41	46	13
35-49			
College graduate	33	61	6
College incomplete	27	63	10
High school or less	34	54	12
50-64			
College graduate	33	59	8
College incomplete	30	59	11
High school or less	27	62	11
65+			
College incomplete	31	61	8
High school graduate	22	64	14
Less than high school	22	64	14

<u>Age By Race</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
18-34			
White	41	47	12
Black	14	78	7
35-49			
White	35	55	11
Black	12	84	4
50+			
White	29	60	11
Black	10	78	12

(Based on Q.1)

The gender gap remains an element in President Bush's declining job approval ratings. It is most apparent among middle-aged people and least evident among men and women who are fifty and older.

<u>Age By Sex</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
18-34			
Men	40	53	7
Women	37	49	14
35-49			
Men	36	55	9
Women	29	61	10
50+			
Men	27	63	10
Women	27	61	12

(Based on Q.1)

The Presidential Race

Americans under 35 years of age show somewhat more support for George Bush than do older people. Ross Perot, however, has gained significant support among young people over the past month. Older voters who have most clamored for political changes over the past few years have shown the most consistent support for unannounced candidate Ross Perot. Older people continue to show more strong enthusiasm for Perot - 24% of people 50 & older rate him very favorably, compared to only 16% among younger people.

While older people generally have shown more support for Perot than the young, this is not the case among blacks. African-Americans, 50 & older, show more support for Clinton and less support for Perot than younger blacks. ***As many as three in ten blacks under 50 say they would like to see Perot win if the election were being held today.***

<u>Age</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>
18-24	35	27	33
25-29	33	30	36
30-34	29	22	42
35-49	30	29	35
50-64	34	27	34
65+	28	29	36

<u>Age By Race</u>			
18-34			
White	36	21	38
Black	11	55	28
35-49			
White	33	26	36
Black	5	56	30
50+			
White	34	24	37
Black	10	59	16

(Based on Q.9f1 and 10f1)

Issue Positions and Public Priorities

Times Mirror polls over the past nine months have found that compared to the post-war generations, older people stand out as having grown more disillusioned with the political system and more disposed to vote for change than people under 50 years of age.

Compared to younger people, people 50 and older say they are worse off financially than they were four years ago and they judge the condition of the country more harshly than do younger Americans. Throughout the campaign it has been older voters, not the young, who have expressed the most displeasure with the candidates. In the current survey, two-thirds of those 65 years of age and older say they are not satisfied with the choices for 1992. Discontent is less evident among younger people. Among the youngest group, 18-24s, there is an even division between those satisfied (50%) and those dissatisfied with the candidates (48%).

These differences notwithstanding, young people are troubled by the same issues and problems that beset older people. Jobs and the economy are the predominant concerns of people of all ages. Reflecting their stage in the life cycle, younger people report that they have more trouble in affording housing and the cost of education than do older people, while older people are much more troubled by health care costs.

Abortion is the only current issue with a real generational character. A May nationwide Times Mirror poll found that six in ten (62%) oppose changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion. Younger Americans are much more strongly opposed to this than older Americans. Two-thirds (67%) of those under age 50 feel this way, compared with only 54% of those over 50.

Times Mirror's *News Interest Index* surveys have consistently found that abortion is the only national policy issue that attracts as large an audience among under 35's as it does among older people. Young women are especially sensitive to news about this issue.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion					
Favor	30	28	28	35	32
Oppose	62	68	66	53	55
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on May 1992 Times Mirror survey)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-29</u>		<u>30-49</u>		<u>50+</u>	
		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
² The Supreme Court's deliberations about the legality of restrictions on abortion in Pennsylvania							
Very Closely	28	19	40	24	33	20	32
Fairly Closely	34	38	31	34	41	31	32
Not too Closely	24	28	19	27	17	29	22
Not at all							
Closely	13	15	10	15	7	18	13
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

² This question was asked in the May, 1992 News Interest Index.

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC VALUES

Generation and the Voter Revolt

The Times Mirror value monitor continues to reflect high levels of voter discontent with the political system and political status quo. More Americans than in previous years feel that Washington leaders have lost touch with the people, that elected officials don't care about them and that the government is not run in the people's interest.

All of these sentiments were more prevalent in Times Mirror's 1991 survey than in earlier years and the current poll finds no abatement in public distrust and displeasure with politics, and politicians. Moreover, the current survey finds even more Americans today than in November saying that it is time for politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders. Agreement with that idea has increased by 23% points over the past two years!

	<u>1987</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u>
<u>POLITICAL ALIENATION</u>				
People like me don't have any say about what the government does				
Agree	52	57	50	50
Disagree	46	42	49	49
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100
Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly				
Agree	73	78	84	84
Completely	22	30	41	35
Disagree	24	19	15	15
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100
Most elected officials care what people like me think				
Agree	47	44	36	36
Disagree	49	53	62	62
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100
The government is really run for the benefit of all the people				
Agree	57	52	48	44
Disagree	39	45	50	54
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.40a, b, c and m)

	<u>1987</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u>
<u>OUTSIDERISM</u>				
Time for politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders				
Agree	62	61	77	84
Completely	16	21	32	38
Disagree	29	30	20	14
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100
We need new people in Washington even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians				
Agree	44	47	N/A	56
Disagree	48	47	N/A	41
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	N/A	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100		100

(Based on Q.40q and u)

Older people consistently have voiced more discontent with the political system and called more loudly for new political leadership than have younger people. In the current poll, fewer than one in three people under 30 **completely agree** that it's time for politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders, while nearly half of people 65 and older subscribe to that view. So it is with just about every measure of voter discontent in the survey. Voter anger increases steadily with age.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<u>OUTSIDERISM</u>							
Time for politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders							
Agree	84	80	85	85	83	82	87
Completely	38	29	32	37	36	40	49
Disagree	14	18	14	13	15	15	10
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
We need new people in Washington even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians							
Agree	56	45	48	52	57	62	67
Completely	20	12	13	14	20	26	26
Disagree	41	54	50	46	41	34	28
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.40q and u)

Under 35 Generation Less Critical of Business and the Bureaucracy

As younger people are less critical than older people of the political system, they also express fewer reservations about business and government bureaucracy. People in their early thirties and twenties have a less negative view than older people of corporate profits, are less suspicious of the power of business and are more of the view that corporations demonstrate public responsibility.

When they consider government, the under 35 generation complains less than their elders about the inefficiencies of government, the difficulties in dealing with government agencies and have fewer reservations about the worth of government regulation of business.

There is no clear indication why young people are less critical of society's institutions than people over 35. Analysis of the survey finds no educational, gender or racial components to this generational difference. It even seems unrelated to the poor voting record of the under 35 generation. Young people who have taken the trouble to register to vote are also much less critical of business, the bureaucracy and the political system than are older voters.

	<i>Total</i>	<i>18-24</i>	<i>25-29</i>	<i>30-34</i>	<i>35-49</i>	<i>50-64</i>	<i>65+</i>
<u>BUREAUCRACY</u>							
When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful							
Agree	70	50	65	67	74	76	75
Completely	29	16	20	24	30	37	38
Disagree	28	48	33	31	24	21	22
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
The federal government controls too much of our daily lives							
Agree	65	51	58	60	67	71	73
Completely	28	18	23	20	27	35	40
Disagree	33	48	41	39	31	26	24
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.40i, j, l and r)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
Dealing with a federal government agency is often not worth the trouble							
Agree	64	59	61	66	68	66	61
Completely	21	14	16	20	22	25	26
Disagree	31	38	37	32	29	27	29
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good							
Agree	61	55	53	59	64	62	66
Completely	19	14	12	13	19	26	23
Disagree	33	41	42	37	31	31	25
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>BUSINESS ATTITUDES</u>							
There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies							
Agree	76	76	73	78	79	77	73
Completely	30	25	22	30	29	35	33
Disagree	21	22	25	20	19	19	21
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Business corporations make too much profit							
Agree	59	53	56	63	60	63	61
Disagree	35	43	39	34	35	31	29
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
The strength of the U.S. today is based on the success of American business							
Agree	78	80	80	79	79	76	76
Completely	24	25	22	20	22	27	27
Disagree	19	19	18	19	19	22	17
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Corporations strike a fair balance between profits and the public interest							
Agree	41	49	45	36	35	42	42
Disagree	55	50	53	62	62	54	47
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.40h, n, o and p)

Racial Attitudes Continue to Change

A Times Mirror poll in 1991 pointed to a growing awareness among whites that black progress had stalled. In the aftermath of the Rodney King verdict and the LA riots that trend has further accelerated. In 1987 only 25% of whites agreed that there hasn't been much improvement in the position of black people in the past few years.³ In 1991 that percentage rose to 41% and in the current survey it has reached 54%, nearly doubling in the past 5 years.

Other views about race have shown less change. Notably, the vast majority of whites (68%) continues to be opposed to preferential treatment for blacks and other minorities as a means of improving their position in this country. As has been found in the past most blacks continue to support preferential treatment (67%) and a slim majority of people (53%) of other racial minorities do as well. Compared to 1987 more blacks feel that black people have not made progress in this country (82%). But the change is more modest than among whites because this was a prevalent view of blacks in 1987 (67%).

³ Due to an observed methodological difference in responses to racial questions in personal and telephone interviews, only results of phone interviews conducted in 1987, 1991 and the current survey are compared. In 1990 only personal interviews were conducted, so comparisons are not made.

	<u>1987</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u>
<i>RACIAL TOLERANCE</i>			
<i>(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	54
Disagree	72	52	42
Don't know	3	7	4
Total	100	100	100
I think it's alright for blacks and whites to date each other			
Agree	56	63	61
Disagree	40	33	35
Don't know	5	4	4
Total	100	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	29
Disagree	72	71	68
Don't know	3	3	3
Total	100	100	100
Discrimination against Blacks is rare today			
Agree	N/A	N/A	19
Disagree	N/A	N/A	77
Don't know	N/A	N/A	4
Total			100

(Based on Q.50dd, ee, ff and gg)

	<u>1987</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u>
RACIAL TOLERANCE			
<u>(BASED ON BLACKS)</u>			
In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country			
Agree	67	73	82
Disagree	32	25	17
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100
I think it's alright for blacks and whites to date each other			
Agree	84	86	81
Disagree	12	10	12
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	100	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	67
Disagree	37	34	28
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	100	100	100
Discrimination against Blacks is rare today			
Agree	N/A	N/A	15
Disagree	N/A	N/A	83
Don't know	N/A	N/A	<u>2</u>
Total			100

(Based on Q.50dd, ee, ff and gg)

White Americans under 50 are more sensitive to the problems of black people than are older people. Young white people see a lack of black progress and think that discrimination is common more often than do older people. However, the generation gap on race is greater on the social dimension than it is as to policy.

Seventy-nine percent of white people under 35 think that racial dating is ok, compared to a somewhat lower percentage (66%) among middle-aged people and a much lower proportion among whites 50 & older (42%). In contrast, large majorities of all age groups of whites vote down preferential treatment for blacks and other minorities.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<i>RACIAL TOLERANCE</i>							
<i>(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	54	57	57	55	57	49	50
Disagree	42	40	41	42	39	46	43
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
I think it's alright for blacks and whites to date each other							
Agree	61	79	79	77	66	46	38
Completely	30	51	46	44	30	16	13
Disagree	35	21	20	20	30	49	54
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	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	29	44	28	26	27	22	31
Disagree	68	55	70	72	72	73	64
Completely	30	22	32	30	31	33	28
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Discrimination against Blacks is rare today							
Agree	19	17	17	17	16	22	26
Disagree	77	82	81	81	81	74	66
Completely	32	38	35	34	33	28	26
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.50dd, ee, ff and gg)

There is also a generation gap on racial matters among blacks. Many more older blacks feel strongly that black people have not made racial progress and feel strongly that racial discrimination is common place. As with whites, young blacks and older blacks differ substantially on interracial dating, but show little difference in their views about racial quotas.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<i>RACIAL TOLERANCE</i>							
<i>(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	82	75	76	84	83	87	82
Completely	51	44	35	46	54	61	62
Disagree	17	24	24	16	17	12	13
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
I think it's alright for blacks and whites to date each other							
Agree	81	88	93	86	81	78	60
Completely	48	52	64	48	49	46	26
Disagree	13	7	5	9	15	15	22
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>18</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	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	67	69	64	62	70	61	77
Completely	38	36	29	43	40	27	56
Disagree	28	28	30	34	26	32	15
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Discrimination against Blacks is rare today							
Agree	15	17	21	19	6	14	25
Disagree	83	82	79	80	93	86	65
Completely	62	62	60	62	70	67	39
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.50dd, ee, ff and gg)

Social Justice and Self Reliance

Although attitudes toward race have changed in recent years, there is no indication of changing views about social justice and social welfare. Americans of all ages and walks of life continue to feel that society should do what is necessary to guarantee equal opportunity (93%) and take care of people who can't take care of themselves (69%). But, almost equally large majorities of people feel that poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs (79%).

As these seemingly contradictory viewpoints are probed further the survey reveals an even deeper tension in public attitudes. By a relatively narrow 53% to 43% margin the public continues to agree that the government should help the needy, even if it means going deeper into debt. As many as 40% thinks that equal rights have been pushed too far, while 57% disagree. Similarly, the public divides 63% to 33% on whether people today feel they can get ahead without working hard and making sacrifices. Opinions about self reliance show little racial or economic differences. Seventy-four percent of blacks earning less than \$20,000 a year feel that the poor have become too dependent on government assistance, as do only slightly more whites who earn \$50,000 or more annually (82%).

There is, however, a clear racial and socio-economic pattern to beliefs about how much resources should be devoted to helping the needy. Only 42% of whites earning \$50,000 or more annually think that the government should provide more assistance to the needy, at the risk of going further into debt, but 80% of blacks who earn less than \$20,000 a year believe that government is so obliged.

	<u>1987</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u>
<u>WELFARISM</u>				
Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed				
Agree	90	91	94	93
Completely	37	45	64	59
Disagree	8	7	5	6
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100
The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt				
Agree	53	51	51	53
Disagree	40	44	46	43
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100	100
The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep				
Agree	62	62	73	66
Completely	22	27	41	32
Disagree	33	34	25	32
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100
We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country				
Agree	42	43	38	40
Disagree	53	53	59	57
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100	100
It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves				
Agree	71	67	N/A	69
Completely	21	23	N/A	28
Disagree	24	29	N/A	28
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	N/A	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100		100

(Based on Q.50v, w, x, y and z)

There are almost no generational differences on self reliance. But younger Americans and middle-age people are modestly more supportive of guaranteeing equal opportunity and are not likely to feel that equal rights have been pushed too hard.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<u>SELF RELIANCE</u>							
I admire people who get rich by working hard							
Agree	89	89	90	89	91	85	88
Completely	47	51	51	44	46	45	48
Disagree	10	11	9	11	8	14	11
Don't know	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Many people today think they can get ahead without working hard and making sacrifices							
Agree	63	68	62	63	62	64	63
Completely	24	26	20	19	22	30	29
Disagree	35	32	37	37	37	33	33
Don't know	<u>2</u>	*	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs							
Agree	79	79	78	76	78	81	82
Completely	35	34	36	29	32	39	42
Disagree	18	20	20	23	19	16	13
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.40f1, r1 and Q.50nn1)

Isolationism, Militarism and Foreign Policy Values

Americans under 35 years of age are somewhat more inward looking and less internationalist than older people, but at the same time they are less aggressively nationalistic than older people. A larger percentage of people in their early thirties and twenties want more attention paid to domestic problems and less to international issues. And somewhat fewer young people favor the U.S. taking an active role in world affairs.

On the other hand fewer young people think that Japan has taken unfair advantage of the U.S., that we should restrict and control entry into our country or that recipients of international aid end up resenting the U.S.

Younger Americans are also somewhat less militaristic than older people. Fewer people under 50 subscribe to the view that Americans should be willing to fight for their country right or wrong - a view that is most shared by people 65 years and older. A majority of people under 30 disagree that the best way to ensure peace is through military strength, while more than six in ten of those over 50 believe in this concept.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<u>INTERNATIONAL BELIEFS</u>							
Most of the countries that have gotten help from America end up resenting us							
Agree	74	61	68	72	74	84	77
Completely	30	18	23	24	29	40	41
Disagree	22	35	28	24	22	13	15
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs							
Agree	92	88	92	93	92	94	91
Completely	47	39	43	46	48	53	50
Disagree	7	10	7	7	7	4	6
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Japan has taken unfair advantage of the United States							
Agree	69	63	60	66	67	74	75
Completely	34	29	26	28	32	40	43
Disagree	27	34	37	30	29	22	18
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home							
Agree	88	92	92	91	86	84	87
Completely	48	54	52	50	45	47	47
Disagree	11	8	7	8	13	14	10
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
We should restrict and control people coming into our country to live more than we do now							
Agree	76	67	74	79	75	81	78
Completely	42	32	40	37	38	50	49
Disagree	21	31	24	20	22	16	18
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.50gg1, mm, nn, nn2 and nn3)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<u>MILITARISM</u>							
It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the U.S.							
Agree	46	45	47	45	41	49	54
Disagree	49	53	51	52	54	43	38
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
The best way to ensure peace is through military strength							
Agree	54	38	45	54	56	63	61
Disagree	43	61	54	45	41	34	33
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong							
Agree	57	56	56	51	53	60	66
Completely	24	22	24	17	19	28	35
Disagree	39	43	43	48	43	36	26
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.50hh, ii and kk)

These patterns appear to reflect long-term generational differences in views about foreign policy. There is no indication that the public as a whole has changed its views on any of these matters. Compared to 1987, there is no less support today for the U.S. playing a leading role in the world, nor is there less support for the idea that military strength is the best way of ensuring the peace.

International issues get lower priority from the public in the post-communist era, but this does not appear to indicate a new isolationism. Similarly, public support for defense cuts does not signal a national change of heart about the value of military strength.

	<u>1987</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u>
<u>INTERNATIONAL BELIEFS</u>				
Most of the countries that have gotten help from America end up resenting us				
Agree	71	73	N/A	73
Completely	21	27	N/A	30
Disagree	21	20	N/A	22
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	N/A	<u>5</u>
Total	100	100		100
It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs				
Agree	87	89	92	91
Completely	32	39	54	47
Disagree	8	7	6	7
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100
Japan has taken unfair advantage of the United States				
Agree	N/A	N/A	N/A	69
Completely	N/A	N/A	N/A	34
Disagree	N/A	N/A	N/A	27
Don't know	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>4</u>
Total				100
We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home				
Agree	N/A	N/A	N/A	88
Completely	N/A	N/A	N/A	48
Disagree	N/A	N/A	N/A	11
Don't know	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>1</u>
Total				100
We should restrict and control people coming into our country to live more than we do now				
Agree	N/A	N/A	N/A	76
Completely	N/A	N/A	N/A	42
Disagree	N/A	N/A	N/A	21
Don't know	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>3</u>
Total				100

(Based on Q.50gg1, mm, nn, nn2 and nn3)

Personal Freedoms, Tolerance and Moral Values

Younger and middle-age Americans differ little in their tolerance of diverse points of view and lifestyles but they are consistently more tolerant than people 50 years of age and older. Only 42% of Americans over 50 years of age *disapprove* of school boards having the right to fire known homosexuals. This is in stark contrast with the youngest segment of the population: two in three Americans under 30 (67%) disapprove such policy.

Book banning is another issue about which the generations differ. The public as a whole is evenly divided on whether books containing dangerous ideas should be banned from school libraries: 48% agree with this, and 49% disagree. But a strong majority (61%) of Americans over 50 support banning books with dangerous ideas, compared with only 40% of those under 50.

Age is an even stronger factor than education in understanding views about censorship. Among Americans over 65, nearly half (48%) of those who are college-educated agree that books containing dangerous ideas should be banned, while only 19% of younger college-educated people approve of this.

Most Americans (58%) disagree with the notion that AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior, but almost half (47%) of Americans over age 50 are much less likely to see it this way. 36% do believe AIDS is God's punishment.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<u>TOLERANCE & PERSONAL FREEDOMS</u>							
School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals							
Agree	40	32	31	33	39	47	49
Disagree	55	67	67	65	57	46	38
Completely	28	38	37	36	30	19	18
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>13</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries							
Agree	48	37	42	43	41	58	65
Completely	30	21	26	23	23	38	44
Disagree	49	62	57	54	56	39	31
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior							
Agree	36	39	31	32	31	42	42
Disagree	58	58	65	66	64	50	44
Completely	38	38	45	44	45	35	24
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>14</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.55f, g and o)

Religious Values and Morality

Perhaps reflecting a life cycle pattern, people under 30 express a less rigorous religious belief than people 30 and older. More than eight in ten Americans (83%) agree that we'll all be called before God on Judgment Day to answer for our sins, and this belief is strongly held by 62%. But people under 30 are less likely to strongly believe this (54%) than older people (65%).

Eight in ten Americans (82%) also believe that even today miracles are performed by the power of God. Once again, the under 30's are less likely than others to agree completely (51% vs. 60%).

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<u>RELIGIOUS</u>							
<u>FUNDAMENTALISM</u>							
We will all be called before God at the judgment day to answer for our sins							
Agree	83	79	79	83	83	87	87
Completely	62	54	54	61	63	70	65
Disagree	14	19	19	14	14	10	10
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Even today miracles are performed by the power of God							
Agree	82	81	79	83	82	85	83
Completely	57	48	53	56	58	65	59
Disagree	15	17	19	13	15	12	13
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.55b and c)

Environmentalism

Young Americans are more likely to feel strongly that the country needs stricter laws to protect the environment but, like their elders, are more hesitant to agree that people should be willing to pay higher taxes in order to protect the environment.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<u>ENVIRONMENTALISM</u>							
There need to be stricter laws and regulations to protect the environment							
Agree	90	94	92	94	89	88	86
Completely	54	63	59	54	52	52	52
Disagree	9	6	8	5	11	12	12
Don't know	<u>1</u>	*	*	<u>1</u>	*	*	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
People should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment							
Agree	67	67	66	67	69	68	63
Completely	26	26	26	25	25	27	26
Disagree	32	32	33	33	30	30	34
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.50u1 and u2)

GENERATIONAL VIEWS OF: AMERICAN GROUPS AND INSTITUTIONS

Although public opinion of Dan Quayle remains largely unfavorable, his recent attacks on the popular culture are likely finding a sympathetic audience among the American public. By a 53% to 31% margin the public thinks that movies and TV shows are having a *bad* rather than good influence on the country. An even larger margin of disapproval is expressed about rock music by Times Mirror respondents - 57% bad influence, 27% good influence.

Congress is the only governmental institution tested that on balance was seen as having a negative influence on the country by the American public - 49% bad influence, 37% good influence. Local and state governments (60% good, 28% bad) and the courts (51% good, 37% bad) got better ratings. Media got better ratings than the branches of government. Newspapers were rated 72% good influence, 19% bad influence. CNN got a somewhat more positive rating - 76% good influence, 5% bad influence.

People who run their own businesses were top rated by Times Mirror's sampling. In fact, entrepreneurs were given a higher *good* influence rating (91%) than were the churches (85%). People who run their own business are certainly better regarded than those who run other people's businesses - *41% of the Times Mirror sample thought that business executives were having a good influence on the country, while an equal number thought that corporate bosses were having a bad influence (43%).*

By and large, the special interest groups tested got positive evaluations. Seventy-five percent thought that environmentalists were having a positive influence on the country; 68% felt that way about the women's movement. Unions do not fare so well with the public. Fifty percent think they have a good influence, but as many as 39% think they are having a bad influence on the country.

Overall the generations differ little in their appraisals of the influence of the American institutions. Reflecting their less critical views, people under 30 were more likely than older people to think that all institutions and groups are having a positive influence on the country. For example, people under 30 more often thought that investors from other countries were having a good influence (42%) than did older people (30%).

The only real generational gap is a familiar one. People under 35 tended to be more divided about the influence of rock music and movies and television on American life, while people over 35 overwhelmingly thought both expressions of the popular culture were having a bad influence on the country.

College-educated younger people tended to have a more positive opinion of the influence of rock music than less well-educated young people. In fact, even middle-age college graduates were divided about the influence of rock music (36% good influence, 39%

bad influence). In contrast, 62% of middle-aged people who did not graduate from college think that rock music is harming the country.

Race, not age or education, has the most to do with how people feel about the police. By a large margin (73% to 17%) whites think the police are having a good influence rather than a bad one on the country. Among blacks the division is quite different - 41% good influence, 42% bad influence.

<i>INFLUENCE OF VARIOUS INSTS.⁴</i>	<u>AGE IN YEARS</u>						
	<i>Total</i>	<i>18-24</i>	<i>25-29</i>	<i>30-34</i>	<i>35-49</i>	<i>50-64</i>	<i>65+</i>
Newspapers							
Good	72	84	77	74	72	68	
60							
Bad 19	13	18	19	18	20		22
People Who Run Their Own Businesses							
Good	91	93	95	94	91	90	
87							
Bad 3	4	2	2	3	3		2
Business Executives							
Good	41	55	47	39	36	41	
36							
Bad 43	38	42	48	48	40		37
The Congress							
Good	37	55	35	37	37	34	
30							
Bad 49	38	56	54	49	52		49
Local & State Governments							
Good	60	66	59	60	59	62	
54							
Bad 28	28	35	30	30	25		25

(Based on Q.54f1)

⁴ Neither, Both and No Opinion responses have been omitted from this table.

<i>INFLUENCE OF VARIOUS INSTS.</i>	AGE IN YEARS						
	<i>Total</i>	<i>18-24</i>	<i>25-29</i>	<i>30-34</i>	<i>35-49</i>	<i>50-64</i>	<i>65+</i>
The Churches							
Good	85	85	83	86	85	86	86
Bad 9	11	13	8	8	8	6	
Unions							
Good	50	70	54	48	46	46	44
Bad 39	26	39	44	45	39	37	
The Police							
Good	69	64	73	69	68	71	72
Bad 20	30	22	23	20	17	10	
CNN							
Good	76	85	92	83	80	66	61
Bad 5	4	1	6	4	6	5	
Movies & TV Shows							
Good	31	49	31	36	31	25	18
Bad 53	39	57	54	53	55	60	
Rock Music							
Good	27	43	38	42	28	16	9
Bad 57	46	50	44	55	67	71	
Environmentalists							
Good	75	86	85	84	80	68	52
Bad 15	12	13	11	13	20	22	
The Courts							
Good	51	59	56	55	46	46	51
Bad 37	34	40	36	41	40	30	
Investors from Other Countries							
Good	33	43	42	33	36	28	23
Bad 53	50	54	54	51	56	58	
The Women's Movement							
Good	68	86	79	75	68	60	51
Bad 21	11	14	20	21	25	30	
Computers & Technology							
Good	87	92	92	92	90	81	79
Bad 7	6	5	4	5	11	9	

(Based on Q.54f1)

VOTING PARTICIPATION, POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

There are a number of indications in the survey that voter participation might be higher than it has been in recent elections.

The percentage of people saying that they have given "*quite a lot*" of thought to the election is as high in late May-early June as it was after the conventions in 1988, and it is substantially higher than the percentage of people who told Gallup that they had given a lot of thought to the election in late March 1976.

	<i>March</i> <u>1976</u>	<i>August</i> ⁵ <u>1988</u> RV	<i>June</i> <u>1992</u>	<i>June</i> <u>1992</u> RV
Quite a lot	33	61	55	63
Some	21	10	6	6
Only a little	27	27	36	29
None/Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total 100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.5)

A greater number of people also report increased interest in politics this year than in 1976. In both the current survey and in March of this year over one half of those polled said they are more interested in politics this year. In March of 1976 only 42% made such claims.

	<i>March</i> <u>1976</u>	<i>March</i> <u>1992</u>	<i>June</i> <u>1992</u>
More interested	42	57	55
Less	29	27	24
Same (VOL)	28	14	19
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total 100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.22)

⁵ August, 1988 and June, 1992 are based on registered voters.

The survey also finds that middle-aged people, a group largely composed of the baby boom generation, are showing signs that they may vote at higher levels than in the past.

Middle-aged people accurately report that they have had a relatively poor voting record. Only 50% of people 35-49 tell us they always vote, compared to 60% among those 50-64 years of age and 69% among those 65 and older. However, the gap between middle-aged and older people all but disappears on measures that bear directly on turnout in November of 1992.

The so-called "*baby boomers*", now in their middle years, are as likely as older people to say they plan to vote in November and to say that they have thought quite a lot about the upcoming election. In contrast, under 35's fall much below middle-aged and older people on all three measures.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
Always vote	47	23	31	33	50	60	69
Plan to vote	75	56	68	69	81	81	81
Quite a lot of thought to election	55	36	45	50	62	64	58

(Based on Q.5, 17, 18 and 19)

Voter Registration

The principal generational factor in participation is voter registration which ranges from a low of 48% among 18-24 year olds to a high of 87% among those age 65 and older. There are two major increases in registration going up the age scale. Registration rises from 48% among new voters to 66% among people in their early 30's and then jumps again (to 79%) as people reach their middle-aged years. The overall age pattern observed in the current survey is close to what Times Mirror found five years ago in 1987. However, the current survey finds fewer people under 30 are registered than was the case in 1987.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<u>1992</u> Registration	73	48	53	66	79	85	87
<u>1987</u> Registration	77	56	65	75	82	86	88

(Based on Q.13 and 14)

Looking back to the mid-1970's, the current survey provides evidence of the extent to which the baby boom generation is observing a traditional pattern of increased registration as it moves through the life cycle. In 1976 only 56% of the people who are now 35-49 told Gallup that they were registered - fully 23% points below their current reported level of registration. Registration increased for this age cohort with each succeeding presidential election - by '80 64% were registered, in '84 70% and so on.

It is also important to note that today's middle aged people are registered at about the same level as were the two preceding generations when they were middle aged - 79% compared to 78% in 1980 for people who are now 50-64 and 81% in 1960 for people who are now 65 and older.

This historical cohort analysis also indicates that people under 30 (48%-53%) today are registered at far lower rates than were young people in 1960 (59%) but they are at about the same level as was the baby boom generation in 1968 (49%).

People 30-34 have shown a significant increase in registration since their first presidential election in 1984. Voter registration has climbed from 56% to 66% among this age cohort.

Voter Registration, 1960-1992: An Age Cohort Analysis

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65-85</u>
<u>1992 Age</u>							
% Registered	73	48	53	66	79	85	87
<u>1987 Age</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-44</u>	<u>45-59</u>	<u>60-80</u>
% Registered	77		60	65	78	87	86
<u>1984 Age</u>	<u>Total</u>			<u>22-26</u>	<u>27-41</u>	<u>42-56</u>	<u>57-77</u>
% Registered	74			56	70	86	85
<u>1980 Age</u>	<u>Total</u>				<u>23-37</u>	<u>38-52</u>	<u>53-73</u>
% Registered	74				64	78	80
<u>1976 Age</u>	<u>Total</u>				<u>19-33</u>	<u>34-48</u>	<u>49-69</u>
% Registered	70				56	73	83
<u>1972 Age</u>	<u>Total</u>				<u>21-29</u>	<u>30-44</u>	<u>45-65</u>
% Registered	76				55	78	87
<u>1968 Age</u>	<u>Total</u>				<u>21-25</u>	<u>26-40</u>	<u>41-61</u>
% Registered	76				49	71	84
<u>1964 Age</u>	<u>Total</u>					<u>22-36</u>	<u>37-57</u>
% Registered	79					69	84
<u>1960 Age</u>	<u>Total</u>					<u>21-32</u>	<u>33-53</u>
% Registered	76					59	81

(1992 percentages based on Q.13 and 14)

⁶ Survey in 1960-1984 are based on Gallup Polls conducted in the late spring of each election year.

If the greatest hope for increased participation is the maturation of the baby boom generation, the biggest impediment continues to be the low levels of probable participation among people under 35 years of age. The survey finds younger people, regardless of gender, race or education to be less likely to vote than older people in comparable demographic categories.

Moreover, *extraordinarily low levels of registration, voting intentions and consideration of the election is evident for less well-educated young people.* Indeed, there is a bigger voting gap by education among young people than there is among older people.

	<u>18-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+⁷</u>
<u>REGISTERED</u>				
College Graduate	75	89	95	95
College Incomplete	66	80	92	95
High School or Less	43	73	79	73
<u>PLAN TO VOTE</u>				
College Graduate	83	91	93	92
College Incomplete	70	85	91	86
High School or Less	52	73	74	70
<u>QUITE A LOT OF THOUGHT TO ELECTION</u>				
College Graduate	65	73	75	73
College Incomplete	50	65	73	64
High School or Less	31	53	58	43

(Based on Q.5, 13, 14, 17 and 18)

Although less well-educated young people have traditionally been registered at very low rates, historical analysis of Gallup Polls reveals that the education gap on voter registration has widened greatly since the early 1960's. This is especially true for the gap in registration between college-educated young people and less well-educated young people. The 32% point gap between these two groups in the current poll is typical for elections in the mid 70's and 80's. However, before 1976 the gap in registration between these two classes of young people was only half as great as it has been recently.

⁷ For those 65+ the education categories are: some college, high school graduate and less than high school.

VOTER REGISTRATION LEVELS BY AGE BY EDUCATION

	<u>18-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<u>1992</u>				
College or more	75	89	95	95
Some college	66	80	92	95
High school or less	43	73	79	73
Difference	32	16	16	22
<u>1984</u>				
College or more	79	89	93	92
Some college	65	81	93	92
High school or less	50	71	84	82
Difference	29	18	9	10
<u>1980</u>				
College or more	75	88	91	92
Some college	63	84	92	94
High school or less	44	71	78	78
Difference	31	17	14	16
<u>1976</u>				
College or more	71	91	90	94
Some college	63	77	86	87
High school or less	45	67	84	77
Difference	26	24	6	17
<u>1972</u>				
College or more	72	90	99	96
Some college	63	94	96	88
High school or less	56	78	84	86
Difference	16	16	15	10
<u>1968</u>				
College or more	72	89	92	82
Some college	63	87	93	93
High school or less	54	76	83	90
Difference	18	13	10	3
<u>1964</u>				
College or more	80	92	99	85
Some college	66	88	93	96
High school or less	60	80	83	83
Difference	20	12	16	13
<u>1960</u>				
College or more	74	86	86	100
Some college	68	89	95	89
High school or less	60	81	81	83
Difference	14	8	14	17

Source: The Gallup Poll.

Attitudes Toward Voting

Despite the decline in voting in recent years, most Americans continue to feel that voting is an effective way of influencing government activity. Eighty-four percent of the public subscribes to that view, up slightly from 77% in a 1976 Gallup Poll for *Newsweek*. However, only 57% of people say that voting is *very* effective. People under 35 are considerably less likely than older people to see voting as a *very* effective way of influencing the way government is run.

An even stronger generational pattern is apparent in the public's feeling that voting is a civic duty. Ninety-one percent agree with that idea and 69% completely agree. And in a related response, 69% of Americans say they feel guilty when they don't get a chance to vote.

New voters and younger people generally feel less guilt about not voting and don't have the same sense of civic obligation. For example, among new voters, those 18-24, only 49% completely agree that voting is their civic duty. As with voting intentions, voter registration and interest in the election, belief that voting is a civic duty is extremely low among young people who have not attended college.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
Effectiveness of making sure you vote in all elections							
Very effective	57	48	50	52	58	63	64
Fairly effective	27	34	34	31	28	20	19
Not too effective	10	10	10	10	10	11	9
Not at all effective	4	6	5	4	3	3	4
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
I feel it is my duty as a citizen to always vote							
Agree	91	84	86	88	93	94	95
Completely	69	49	57	61	73	81	77
Disagree	8	15	12	11	7	5	4
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.23a and Q.55z)

Analysis of the survey indicates that a diminished sense of voting as a civic duty may play a larger role in the turnout problem than such factors as voter anger, public disinterest in politics and other often mentioned reasons for low turnout.

As shown in the table below, the sense of obligation to vote is twice as explanatory of how often people say they vote, as is any other single factor tested. The public's level of information about politics ranks second, feeling that voting behavior is an effective action ranked third, while interest in national affairs and feeling that elected officials don't care are much less important than other attitudes.

A sense of obligation to vote is more linked to turnout than other factors among each of the generations. However, political knowledgeability is more of an element in explaining the voting behavior of younger people, while feelings of empowerment is more crucial among middle-age people.

The Relative Influence of Each Factor In Explaining Self Reported Voting Behavior⁸

<u>Factor:</u>	<u>National</u>	<u>18-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50+</u>
Feeling it's a citizen's duty to vote	44	41	46	41
Knowing which party controls Congress	21	20	14	14
Feeling voting is an effective influence on government	9	10	20	5
Being interested in national affairs	2	*	6	1
Feeling that elected officials don't care	1	1	4	9

(Based on Q.23a, 27f1, 28f1, 40c, 55z and aa)

⁸ Four independent multiple regression analyses were conducted one for each age group and one for the combined sample. Tabled figures are beta coefficients from these analyses. The R squared for the overall sample was .33, while it was .29 for 18-34 year olds, .43 for middle-aged people and .21 for those 50 & older.

The survey suggests that among older people a sense of voting obligation keeps them going to the polls, even though they may not be knowledgeable about politics or even though they may be alienated from politics. The lack of that sense of obligation among younger people is also often coupled with extremely low levels of knowledge about public affairs.

Expressed Reasons for Not Voting

When asked directly, non-voters of all ages voice similar reasons for not always going to the polls. Not knowing about the candidates and not liking the choices are most often cited as reasons for failing to vote by people with poor voting records. Over six in ten cite each factor as a reason for not always voting. Fewer non-voters say that physical barriers to voting are important impediments to participation. Just 12% think it's complicated to register and 25% say it's difficult to get out to the polls on election day.

<i>Total Agree</i>	<i>Based on People Who Don't "Always" Vote</i>						
	<i>Total</i>	<i>18-24</i>	<i>25-29</i>	<i>30-34</i>	<i>35-49</i>	<i>50-64</i>	<i>65+</i>
I sometimes feel I don't know enough about the candidates to vote	63	71	63	68	57	54	69
I sometimes feel it doesn't matter that much who gets elected	34	31	31	34	38	31	43
It's complicated to register to vote where I live	14	12	12	10	9	19	
It's difficult for me to get out to the polls to vote	25	32	24	28	23	17	29
I sometimes don't like any of the candidates	65	71	60	68	70	50	61
I don't want to involve myself with politics	24	29	22	25	18	23	34

(Based on Q.20)

Perceived Effectiveness of Political Behaviors

Compared to 1976 fewer Americans think that working in political campaigns or joining political parties is an effective way to influence what laws are passed or how the government is run. However more believe that staging protest demonstrations is effective than thought so in 1976.

Generally, people under 35 are less apt to see most political forms of activity as effective, but they are as likely as older people to think that staging demonstrations can influence the way the government is run and the laws that are passed.

	<u>1976</u>	<u>1992</u>
Make sure you vote in all elections		
Effective	77	84
Not Effective	20	14
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100
Write Congressman or other political leader		
Effective	61	60
Not Effective	34	35
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	100	100
Work in political campaigns to get your preferred candidate elected		
Effective	72	66
Not Effective	23	23
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>
Total	100	100
Stage protest demonstrations		
Effective	28	45
Not Effective	66	49
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
Total	100	100
Join your local political party		
Effective	64	56
Not Effective	29	33
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>
Total	100	100

(Based on Q.23)

Other forms of Political Participation

Americans under 35 write fewer letters to the elected officials, attend fewer public hearings or rallies and less often donate a dollar from their tax returns to finance election campaign funds. However, younger people are at least as likely as older people to have engaged in activist behaviors that are non-political. As many or more people under 35 as older people have participated in demonstrations, signed or circulated petitions, or written letters to the editor.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
Written letter to elected official	36	23	27	32	41	42	40
Written letter to the editor	14	14	14	16	15	15	10
Signed or circulated a petition	53	52	51	58	62	52	34
Attended public hearing	34	26	27	30	42	41	28
Boycotted a company	21	18	21	30	29	16	9
Taken part in public demonstration	9	20	12	13	9	6	2
Attended political meeting or rally	26	20	20	22	30	31	22
Donate tax dollar to campaign fund	25	18	21	23	28	30	23

(Based on Q.51f2, 52f2 and 53f2)

MEDIA, POLITICS, AND THE GENERATIONS

Interest and Information Levels

A 1990 Times Mirror study of generational difference in news attentiveness and media use⁹ concluded that the "new generation gap" was not one of politics or values, but one of information and attentiveness. The results of Times Mirror's News Interest Index surveys when contrasted to the findings of historical opinion polls found that people under 30 represented "a generation that knows less, and cares less" about what's going on in the larger world than previous generations of young people.

Surveys since then, including the current one, provide no reason to change these conclusions. Over the past few months interest in the election campaign, and most other national and international news subjects, has run consistently lower among younger people, especially people under 30 years of age. In an early May survey, the percentage of people saying they were following *very closely* news about the Presidential election ranged from 27% among 18-24's to 40% among people 65 years of age and older.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<i>PAY VERY CLOSE</i> <u>ATTENTION TO:</u> News about the Presidential election campaign (May, 1992)	32	27	23	28	31	37	40
The race for the Democratic Presidential nomination (March, 1992)	35	29	32	32	33	35	46
The race for the Republican Presidential nomination (March, 1992)	25	17	22	23	22	28	34

⁹ *The Age Of Indifference*, June 28, 1990, The Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press

Only about one in four people under the age of 35 know that the Democrats control both houses of Congress. Awareness of this basic fact about American government is only slightly greater (33%) among people aged 35-49, but it is considerably greater among people 50 years of age and older (48%). Tellingly, there is no generation gap in knowing that Murphy Brown is the fictional character who Dan Quayle criticized for glamorizing bearing children out of wedlock.

<i>INFORMATION ABOUT PUBLIC AFFAIRS</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>18-24</i>	<i>25-29</i>	<i>30-34</i>	<i>35-49</i>	<i>50-64</i>	<i>65+</i>
Knows the Democrats have a majority in the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives	35	20	24	28	33	47	48
Knows Murphy Brown is the television show Dan Quayle criticized for glamorizing being an unwed mother	65	64	73	74	72	64	46

(Based on Q.27f1, 28f1 and 30f1)

Media Use

When asked to name up to two sources that they are relying on for election news, almost all Americans say they are turning to television (84%), half say they are relying on newspapers, one in five mention radio, and fewer than one in ten mention magazines. Looked at another way, the public divides about evenly between those who are relying exclusively on television for news about the campaign (40%), versus those who are relying on both media (43%) or on newspapers only (12%).

A majority of people under 35 rely solely on TV for campaign news. At the other end of the age scale, only about one in three people 50 and older say they rely on TV only while a solid majority are also getting news about the campaign from newspapers (54%).

With regard to television specifically, younger people are less likely than people 50 and older to say that they rely on network news for election coverage. However, CNN and local TV are campaign news sources for younger people as often as they for older people.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<u>PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN NEWS SOURCES</u>							
Television & newspaper	43	32	32	39	42	53	54
Television not newspapers	40	51	50	40	37	35	36
Newspaper not television	12	10	12	11	15	10	8

(Based on Q.31 and 32)

Times Mirror surveys have consistently shown that people who rely only on television for campaign news know less about the campaign than people who use newspapers to follow the election. In the current poll this is illustrated by the finding that only 25% of "TV exclusives" know that the Democrats control Congress, while 45% of those who read newspapers do.

Lack of knowledge about public issues is most acute among young people who rely on TV news only - just 17% knew which party controlled Congress, compared to 56% among people 50 & older who are reading newspapers to follow the campaign.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-34</u>		<u>35-49</u>		<u>50+</u>	
		<u>Only TV</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Only TV</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Only TV</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>
<u>INFORMATION</u>							
Knows the Democrats have a majority in the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives	35	17	27	23	38	30	56

(Based on Q.27f1 and 28f1)

The survey finds a generation gap in the audience composition of most media that emphasize hard news. The incidence of people reporting that they spent some time yesterday reading a newspaper or watching TV news increases steadily by age. However, the relationship of age to reading papers is somewhat stronger than the relationship of age to TV news viewership. The percentage of those 65 & older reading papers "yesterday" is about three-fold what it is among 18-24 year olds, while there is not even a two-fold difference for TV news.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<u>YESTERDAY READERSHIP/ VIEWERSHIP</u>							
Spent some time reading a newspaper yesterday	48	23	32	38	49	60	66
Spent some time watching TV news programs yesterday	58	45	52	49	52	69	76

(Based on Q.41 and 43)

Similarly the poll finds a generational pattern to regular readership or viewing of: television news magazine shows, Sunday morning TV shows, the MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour, and C-SPAN.

The survey finds young people and older people equally likely to say they are part of the regular audience of infotainment shows, such as *Entertainment Tonight*, and *A Current Affair*. Younger people more often than people 50 & older report that they read personality magazines and they are as likely as their elders to say they read tabloids, such as the *National Enquirer* or the *Star*.

Similarly, the poll finds as many people under 35 reporting that they have read a book in the past six months or are currently reading one, as it finds among older people.

CNN, the newsmagazines and NPR are media that focus on hard news that do not in turn have older audiences.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<u>REGULAR VIEWERSHIP</u>							
Regularly watch news magazine shows such as 60 Minutes or 20/20	46	30	33	40	44	56	63
Regularly watch Sunday morning news shows such as Meet The Press, Face The Nation or This Week With David Brinkley	15	6	9	12	10	19	28
Regularly watch MacNeil-Lehrer	6	2	2	4	5	8	15
Regularly watch C-SPAN	6	4	3	2	4	8	11
Regularly watch Entertainment Tonight	11	13	12	13	10	12	8
Regularly watch A Current Affair	19	25	20	16	16	24	18
Regularly watch CNN	30	25	31	24	30	33	34
Regularly listen to programs on National Public Radio such as Morning Edition or All Things Considered	8	6	7	7	10	8	6
		(Based on Q.47f1)					

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<u>REGULAR READERSHIP</u>							
Regularly read personality magazines such as People or US	8	10	8	10	10	6	5
Regularly read The National Enquirer, The Sun or The Star	5	5	4	5	4	8	6
Regularly read news magazines such as Time, U.S. News & World Report or Newsweek	20	18	21	20	20	20	19

(Based on Q.46f2a, b and e)

Real Time TV News

The advent of real time TV has created universal images of recent news events that in the past have only been paralleled by such things as the Kennedy assassinations, Nixon's resignation and Neil Armstrong's moon walk. Virtually all Americans can recall watching the San Francisco earthquake, Gulf War, the fall of the Berlin Wall and most recently, the LA riots on TV.

Real time television news may be changing the lifespan of the political impact of national and international events. As recently as November the public named the Gulf War as the event that was most influencing its politics. The current poll finds that the LA riots have replaced the Gulf War as the news event that Americans say has had the most effect on the way they think about politics and political issues.

Younger people continue to say that the Gulf War has had an important effect on them more often than do people 35 and older. However, the LA disturbances are regarded as the most influential event even among young people.

NEWS EVENTS SEEN IN REAL TIME

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
<i>EVENTS THAT HAD THE MOST EFFECT ON POLITICAL VIEWS¹⁰</i>							
Riots last month in Los Angeles	34	54	45	41	28	23	26
The war in the Gulf	22	29	33	27	19	22	9
John Kennedy's funeral	8	0	0	0	10	16	12
The fall of the Berlin Wall	6	9	7	10	5	4	3
Richard Nixon's resignation	4	0	0	4	7	3	3
Bobby Kennedy's assassination	3	0	0	0	6	5	5

¹⁰ Questions about John Kennedy's funeral were asked only of respondents 40 years of age and older, Richard Nixon's resignation was asked of respondents 30 years of age and older, Tet Offensive in Vietnam and Bobby Kennedy's assassination were asked of respondents 35 years of age and older and the Iran Contra hearings in Congress was asked of respondents 25 years of age and older.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
Massacre in Tiananmen Square	3	3	6	4	3	2	2
Iran Contra hearings in Congress	2	0	5	4	3	2	1
Tet Offensive in Vietnam	2	0	0	0	4	1	2

(Based on Q.37)

Attitudes Toward Political Commercials

Over the past five years the number of people who say they first learn about candidates through TV advertisements has grown steadily. The Times Mirror surveys also find an increasing number of people saying that they like to have a picture of candidate in mind when they go out to vote.

	<u>1987</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1992</u>
<u>TOTAL AGREE</u>			
I often don't become aware of political candidates until I see their advertising on television	52	62	62
I get some sense of what a candidate is like through his or her TV commercials	57	58	54
I like to have a picture of a candidate in my mind when I go vote for him or her	70	74	76

(Based on Q.56f2)

The poll finds more Americans in 1992 than in previous surveys endorsing news reports over TV commercials as a way of learning about political candidates.

	<u>1987</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1992</u>
Gives a better idea of what a candidate is like personally:			
News reports	67	65	74
Candidates' TV Commercials	24	26	22
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100

(Based on Q.58f2)

THE VALUES, VOTING BEHAVIOR AND CIVIC ATTITUDES OF CANDIDATE SUPPORT GROUPS

Value Profiles

The supporters of the three presidential candidates have distinctive attitudinal profiles. In particular, the values of independent candidate Ross Perot's backers do not lend themselves to easy partisan or ideological categorization.

In many ways, Perot backers are more centrist than those who favor Bush or Clinton, but to some extent they also seem more classically libertarian. They are clearly more critical of the political system and the federal bureaucracy than people inclined to support Bush or Clinton. But, they also appear to be quite tolerant and supportive of personal freedoms.

Unlike Bush's traditional Republican constituency, Perot supporters do not necessarily combine anti-bureaucratic attitudes with a pro-business stance. Nor do they combine support for personal freedoms with such support for distinctly pro-social justice programs, as do many of Clinton's Democratic supporters.

The tone of Perot's support reflects the fact that he draws heavily from *Disaffected* voters who are angry with the system and also from *Seculars* who combine cynicism about politics with tolerant social views. However the centrism in the values of Perot supporters is evidence of his significant appeal to most groups save socially conservative *Moralist Republicans* and hard pressed *Pocketbook Democrats*.

On most political, social and economic dimensions, the outlook of Perot supporters falls between those of Bush and Clinton supporters. For example, Perot backers are less militaristic than Bush supporters, but are somewhat more inclined to say they support the use of military force than people disposed to Bill Clinton.

George Bush's adherents are most inclined to say that they are satisfied with their financial situation or that they don't have trouble making ends meet each month. Clinton supporters are subject to the most financial pressure, while people who say they would like to see Perot elected, if the election were held today, fall mid-way between the two extremes.

Perot supporters show less support for social justice programs and efforts to achieve equal opportunity for minority groups than do Clinton supporters, but are more in favor of social welfare and equal opportunity programs than are probable Bush supporters.

Similarly, white supporters of the independent candidate are more likely to feel that the progress of African Americans has been stymied in recent years, than are whites who favor the President's re-election. But, white Perot backers are considerably less likely to hold this view than are white Clinton backers.

Perot supporters are distinguished from the two other candidate support groups by the degree to which they feel that people don't have any say in government, and feel that elected officials lose touch with the people.

Perot's people are also more apt than those who back either of the other candidates to think that the Congress is having a bad influence on the way things are going in this country and to feel that way about local and state governments, as well as the courts.

Clinton supporters come closer to Perot supporters in their degree of estrangement from politics and politicians than do supporters of the President. A majority of people who favor the President's re-election think that the government is run for the benefit of the people, while majorities of Perot and Clinton backers disagree.

The survey finds Clinton supporters somewhat more personally dispirited than those who back Bush *or* Perot. More of the Democratic candidate's adherents feel that hard work doesn't guarantee success in life and that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Perot supporters express even more aversion to the bureaucracy and inefficiencies of government, than do Bush's Republican backers. They are more likely than President Bush's probable supporters to feel that things run by the government are usually inefficient and wasteful and that dealing with a federal government agency is generally not worth the trouble.

Perot supporters feel that government regulation of business does more harm than good more often than do the Bush or Clinton candidate support groups. However, the independent candidate's constituency is as suspicious of the power and profits of big companies as are Bill Clinton's largely Democratic adherents. Bush supporters, on the other hand have much more favorable opinions of business than those of either of the other candidates.

Perot's supporters are strong proponents of personal freedoms. A majority of his backers oppose banning books that contain "*dangerous ideas*" from school libraries, contrary to the position held by a clear majority of people who say they support Bush or Clinton. Along with Clinton supporters, the independent candidate's voter constituency stands opposed to allowing school boards to fire homosexual teachers - a measure that Bush boosters favor.

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>
<u>MILITARISM</u>			
The best way to ensure peace is through military strength (Q.55ii)			
Agree	61	50	54
Disagree	37	49	43
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>
<u>PERSONAL FINANCIAL PRESSURE</u>			
I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially (Q.55y)			
Agree	65	52	58
Completely	18	16	15
Disagree	34	46	42
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	*
Total	100	100	100

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>
<u>WELFAREISM</u>			
The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep (Q.50z)			
Agree	57	77	65
Completely	21	46	31
Disagree	40	21	33
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>
<u>RACIAL TOLERANCE/BASED ON WHITES</u>			
In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country (Q.55dd)			
Agree	46	67	57

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>
<u>POLITICAL ALIENATION</u>			
People like me don't have any say about what the government does (Q.40a)			
Agree	45	51	58
Disagree	53	47	42
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	*
Total	100	100	100

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>
Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly (Q.40b)			
Agree	78	85	88
Completely	24	37	42
Disagree	20	14	11
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100

INFLUENCE (Based on Q.54f1d, e and m)

Congress			
Good influence	44	46	29
Bad influence	45	38	62
Neither	2	2	2
Both	4	4	3
No opinion	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100

Local & State Governments			
Good influence	70	61	54
Bad influence	19	29	35
Neither	1	*	1
Both	6	5	7
No opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100

Courts			
Good influence	62	50	44
Bad influence	26	35	47
Neither	1	1	1
Both	5	6	4
No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100

POLITICAL ALIENATION

The government is really run for the benefit of all the people (Q.40m)			
Agree	60	40	39
Disagree	38	59	61
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
Total	100	100	100

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>
<u>INDIVIDUAL ALIENATION</u>			
Hard work offers little guarantee of success (Q.40f)			
Agree	26	40	34
Disagree	72	58	64
Completely	30	23	26
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100

BUREAUCRACY

When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful (Q.40j)

Agree	65	66	76
Completely	24	25	34
Disagree	33	32	23
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100

Dealing with a federal government agency is often not worth the trouble (Q.40r)

Agree	56	66	73
Completely	15	24	24
Disagree	37	29	25
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100

Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good (Q.40i)

Agree	59	60	65
Completely	15	19	23
Disagree	34	36	31
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	100	100

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>
<u>BUSINESS ATTITUDES</u>			
There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies (Q.40o)			
Agree	68	83	80
Completely	18	37	34
Disagree	29	15	18
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100

Business corporations make too much profit (Q.40p)			
Agree	55	66	60
Completely	16	28	20
Disagree	39	28	35
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	100	100	100

	(Based on Q.55f and g)		
<u>TOLERANCE & PERSONAL FREEDOMS</u>			
School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals			
Agree	47	37	39
Disagree	49	58	55
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
Total	100	100	100

Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries			
Agree	54	53	43
Disagree	43	46	55
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100

Voting Behavior and Civic Attitudes

Despite their estrangement from the political system and animosity toward the status quo, Perot supporters are as likely as supporters of the other candidates to say they feel an obligation to vote, to say they are interested in national affairs, to feel that what happens in Washington is important and to say they vote regularly.

Americans who support Ross Perot's independent candidacy represent a more vocal segment of the electorate than those who say they now back Bush or Clinton. Comparatively, a greater percentage of them say they have written a letter to an editor or an elected official or signed or circulated a petition within the past year.

Perot supporters are much more politically energized than those who back the other candidates, especially those who favor George Bush. Six in ten Perot supporters say they have given a lot of thought to the coming election, compared to only five in ten for those who back Bush or Clinton.

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>
<u>POLITICAL PARTICIPATION</u>			
I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote			
Agree	91	92	90
Completely	67	68	69
Disagree	8	7	9
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100

I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs			
Agree	92	90	93
Completely	49	50	54
Disagree	7	10	6
Don't know	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100

(Based on Q.55z and aa)

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>
<u>HOW OFTEN VOTES</u>			
Always	43	49	47
Nearly always	31	22	25
Part of the time	7	12	10
Seldom	12	10	13
Other	1	1	1
Never vote	5	5	4
Don't know/no answer	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100

(Based on Q.19)

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>
Written a letter to an elected official within the last year	34	32	39
Written a letter to the editor within the last year	11	11	19
Signed or circulated a petition within the last year	47	52	56
Attended a public hearing within the last year	36	30	38

(Based on Q.51f2a, b, c and d)

AMOUNT OF THOUGHT
GIVEN TO THE COMING
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Quite a lot	50	51	63
Some	7	7	5
Little	41	40	29
None/Can't say	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100

(Based on Q. 5)

Clinton's backers appear to have a lower likelihood of turning out in November than Perot supporters.

High probability voter	<u>Bush</u> 46	<u>Clinton</u> 44	<u>Perot</u> 49
Low probability voter	54	56	51
Total 100	100	100	
Sample size	(777)	(672)	(926)

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 3,517 adults 18 years of age or older, during the period of May 28 -June 10, 1992. The survey oversampled African-Americans and young people aged 18 to 34. These oversamples were included to ensure a sufficient number of interviews to allow separate analysis of these subpopulations.

The sample of telephone numbers was randomly selected in two parts: a national sample of random digit telephone numbers designed to produce a representative sample of the general population, and a national sample of random digit and listed telephone numbers designed to produce a representative sample of the black population living in areas with significant black population. The oversample of young people was obtained by screening a random digit telephone sample for people aged 18 to 34.

The general population sample was a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county was proportional to that county's share of telephone numbers in the state. Estimates of the number of telephone households within each county are derived from 1990 Census data on residential telephone incidence.

For the African-American supplemental sample telephone numbers were randomly selected from among the listed telephone numbers that are associated with households in census tracts that were at least 30% Black in the 1990 census. The random component of the black sample was constructed by adding "1" to listed telephone numbers selected in identical fashion to the numbers selected for the listed component. Telephone numbers selected as part of the black supplemental sample were screened to determine their eligibility by race. By design the sampling procedures for the supplemental sample of blacks underrepresents blacks living in geographic areas that do not contain concentrations of blacks and blacks living in households with unlisted telephone numbers. The demographic weighting procedures described below mitigate, to a large degree, these limitations of the sample design.

At least four attempts were made to contact each telephone number in the sample. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a respondent. In addition, all interview breakoffs and refusals were recontacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known sources of biases in survey derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. For example, young men are more difficult than other adults to reach at home by telephone and people with relatively low educational attainment are less likely than others to agree to participate in telephone surveys.

A more important source of bias in survey estimates for this survey is the explicit over-sampling that was done to increase the representation of blacks and young people. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data for this survey are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters for this study were derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau Annual Demographic File (from the March 1991 Current Population Survey). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of the total adult population of the continental U.S. living in households with telephones and for the adult black population of the continental U.S. living in households with telephones. These population parameters were compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The black component of the survey was weighted to bring the demographic characteristics of the black sample into alignment with the demographic characteristics of the national adult black population. The demographic distributions used in the weighting included sex by age, sex by education, age by education, race, region, and residence in metropolitan versus non-metropolitan areas. Due to the design of the black oversample, blacks living in less densely populated areas (in terms of black population) were underrepresented. This underrepresentation was corrected with the metropolitan component of the weighting scheme. In addition, the black sample and the sample of people 18 to 34 years of age were weighted to their correct proportion in the total sample of adults.

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 results based on the black sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 6 percentage points.

A split ballot technique was used to test Norman Schwartzkopf's appeal versus Ross Perot's. A random subset of 2512 respondents were questioned about Perot as a third party candidate while a random subset of 1005 were asked about Schwartzkopf.

A second independent nationwide telephone survey was conducted among 1004 adults 18 years of age and older during the period June 5-9, 1992 as a means of testing an alternative voting intentions method.

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 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 and 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: Enterprisers are fiscal conservatives who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. Enterprisers are much less likely than other Americans to agree with the popular notion that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer (43% vs. 81%). Their pro-business stance leads them to differ with most Americans on the idea that too much power is concentrated in the hands of big companies. While 82% of other Americans feel that this is true, only 48% of Enterprisers agree. Enterprisers are also less likely to completely agree that society should make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity (55% vs. 41%).

Moralists: 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. A vast majority of Moralists agree that books with dangerous ideas should be banned from public schools, which sets them firmly to the right of the rest of the public on the issue of censorship (89% vs. 39%).

There are three core Democratic groups:

Sixties Democrats: Sixties Democrats are strong believers in peace and social justice. More than any other segment of the population, they disagree with the idea that the best way to preserve peace is through military strength (88% vs. 44%). And two-thirds (65%) of Sixties Democrats completely agree that society should guarantee everyone an equal

opportunity. This is a heavily female, middle class, middle-aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers: New Dealers are older Democrats who experience little financial pressure and are more socially conservative than the national Democratic Party. Drawn heavily from the South, many of these old-time Democrats have party roots that go back to Roosevelt. Despite the end of the Cold War, New Dealers still universally agree that the best way to insure peace is through military strength (96%¹¹).

Pocketbook Democrats: Pocketbook Dems overwhelmingly agree that they don't have enough money to make ends meet (98%). They are very concerned with social justice, and they believe that government should take an active role in the solution of the socio-economic problems that plague them. One-third of Pocketbook Dems are minorities (32%), and many have less than a high school education.

There are three typology groups that are basically Independent:

Seculars: Seculars lean to the Democratic party, but some identify more closely with the GOP on certain issues. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms. Seculars are well-informed, relatively affluent, and more often found on the East and West coasts. Their defining characteristic is an almost total lack of religious conviction. While 87% of the rest of the public says that prayer is an important part of their daily life, only one in ten (12%) Seculars hold this view. Their support for personal freedoms is best reflected in their feelings about censorship: 97% disagree with banning books containing dangerous ideas from public school libraries, compared with 48% of other Americans.

Two of the Independent groups lean to the Republican party:

Disaffecteds: Disaffecteds are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle-aged, lower-middle income group contains many blue collar workers. Disaffecteds are nearly twice as likely as others to agree that hard work offers little guarantee of success (69% vs. 36%). Their political distrust is such that three-quarters (77%) disagree that elected officials care what people like them think.

Upbeats: Upbeats are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats are primarily young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values: 88% of Upbeats agree that Americans can always solve their problems, while only 55% of others agree.

Finally, there is one typology group that is by definition apolitical:

¹¹ Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

Bystanders: Bystanders have an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles. Forty-six percent of Bystanders say they seldom vote.

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

PERCENT

<i>Enterprisers</i>	10
<i>Moralists</i>	14
<i>Upbeats</i>	12
<i>Disaffecteds</i>	13
<i>Bystanders/Other</i>	16
<i>Seculars</i>	8
<i>60's Democrats</i>	6
<i>New Dealers</i>	5
<i>Pocketbook Dems.</i>	16

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
 21ST CENTURY VOTER
 MAY 28 - JUNE 10, 1992
 N=3,517

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, 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							
		May 1992	March 1992	Feb 1992	Jan 1992	Nov 1991	Oct 1991	July 1991	May 1991
32	Approve	37	38	39	46	55	61	67	77
57	Disapprove	51	52	53	43	33	28	23	16
<u>11</u> 100	Don't know	<u>12</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q. 2 Do you happen to read any daily newspaper or newspapers regularly?

		July <u>1991</u>	May <u>1991</u>	Jan <u>1991</u>	Nov <u>1990</u>	Oct <u>1990</u>	July <u>1990</u>	May <u>1990</u>
75	Yes	73	70	72	74	72	71	71
25	No	27	30	27	26	28	29	29
$\frac{*}{100}$	Don' t know	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{0}{100}$	$\frac{0}{100}$	$\frac{0}{100}$	$\frac{0}{100}$

Q. 3 Do you happen to watch any TV news programs regularly, or not?

		July <u>1991</u>	May <u>1991</u>	Jan <u>1991</u>	Nov <u>1990</u>	Oct <u>1990</u>	July <u>1990</u>	May <u>1990</u>
85	Yes	84	84	88	80	81	81	80
15	No	16	16	12	20	19	19	20
$\frac{*}{100}$	Don' t know	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{0}{100}$	$\frac{0}{100}$	$\frac{0}{100}$

Q. 4 Do you listen to the news on the radio regularly or not?

		July <u>1991</u>	May <u>1991</u>	Jan <u>1991</u>	Nov <u>1990</u>	Oct <u>1990</u>	July <u>1990</u>	May <u>1990</u>
54	Yes	53	53	55	55	54	55	56
46	No	47	47	45	45	46	45	44
$\frac{*}{100}$	Don' t know	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{0}{100}$	$\frac{0}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$

Q. 5 How much thought have you given to the coming Presidential election quite a lot or only a little?

55	Quite a lot
6	Some (VOL)
36	Little
2	None
$\frac{1}{100}$	Can' t say

Q. 6 Suppose the 1992 Presidential election were being held today. If George Bush were the Republican candidate and Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton were the Democratic candidate who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q. 6 ASK:

Q. 7 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican or do you lean more to Bill Clinton the Democrat?

		May <u>1992</u>	Mar <u>1992</u>
46	George Bush - with leaners	46	50
41	Bill Clinton - with leaners	43	43
<u>13</u> 100	Other/Undecided	<u>11</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100 (557)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' GEORGE BUSH OR '2' BILL CLINTON IN Q. 6 ASK:

Q. 8 Do you support (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q. 6) strongly or only moderately?

Strength of support

		May <u>1992</u>	Mar <u>1992</u>
46	George Bush	46	50
13	Strongly	15	19
33	Only moderately	31	31
41	Bill Clinton	43	43
9	Strongly	10	9
32	Only moderately	33	34
<u>13</u> 100	Other/undecided	<u>11</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100 (557)

ASK ALL:

FORM 1

Q. 9f1 And suppose the candidates were George Bush, the Republican candidate, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, the Democratic candidate, and Ross Perot was the Independent candidate, who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '4' OTHER OR '5' UNDECIDED IN Q. 9f1 ASK:

FORM 1

Q. 10f1 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or do you lean toward Ross Perot, the Independent?

		May <u>1992</u>	Form 2 ¹² Asked Without <u>2 Way First</u>
31	George Bush - with leaners	33	33
27	Bill Clinton - with leaners	30	24
36	Ross Perot - with leaners	30	31
<u>6</u>	Other/Undecided	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100

ASK ALL:

FORM 2

Q. 9f2 And suppose the candidates were George Bush, the Republican candidate, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, the Democratic candidate, and Former Army General Norman Schwarzkopf was the Independent candidate, who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '4' OTHER OR '5' UNDECIDED IN Q. 9f2 ASK:

FORM 2

Q. 10f2 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or do you lean toward Former Army General Norman Schwarzkopf as the Independent candidate?

35	George Bush - with leaners
27	Bill Clinton - with leaners
29	Norman Schwarzkopf - with leaners
<u>9</u>	Other/Undecided
100	

¹² Separate National Survey - field dates June 5-9, 1992.

ASK ALL:

Q. 11 What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the choices?

		May ¹³ <u>1992</u>	Mar <u>1992</u>
6	Very satisfied S))))))))) /Q	26	28
31	Fairly satisfied S)))))))))-		
35	Not too satisfied S))))))))) /Q	71	66
26	Not at all satisfied S)))))))))-		
<u>2</u> 100	Can't say	<u>3</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100

¹³ In May and March the question was asked, "What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are satisfied with the choices or not satisfied with the choices?"

- Q.12 Why do you feel that way?
- 9 Candidates not well qualified
 - 8 Lack of integrity/can't be trusted
 - 8 Don't represent me/out of touch
 - 7 Negative opinion of Bush
 - 6 No differentiation/no real change
 - 6 Need change/dissatisfied with how things are going
 - 6 Negative opinion of Clinton
 - 6 Not addressing issues
 - 4 Positive opinion of Perot
 - 4 General negative both parties
 - 4 Good candidates did not run/wanted others
 - 4 Dissatisfied with positions on economy
 - 4 No leadership/strength/stature
 - 3 Clinton scandals/character
 - 3 Should pay more attention to national agenda
 - 3 Positive opinion of Bush
 - 3 Things going well/shouldn't change
 - 3 Positive opinion of Clinton
 - 14 Other
 - 14 Don't know/no answer

Q. 13 These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register. Are you now registered to vote in your precinct or election district or haven't you been able to register so far?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q. 13 ASK:

Q. 14 Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote or is there a chance that your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

76 Yes, registered
73 Absolutely sure
3 Chance

23 No S))))))))))))))))))
/Q GO TO Q. 15

1 Not sure/Don't know S) -
100

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '2' NO OR '3' NOT SURE IN Q. 13 OR '2' CHANCE OR '3' NOT SURE IN Q. 14 ASK:

Q. 15 Do you plan to register to vote or is there a chance that you may not register?

Q. 16 Have you ever, at any time, been registered to vote, or haven't you ever had the chance to register?

27 Not registered
11 Never been
16 Have been in the past
* Not sure if ever
17 Plan to register
9 Chance may not
1 Can't say/Undecided

Q. 17 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

Q. 18 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

89 Yes
 75 Absolutely certain
 12 Fairly certain
 2 Not certain

7 No
 1 Absolutely certain
 1 Fairly certain
 5 Not certain

4 Can't say
100

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

		May <u>1992</u>	Nov <u>1991</u>	May <u>1990</u>	Jan <u>1989</u>	Jan <u>1988</u>	May <u>1987</u>
47	Always	41	38	33	45	39	34
26	Nearly always	32	37	35	30	33	37
10	Part of the time	13	13	12	10	12	11
11	Seldom	11	9	10	8	8	6
1	(DO NOT READ) Other	*	0	1	1	1	2
5	(DO NOT READ) Never vote	3	3	8	6	6	9
<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	Don't know/no answer	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED ANYTHING OTHER THAN '10' ALWAYS IN Q.19 ASK:

Q.20 I am going to read some reasons why some people have told us they don't always vote. 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.) (ROTATE)

	Compl etely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Di sagree</u>	Compl etely <u>Di sagree</u>	(VOL) Don' t <u>Know a.</u>
I sometimes feel I don't know enough about the candidates to vote	21	42	22	14	1=100
b. I sometimes feel it doesn't matter that much who gets elected	12	23	26	38	1=100
c. It's complicated to register to vote where I live	4	8	29	56	3=100
d. It's difficult for me to get out to the polls to vote	8	17	29	44	2=100
e. I sometimes don't like any of the candidates	24	41	22	12	1=100
f. I don't want to involve myself with politics	7	17	28	46	2=100

Q.21 Would you like a son or daughter or other member of your family to go into politics as a career?

	Newsweek <u>1976</u>
27 Yes	34
63 No	63
<u>10</u> Don' t know	<u>3</u>
100	100

Q.22 Are you more interested or less interested in politics this year than you were in 1988?

		TM March <u>1992</u>	Newsweek <u>1980</u>	Newsweek <u>1976</u>
55	More	57	56	42
24	Less	27	17	29
19	Same (VOL)	14	24	28
<u>2</u> 100	Can't say	<u>2</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100

Q.23 Id like your opinion about the effectiveness of different ways of trying to influence the way the government is run and influence which laws are passed.

How effective is it to ... (REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM BELOW)

	<u>Very Effective</u>	<u>Fairly Effective</u>	<u>Not too Effective</u>	<u>Not at all Effective</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. Make sure you vote in all elections	57	27	10	4	2=100
Newsweek, 1976	38	39	16	4	3=100
b. Write your Congressman or other political leaders	26	35	23	11	5=100
Newsweek, 1976	19	42	27	7	5=100
c. Work in political campaigns to get your preferred candidate elected	26	40	16	7	11=100
Newsweek, 1976	22	50	17	6	5=100
d. Stage protest demonstrations	13	32	30	19	6=100
Newsweek, 1976	6	22	34	32	6=100
e. Join your local political party	21	35	23	10	11=100
Newsweek, 1976	17	46	21	9	7=100

Q. 24 Some people feel that what this country needs is some really strong leadership that would try to solve problems directly without worrying how Congress and the Supreme Court might feel. Others think that such strong leadership might be dangerous. What do you think?

		Newsweek <u>1976</u>
63	Need strong leadership	49
27	Strong leadership might be dangerous	44
<u>10</u> 100	Don' t know	<u>7</u> 100

Q. 25 Suppose there was place on the ballot where you could refuse to vote for any of the candidates - a vote of no confidence in all of the candidates running for office? How likely is it that you would vote that way? **(READ LIST)**

		Newsweek <u>1976</u>
24	Very likely	21
30	Possibly likely	32
43	Not at all likely	41
<u>3</u> 100	(DO NOT READ) Don' t know	<u>6</u> 100

Q. 26 In your opinion, does it really make much difference who is elected President?

		Newsweek <u>1976</u>
80	Yes	80
18	No	18
<u>2</u> 100	Don' t know	<u>2</u> 100

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT SOME THINGS THAT HAVE BEEN IN THE NEWS - NOT EVERYONE WILL HAVE HEARD ABOUT THEM

FORM 1

Q. 27f1 Do you happen to know which political party has a majority in the U.S. Senate? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

17 Republican

52 Democrat

31 Can't say

100

FORM 1

Q. 28f1 Do you happen to know which political party has a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

12 Republican

44 Democrat

44 Can't say

100

FORM 1

Q. 29f1 Do you happen to know the name of the former communist country in which there has been a prolonged civil war between the various republics? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

21 Yugoslavi a

39 Other answer

40 Not sure

100

FORM 1

Q. 30f1 Do you happen to know the name of the television show that Dan Quayle criticized for glamorizing being an unwed mother? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

65 Murphy Brown

3 Other answer

32 Not sure

100

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q. 31 How have you been getting most of your news about the Presidential election campaign? From television, from newspapers, from radio or from magazines? **(ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS)**

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' TELEVISION IN Q. 31 ASK:

Q. 32 Do you get most of your news about the presidential campaign from network tv news, from local tv news, or from CNN? **(ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS)**

		May <u>1992</u>	Mar <u>1992</u>	Feb <u>1992</u>
84	Television	86	83	80
	50 Network	46	41	40
	38 Local	40	32	37
	34 CNN	34	30	29
	2 (DO NOT READ) Other	4	2	2
	<u>1</u> Can't say	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	125*	125*	107*	109*
55	Newspapers	51	48	49
18	Radio	17	14	18
7	Magazines	6	4	4
4	Other	3	3	3
	<u>*</u> Can't say	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>
	168**	164**	152**	155**

*Total exceeds the % who mentioned tv due to multiple responses

**Total exceeds 100% due to multiple responses

Q. 33 What's the best way to get the latest news about important events occurring in this country - to read a newspaper or to watch the news on tv?

20	Newspaper
72	TV
7	Both/Neither (VOL)
<u>1</u>	Can't say
100	

Q.34 What's the best way to learn why these events are occurring - by reading about them in the newspaper or watching the news on tv?

44 Newspaper

44 TV

10 Both/Neither (VOL)

$\frac{2}{100}$ Can't say

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..

Q.35 What is your age

13 Under 25

10 25-29

13 30-34

11 35-39

53 40 or older

$\frac{*}{100}$ Refused

Q. 36 As I read from a list of events that have occurred in the past, please tell me whether or not you can clearly recall watching them on television at about the time they happened. Only tell me "yes" if you actually remember watching the event on TV at about the time it happened.

Do you remember watching [EVENT] on TV at about the time it happened?

Q. 37 Of all the things I have mentioned, which one event has had the greatest impact on how you think about politics and political issues?

Q. 38 Of all the things I mentioned, which one event most moved you or touched you emotionally?

	--Q. 36--		--Q. 37--		--Q. 38--	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No/ DK</u>	<u>Greatest Impact</u>	<u>Biggest Emotional Effect</u>		
<u>IF 40 OR OLDER</u>						
a. John Kennedy's funeral	93	7	8	1		8
b. Martin Luther King's 1963 march on Washington	72	28	1	1		
<u>IF 35 OR OLDER</u>						
c. Federal troops being sent into Detroit in 1967 to quell the riots	41	59	*	*		
d. The Tet Offensive in Vietnam	61	39	2	1		
e. Lyndon Johnson's speech announcing that he would not stand for re-election	58	42	*	*		
f. Bobby Kennedy's assassination	90	10	3	5		
g. The riots at the 1968 Democratic convention	56	44	*	*		
h. The concert at Woodstock	36	64	*	*		
i. The first manned landing on the moon	94	6	*	2		

CONTINUED...

	--0. 36--	--0. 37--	--0. 38--
	<u>Yes</u>	No/ <u>DK</u>	<u>Greatest</u> <u>Impact</u>
			<u>Biggest</u> <u>Emotional</u> <u>Effect</u>
<u>IF 30 & OLDER</u>			
j. Richard Nixon's resignation	86	14	4
			*
k. The Iranian take over of the American Embassy in Teheran	75	25	*
			1
<u>IF 25 & OLDER ASK</u>			
l. The 1984 Olympic in Los Angeles	59	41	*
			*
m. The Iran Contra hearings in Congress	68	32	2
			*
n. The explosion of the space shuttle Challenger	93	7	1
			13
<u>ASK ALL</u>			
p. The San Francisco Earthquake	85	15	*
			3
q. The massacre in Tiananmen Square	62	38	3
			4
r. The fall of the Berlin Wall	86	14	6
			5
s. The war in the Gulf	97	3	22
			16
t. The riots last month in Los Angeles	95	5	34
			26
Don't know/No answer/None			<u>14</u>
			<u>5</u>
			100
			100

Q. 39 I'd like your opinion of some people. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who I name. First, would you describe your opinion of (ITEM) as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable? (ROTATE)

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
a. George Bush	13	38	29	18	0	2=100
May, 1992	13	42	25	17	0	3=100
March, 1992	18	45	23	13	0	1=100
February, 1992	26	38	20	14	0	2=100
January, 1992	20	43	22	13	0	2=100
November, 1991	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. Bill Clinton	10	36	33	14	1	6=100
May, 1992	11	42	32	10	*	5=100
March, 1992	10	43	29	11	1	6=100
February, 1992	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
c. Ross Perot	18	35	18	8	5	16=100
May, 1992	11	39	20	7	2	21=100
March, 1992	11	18	15	6	29	21=100
d. Dan Quayle	7	26	34	27	1	5=100
November, 1991	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
e. Norman Schwartzkopf	41	33	9	4	5	8=100
March, 1991	62	22	2	11	5	8=100

CONTINUED....

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>(VOL) Never Heard Of</u>	<u>(VOL) Can't Rate</u>
f. Bill Bradley	8	27	17	6	22	20=100
g. Jack Kemp	9	26	21	5	18	21=100
h. Colin Powell	30	35	11	4	10	10=100
March, 1991	51	28	2	1	7	11=100

***Based on registered voters**

DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS:

Q.40 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>Compl etely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Di sagree</u>	<u>Compl etely Di sagree</u>	<u>(VOL) Don' t Know</u>
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	14	36	32	17	1=100
b. Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly	35	49	12	3	1=100
c. Most elected officials care what people like me think	5	31	46	16	2=100
e. Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control	11	27	38	21	3=100
f. Hard work offers little guarantee of success	11	21	40	26	2=100
f1. I admire people who get rich by working hard	47	42	7	3	1=100
h. The strength of this country today is mostly based on the success of American business	24	54	15	5	2=100
i. Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good	19	42	28	5	6=100

CONTINUED. . . .

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL) Don't Know</u>
j. When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful	29	41	24	4	2=100
l. The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives	28	36	29	5	2=100
m. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	8	36	37	17	2=100
n. Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public interest	5	35	42	14	4=100
o. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	30	47	18	3	2=100
p. Business corporations make too much profit	21	39	29	5	6=100
q. It is time for Washington politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders	38	46	12	2	2=100
r. Dealing with a federal government agency is often not worth the trouble	21	43	27	4	5=100

CONTINUED . . .

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL) Don't Know</u>
r1. Many people today think they can get ahead without working hard and making sacrifices	24	39	22	13	2=100
s. As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	16	50	24	8	2=100
t. I don't believe that there are any real limits to growth in this country today	19	39	30	8	4=100
u. We need new people in Washington even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians	20	36	30	11	3=100

INTERVIEWER NOTE: FOR QUESTIONS 41, 42, 43, 44 AND 45 PLEASE DETERMINE WHAT DAY OF THE WEEK IT IS. IF THE DAY OF THE WEEK IS SUNDAY, PLEASE READ "FRIDAY". IF THE DAY IS NOT SUNDAY, READ "YESTERDAY".

ASK EVERYONE:

Q. 41 Did things come up that kept you from reading a paper yesterday or did you get a chance to read a daily newspaper yesterday?

		March <u>1990</u>	Feb. <u>1990</u>	Jan. <u>1990</u>
48	Read paper	42	45	40
52	Di dn' t read paper	57	55	60
$\frac{*}{100}$	Don' t know	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{0}{100}$

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES, READ PAPER IN Q. 41 ASK:

Q. 42 About how much time did you spend reading a daily newspaper yesterday?
(DO NOT READ)

		March <u>1990</u>	Feb. <u>1990</u>	Jan. <u>1990</u>
7	Less than fifteen minutes	10	10	8
14	Fifteen to less than thirty minutes	13	13	11
15	Thirty minutes to less than one hour	11	13	12
11	One hour or more	8	9	9
1	Don' t know	*	*	*

ASK EVERYONE:

Q. 43 Did things come up that prevented you from watching any TV news programs yesterday or did you watch the news or a news program on television yesterday? **(DO NOT READ)**

		<u>March</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb.</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>1990</u>
58	Watched TV news	49	52	57
42	Did not watch	50	47	42
$\frac{*}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES, WATCHED IN Q. 43 ASK:

Q. 44 About how much time did you spend watching the news or any news programs on TV yesterday?

		<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb.</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>1990</u>
3	Less than fifteen minutes		4	4	3
8	Fifteen to less than thirty minutes		9	9	9
19	Thirty minutes to less than one hour		14	15	17
28	One hour or more		22	24	28
*	Don't know		*	*	*

ASK EVERYONE:

Q.45 About how much time, if any, did you spend listening to any news on the radio yesterday or didn't you happen to listen to the news on the radio yesterday?

	<u>March 1990</u>	<u>Feb. 1990</u>	<u>Jan. 1990</u>
15 Less than fifteen minutes	22	24	21
11 Fifteen to less than thirty minutes	11	11	12
10 Thirty minutes to less than one hour	10	9	9
11 One hour or more	9	11	9
52 Didn't listen	47	44	48
$\frac{1}{100}$ Don't know	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

FORM 2

Q. 46f2 I'd like to know how often, if ever, you read certain types of publications. For each that I read tell me if you read them regularly, sometimes, hardly ever or never. **(READ AND ROTATE)**

	<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Personality magazines such as People or US	8	28	25	39	*=100
July, 1990	9	25	18	48	*=100
June, 1990	10	28	19	43	*=100
May, 1990	7	24	19	50	*=100
April, 1990	9	25	20	46	*=100
March, 1990	8	25	20	47	*=100
February, 1990	8	24	19	49	*=100
January, 1990	9	23	19	49	0=100
b. News magazines such as Time, U.S. News and World Report or Newsweek	20	39	18	23	*=100
July, 1990	18	34	18	30	*=100
June, 1990	21	39	16	24	*=100
May, 1990	17	34	19	30	*=100
April, 1990	20	35	16	29	*=100
March, 1990	16	35	19	30	*=100
February, 1990	17	36	18	29	0=100
January, 1990	18	34	17	31	0=100
c. Magazines such as The Atlantic, Harpers, The New Yorker	2	9	16	73	*=100
July, 1990	2	8	11	79	*=100
June, 1990	2	8	13	77	*=100
May, 1990	2	7	12	79	*=100
April, 1990	2	6	12	80	*=100
March, 1990	2	7	13	78	0=100
February, 1990	2	7	10	81	*=100
January, 1990	2	7	11	80	0=100
d. Business magazines such as Fortune and Forbes	5	17	21	57	*=100
July, 1990	5	15	14	66	*=100
June, 1990	6	16	16	62	*=100
May, 1990	4	14	15	67	*=100
April, 1990	5	15	14	66	*=100
March, 1990	5	14	14	67	0=100
February, 1990	4	12	14	70	*=100
January, 1990	5	13	14	68	0=100

CONTINUED. . . .

	<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Don' t Know</u>
e. The National Enquirer, The Sun or The Star	5	13	14	68	*=100
March, 1990	5	15	13	67	*=100
February, 1990	7	13	13	67	*=100
January, 1990	7	12	13	68	0=100

FORM 1

Q. 47f1 I'd like to know how often you watch or listen to certain programs. For each that I read, tell me if you watch or listen to it regularly, sometimes, hardly ever or never. **(READ AND ROTATE)**

	<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. News magazine shows such as 60 minutes or 20/20	46	40	8	6	*=100
July, 1990	46	38	8	8	*=100
June, 1990	50	36	6	8	*=100
May, 1990	45	37	8	10	*=100
April, 1990	47	37	7	9	*=100
March, 1990	41	42	7	10	*=100
February, 1990	39	41	10	10	0=100
January, 1990	43	40	8	9	*=100
b. Sunday morning news shows such as Meet The Press, Face The Nation or This Week with David Brinkley	15	25	21	39	*=100
July, 1990	13	24	14	49	*=100
June, 1990	15	26	12	47	*=100
May, 1990	13	21	16	50	*=100
April, 1990	14	22	12	52	*=100
March, 1990	10	24	16	50	0=100
February, 1990	12	22	13	53	0=100
January, 1990	11	24	14	51	*=100
c. MacNeil Lehrer	6	19	17	56	2=100
July, 1990	7	16	11	66	*=100
June, 1990	7	16	12	64	1=100
May, 1990	8	15	11	65	1=100
April, 1990	6	16	11	66	1=100
March, 1990	5	19	12	63	1=100
February, 1990	5	15	11	69	0=100
January, 1990	6	15	12	67	*=100
d. A Current Affair	19	35	16	29	1=100
April, 1990	19	28	13	40	*=100
March, 1990	17	27	14	41	1=100
February, 1990	17	29	12	42	*=100
January, 1990	18	28	12	42	*=100

CONTINUED. . . .

	<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
e. Programs on National Public Radio such as Morning Edition or All Things Considered	7	16	17	59	1=100
July, 1990	9	13	8	70	*=100
June, 1990	9	10	11	69	1=100
May, 1990	7	11	10	72	*=100
April, 1990	7	12	9	71	1=100
March, 1990	7	9	10	74	*=100
February, 1990	8	10	8	74	*=100
January, 1990	5	10	7	78	*=100
f. Entertainment Tonight	11	30	24	35	*=100
April, 1990	14	30	17	39	*=100
March, 1990	15	31	15	39	*=100
February, 1990	11	31	16	42	0=100
January, 1990	11	34	16	39	0=100
g. Cable News Network (CNN)	30	32	10	27	1=100
July, 1990	27	28	8	36	1=100
June, 1990	30	27	6	37	*=100
May, 1990	27	25	7	40	1=100
April, 1990	26	29	7	37	1=100
March, 1990	22	28	8	41	1=100
February, 1990	23	29	8	40	0=100
January, 1990	26	25	7	41	1=100
h. C-Span	6	19	18	54	3=100

FORM 1

Q. 48f1

When, as nearly as you can recall, was the last time you read any kind of book all the way through - either a hard cover book or paperback book? **(DO NOT READ)**

		March <u>1990</u>	Feb <u>1990</u>	Jan <u>1990</u>
40	Past week	31	32	26
17	Past month	21	17	21
8	Two or three months ago	9	9	11
6	Four to six months ago	6	6	8
2	Seven to eleven months ago	2	2	2
5	A year ago	6	5	4
15	More than a year ago	19	23	22
$\frac{7}{100}$	Can' t say	$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{6}{100}$

FORM 1

Q. 49f1

Do you happen to be reading any books or novels at present?

		March <u>1990</u>	Feb <u>1990</u>	Jan <u>1990</u>
43	Yes	39	39	33
57	No	61	61	67
$\frac{*}{100}$	Don' t know	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$

CONTINUED...

DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS:

Q.50 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>Compl etely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Di sagree</u>	<u>Compl etely Di sagree</u>	(VOL) <u>Don' t Know</u>
u1. There need to be stricter laws and regulations to protect the environment	55	35	7	2	1=100
u2. People should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment	26	41	22	10	1=100
v. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed	59	34	4	2	1=100
w. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country	16	24	30	27	3=100
x. It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves	28	41	20	8	3=100
y. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	18	35	31	12	4=100
z. The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep	32	33	22	10	3=100
cc. I am very patriotic	52	39	5	2	2=100

CONTINUED....

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL) Don't Know</u>
dd. In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country	21	36	30	9	4=100
ee. I think it's alright for blacks and whites to date each other	33	31	14	18	4=100
ff. We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment	11	23	36	27	3=100
gg. Discriminations against blacks are rare today	6	13	43	35	3=100
gg1. We should restrict and control people coming into our country to live more than we do now	42	34	15	6	3=100
hh. It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the United States	19	27	34	15	5=100
ii. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	21	33	30	13	3=100
kk. We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	24	33	25	14	4=100

CONTINUED...

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL) Don't Know</u>
mm. Most of the countries that have gotten help from America end up resenting us	30	43	19	3	5=100
nn. It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs	47	44	5	2	2=100
nn1. Poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs	35	44	14	4	3=100
nn2. Japan has taken unfair advantage of the United States	34	35	21	6	4=100
nn3. We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home	48	40	9	2	1=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT

FORM 2

Q.51f2 As I read from a list please tell me which of these things have you done in the past year to express your opinions on issues that concern you. Have you....

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Can' t Say</u>
a. Written a letter to an elected official	36	64	*=100
b. Written a letter to the editor	14	86	*=100
c. Signed or circulated a petition	53	47	*=100
d. Attended a public hearing	34	66	*=100
e. Boycotted a company	21	78	1=100
f. Taken part in a public demonstration	9	91	0=100

FORM 2

Q.52f2 In recent years have you attended a political meeting or political rally in support of a specific candidate?

26 Yes

74 No

$\frac{*}{100}$ Can' t say

FORM 2

Q.53f2 This past year, did you choose on your federal income tax return to donate one dollar of your taxes to a political campaign fund?

25 Yes

69 No

$\frac{6}{100}$ Can' t say

FORM 1

Q.54f1

I'd like your opinion of some groups in the United States. For each that I name tell me if you think they are having mainly a good influence on the way things are going in this country or mainly a bad influence on the way things are going in this country. **(ROTATE)**

	<u>Good Influence</u>	<u>Bad Influence</u>	<u>----VOL-----</u>		<u>No Opini on</u>
			<u>Nei ther</u>	<u>Both</u>	
a. Newspapers	72	19	1	4	4=100
b. People who run their own business'	91	3	1	1	4=100
c. Business executives	41	43	1	4	11=100
d. The Congress	37	49	2	5	7=100
e. Local and state governments	60	28	1	6	5=100
f. The churches	85	9	1	2	3=100
g. Uni ons	50	39	1	4	6=100
h. The police	69	20	1	7	3=100
i. CNN	76	5	1	1	17=100
j. Movies and TV shows	31	53	2	9	5=100
k. Rock Musi c	27	57	4	3	9=100
l. Envi ronmental ists	75	15	1	4	5=100
m. The courts	51	37	1	5	6=100
n. Investors from other countries	33	53	1	4	9=100
o. The women's movement	68	21	1	4	6=100
p. Computers and technol ogy	87	7	*	3	3=100

ASK ALL:

Q.55 Here are some statements on a different topic. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

	<u>Compl etely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Di sagree</u>	<u>Compl etely Di sagree</u>	<u>(VOL) Don' t Know</u>
b. We all will be called before God at the judgment day to answer for our sins	62	21	7	7	3=100
c. Even today miracles are performed by the power of God	58	25	8	6	3=100
f. School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals	24	16	27	28	5=100
g. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	30	18	22	27	3=100
o. AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior	17	19	19	38	7=100
q. There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	41	35	12	9	3=100
t. Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	38	40	16	4	2=100
w. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	26	26	31	16	1=100

CONTINUED. . . .

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL) Don't Know</u>
y. I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially	16	42	25	16	1=100
z. I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote	69	22	6	2	1=100
aa. I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	51	40	6	2	1=100
bb. I'm generally bored by what goes on in Washington	20	35	31	13	1=100
cc. I'm pretty interested in following local politics	26	47	21	5	1=100
dd. Most issues discussed in Washington don't affect me personally	7	26	43	22	2=100
ee. I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	39	30	16	9	6=100
ff. Sometimes I vote for a candidate without really knowing enough about him or her	14	38	25	20	3=100

FORM 2

Q. 56F2 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... **(CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM)**

	<u>Completely</u> <u>Agree</u>	<u>Mostly</u> <u>Agree</u>	<u>Mostly</u> <u>Di sagree</u>	<u>Completely</u> <u>Di sagree</u>	<u>Don' t</u> <u>Know</u>
a. I often don't become aware of political candidates until I see their advertising on television	20	42	27	10	1=100
May, 1990	17	45	28	7	3=100
May, 1987	10	42	34	10	4=100
b. I get some sense of what a candidate is like through his or her TV commercials	13	41	33	12	1=100
May, 1990	9	49	30	8	4=100
May, 1987	7	50	31	8	4=100
c. I like to have a picture of a candidate in my mind when I go to vote for him or her	26	50	15	6	3=100
May, 1990	21	53	14	6	6=100
May, 1987	16	54	16	6	8=100

WE ARE INTERESTED IN HOW PEOPLE GET TO KNOW ABOUT POLITICAL CANDIDATES....

FORM 2

Q. 57F2 Which gives you a better idea of where a candidate stands on issues: new reports on TV, or candidates' TV commercials?

	Nov ¹⁴ <u>1990</u>	May <u>1990</u>	May <u>1987</u>
81 New reports	63	74	79
15 Candi dates' TV commerci als	28	17	13
<u>4</u> 100 Don' t know	<u>9</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100

¹⁴ Based on registered voters. In November, 1990 the question was asked, "We are interested in how people got to know about political candidates this fall. Which gave you a better idea of where candidates stood on issues - news reports or TV commercials and advertisements about the candidates?"

FORM 2

Q. 58F2

Which gives you a better idea of what a candidate is like personally:
news reports on TV, or candidates' TV commercials?

		Nov ¹⁵ <u>1990</u>	May <u>1990</u>	May <u>1987</u>
74	News reports	53	65	67
22	Candidates' TV commercials	38	26	24
<u>4</u> 100	Don't know	<u>9</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100

¹⁵ Based on registered voters. In November, 1990 the question was asked, "Which gave you a better idea of what the candidates were like personally - news reports or candidates TV commercials and advertisements?"

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..

Finally, I'd like to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

PLEASE RECORD AND VERIFY PHONE NUMBER:

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* * * * _ * * * * _ * * * * *
.))2))2))- .))2))2))- .))2))2))2))-
AREA CODE EXCHANGE NUMBER

INTERVIEW TIME

D1. CHECK RESPONDENT'S SEX:

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

D2A. What is your marital status -- are you married, divorced, separated, widowed, or never been married?

- 1 Married,
- 2 Divorced,
- 3 Separated,
- 4 Widowed, or
- 5 Never been married
- 6 Don't know/No answer

D3. What is the last grade or class that you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ)**

- 1 None, or grade 1 - 4
- 2 Grades 5, 6 or 7
- 3 Grade 8
- 4 High school incomplete (Grades 9 - 11)
- 5 High school graduate, Grade 12
- 6 Technical, trade, or business after high school
- 7 College/university incomplete
- 8 College/university graduate
- 9 Some post-graduate training for an advanced degree, for example, a master's degree, Ph.D., law or medical degree
- 10 Don't know/No answer

D4. What is your race? Are you white, black, or some other?

- 1 White
- 2 Black
- 3 Other
- 4 Don't know

- D5. Are you, yourself, of Hispanic origin or descent, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Spanish background?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
 - 3 Don't know/Refused
- D5A. What is your religious preference - Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Mormon, or an orthodox church such as the Greek or Russian Orthodox Church?
- 10 Protestant (Baptist, Christian, Episcopal, Jehovah's Witness, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, etc.)
 - 11 Roman Catholic
 - 12 Jewish
 - 13 Orthodox Church (Greek or Russian)
 - 15 Other (**SPECIFY**)
 - 14 Mormon (include Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints)
 - 16 None
 - 17 Refused/No answer
- D5b. Would you describe yourself as a "born-again" or evangelical Christian, or not?
- 1 Yes, would
 - 2 No, would not
 - 0 Don't know
- D6. Is your total annual household income before taxes \$20,000 or more or is it less than \$20,000?
- (IF "UNDER" ASK:) Is it over or under \$15,000?
(IF "UNDER" ASK:) Is it over or under \$10,000?
(IF "OVER" ASK:) Is it over or under \$30,000?
(IF "OVER" ASK:) Is it over or under \$50,000?
- 01 Less than \$10,000
 - 02 \$10,000-14,999
 - 03 \$15,000 - 19,999
 - 04 \$20,000 - 29,999
 - 05 \$30,000 - \$49,999
 - 06 \$50,000 and over
 - 07 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

D7. In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent?

- 1 Republican -- **SKIP TO D7a**
- 2 Democrat -- **SKIP TO D7a**
- 3 Independent
- 4 Other
- 5 Don't know

D7a. Do you consider yourself a strong Republican/Democrat or not a strong Republican/Democrat?

D8. As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
11 Strong Republican	13	13	12	11
14 Strong Democrat	16	19	19	18
17 Not strong Republican	15	15	15	14
18 Not strong Democrat	17	17	19	19

D9. In the election in November 1988, when George Bush ran against Michael Dukakis, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? For whom?

- 1 Bush
- 2 Dukakis
- 3 Other
- 4 Voted, don't remember for whom
- 5 Did not vote
- 0 Don't remember if voted

D10. How many children under 18 years of age are now living in this household?

- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 8 More than 7
- 9 Refused
- 0 None

D11. Are/were you salaried or paid by the hour?

- 1 Salaried
- 2 Paid by the hour
- 3 Never worked
- 0 Don't know/Refused

D12. Do you own or rent your own home?

- 1 Own
- 2 Rent
- 3 **(DO NOT READ)** Other arrangement
- 4 **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know/No opinion

D13. Are you or is your spouse a member of a labor union?

- 1 Yes, respondent is
- 2 Yes, Spouse is
- 3 Yes, Both
- 4 Neither are
- 5 Don't know/No answer

D14. CHECK THE DAY OF WEEK INTERVIEW WAS COMPLETED.

- 1 Mon 2 Tues 3 Wed 4 Thurs 5 Fri 6 Sat 7 Sun

D15. CIRCLE NUMBER OF CALL ON WHICH THIS INTERVIEW WAS COMPLETED.

- 1 2 3 4

END OF INTERVIEW. THANK RESPONDENT; Thank you very much for your time.
Have a nice day/evening.

I HEREBY ATTEST THAT THIS IS A TRUE AND HONEST INTERVIEW.

