

THE GENDER GAP

Since 1980, the "gender gap" has been an important feature of the political landscape and a fact of American politics with which candidates and analysts have had to reckon. The Times Mirror/Gallup "People, Press and Politics" surveys have identified fundamental value differences between men and women that help explain the persistent political differences that exist between the sexes.

The gender gap first appeared in the 1980 presidential election when men overwhelmingly voted for Ronald Reagan over Jimmy Carter and women split their votes evenly between the two. In 1986, women tilted heavily toward Democratic congressional and gubernatorial candidates, enough to provide the margin of victory in nine close U.S. Senate races won by Democrats.

The gender gap suggests that men and women have different attitudes on some issues or place different levels of importance on issues when choosing a political candidate or party. This is particularly important since today women make up 53% of all registered voters and turnout to vote at a greater proportion. According to the Census Bureau, among eligible voters, 46.1% of women compared with 45.8% of men voted in 1986. If this holds true for this year's election, women will surpass men by 10 million votes.

The gender gap reveals itself as a consistent difference between men and women on measures of partisanship, e.g., party affiliation, approval of Reagan, and candidate preference. In the Times Mirror surveys, the gender gap is observed in several ways:

- * Women are more likely than men to consider themselves Democrats, while men are more likely to consider themselves Republican.

Including those who say they lean to one or the other party, 55% of women compared with 49% of men consider themselves Democrats while 41% of men and 35% of women think of themselves as Republicans.

* Women are less likely than men to approve of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President (46% vs. 55%).

* Women are slightly more likely than men to say they will probably vote Democratic in the 1988 Presidential election (45% vs. 40%) while men say they will vote Republican (37% vs. 30%).

Some political analysts have attempted to account for the gender gap by demographic analysis. Indeed, political differences between men and women are more apparent or extreme among some demographic groups. For example, the gender gap emerges among the better educated but virtually disappears among the less well educated. Among those with less than a high school education, 49% of men and 45% of women say they probably will vote Democratic in November while 24% of men and 27% of women say they will vote Republican. As education level increases, men tend to side with the Republican candidate while preference among women remains unchanged. Over half (56%) of men with a college education say they will probably vote Republican while only one-quarter (26%) say they will vote Democratic. Conversely, 30% of college educated women will probably vote Republican while almost half (49%) say they will vote Democratic.

A similar relationship occurs with respect to household income. At the lower end of the income scale men and women have similar presidential preferences while at the upper end men and women tend to differ in preference. Other demographic categorizations provide less consistent patterns or no patterns whatsoever with regard to the gender gap. But, the major problem in trying to explain the gender gap in this way is that the observed differences by demographic categories say little directly about the reasons why men and women differ in their partisan viewpoints.

As a consequence, analysts have looked to differences in men's and women's views on the issues as responsible for the gender gap. Political scientists point to the fact that women are more inclined than men to take dovish positions on international and defense issues. Also, women more than men show support for social spending programs. While these tendencies are evident in many survey questions they are not consistently apparent. Even when evident in surveys, they alone don't account for

partisan differences between the sexes.

The Times Mirror data allow for a more comprehensive evaluation of why there is a political gender gap. Each survey in this series contains 72 questions that measure a broad range of political values and orientations. Gallup's analysis of responses to these questions uncovered nine basic values and orientations that animate opinion on virtually all political issues. The nine basic values and personal orientations include the following:

Religious Faith - Belief in God

Tolerance - Belief in freedom for those who don't share one's values

Social Justice - Belief in the Government's obligation to ensure social justice and social welfare

Militant Anti-Communism - Belief in a strong, aggressive military defense to halt communism

Alienation - Belief that the American system does not work for oneself

Financial Pressure - Belief about one's financial status

Attitudes Toward Government - Belief about the proper role and effectiveness of government

Attitudes Towards Business Corporations - Beliefs about the goals and effectiveness of business corporations

American Exceptionalism - Belief that combines love of country with a view that the United States has a boundless ability to solve its problems

Results of a far reaching examination of the political views of men and women by these value indicators suggest that the gender gap may be explained by two ways in which men and women differ with regard to fundamental political values. First, men and women show some variations in their basic political values. Secondly, the study also illustrates that the same political values have differing political consequences for men and women.

DIFFERENCE IN POLITICAL VALUES BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

The overriding conclusion of this research is that political differences between the sexes can be accounted for by value differences. Of the six values and three personal orientations in the Times Mirror\Gallup data, four show significant differences between men and women. The four value differences between the sexes identified in this study are as follows:

* Women, in general, are more religious than men. While religion alone is not related directly to preferences for Republican or Democratic candidates, the presence (or absence) of religious beliefs in combination with such values as tolerance, belief in social justice or militant anti-communism is associated with strong political views. For example, two of the most Democratic groups in the country profess strong religious beliefs and contain disproportionate numbers of women. Sixties Democrats, 60% of whom are female, are "peace and freedom" Democrats whose liberalism on many issues exists side by side with strong religious faith and practice. The Partisan Poor are financially pressured, strongly committed to social justice and the Democratic party. Highly religious and containing a large percentage of non-white evangelicals, the Partisan Poor are 70% female. The religious values of these voters may add a fervor or intensity to the political causes they advocate or they may serve to increase the degree of social conscience of both of these highly politicized Democratic constituencies. Religion plays a role in the politics of Republican oriented constituencies, but it seems to have no obvious consequence for gender composition of Republican groups.

* Women tend to score lower on the militant-anticommunism scale than men. This finding coincides with observations in many survey analyses that link the affinity of women to dovish politics to the Democratic party. Low militant anti-communism is most evident in the character of the heavily female 60's Democrats, a group whose members are strongly peace-oriented. However, the complexity of the gender gap and the fragility of that linkage is underscored when we consider the fact that the second most peace-oriented group in the population, Seculars, are disproportionately male. Values other than

militant anti-communism account for the Democratic tendencies of this male-dominated constituency.

* Men tend to be more anti-government than women. Holding a lack of faith in the effectiveness and desirability of government activity is obviously related to a propensity to support Republican candidates. When this value is combined with a low passion for social justice, the outcome is a group that forms one of the cornerstones of the Republican party - Enterprisers, consisting of many more males than females. On the other side of the coin, those groups that have great commitment to social justice with an absence of anti-government feelings are heavily female and represent the core of the Democratic party. It is also important to point out that the Times Mirror/Gallup analysis did not find that women show a greater inclination for social justice than do men. But, women are more apt than men to combine strong feelings about social justice with a lack of animosity for government activity. This is of critical importance to partisan differences because basic beliefs about social justice are far more important than other values in the determination of political choice.

* Women are less apt to hold supra American "we can do anything" views. Subscribing to views that the Times Mirror/Gallup research characterizes as "American Exceptionalism" is more prevalent among men than women and more prevalent among people who are Independent in politics but lean to the Republican party as a consequence of their strong approval of Ronald Reagan. This is a value found most often among young people and, as such, one which assures that the gender gap will continue to play a role in American politics for years to come.

GENDER AND THE PARTISAN CONSEQUENCES OF VALUES

Differences in political values between men and women are only part of the gender gap puzzle. The other element in the equation is that values were not created equally for men and women. For both sexes, opinion about social justice is the overriding factor in shaping partisanship; however, among men, beliefs about business corporations and their role in society has a more substantial secondary role than for women. Among women, beliefs about government, personal freedom and "American Exceptionalism," play a more important role in determining choices between Republican or Democratic candidates and in determining opinion about Ronald Reagan.

Support for Business Corporations: a Male Republican Focus

For men, holding positive opinions about business corporations is associated with support for the Republican party and Ronald Reagan. This is illustrated by the fact that men who believe that business corporations strike a fair balance between profits and public concerns are among Ronald Reagan's biggest supporters. Similarly, men who are unconcerned about the power of business corporations are much more apt to be Republican oriented than men who hold such concerns. While there is a division of opinion on business issues among women, it does not seem to translate into politics to the degree that it does among men. The consequence of this pattern is apparent in the make up of Enterprise Republicans, who are the most pro-business constituency in the Times Mirror Typology and also 60% male.

Personal Freedoms, Women and the Democratic Party

Social justice is the value that best separates Democrats from Republicans for both sexes, but when we consider values that play a secondary role, among women beliefs about the desirability of government action is both more extant and more related to an affinity for the Democratic party than is the case for men. In addition, the Times Mirror/Gallup research indicates that tolerance or personal freedom issues also draw women to the Democratic party but fail to attract men in the same numbers even when they hold the same views.

For example, women who oppose banning books, expanding police search and seizure powers, and limiting press freedom are much more likely to vote Democratic and/or oppose Reagan than are men who feel this way.

Women's issues and questions about the role of women in society also show that progressive views in these areas are much more important to the politics of women than to the politics of men. It should be underscored that men and women largely share the same views on women's issues but this research suggests that such opinions have more direct political consequences for women. For example, men are just as likely as women to disagree that "women should return to their traditional role in society" (66% vs 72%); however, for women, their view on this issue is strongly related to political preferences, while for men it makes little difference.

The 60's Democrats capture the relevance of personal freedoms to the Democratic party for women.

<u>Women Should Return To their Traditional Role in Society</u>				
	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>
FEMALES				
Likely Vote:				
Republican	47%	31%	28%	28%
Democratic	36	43	48	46
MALES				
Likely Vote:				
Republican	32%	40%	36%	37%
Democratic	40	33	42	43

How to read table: Women who disagree are much more likely than those who agree to vote Democratic (46% vs. 36%). Among men, however, those who agree and those who disagree show no difference in their predisposition to vote (40% vs. 43%).

Attitudes Toward Government

Men tend to be more anti-government than women. Six in ten (60%) men score a 3 or 4 on the government scale compared with 51% of women. Women tend to be more pro-government (49% score a 1 or 2 compared with 40% of men).

As examples of the tendency of men to be anti-government, men are more likely than women to think government regulation of business usually does more harm than good (66% vs. 57%) or think that when something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful (72% vs. 57%).

Government

		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Anti --	4	34	25
	3	26	26
	2	22	26
Pro --	1	<u>18</u>	<u>23</u>
		100	100

		<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Total</u>
Anti --	4	32%	32	36	100%
	3	27%	36	37	100%
	2	23%	43	34	100%
Pro --	1	23%	46	31	100%

American Exceptionalism

Men score higher than women on the American Exceptionalism scale. Women are more evenly dispersed on this score. One illustration of the sex difference on this value is that men are more likely than women to say "as Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want" (71% vs. 60%).

Amer. Exceptionalism

		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
High	-- 4	32	25
	3	26	28
	2	22	25
Low	-- 1	<u>20</u>	<u>22</u>
		100	100

		<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	-- 4	34%	31	35	100%
	3	27%	35	38	100%
	2	26%	41	33	100%
Low	-- 1	16%	52	33	100%

A CLOSER LOOK AT DIFFERENCES IN POLITICAL VALUES BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

Religion

Women, in general, are more religious than men. Half (53%) of American women compared with 40% of men score high (4 or 3) on the religious value scale.

As an illustration, women are more likely than men to say prayer is an important part of their daily life (81% vs. 68%); believe that we will be called before God at Judgement Day to answer for our sins (83% vs. 76%); agree that even today miracles are performed by the power of God (84% vs. 74%); and are sometimes very conscious of the presence of God (81% vs. 74%).

Similarly, women do not feel as strongly as men about the separation of church and state in our government. Although majorities of both sexes think that in our system of government, church and state should be separated, women are more likely than men to disagree with this statement (20% vs. 14%).

Despite women's tendency to be religious, there are no differences in attitudes between the two sexes toward a minister or clergyman running for political office.

<u>Religion</u>		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
High --	4	19	28
	3	21	25
	2	25	26
Low --	1	<u>35</u>	<u>21</u>
		100	100

		<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Total</u>
High --	4	25%	39	36	100%
	3	29%	39	32	100%
	2	29%	40	31	100%
Low --	1	23%	38	39	100%

Militant Anti-Communism

Women tend to score lower on the militant anti-communism scale than do men. Men are more likely than women to agree that "we should try to get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the U.S." (55% vs. 42%); "the best way to ensure peace is through military strength" (65% vs. 52%); "American lives are worth more than the lives of people in other countries" (27% vs. 20%); "we should all be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong" (60% vs. 52%); and "there is an international communist conspiracy to rule the world" (60% vs. 52%).

As a result of the tendency of women to be less militant anti-communist than men, they are less likely to vote for a candidate who supports military aid to the contras in Nicaragua (45% vs. 54%), and they are less likely to favor the development of SDI (38% vs. 50%). Women also tend express greater concern about the increased chances of nuclear war (37% vs. 27%).

Militant Anti-Communism

		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
High --	4	31	22
	3	22	22
	2	24	26
Low --	1	23	30
		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

		<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Total</u>
High --	4	29%	41	30	100%
	3	29%	40	31	100%
	2	30%	33	37	100%
Low --	1	19%	40	41	100%

The value differences between men and women structure their political attitudes and political behavior in important ways. These differences, and their political implications, are best captured by examining the distribution of men and women over the eleven groups that form the Times Mirror typology of voters.

Women are more likely than men to be 60's Democrats or Partisan Poor. Among women, 18 years of age or older, 10% fall in the typology group 60's Democrats compared with 7% of men. This upper-middle class, group of mainstream Democrats, 60% of which is female, has a strong commitment to social justice, and a very low militancy level. They strongly identify with the peace, civil rights and environmental movements that grew out of the 1960s. They combine church-going and religious beliefs with a very high degree of tolerance for views and lifestyles they do not share.

To a greater extent, the Partisan Poor are mainly women. Among all women, 18 years of age or older, 13% fall into this group compared with 6% of men. Another way to look at the gender composition of the Partisan Poor is that 70% of this group are women while only 30% are men. This is the most firmly Democratic group in the country; they have very low income and feel very high financial pressure. The Partisan Poor are concerned with social justice issues and have strong faith that the Democratic Party can achieve the social changes they want to see.

Enterprisers and Seculars, on the other hand, tend to be male oriented. Twelve percent (12%) of men are Enterprisers while 7% of women make up this typology group. They tend to be affluent, educated, and white. This group forms one of the two bedrocks of the Republican party. As the name implies, Enterprisers are pro-business and anti-government. But what may surprise some is their tolerance and moderation on questions of personal freedom. Six in ten (61%) Enterprisers are men while four in ten (39%) are women.

Another group which tends to be male is the Seculars. Eight percent (8%) of all adult men are Seculars compared with 5% of women. Seculars are the only group in America that professes no religious belief. This well-educated, white, middle-age group combines a strong commitment to personal freedom, moderate beliefs on social questions and a very low level of anti-communism. Despite their views, only a minority of Seculars think of themselves as Democrats and their political participation does

not match their high level of knowledge and sophistication. Six in ten Seculars are men (59%) while four in ten (41%) are women.

As the above typology groups indicate, members of each typology group hold different values. And certain groups are either heavily male or heavily female. The values which distinguish men and women, according to the Times Mirror survey, is on the basic values about religion, government and militant-anticommunism.

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Enterprisers	12	7
Moralists	12	11
Upbeats	9	10
Disaffecteds	8	9
Bystanders	10	10
Followers	6	6
Seculars	8	5
60's Democrats	7	10
New Dealers	13	12
God & Country Democrats	9	7
Partisan Poor	6	13
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100	100

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Interviews</u>
Enterprisers	61	39	100%	(227)
Moralists	51	49	100%	(254)
Upbeats	44	56	100%	(200)
Disaffecteds	47	53	100%	(209)
Bystanders	49	51	100%	(161)
Followers	49	51	100%	(107)
Seculars	59	41	100%	(158)
60's Democrats	40	60	100%	(198)
New Dealers	51	49	100%	(252)
God & Country Democrats	54	46	100%	(154)
Partisan Poor	30	70	100%	(189)

TECHNICAL APPENDIX

The Relationship Between Values, Partisanship and Gender

To better understand the relationship between values, partisanship, and gender, we used a technique called multiple regression, which attempts to determine the extent a "variable or series of variables" will predict a "dependent variable." In a number of different models, we tested how well gender and values, both separately and combined, were able to predict political preferences. We were able to draw two important conclusions about values and the gender gap:

- 1) If one takes into account basic values, the partisan differences between men and women disappear. The table below indicates that sex is not predictive of approval of Ronald Reagan, predisposition to vote Republican or Democratic, or of party self-identification in a stepwise multiple regression of gender and values against these attitudes. **See Table A**
- 2) When the values are considered separately for men and women, we find that the same values have different political consequences. When this analysis is made separately for men and women the values which emerge as dominant are quite different. **See Table B**

TABLE A

	Dependent Variables		
	<u>Reagan Approval</u>	<u>Likely Vote</u>	<u>Party Id</u>
Sex	--	--	--
Social Justice	.30	.37	.30
American Exceptionalism	.16	.17	.17
Tolerance	.12	--	--
Alienation	.13	.13	.14
Attitudes Toward Business	.09	.10	.10
Militant Anti-Communism	.09	.10	.06
Financial Pressure	--	.09	.07
Religious Faith	--	--	--
Attitudes Toward Govt	--	.11	.12

TABLE B

	Dependent Variables					
	<u>Reagan Approval</u>		<u>Likely Vote</u>		<u>Party Id</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Social Justice	.27	.28	.35	.30	.28	.26
American Exceptionalism	.13	.19	.15	.23	.11	.22
Tolerance	.04	.17	--	.08	--	--
Alienation	.15	.11	.10	.12	.18	.06
Attitudes Toward Business	.14	.05	.15	.06	.13	.06
Militant Anti-Communism	.07	.06	.08	.14	.04	.06
Financial Pressure	--	.06	.07	.07	.05	.07
Religious Faith	--	--	--	--	--	--
Attitudes Toward Govt	--	.07	--	.08	.09	.16

THE GALLUP PERSONAL INTERVIEW SAMPLE DESIGN

The sampling procedure is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, eighteen years and older, living in the United States, except those persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals.

The design of the sample is that of a replicated, probability sample down to the block level in the case of urban areas, and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas. Over three hundred sampling locations are used in each survey.

The sample design includes stratification by the following seven size-of-community strata, using 1980 Census data: (1) incorporated cities of population 1,000,000 and over; (2) incorporated cities of population 250,000 to 999,999; (3) incorporated cities of population 50,000 to 249,999; (4) urbanized places not included in (1)-(3); (5) cities over 2,500 population outside of urbanized areas; (6) towns and villages with less than 2,500 population; and (7) rural places not included within town boundaries. Each is further stratified into four geographic regions: East, Midwest, South and West. Within each city size-regional stratum, the population is arrayed in geographic order and zoned into equal sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities are selected in each zone, with probability of selection for each locality proportional to its population size in the 1980 census, producing two replicated samples of localities.

Separately for each survey, within each subdivision so selected for which block statistics are available, a sample of blocks or block clusters is drawn with probability of selection proportional to the number of dwelling units. In all other subdivisions or areas, blocks or segments are drawn at random or with equal probability.

In each cluster of blocks and each segment so selected, a randomly selected starting point is designated on the interviewer's map of the area. Starting at this point, interviewers are required to follow a given direction in the selection of households until their assignment is completed.

Interviewing is conducted at times when adults, in general, are most likely to be at home. Interviewers were asked to make up to three calls at a specific address in order to complete an interview.

Allowance for persons not at home is made by a weighting* procedure which uses information from two sources: respondents' answers to a series of "times at home" questions and from interviewer contact records. This procedure is a standard method for reducing the sample bias that would otherwise result from underrepresentation in the sample of persons who are difficult to find at home.

The pre-stratification by regions is routinely supplemented by fitting each obtained sample to the latest available Census Bureau estimates of the regional distribution of the population. In addition, minor adjustments of the sample are made by educational attainment of men and women separately, based on the annual estimates of the Census Bureau (derived from their Current Population Survey), and by age and race.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

For this Times Mirror Survey, face-to-face personal interviews were conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2,109 adults during the period from January 8 to 17, 1988. The margin of error due to sampling is + 3 percentage points.

* Politz, A. and Simmons, W., "An Attempt to Get the "Not at Homes" into the Sample without Callbacks", JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, Volume 44, (March, 1949), pp. 9-31.

EXPECTATIONS FOR VOTER TURNOUT IN NOVEMBER

Political participation in the United States takes many forms, including contacting elected officials, joining issue-oriented groups, and working in campaigns. But the most common form is voting for President. The Times Mirror typology provides a fresh perspective on the behavioral and attitudinal factors underlying voting and provides insights into what to expect in this fall's general election.

The two basic strategic elements of a political campaign involve winning over voters and then ensuring that your supporters get to the polls on election day. In most elections, variations in turnout among different segments of the electorate have a critical effect upon the division of the vote.

Already in the early stages of the 1988 presidential campaign, there are observable differences between members of the typology groups in their likelihood of voting in this fall's election, indicating the potential problems which each of the party's nominees will have to solve in order to ensure success in November.

*There are three groups in which voter turnout will be significantly higher than in the general electorate. Two of them represent core Republican supporters - the Enterprisers and the Moralists - while only one of them is a Democratic-oriented group - the Seculars.

*In two groups, turnout will be significantly lower than in the rest of the population. One is the Bystanders - nonparticipants in the electoral process - and the other is a Democratic-oriented group - the Followers.

Political scientists have identified the important factors which determine the likelihood that a citizen will go to the polls on election day. These include the individual's sense of how interesting and important politics is, a sense of civic duty, a feeling that political activity will make a difference, and regular participation in elections. A detailed analysis of these underlying factors reveals why each party faces some problems in getting its supporters to the polls in November.

Members of the Times Mirror typology groups have been described in terms of their demographics and many of their important social and economic values. But an analysis of politically relevant attitudes and behavior that affect the likelihood of voting provides another basis for describing them in politically relevant terms.

Enterprisers: Are habitual voters, have a strong sense of citizen duty and political efficacy, and are very interested in government and national affairs.

These core Republicans will go to the polls under just about any circumstance and support the party's nominee.

Moralists: Are habitual voters, have a strong sense of civic duty, and they identify strongly with their party. But they do not feel politically powerful, nor do they have a strong interest in government and national affairs.

They will need to have issue-oriented messages directed to them to insure they turnout in large numbers to support the Republican nominee.

Upbeats: Have a strong sense of citizen duty and political efficacy, but the group consists of large numbers of young people who have not developed the habit of voting nor a strong attachment to one of the political parties.

Although the Republican party has historically experienced higher turnout than the Democrats, these new Republican voters represent a potential problem for them. They have strong predispositions toward the Republican nominee, but the party will have to work hard to get them to the polls.

Disaffecteds: Came out in 1984 to vote, but they do not demonstrate strong feelings of citizen duty or efficacy, nor a great interest in political matters.

It will require extra effort to get them to the polls in November. Unless a candidate addresses their concerns and discontents, they are unlikely to vote at high rates.

Bystanders: Disproportionately young members of the electorate who have not developed the habit of voting nor a strong sense of political efficacy, citizen duty, or attachments to either of the parties.

Don't expect many members of this group to show up at the polls.

Followers: A group which has the same characteristics as the Bystanders but whose members lean toward the Democratic party. They are not likely to vote in large numbers in November.

Seculars: Habitual voters with high levels of interest in government and national affairs. They have a strong sense of efficacy but not of citizen duty.

As a consequence, if members of this group don't perceive a good reason to vote for a Democratic candidate, they could defect.

60's Democrats: Regular voters with high levels of interest in politics, citizen duty, and a sense of political efficacy.

They will turnout in November and vote for the Democratic nominee in large numbers.

New Dealers: Regular voters with strong attachments to the Democratic party. They do not have a strong sense of political efficacy, but they are frequent voters.

They will show up in November, but they may again defect at a high rate if they are dissatisfied with the Democratic candidate.

God & Country Democrats: A core group of Democratic identifiers with weak attachments to their party, low interest in politics, and without high levels of citizen duty or political efficacy.

They represent a challenge for Democratic attempts to get them to the polls.

Partisan Poor: Not habitual voters and have a low level of interest in government and national affairs; but they can be politically motivated and have a strong sense of citizen duty, as well as strong identification with the Democratic party.

Attracting them to the polls will be a principal task of Democratic efforts to increase turnout.

A summary of the ways in which these measures of habitual voting, sense of political efficacy and citizen duty, interest in politics, and age characterize these groups is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

THE PRESENCE OF IMPORTANT TURNOUT FACTORS BY GROUP

<u>TYPOLOGY GROUPS</u>	<u>HABITUAL VOTING</u>	<u>SENSE OF EFFICACY</u>	<u>SENSE OF CIVIC DUTY</u>	<u>INTEREST IN POLITICS</u>	<u>AGE</u>
ENTERPRISERS	High	High	High	High	
MORALISTS	High		High		Old
UPBEATS		High	High		Young
DISAFFECTEDS		Low			
BYSTANDERS	Low	Low	Low	Low	Young
FOLLOWERS	Low	Low	Low	Low	Young
SECULARS	High	High		High	
60's DEMOCRATS	High	High	High	High	
NEW DEALERS	High				Old
GOD & COUNTRY DEMOCRATS				Low	Old
PARTISAN POOR		High	High		

Electoral Participation by Group

The Times Mirror surveys include measures of the three basic forms of electoral participation - registration, past voting, and likely voting in this fall's presidential election. These data are presented by group in Table 2, expressed as rates. For registration, the data represent self-reported registration status. For voting, the data included self-reported vote in 1984 and an index reflecting the respondents' likelihood of voting in the 1988 general election.

Three out four respondents (77%) indicate that they are currently registered, although the range across the groups is wide.

*The lowest registration rate is found among the Bystanders, the group which represents, by definition, nonparticipants in the electoral process. Only one in five (21%) report they are registered, compared to approximately eight in ten in every other group.

In terms of voting in the last presidential race, the relative turnout rates are also clear from Table 1. Most of those who were registered actually voted, although the Upbeats and Followers were relatively less likely to cast a vote than members of the other groups.

*The better educated groups such as the Enterprisers (92%), Moralists (85%) and the Seculars (81%) were the most likely to report having voted.

*But only 6% of the Bystanders said they went to the polls in 1984.

Measures of current registration status, past voting behavior, and interest in politics can be combined to form an Index of Likely Voting in the 1988 general election. This results in a series of rates which are typically lower than those reported by the members of each group yet higher than the actual rates will be, both due to the tendency of the

respondents to over-report their registration status and past voting behavior. On this measure, the best educated and most politically active have the greatest likelihood of participation, while the Bystanders again stand far apart from the others.

*The highest expected voting rates will come among two core Republican groups - the Enterprisers (75%) and Moralists (66%) - and one Democratic-oriented group - the 60's Democrats (68%).

*Employing respondents' answers to three questions to form this index, the expected turnout rate among the Bystanders is 0%.

TABLE 2
ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR BY GROUPS
(Expressed as a Participation Rate)

	<u>REGISTRATION RATE</u>	<u>1984 VOTING RATE</u>	<u>LIKELY 1988 VOTING RATE</u>
ENTERPRISERS	89%	92%	75%
MORALISTS	86%	85%	66%
UPBEATS	80%	77%	47%
DISAFFECTEDS	83%	73%	40%
BYSTANDERS	21%	6%	0%
FOLLOWERS	72%	67%	25%
SECULARS	87%	81%	54%
60'S DEMOCRATS	90%	90%	68%
NEW DEALERS	91%	85%	64%
GOD & COUNTRY DEMOCRATS	84%	77%	44%
PARTISAN POOR	79%	73%	54%
TOTAL	77%	73%	49%

Determinants of Political Participation in the United States

There are two ways of analyzing voting behavior in the United States - by looking at the rules of the game and how they affect participation and by looking at a set of individual-level characteristics that define the attitudinal basis for voting.

The United States has a complicated electoral system in which local officials determine and administer the eligibility criteria for registration and voting. It involves a two-step process in which meeting registration criteria - by residence and reasonably frequent participation - is the necessary prerequisite to voting.

The eligibility rules are often demanding, and obtaining and maintaining registration is complicated by the mobility of the American population - with 1 in 5 families changing their address every year. Nevertheless, almost 9 in 10 of those who are registered actually vote in presidential elections, leading many to believe that we have a registration problem and not a turnout problem.

At the individual level, there are four attitudinal dimensions which are strongly related to political participation: 1) the importance of politics for the individual; 2) previous voting behavior as a learning experience, 3) motivation to vote, and 4) group identification. The Times Mirror surveys contain measures for each of these factors, and they are important discriminators of the typology group members and differences in their political activity.

THE GROUP IDENTIFICATION DATA FROM G087011 HAVE TO BE ADDED IN

For most Americans, politics is not a very important part of their daily lives. The advent of a political campaign is required to activate their political interest, which will vary with the level of office at

stake, the nature of the contest, and the activities of the candidates. Because of the differences in stimuli associated with different types of races, there are differences in turnout. This explains the variations in turnout called "surge and decline" - from office to office and election to election, and even across the same ballot. Presidential campaigns are at the top of the hierarchy, however; and interest in them is greater than in contests for other offices.

Voting is a behavior which has to be learned and then repeated. This is necessary, first, because of the difficulty in learning all of the local rules and regulations in order to get registered and then stay registered, especially in the face of mobility. This fact largely underlies the relationship between age and turnout; setting down roots, paying taxes, and sending children to school are related to this factor as well.

The primary motivational basis of voting is the sense that one's vote counts. In a given election, there are many factors related to an individual's likelihood of voting. In broad terms, voters must feel that their vote has a value and that the outcome of the race could make a difference to them. This includes a perceived obligation to vote - a feeling of citizen duty - as well as a sense that political participation in general and voting in particular will keep the government responsive - a feeling of political efficacy. In the context of a specific pairing of candidates, voters must also perceive that the candidates hold different issue positions, that one is closer to their own, and therefore it will make a difference in policy outcomes which one is elected.

These candidate and policy evaluations usually take place in partisan terms, and those who identify most strongly with a political party are

also the most likely to vote.

Beyond any personal value to be derived from participation, many individuals will get involved in the political process because of their identification with a group - and what they perceive to be the group's potential gain. This group identification may be a function of a demographic characteristic of its members - such as race, sex, or age - or it may be related to a set of issues or policies - such as the environment or religion.

The Importance of Politics

Interest and attention to politics are highly related to levels of education, and therefore higher levels of interest in government and public affairs can be found among those groups in which education levels are highest, as shown in Table 3.

*Enterprisers (58%), Seculars (58%), and 60's Democrats (52%) are the most likely to follow what's going on in government and public affairs "most of the time."

*Bystanders (5%) and Followers (10%) are the least likely to follow what's going on. In fact 4 in 10 Bystanders acknowledge that they follow what's going on "hardly at all."

TABLE 3
GROUP MEMBERSHIP AND
ATTENTIVENESS TO GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

<u>TYPOLGY GROUPS</u>	<u>MOST OF THE TIME</u>	<u>SOME OF THE TIME</u>	<u>ONLY NOW AND THEN</u>	<u>HARDLY AT ALL</u>	<u>NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS</u>
ENTERPRISERS	58%	35	6	1	227
MORALISTS	47%	36	13	3	254
UPBEATS	46%	40	11	3	200
DISAFFECTEDS	30%	42	23	4	209
BYSTANDERS	5%	21	33	39	161
FOLLOWERS	10%	30	31	14	107
SECULARS	58%	32	9	1	158
60'S DEMOCRATS	52%	35	8	5	198
NEW DEALERS	35%	36	19	7	252
GOD & COUNTRY DEMOCRATS	28%	34	29	8	154
PARTISAN POOR	32%	42	20	4	189
TOTAL	37%	35	18	8	2109

NOTE: Percentages may not add to 100 because "Don't knows" are omitted.

Question 48: Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

Habitual Voting Behavior

Political participation has to be learned and practiced, and this fact explains the commonly observed relationship between age and political activity. Political participation increases with age as citizens settle in their communities and meet residency requirements and begin a local political life. Because of this, the distribution of group membership by age is important, in conjunction with reports of past voting behavior.

Data are presented in Table 4 which give the proportion of each group whose members are less than 30 years of age and who report that they always vote in elections. The relationship is not perfect, indicating that there are other important attitudinal predictors of voting involved. But the data do show the strong correlation between age and habitual voting for each of the groups in the American electorate.

*Almost half (47%) of the Bystanders and one-third of the 60's Democrats are less than 30 years of age. However none of the Bystanders report regular voting in the past while almost half of the 60's Democrats do.

*More than half of the New Dealers (58%) - who hold a set of values associated with the Roosevelt era - are 50 years of age and older.

*Age is an important discriminator between the God & Country Democrats - half of whom (52%) are 50 years of age and older - and the Partisan Poor - 71% of whom are under 50.

*Two-thirds of the Enterprisers are under 50, while half of the Moralists (54%) are older.

Members of Republican-oriented groups generally have higher rates of past voting than members of Democratic-oriented groups. And as the data in Table 4 show, the Bystanders are rare participants in the electoral process. It is education and interest in politics which distinguishes the Upbeats from the Followers and the Bystanders, despite their roughly

equivalent age distributions.

*None of the Bystanders describe themselves as voting "always" or "nearly always."

*Seculars are most likely to describe themselves as "always" voting (55%), but the Enterprisers are the most likely to describe themselves as voting "always" or "nearly always" (89%).

*Past voting is least common among the Democratic-oriented group known as the Followers (57% say "always" or "nearly always"). The lowest rate of past voting among the Republican-oriented groups is found in the Disaffecteds (78%).

TABLE 4

TYOLOGY GROUPS BY AGE AND HABITUAL VOTING

<u>TYOLOGY GROUPS</u>	<u>AGE 18-29 Years</u>	<u>Always Vote</u>
BYSTANDERS	47%	0%
FOLLOWERS	40%	18%
UPBEATS	39%	36%
60'S DEMOCRATS	32%	45%
PARTISAN POOR	28%	40%
SECULARS	24%	55%
ENTERPRISERS	23%	46%
GOD & COUNTRY DEMOCRATS	19%	44%
DISAFFECTEDS	18%	39%
MORALISTS	14%	52%
NEW DEALERS	12%	48%
TOTAL	26%	39%

THE MOTIVATIONAL BASIS FOR VOTING

Three important attitudes which underlie political participation are a sense of citizen duty - a perceived obligation to participate; a sense of efficacy - a feeling that one's participation will have an effect; and the strength of attachment to the political parties as an indicator of perceived differences in the policy positions that they take and the candidates whom they nominate.

A Sense of Civic Duty

An index was constructed by combining responses to three items related to a perceived obligation to vote and a sense that issues in Washington affect the respondent. As the data in Table 5 show, the highest levels of Citizen Duty are found among the 60's Democrats, closely followed by the Enterprisers. Similar but somewhat less strong feelings are found among the Partisan Poor, Seculars, Moralists and Upbeats.

*Four in ten (39%) of the Bystanders have low levels of Citizen Duty, and three in four (75%) fall in the two lowest categories of the index.

*Among Democratic-oriented groups, six in ten (63%) of the 60's Democrats have very high levels of Citizen Duty, followed by the Partisan Poor (55%).

*Among Republican-oriented groups, six in ten of the Enterprisers (61%) have very high levels of Citizen Duty, followed by the Upbeats (57%) and the Moralists (55%).

TABLE 5

GROUP MEMBERSHIP AND SENSE OF CITIZEN DUTY

	<u>LOW</u> <u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>HIGH</u> <u>4</u>	<u>NUMBER OF</u> <u>INTERVIEWS</u>
<u>TYPOLOGY GROUPS</u>					
ENTERPRISERS	*%	9	30	61	227
MORALISTS	1%	8	36	55	254
UPBEATS	2%	10	31	57	200
DISAFFECTEDS	*%	15	41	44	209
BYSTANDERS	39%	36	22	3	161
FOLLOWERS	18%	26	37	19	107
SECULARS	3%	9	34	54	158
60'S DEMOCRATS	1%	6	30	63	198
NEW DEALERS	2%	15	37	46	252
GOD & COUNTRY DEMOCRATS	3%	15	52	30	154
PARTISAN POOR	2%	12	31	55	189
TOTAL	6%	15	34	45	2109

* Less than 0.5%

A Sense of Political Efficacy

An index was constructed by combining responses from four questions pertaining to having a say in government, maintaining contact with Washington officials, seeing voting as a way of having a say, and a perception that elected officials care. This index measures the respondents' sense that they can interact with their elected leaders and expect them to be responsive. The distributions of these attitudes by group are not the same as for Citizen Duty, as shown in Table 6.

*The most efficacious respondents are found in two Republican-oriented groups. Six in ten of the Upbeats (59%) and the Enterprisers (58%) have the highest scores on the index.

*Among Democratic-oriented groups, the highest scores are found among the Seculars (47%) and the 60's Democrats (43%).

TABLE 6
GROUP MEMBERSHIP AND SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY

TYPOLOGY GROUPS	SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY					NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS
	LOW 1	2	3	4	HIGH 5	
ENTERPRISERS	2%	15	25	28	30	227
MORALISTS	8%	26	31	19	16	254
UPBEATS	7%	9	25	32	27	200
DISAFFECTEDS	33%	43	20	4	0	209
BYSTANDERS	33%	37	21	7	2	161
FOLLOWERS	24%	27	38	9	2	107
SECULARS	5%	26	22	25	22	158
60'S DEMOCRATS	7%	24	26	29	14	198
NEW DEALERS	17%	37	25	14	7	252
GOD & COUNTRY DEMOCRATS	14%	33	34	14	5	154
PARTISAN POOR	10%	27	26	24	13	189
TOTAL	15%	28	26	19	12	2109

Strength of Partisanship

To measure strength of attachment to the political parties, an index was constructed by combining respondents who identify themselves as Strong Republicans or Strong Democrats to make them Strong Partisans; other categories were constructed on the same basis for Weak Partisans, Independents Leaning to a Party, and pure Independents. While the typology groups reflect partisanship in terms of identification, the data presented in Table 7 show that **strength** of association is not uniformly distributed across them.

*A majority of the members of one Republican-oriented group - the Moralists (57%) - and two Democratic-oriented groups - the New Dealers (53%) and the Partisan Poor (52%) - identify themselves as strong partisans.

*The lowest levels of partisanship are found among the Disaffecteds and the Bystanders, where 3 in 10 refuse to avow any party affiliation at all.

TABLE 7

GROUP MEMBERSHIP AND STRENGTH OF PARTISANSHIP

<u>TYPOLGY GROUPS</u>	<u>INDE- PENDENT</u>	<u>LEAN PARTISAN</u>	<u>WEAK PARTISAN</u>	<u>STRONG PARTISAN</u>	<u>NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS</u>
ENTERPRISERS	2%	23	39	36	227
MORALISTS	0%	6	37	57	254
UPBEATS	12%	30	43	15	200
DISAFFECTEDS	31%	43	22	4	209
BYSTANDERS	30%	32	29	9	161
FOLLOWERS	16%	36	39	9	107
SECULARS	5%	29	40	26	158
60'S DEMOCRATS	8%	36	32	24	198
NEW DEALERS	1%	8	38	53	252
GOD & COUNTRY DEMOCRATS	11%	26	34	29	154
PARTISAN POOR	2%	15	31	52	189
TOTAL	10%	24	35	31	2109

THE GALLUP PERSONAL INTERVIEW SAMPLE DESIGN

The sampling procedure is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, eighteen years and older, living in the United States, except those persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals.

The design of the sample is that of a replicated, probability sample down to the block level in the case of urban areas, and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas. Over three hundred sampling locations are used in each survey.

The sample design includes stratification by the following seven size-of-community strata, using 1980 Census data: (1) incorporated cities of population 1,000,000 and over; (2) incorporated cities of population 250,000 to 999,999; (3) incorporated cities of population 50,000 to 249,999; (4) urbanized places not included in (1)-(3); (5) cities over 2,500 population outside of urbanized areas; (6) towns and villages with less than 2,500 population; and (7) rural places not included within town boundaries. Each is further stratified into four geographic regions: East, Midwest, South and West. Within each city size-regional stratum, the population is arrayed in geographic order and zoned into equal sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities are selected in each zone, with probability of selection for each locality proportional to its population size in the 1980 census, producing two replicated samples of localities.

Separately for each survey, within each subdivision so selected for which block statistics are available, a sample of blocks or block clusters is drawn with probability of selection proportional to the number of dwelling units. In all other subdivisions or areas, blocks or segments are drawn at random or with equal probability.

In each cluster of blocks and each segment so selected, a randomly selected starting point is designated on the interviewer's map of the area. Starting at this point, interviewers are required to follow a given direction in the selection of households until their assignment is completed.

Interviewing is conducted at times when adults, in general, are most likely to be at home. Interviewers were asked to make up to three calls at a specific address in order to complete an interview.

Allowance for persons not at home is made by a weighting* procedure which uses information from two sources: respondents' answers to a series of "times at home" questions and from interviewer contact records. This procedure is a standard method for reducing the sample bias that would otherwise result from underrepresentation in the sample of persons who are difficult to find at home.

The pre-stratification by regions is routinely supplemented by fitting each obtained sample to the latest available Census Bureau estimates of the regional distribution of the population. In addition, minor adjustments of the sample are made by educational attainment of men and women separately, based on the annual estimates of the Census Bureau (derived from their Current Population Survey), and by age and race.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

For this Times Mirror Survey, face-to-face personal interviews were conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2,109 adults during the period from January 8 to 17, 1988. The margin of error due to sampling is + 3 percentage points.

* Politz, A. and Simmons, W., "An Attempt to Get the "Not at Homes" into the Sample without Callbacks", JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, Volume 44, (March, 1949), pp. 9-31.

U.S.-Soviet Relations and the INF Treaty

Three out of four Americans (77%) favor the ratification of the treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union to eliminate their intermediate range nuclear weapons. Only one in ten (11%) oppose it, and 12% are undecided. SEE TABLE 1

Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the United States and the ensuing press coverage have increased his favorability rating among the American public since last spring (from 40% to 55%), and it is now the equivalent of Ronald Reagan's (59%).

* A majority of every voter group evaluates Gorbachev positively, but his most favorable ratings come from among the best educated segments of the American electorate, including one core Republican group - the Enterprisers (71%) - and two Democratic groups - Seculars (85%) and 60's Democrats (75%).

There is no difference in support for ratification of the treaty by party identification or approval of Ronald Reagan's handling of his job as President. But among Republican-oriented groups, Enterprisers (87%) and Upbeats (89%) are more likely to favor ratification than Moralists (75%). Among Democratic-oriented groups, Seculars (92%) and 60's Democrats (91%) are more likely to favor ratification than the Partisan Poor (76%), New Dealers (71%), and the God & Country Democrats (66%).

TABLE 1
SUPPORT FOR RATIFICATION OF THE INF TREATY
IN THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	
Republican Groups			
Enterprisers	87%	7	(227)
Moralists	75%	17	(254)
Upbeats	89%	5	(200)
Independent Groups			
Disaffecteds	81%	9	(209)
Bystanders	68%	12	(161)
Followers	51%	22	(107)
Seculars .	92%	2	(158)
Democratic Groups			
60's Democrats	91%	7	(198)
New Dealers	71%	12	(252)
God & Country Democrats	66%	17	(154)
Partisan Poor	76%	10	(189)
TOTAL SAMPLE	77%	11	(2109)

Percentages do not add to 100% because "Don't know" responses are not presented.

Support for ratification is highest in the Midwest (84%) and lowest in the South (67%). Those with higher levels of education (90%) and political knowledge (87%) and those who are more active politically (84%) are also more likely to support ratification.

These factors give added weight to the finding that 55% of the respondents say they would be less likely to vote for a presidential candidate who opposes ratification of the treaty, while 25% would be more likely, and 11% say such a position would have no effect on their vote. Nine percent of those surveyed do not know if it would have any effect.

But forty-nine percent of those with low levels of political activity say they would be less likely to vote for a candidate who either opposes ratification, while 69% of those with high levels of political activity respond in the same fashion.

Those who favor the treaty are more likely to evaluate support for presidential candidates in terms of this issue than those who oppose the treaty or who are undecided. Among those who support ratification of the treaty, 62% would be less likely to vote for a presidential candidate who opposes the treaty while 25% would be more likely to, and 13% are undecided or say it would not make any difference. Among those who oppose the treaty, 37% say they would be more likely to vote for a candidate who does too, while 36% say they would be less likely to vote for someone who opposes it. Twenty-seven percent are undecided or say it would not make any difference.

TABLE 2

LIKELY SUPPORT FOR A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WHO OPPOSES THE INF TREATY BY RESPONDENTS' SUPPORT FOR THE TREATY¹

<u>Likelihood of support</u>	RESPONDENT	
	FAVORS TREATY	OPPOSES TREATY
More likely to vote	25%	37%
Less likely to vote	62%	36%
No difference	8%	19%
	(1,666)	(216)

¹Percentages do not add to 100% because "Don't knows" are excluded.

Among Republican-oriented groups, 69% of Upbeats and 59% of Enterprisers would be less likely to vote for a presidential candidate who opposed ratification of the treaty, while only 45% of Moralists say they feel this way. Among two Democratic-oriented groups, 80% of Seculars and 74% of 60's Democrats say they would be less likely to vote for a presidential candidate who opposes ratification, while 54% of New Dealers and the Partisan Poor respond in this fashion, as do 47% of the God & Country Democrats.

TABLE 3

SUPPORT FOR A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WHO OPPOSES THE INF TREATY

	<u>More Likely To Vote For</u>	<u>Less Likely To Vote For</u>	<u>No Effect</u>	
Republican Groups				
Enterprisers	24%	59	13	(227)
Moralists	38%	45	12	(254)
Upbeats	18%	69	8	(200)
Independent Groups				
Disaffecteds	32%	44	14	(209)
Bystanders	27%	43	15	(161)
Followers	22%	38	17	(107)
Seculars	12%	80	4	(158)
Democratic Groups				
60's Democrats	17%	74	7	(198)
New Dealers	26%	54	11	(252)
God & Country				
Democrats	36%	47	5	(154)
Partisan Poor	19%	54	13	(189)
TOTAL SAMPLE	25%	55	11	(2109)

Mikhail Gorbachev's favorability rating has increased from 40% last spring to 55% in the latest survey. Ronald Reagan's favorability rating stands at 59% in the latest survey, unchanged from 62% in the last survey. While more of those interviewed in the latest survey give Reagan "very favorable" ratings compared to Gorbachev (17% to 6%), the Soviet leader is more likely to receive "mostly favorable" ratings than the American president (50% compared to 42%).

TABLE 4

FAVORABILITY RATINGS OF RONALD REAGAN AND MIKHAIL GORBACHEV
IN THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE

Ratings of	TOTAL Ronald	ENTERPRISERS		UPBEATS		BYSTANDERS		SECULARS		NEW PARTISAN DEALERS POOR		
		MORALISTS Reagan		DISAFFECTEDS		FOLLOWERS		60's DEMS		GOD& CNTRY. DEMS		
FAVORABLE	59%	96%	88%	92%	66%	59%	39%	35%	25%	42%	48%	38%
Very	17	36	39	32	12	16	4	5	4	7	12	4
Mostly	42	60	48	61	53	43	35	30	21	35	36	34
UNFAVORABLE	37	4	10	5	31	33	40	65	73	53	49	54
Mostly	24	3	10	4	23	23	23	46	40	35	32	29
Very	13	2	1	2	8	10	17	19	33	18	17	25
CAN'T RATE	4	0	2	2	3	7	21	1	1	5	3	7
Ratings of Mikhail Gorbachev												
FAVORABLE	55%	71%	49%	64%	54%	37%	30%	85%	75%	44%	55%	52%
Very	6	4	2	7	9	5	3	15	9	4	5	4
Mostly	49	67	47	57	44	32	27	70	66	40	50	48
UNFAVORABLE	30	24	44	25	32	32	35	12	19	37	31	31
Mostly	21	20	28	19	23	22	22	9	14	24	18	24
Very	9	5	16	6	9	11	12	2	5	13	13	7
CAN'T RATE	13	4	7	10	14	25	31	4	6	18	12	16

Percentages do not add to 100% because "Never heard of" responses are excluded.

Overall, the American public responds neutrally to the press coverage which Gorbachev received during his visit to the United States in December. A majority of those surveyed (57%) think the coverage was balanced, while one-quarter (24%) think it was too positive, and only 5% think it was too negative. Members of the two core Republican groups - Enterprisers (37%) and Moralists (40%) - are the most likely to think it was too positive, while the Seculars (74%), 60's Democrats (71%), and the Upbeats (67%) are the most likely to think it was balanced. Two-thirds of the respondents who have a favorable opinion of Gorbachev see the coverage as balanced while one-third of those who have an unfavorable opinion of him see it as too positive.

TABLE 5
NEWS COVERAGE OF MIKHAIL GORBACHEV VISIT TO U.S.
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
<u>NEWS COVERAGE</u>												
TOO POSITIVE	24%	37%	40%	26%	26%	17%	23%	16%	17%	19%	21%	21%
TOO NEGATIVE	5	3	6	1	4	7	6	5	5	4	12	5
BALANCED	57	56	45	67	55	45	41	74	71	62	50	58
DON'T KNOW	14	4	9	7	14	30	30	5	7	15	17	16
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 30: How would you rate the American news coverage of Mikhail Gorbachev on his recent visit to the United States?
 Was it too positive, too negative, or was it balanced?

THE GALLUP PERSONAL INTERVIEW SAMPLE DESIGN

The sampling procedure is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, eighteen years and older, living in the United States, except those persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals.

The design of the sample is that of a replicated, probability sample down to the block level in the case of urban areas, and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas. Over three hundred sampling locations are used in each survey.

The sample design includes stratification by the following seven size-of-community strata, using 1980 Census data: (1) incorporated cities of population 1,000,000 and over; (2) incorporated cities of population 250,000 to 999,999; (3) incorporated cities of population 50,000 to 249,999; (4) urbanized places not included in (1)-(3); (5) cities over 2,500 population outside of urbanized areas; (6) towns and villages with less than 2,500 population; and (7) rural places not included within town boundaries. Each is further stratified into four geographic regions: East, Midwest, South and West. Within each city size-regional stratum, the population is arrayed in geographic order and zoned into equal sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities are selected in each zone, with probability of selection for each locality proportional to its population size in the 1980 census, producing two replicated samples of localities.

Separately for each survey, within each subdivision so selected for which block statistics are available, a sample of blocks or block clusters is drawn with probability of selection proportional to the number of dwelling units. In all other subdivisions or areas, blocks or segments are drawn at random or with equal probability.

In each cluster of blocks and each segment so selected, a randomly selected starting point is designated on the interviewer's map of the area. Starting at this point, interviewers are required to follow a given direction in the selection of households until their assignment is completed.

Interviewing is conducted at times when adults, in general, are most likely to be at home. Interviewers were asked to make up to three calls at a specific address in order to complete an interview.

Allowance for persons not at home is made by a weighting* procedure which uses information from two sources: respondents' answers to a series of "times at home" questions and from interviewer contact records. This procedure is a standard method for reducing the sample bias that would otherwise result from underrepresentation in the sample of persons who are difficult to find at home.

The pre-stratification by regions is routinely supplemented by fitting each obtained sample to the latest available Census Bureau estimates of the regional distribution of the population. In addition, minor adjustments of the sample are made by educational attainment of men and women separately, based on the annual estimates of the Census Bureau (derived from their Current Population Survey), and by age and race.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

For this Times Mirror Survey, face-to-face personal interviews were conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2,109 adults during the period from January 8 to 17, 1988. The margin of error due to sampling is + 3 percentage points.

* Politz, A. and Simmons, W., "An Attempt to Get the "Not at Homes" into the Sample without Callbacks", JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, Volume 44, (March, 1949), pp. 9-31.

COALITION BUILDING IN 1988

In the election campaigns of 1980 and 1984, Ronald Reagan moved early to portray himself as the candidate who would work to have abortion declared illegal and restore prayer in public schools. He was building a coalition, and the strategy was extremely successful. People who shared and felt strongly about the views Reagan expressed knew it was he, not Jimmy Carter or Walter Mondale, who was their champion. Opinion polls showed these people voting strongly for Reagan, including many who had previously supported Democratic candidates.

Now in 1988, strategists in the Presidential campaigns are no doubt taking notes, trying to build similar coalitions around issues to attract voters they might otherwise lose. And according to the Times Mirror surveys conducted by the Gallup Organization, the issues of abortion and school prayer are once again there for the seizing.

So are a number of others. One, quite surprisingly, judging from the lack of campaign debate about it so far, has to do with the establishment of a national public works jobs program for the unemployed. Americans appear ready to rally behind such an idea. Another issue which is no surprise is the widespread opposition to any increase in taxes.

The Times Mirror surveys are particularly useful in outlining how coalitions may be created around each of these issues, and others as well. Traditionally, most pollsters and many candidates take what they themselves regard as superficial views of the electorate, categorizing voters as either Republicans, Democrats, or independents, or as conservatives, moderates, or liberals.

That system works, to a degree. However, these categories have failed to describe the electorate adequately. In any election, large numbers of Democrats may be counted on to vote for the Republican, as 30 percent or more did in supporting Reagan over Carter and Mondale. More recently, as shown in the Senate elections of 1986, Republicans have been exhibiting the same crossover pattern. And for years the terms "conservative," "moderate," and "liberal" have been widely regarded as having little real meaning.

What Times Mirror analysts did was to create a richer typology, dividing the public into eleven largely discrete groups based on shared values. Four of the groups are strongly Republican or lean Republican; six are mainly Democratic or lean Democratic, and the last, called "Bystanders," do not vote at all under normal circumstances. (For a capsule description of each group, see the chart accompanying this article.)

By creating a finer gauge, the Times Mirror studies give a better look at how a candidate may build a bipartisan coalition around specific issues.

In approaching a campaign, candidates and their advisers generally divide the public into four main groups: their own strong supporters; voters who lean to them, called soft supporters; and soft and strong supporters of their opponents. In devising strategy, they pay the most attention to the soft supporters of both camps -- trying to shore up their own and cut into their opponents'. Most election campaigns are that simple in theory.

That is where coalition building comes to the fore. In a national poll of more than 2,000 people earlier this year, the Times Mirror survey laid out fifteen propositions to potential voters, asking, for example, whether they would be more likely or less likely to support a candidate who advocates making abortion laws tougher; or, in another instance, one who opposes development of the Strategic Defense Initiative, the nuclear space shield promoted by Reagan; or a candidate who opposes aid to the contra rebels in Nicaragua.

Some of the propositions, such as the one on the space shield, touch on complicated subjects in which opinion is likely to be fluid. Few voters have well thought out positions on SDI, and, depending on the nature of the campaign debate, many are likely to change their views on the merits of the project. Some will change their minds more than once.

Other issues, however, go more directly to people's underlying values, and voter sentiment is less fluid. Abortion is one of those issues.

Here, based on the Times Mirror/Gallup study from January, 1988, is an early look at what may lie ahead on several issues as candidates go about "segmenting" their message and looking to create coalitions.

On each item, the question asked was: "Tell me if you would be more likely to vote for a candidate or less likely to vote for a candidate who holds this position, or wouldn't it affect your likelihood of voting for a candidate?"

1. The candidate supports changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion.

Overall, 45 percent of the people interviewed said they would be less likely to support such a candidate, and only 30 percent said they would be more likely to. On the face of it, there seems to be little gain in taking an anti-abortion stand. Nevertheless, the Republican candidate may well picture himself early on, as Reagan did, as someone who would work to limit or even outlaw abortion. The reasoning: Many of those in one of the chief Republican clusters -- Moralists -- are drawn to the party because of its conservative stand on abortion and other similar social issues. Opposition to abortion is needed to ensure a healthy turnout among these voters.

Strikingly, the other main Republican grouping, Enterprisers, comes out on the other side on abortion, with a large plurality saying they would be less likely to support a candidate who advocates tougher legislation. But the Enterprisers are extremely strong Republicans, not likely to cross over to a Democrat under any circumstances and sure to turn out.

Furthermore, a tough anti-abortion stand probably will not hurt the Republican with the main Democratic clusters. One segment, Seculars, is almost unanimously opposed to tougher abortion laws, but two other strongly Democratic groupings, New Dealers and the God & Country Democrats, are sharply divided on abortion -- so the Republican candidate may have as much to gain among them as he does to lose by emphasizing a tough stand.

Here is how all the clusters divide on this question:

LIKELIHOOD OF SUPPORTING A CANDIDATE WHO SUPPORTS MAKING IT
MORE DIFFICULT FOR A WOMAN TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION

	<u>More Likely</u> %	<u>Less Likely</u> %	<u>No Effect</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
<u>Total</u>	30	45	19	6	100	(2109)
<u>Republicans/leaners</u>						
Enterprisers	30	47	22	2	101	(227)
Moralists	45	33	20	2	100	(254)
Upbeats	31	44	19	6	100	(200)
Disaffecteds	29	43	23	5	100	(209)
<u>Democrats/leaners</u>						
Followers	18	37	27	18	100	(107)
Seculars	4	90	6	-	100	(158)
'60s Democrats	25	57	17	.5	100	(198)
New Dealers	36	34	23	7	100	(252)
God & Country Democrats	38	36	16	9	99	(154)
Partisan Poor	31	48	16	5	100	(189)

NOTE: Enterprisers and God & Country Democrats do not add to 100 due to rounding. Not included are figures for the 161 Bystanders interviewed, since the likelihood of their voting at all is negligible.

For his part, the Democratic candidate may be expected to try to nullify abortion as a voting issue more than his predecessors have in recent years, because of the success Reagan has had with it. The Democrat has several ways of doing that: by questioning his opponent's sincerity, by portraying himself as personally opposed to abortion if not committed to tougher legislation, or, indirectly, by focusing on other issues in which his stand -- not that of the Republican -- comes closer to those of people who strongly favor legislation to limit abortion.

A Democrat who forfeits on the abortion issue -- who tries, for example, to deflect the issue by saying that a stand on abortion should not be important in a presidential election -- may well be punished. Opinion polls in the past have shown that the large majority of voters feel abortion is not a "presidential" issue. But for a significant minority, including many fundamentalists who in the past were strongly Democratic, abortion is extremely important, and how the candidates match up on it could prove decisive.

2. The candidate supports a government program of public works jobs for the unemployed.

Surprisingly, support for a candidate who takes this position was over-whelming in all the typology groups. Seventy-eight percent of those interviewed said they would be more likely to support him, only 11 percent said they would be less likely. No other proposition among the 15 presented drew such extensive backing. Even Enterprisers, the bedrock Republican cluster, came out lopsidedly in favor of such a candidate, with 61 percent approving such a position, and 29 percent opposed.

The issue seems tailor-made for the Democratic candidate, but he would, nevertheless, have to exercise a good degree of caution on it. Any extensive public works job program would have to be well thought-out, pictured perhaps as a means of cutting into the ranks of those on welfare, as putting people to work to restore the nation's infrastructure, as being financially affordable as well as socially just.

Portrayed that way, it could attract support from many in the key Republican groupings. Moralists, for example, 97 percent of whom voted for Reagan in 1984, list unemployment as one of their top concerns. Seventy-four percent of them say they would be more likely to support a candidate who advocates a public works jobs program, with only 13 percent less likely to support him. It may be hard to budge many Moralists out of the GOP column, but the opportunity to attract some surely exists.

The same is true to greater degree for the Disaffecteds. They too went overwhelmingly for Reagan in 1984, with more than eight in ten voting for him. But they also list unemployment as one of their main concerns, and by seven to one (80 percent to 11 percent) they say they would be drawn, rather than repelled, by a candidate who advocates a jobs program.

The problem with a jobs program is that it may be seen as a new, costly social experiment coming at a time when there is no money for innovation. A Democrat who proposes it could be painted as a big spender who would inevitably be forced to raise taxes to implement yet another wasteful scheme. The candidate who proposes it must be prepared to deal with such complaints. If not, he could make no gains at all among his opponent's soft supporters, and lose a good number of his own.

3. The candidate supports an increase in the federal income tax to reduce the federal deficit.

This is the flip side of the public works jobs program issue. Polls repeatedly show the public regarding the budget deficit as the worst, or one of the worst, national problems. People would do anything to cut the deficit -- anything, that is, except raise taxes. Overall, 26 percent in the survey said they would take kindly to a candidate who proposes raising taxes to cut the deficit, 57 percent said they would be less likely to favor such a candidate, and 11 percent said they would not be affected one way or the other.

Public opposition to tax increases works strongly for the Republicans. It makes it hard for the Democrat to act like a Democrat and propose programs that cost money, regardless of how worthwhile they may appear. George Bush has already staked out his position here: "No tax increase, period," he has said repeatedly.

That message should shore up Bush or any Republican with the GOP-leaning Disaffecteds, a group generally of middle income but with significant financial pressures on them. It could also help attract rank-and-file Democrats. In five of the six Democratic clusters, opposition to increasing taxes to cut the deficit is very strong. Only one Democratic segment, the Seculars, includes as many as 50 percent saying they are likely to support a candidate who would increase taxes to reduce the deficit.

The other Democratic groups divide like this:

- * Sixties Democrats: 33 percent in favor of a candidate who would raise taxes to reduce the deficit, 44 percent opposed, and the rest either saying it would make no difference or offering no opinion.
- * Partisan Poor: 25 percent more likely, 61 percent less likely.
- * New Dealers: 24 percent more likely, 59 percent less likely.
- * God & Country Democrats: 23 percent more likely, 61 percent less likely.
- * Followers: 14 percent more likely, 65 percent less likely.

During the early primary season, only one of the Democrats seeking the nomination, Bruce Babbitt, called for a tax increase. He said one was necessary, and that he was the only candidate with "the guts" to talk honestly about it. Babbitt, of course, did not last long, dropping out after New Hampshire.

More likely positions for the eventual Democratic nominee are to pledge to increase taxes only as a last resort, or to increase taxes for the wealthy and corporations only. It is conceivable, but only barely so, that the Democrat will follow Babbitt's lead and urge sacrifice through higher taxation for most Americans to cope with the deficit.

As in all speculation about future political events, whether presidential nominees will be successful in building coalitions is not at all clear. The 1984 election shows why. Large numbers of voters sided with Walter Mondale over Reagan on any number of issues: Mondale was perceived far more widely as the candidate who cared about the average person and not special interests, who would do more to protect the environment, who would be more likely to keep the country out of a nuclear war, and so on.

Mondale failed at coalition building for two main reasons. For one thing, while voters preferred his positions, they may not have really seen a great difference between him and Reagan on some of the more important ones. To say that Mondale would be less likely to bring about a nuclear war, for example, was not to imply that Reagan was about to cause one.

More importantly, voters rallied to Reagan as a strong leader and deemed him more capable than Mondale at managing the nation's economy. Those impressions were so powerful that they dwarfed whatever edge Mondale had on specific issues. In the end, all the little advantages the Democrat had amounted to naught.

It may once again occur that a candidate stands out as a much more competent all-around leader than his opponent, and as better able to handle the economy. If that happens, then attempts at coalition building on other issues, no matter how important they may seem, will be disregarded by the electorate in 1988.

At the same time, it is unclear at this stage that any candidate will shine in such a fashion. And in that event, coalition building around the issues, even around ones that may appear minor, could prove decisive.

THE GALLUP PERSONAL INTERVIEW SAMPLE DESIGN

The sampling procedure is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, eighteen years and older, living in the United States, except those persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals.

The design of the sample is that of a replicated, probability sample down to the block level in the case of urban areas, and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas. Over three hundred sampling locations are used in each survey.

The sample design includes stratification by the following seven size-of-community strata, using 1980 Census data: (1) incorporated cities of population 1,000,000 and over; (2) incorporated cities of population 250,000 to 999,999; (3) incorporated cities of population 50,000 to 249,999; (4) urbanized places not included in (1)-(3); (5) cities over 2,500 population outside of urbanized areas; (6) towns and villages with less than 2,500 population; and (7) rural places not included within town boundaries. Each is further stratified into four geographic regions: East, Midwest, South and West. Within each city size-regional stratum, the population is arrayed in geographic order and zoned into equal sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities are selected in each zone, with probability of selection for each locality proportional to its population size in the 1980 census, producing two replicated samples of localities.

Separately for each survey, within each subdivision so selected for which block statistics are available, a sample of blocks or block clusters is drawn with probability of selection proportional to the number of dwelling units. In all other subdivisions or areas, blocks or segments are drawn at random or with equal probability.

In each cluster of blocks and each segment so selected, a randomly selected starting point is designated on the interviewer's map of the area. Starting at this point, interviewers are required to follow a given direction in the selection of households until their assignment is completed.

Interviewing is conducted at times when adults, in general, are most likely to be at home. Interviewers were asked to make up to three calls at a specific address in order to complete an interview.

Allowance for persons not at home is made by a weighting* procedure which uses information from two sources: respondents' answers to a series of "times at home" questions and from interviewer contact records. This procedure is a standard method for reducing the sample bias that would otherwise result from underrepresentation in the sample of persons who are difficult to find at home.

The pre-stratification by regions is routinely supplemented by fitting each obtained sample to the latest available Census Bureau estimates of the regional distribution of the population. In addition, minor adjustments of the sample are made by educational attainment of men and women separately, based on the annual estimates of the Census Bureau (derived from their Current Population Survey), and by age and race.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

For this Times Mirror Survey, face-to-face personal interviews were conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2,109 adults during the period from January 8 to 17, 1988. For results based upon samples of this size, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects could be 3 percentage points in either direction.

In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls. This report conforms to the standards of disclosure of the National Council on Public Polls.

* Politz, A. and Simmons, W., "An Attempt to Get the "Not at Homes" into the Sample without Callbacks", JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, Volume 44, (March, 1949), pp. 9-31.

THE NOMINATING PROCESS

For the 1988 presidential campaign, many Southern Democratic leaders coordinated their primary and caucus dates on March 8 so that the region could have a say about who their party's nominee would be. According to the latest Times Mirror survey conducted by the Gallup Organization, it is Republicans in the South who are most concerned about regional representation on their party's ticket. The Democrats who are most concerned about regional representation reside in the Midwest.

While Americans are generally satisfied with the current system of primaries and caucuses as a way of determining the best qualified presidential nominees from each party, they are concerned that the high cost of running a presidential campaign discourages many good candidates.

Even under a system of partial federal funding for presidential nomination campaigns, two Republicans (Alexander Haig and Pete Dupont) and one Democrat (Bruce Babbitt) have been forced to withdraw because of their inability to raise funds in conjunction with a lack of support in the early events. Additional candidates will have to withdraw in the next few weeks if they do not do well enough on Super Tuesday to continue fund raising to payoff their growing debts.

Regional Representation in the Party's States

When respondents in the latest survey were asked how important it is that a presidential or vice-presidential candidate come from their part of the country, almost half (46%) say it was not important at all; only 12% say it is very important, and 19% indicate it is somewhat important.

**TABLE A
THE IMPORTANCE OF GEOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION IN SELECTION OF A
PRESIDENTIAL SLATE**

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

CANDIDATE'S REGION	EN-	MORAL		DIS-	BY	FOL-	SECU-		60'S	GOD &	PART-	
	TERPR	LISTS	TOTAL	AFFEC	STAN-	LOWERS	LARS	DEMO-	NEW	CNTRY	ISAN	
	ISERS			UPBEATS	TEDS	DERS		CRATS	DEALERS	DEMS	POOR	
VERY IMPORTANT	12%	5%	11%	11%	12%	17%	16%	1%	10%	13%	22%	16%
SOMEWHAT	19	17	21	19	13	17	22	13	12	25	23	25
IMPORTANT												
NOT VERY	22	25	18	25	28	17	28	21	18	24	20	20
IMPORTANT												
NOT AT ALL	46	53	49	45	46	48	32	65	61	37	33	38
IMPORTANT												
DON'T KNOW	1	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	1	2	1
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 13: How important is it to you that a Presidential or Vice Presidential candidate come from your part of the country? Would you say it is very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?

There are regional differences in the significance attached to geographical representation, however, with respondents from the South and the Midwest being the most likely to attach significance to this factor. But it is the Republicans and those who lean Republican who attach the most significance to regional representation on their ticket, particularly in the South. In the South, 38% of those who identify themselves as Republican or as leaning Republican say it is "very important" or "somewhat important" that a member of their party's slate come from their part of the country, while 31% of Republicans residing in the West feel this way.

Among Democrats and those who lean Democratic, 38% of those from the Midwest say it is "very important" or "somewhat important" that a candidate come from their part of the country, while 25% of those from the South feel this way.

TABLE B

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES AMONG REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF REGIONAL REPRESENTATION

	<u>East</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
<u>Republicans and Leaners</u>				
Very Important	8%	9%	15%	12%
Somewhat Important	18	16	23	19
Not Very Important	20	19	25	19
Not at all Important	54	56	37	50
<u>Democrats and Leaners</u>				
Very Important	7%	12%	9%	11%
Somewhat Important	10	26	16	5
Not Very Important	24	25	15	11
Not at all important	59	35	59	66

Question 13: How important is it to you that a Presidential or Vice presidential candidate come from your part of the country? Would you say it is very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?

* Two core Democratic groups are more likely to say regional representation is "somewhat" or "very important" - the God & Country Democrats (45%) and the Partisan Poor (41%), while two other Democratic group attach almost no significance to this consideration at all - the Seculars (65%) and 60's Democrats (61%).

Campaign Finance

A clear majority of those surveyed (64%) think that the high cost of running a presidential campaign discourages many good candidates from running, while 30% think that most good candidates can raise whatever money they need.

* 60's Democrats (78%), Seculars (72%) and Disaffecteds (72%) are the most likely to think that a lack of funding discourages good candidates.

* In no group did more than 36% of those surveyed think that most good candidates can raise needed funds.

TABLE C

THE EFFECT OF CAMPAIGN COSTS ON THE QUALITY OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- TEDS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
<u>HIGH CAMPAIGN COSTS</u>												
DISCOURAGES GOOD CANDIDATES	64%	63%	66%	58%	72%	57%	47%	72%	78%	60%	57%	69%
GOOD CANDIDATES CAN RAISE MONEY	30	36	30	36	25	29	35	22	18	29	36	28
DON'T KNOW	7	2	4	6	3	14	18	6	4	11	6	3
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 60: Do you think the high cost of running a Presidential campaign discourages many good candidates from running or do you think that most good candidates can raise whatever money they need?

One in eight of those surveyed (12%) indicate that they have contributed money to a presidential campaign in the last year, and 14% say they have contributed to a political party during that same period.

TABLE D
REPORTED RATES OF CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

*** CONTRIBUTED MONEY TO A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE ***

CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR		
<u>DONE IN LAST YEAR</u>	TOTAL	ISERS	UPBEATS	TEDS								
YES	12%	25%	14%	11%	12%	5%	1%	11%	16%	12%	10%	12%
NO	86	74	83	89	87	94	91	87	83	87	90	86
DON'T KNOW	1	*	2	*	1	1	8	2	1	1	1	2
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

*** CONTRIBUTED MONEY TO A POLITICAL PARTY ORGANIZATION ***

CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR		
<u>DONE IN LAST YEAR</u>	TOTAL	ISERS	UPBEATS	TEDS								
YES	14%	28%	23%	17%	10%	1%	4%	23%	18%	14%	9%	11%
NO	84	72	76	83	89	96	87	76	80	86	89	88
DON'T KNOW	2	*	1	*	1	2	10	2	2	*	2	1
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 61: We would like to find out about some of the things people do during a Presidential campaign. Which of the following have you done, if any, within the last year or so?

These contributions are of course related to the respondents' socioeconomic status, but they are also related to their interest in public affairs as well. One-quarter (26%) of those who follow public affairs "most of the time" have contributed money to a political party or to a presidential candidate (22%), while only 4% of those who say they follow public affairs "hardly at all" have done the either.

* Enterprisers are the most likely contributors to a political candidate (20%), a proportion of all contributors which is twice as great as their representation among all registered voters.

* Both Enterprisers (18%) and Moralists (17%) represent proportionately greater contributors to political parties than is reflected by their share of all registered voters.

TABLE E

RELATION BETWEEN THE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPOLOGY GROUP MEMBERS IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, AMONG REGISTERED VOTERS, AND BY CAMPAIGN GIVING

	<u>All Adults</u> %	<u>Registered Voters</u> %	<u>Contribute \$ to a Candidate</u> %	<u>Contribute \$ to a Party</u> %
Enterprisers	10	10	20	18
Moralists	11	12	13	17
Upbeats	9	10	11	11
Disaffecteds	9	10	8	6
Bystanders	10	3	4	1
Followers	6	6	*	2
Seculars	6	7	6	10
'60s Democrats	8	9	11	10
New Dealers	13	14	12	12
God & Country Democrats	8	8	6	5
Partisan Poor	10	11	10	8
Number of Interviews	(2109)	(1688)	(1495)	(1057)

Attitudes toward the Primary System

Six in ten (61%) of those surveyed believe that the presidential primaries are a good way of determining the best qualified nominees, as opposed to one-quarter (23%) who do not. Support for the present system is strongest among core groups within each party.

* Groups of independent voters who are the least likely to participate in elections are also the least likely to think this is a good way to select nominees (Followers 40%, Bystanders 49%, Disaffecteds 51%), as well as members of one of the Democratic-oriented groups - Seculars (53%).

* The Bystanders and Followers are also the most undecided about the effectiveness of the system (38% and 34% respectively).

TABLE F
ASSESSMENTS OF THE PRIMARY PROCESS
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE
CLUSTERS

	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES												
YES, ARE A GOOD WAY	61%	69%	68%	73%	51%	49%	40%	53%	63%	65%	61%	70%
NO, NOT A GOOD WAY	23	24	19	15	35	13	26	34	32	21	18	17
DON'T KNOW	16	6	12	12	15	38	34	12	5	14	21	13
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 55: Thinking about the Presidential primaries, generally do you think they are a good way of determining who the best qualified nominees are, or not?

Overall Assessments of the Parties and Their Candidates

The assessments of the quality of the men who are running for the Democratic and Republican nominations are reserved. Because of their advantage in partisan identification, there is an apparent willingness among respondents to support the Democratic nominee in the fall, whoever he is. But the Democrats should be concerned about the public's evaluation of their party on other dimensions in relation to the Republicans.

For example, 42% of all the respondents indicate they are more likely to vote for a Democratic candidate for president while 33% express similar sentiments for a Republican. These data are unchanged from two Times-Mirror/Gallup surveys conducted last May and September.

TABLE G
LIKELY VOTE IN 1988 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION¹

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Current Survey	30%	40	(2109)
Times Mirror (9/87)	33%	41	(1903)
Times Mirror (5/87)	33%	42	(4244)

¹ "Don't Know" and "other" responses are excluded from the totals.

Question: Thinking ahead to the 1988 Presidential election, are you in general more likely to vote for a Republican candidate for President, or for a Democratic candidate for President?

* But more than eight in ten of the Enterprisers (81%) and Moralists (89%) say they will vote for a Republican, as do 62% of the Upbeats.

* Equivalent support for a Democrat is only found among the Partisan Poor (83%), while support is significantly lower among New Dealers (74%), and 60's Democrats (76%), Seculars (69%), and the God & Country Democrats (55%).

TABLE H
LIKELY VOTE IN THE 1988 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
REPUBLICAN	33	81	89	62	28	23	21	7	5	7	13	7
DEMOCRATIC	42	2	2	13	24	34	47	69	76	74	55	84
OTHER	1	-	-	3	3	2	1	2	*	-	2	1
IT DEPENDS	14	13	7	18	32	16	12	14	14	12	19	5
DON'T KNOW	9	4	2	4	13	24	18	8	5	7	11	4
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 3: Thinking ahead to the 1988 Presidential election, are you in general more likely to vote for a Republican candidate for President, or for a Democratic candidate for President?

The perceptions of the quality of the Democratic and Republican candidate pools are ostensibly the same, with few describing the overall quality of the candidates as "excellent," only about three in ten describing them as "good," and four in ten as "fair." But Republicans feel more positively toward their candidates than Democrats do toward theirs. Six in ten Republicans describe their candidates as "good" or "excellent," while no more than four in ten of any of the Democratic-oriented groups respond in a similar fashion to their candidates.

* In the latest survey, seven in ten of the two strongest Republican-oriented groups - the Enterprisers and Moralists - think their party is more likely to select good candidates, while no more than four in ten of the strongest Democratic-oriented groups feel that way about their party.

TABLE I
OPINIONS OF REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE
CLUSTERS

	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
OPINION OF REPUBLICANS												
EXCELLENT CANDIDATES	3%	5%	10%	7%	2%	1%	2%	1%	1%	6%	1%	
GOOD CANDIDATES	34	55	56	47	30	29	39	24	17	27	23	
FAIR CANDIDATES	42	36	28	42	45	36	33	55	56	45	46	
POOR CANDIDATES	11	2	2	2	18	11	9	17	19	13	16	
DON'T KNOW	10	2	4	2	6	24	16	2	7	14	14	
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 15: Overall, what's your opinion of the men who are running for the Republican nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates, or poor candidates?

TABLE J
 OPINIONS OF DEMOCRATIC NOMINATIONS
 BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE
 CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR TOTAL	MORAL LISTS		DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS		60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & NEW CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
OPINION OF DEMOCRATS												
EXCELLENT CANDIDATES	3%	1%	**%	2%	**%	3%	2%	3%	2%	4%	9%	2%
GOOD CANDIDATES	28	17	21	28	17	28	34	28	35	30	29	40
FAIR CANDIDATES	44	50	44	44	45	34	37	54	48	45	43	40
POOR CANDIDATES	17	28	28	19	28	11	11	13	10	13	8	11
DON'T KNOW	9	4	6	7	10	24	15	2	4	7	11	7
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 14: Overall, what's your opinion of the men who are running for the Democratic nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates, or poor candidates?

The Role of Debates in the Presidential Campaign

There are more debates between presidential candidates scheduled in the 1988 campaign than ever before, and 60% of those surveyed say they have watched such a debate in the last year. Viewing is highest among respondents with the highest levels of education and interest in public affairs, which includes members of the two core Republican groups - Enterprisers (72%) and Moralists (67%) - and three Democratic-oriented groups - 60's Democrats (69%), New Dealers (67%), and Seculars (66%).

TABLE K
 REPORTED RATES OF WATCHING PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES
 BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE
 CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR			
DONE IN LAST YEAR												
YES	60%	72%	67%	62%	59%	29%	38%	66%	69%	67%	65%	63%
NO	38	27	30	37	40	70	55	32	30	33	35	33
DON'T KNOW	2	*	3	1	1	1	7	2	1	-	1	4
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 61: We would like to find out about some of the things people do during a Presidential campaign. Which of the following have you done, if any, within the last year or so?

Respondents who say they have watched a debate place a higher value on them as a source of information for where a candidate stands on the issues as well as what kind of person a candidate is. Fifty-seven percent of those who have seen debates rate them as a "good" or "excellent" source of information about where a candidate stands on issues, compared to 37% of those who have not seen one. Half (50%) of those who have seen a debate rate them equivalently as a source of information about what kind of a person a candidate is, compared to one-third (33%) of those who have not.

TABLE L

RELATIONSHIP OF WATCHING THE DEBATES TO RATING THE DEBATES
AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION

WATCHED A DEBATE BETWEEN
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

RATE DEBATES
AS SOURCE OF
INFORMATION:

WHERE A
CANDIDATE
STANDS ON
THE ISSUES¹

EXCELLENT JOB	14%
GOOD JOB	43
FAIR JOB	31
POOR JOB	9
DON'T KNOW	<u>3</u>
TOTAL	100%

WHAT KIND OF
PERSON A
CANDIDATE IS²

EXCELLENT JOB	9%
GOOD JOB	41
FAIR JOB	37
POOR JOB	10
DON'T KNOW	<u>3</u>
TOTAL	100%

¹Question 58: How good a job do the debates do for you in providing information on where a candidate stands on the issues? Do they do an excellent job, a good job, a fair job, or a poor job?

²Question 59: How good a job do the debates do in providing information for you on what kind of a person a candidate is? Do they do an excellent job, a good job, a fair job, or a poor job?

THE GALLUP PERSONAL INTERVIEW SAMPLE DESIGN

The sampling procedure is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, eighteen years and older, living in the United States, except those persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals.

The design of the sample is that of a replicated, probability sample down to the block level in the case of urban areas, and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas. Over three hundred sampling locations are used in each survey.

The sample design includes stratification by the following seven size-of-community strata, using 1980 Census data: (1) incorporated cities of population 1,000,000 and over; (2) incorporated cities of population 250,000 to 999,999; (3) incorporated cities of population 50,000 to 249,999; (4) urbanized places not included in (1)-(3); (5) cities over 2,500 population outside of urbanized areas; (6) towns and villages with less than 2,500 population; and (7) rural places not included within town boundaries. Each is further stratified into four geographic regions: East, Midwest, South and West. Within each city size-regional stratum, the population is arrayed in geographic order and zoned into equal sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities are selected in each zone, with probability of selection for each locality proportional to its population size in the 1980 census, producing two replicated samples of localities.

Separately for each survey, within each subdivision so selected for which block statistics are available, a sample of blocks or block clusters is drawn with probability of selection proportional to the number of dwelling units. In all other subdivisions or areas, blocks or segments are drawn at random or with equal probability.

In each cluster of blocks and each segment so selected, a randomly selected starting point is designated on the interviewer's map of the area. Starting at this point, interviewers are required to follow a given direction in the selection of households until their assignment is completed.

Interviewing is conducted at times when adults, in general, are most likely to be at home. Interviewers were asked to make up to three calls at a specific address in order to complete an interview.

Allowance for persons not at home is made by a weighting* procedure which uses information from two sources: respondents' answers to a series of "times at home" questions and from interviewer contact records. This procedure is a standard method for reducing the sample bias that would otherwise result from underrepresentation in the sample of persons who are difficult to find at home.

The pre-stratification by regions is routinely supplemented by fitting each obtained sample to the latest available Census Bureau estimates of the regional distribution of the population. In addition, minor adjustments of the sample are made by educational attainment of men and women separately, based on the annual estimates of the Census Bureau (derived from their Current Population Survey), and by age and race.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

For this Times Mirror Survey, face-to-face personal interviews were conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2,109 adults during the period from January 8 to 17, 1988. For results based upon samples of this size, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects could be 3 percentage points in either direction.

In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls. This report conforms to the standards of disclosure of the National Council on Public Polls.

* Politz, A. and Simmons, W., "An Attempt to Get the "Not at Homes" into the Sample without Callbacks", JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, Volume 44, (March, 1949), pp. 9-31.

PROTECTIONIST THEMES EMERGE FOR DEMOCRATS IN 1988

In what has been an "issue-less" campaign, one issue appears to be edging toward center stage. Poll after poll shows broad based public support for increasing tariffs on imported goods as a way of stemming the flow of jobs from the U. S.. Protectionism is a campaign appeal that has enabled Richard Gephardt to fashion sharply defined constituencies in both New Hampshire and in Iowa. It also may be the most compelling issue that the Democratic party can take into the general election and one which may be a harbinger of a change in public attitudes toward the role of government in assuring economic prosperity.

Analysis of the electorate using the Times Mirror voter typology suggests that protectionism may have the potential to re-unify the most vital groups within the Democratic Party. Moreover, it gives the Democrats an economic issue that may lure independent Republican voters to a Democratic Presidential candidate in 1988.

In broader terms, protectionism may represent the start of a public movement toward a more active role for the Federal Government. Protectionist themes such as those sounded by Democratic candidates, Richard Gephardt and Jesse Jackson, appear to embrace more than just the immediate economic reality of putting money in the pockets of American workers. Rather, protectionism seems to evoke feelings of what Republican political analyst, Kevin Phillips, terms "Economic Nationalism". For Democrats, campaign messages incorporating these themes may hit a responsive chord similar to Reagan's pro-America messages of 1980 and 1984.

There are many parallels to the appeal of this issue and the ways in which Ronald Reagan achieved both his election victories. Protectionism functions as a unifying theme tapping not only economic issues, but also strong pro-American sentiments, concerns about mistreatment of the U. S. by other nations and a focal point for the politics of discontent. By examining opinions about Protectionist propositions through the prism of the Times Mirror voter classification scheme, these parallels are quite apparent. The Times Mirror typology divides the electorate into distinct,

new constituencies, and identifies the fundamental outlooks on life and major institutions that animate virtually all American political behavior.

Protectionist Candidates Enjoy Widespread Support

In a January 1988 Times-Mirror/Gallup survey, a majority (70%) of Americans say they are more likely to support a candidate who supports an increase in taxes on foreign imports to protect American jobs in certain industries. In a more direct question asked in April/May 1987, 75% of Americans favored such a proposal, while 29% said they would strongly favor tariffs. In contrast, a total of only 19% opposed tariffs, with only 4% saying they were strongly opposed and an additional 15% saying they were somewhat opposed.

Support for protectionist legislation or for a candidate who favors protectionist proposals cuts across traditional Democratic and Republican Party lines and is apparent in virtually every group in the Times-Mirrors/Gallup political typology. Groups in the typology consisting primarily of Democrats and Democratic leaners such as Followers (58%), Seculars (52%), 60's Democrats (64%) and the God & Country Democrats (69%) support protectionist measures in large numbers. Among New Dealers, who represent the largest single group of consistently Democratic voters, 85% or more than four in every five are more likely to support a candidate who favors protectionist legislation.

Protectionism appeals to almost every group in the Republican party as well. Among Upbeats (81%) and Disaffecteds (81%), who are least committed to the Republican Party but who voted for Reagan in 1980 and in 1984, large majorities are more likely to vote for a candidate who supports protectionist measures. Three quarters (76%) of all Moralists, who are among the most ardent Republicans, are more likely to support a candidate who is in favor of raising taxes on foreign imports. Only among the strongly Republican Enterprisers is opinion on this issue divided, and even among the members of this extremely pro-business/pro-free enterprise group, a plurality (48%) are more likely to vote for a protectionist candidate. The reservations that Enterprise Republicans

from a strategic point of view, represent the single most important reason why a Republican candidate cannot easily adopt this position.

**LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING FOR A CANDIDATE WHO
SUPPORTS INCREASED TAXES ON FOREIGN PRODUCTS**

	<u>More Likely</u> %	<u>Less Likely</u> %	<u>No Effect</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Inter views</u> #
<u>TOTAL</u>	70	17	8	5	100	2109
<u>Republicans/leaners</u>						
Enterprisers	48	39	11	2	100	227
Moralists	76	14	5	5	100	254
Upbeats	81	8	9	2	100	200
Disaffecteds	81	11	5	3	100	209
<u>Democrats/Leaners</u>						
Followers	58	20	9	13	100	107
Seculars	52	26	15	7	100	158
60'S Democrats	64	25	8	3	100	198
New Dealers	84	7	4	5	100	252
God & Country Democrats	69	19	7	5	100	154
Partisan Poor	80	9	5	6	100	189

Widespread support for import tariffs exists despite differences in opinion about who is most to blame for trade imbalances in the first place. Americans, as a whole, most frequently blame business organizations (29%) and organized labor (25%) for U.S. industries not being able to compete with foreign competitors. Yet, support for protectionist measures remains widespread regardless of which institution individual voters blame most for America's inability to compete. As might be expected, Republican oriented groups are more apt to see labor at fault for trade imbalances while Democrats are more prone to cite business corporations.

**INSTITUTIONS THOUGHT MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR AMERICAN
INDUSTRIES NOT BEING ABLE TO COMPETE WITH FOREIGN INDUSTRIES**

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Total</u> %
Business Corporations	29
Organized Labor	25
Congress	15
The President	12
Banks	2
Wall Street Brokers	1
News Organizations	1
None/Don't Know	<u>15</u>
Total	100
Number of Interviews	2109

Appeal of Protectionism Rooted In American Sense of Fair Play

Widespread support for protectionist legislation stems, at least in part, from Americans' sense of fair play. Results from a survey conducted by the Gallup Organization for the European Economic Community (E.E.C.) show 76% of all Americans think raising tariffs on goods from countries that place high tariffs on U.S. products is a somewhat (30%) or very (46%) good solution to correcting the current trade imbalance. However, persons who believe given countries are trading unfairly with the United States are more likely than those not holding this view to see protectionist measures as a very good way to handle the trade problem. As a case in point, 53% of all persons who believe Japan has an unfair trade policy believe raising tariffs on goods from countries that place high tariffs on U.S. products is a very good way to solve trade imbalances. In contrast, only 36% of those who feel Japan has a fair trade policy hold this view. Yet, while overall support for protectionist measures is more prevalent

**SUPPORT FOR RAISING TARIFFS ON FOREIGN IMPORTS
BY PERCEPTIONS OF THE FAIRNESS OF JAPAN'S TRADE POLICY**

Perceptions of Japan's Trade Policy

<u>Raising Tariffs</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Unfair</u>	<u>Fair</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Good Solution	76	81	73
very good	46	53	36
somewhat good	30	28	36
Bad Solution	18	14	24
somewhat bad	11	9	14
very bad	7	5	10
Don't Know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	1300	864	314

For some time opinion polls have identified a strong public desire for more government activity to deal with economic problems. While this desire has remained latent during the Reagan years, protectionism may serve as a catalyst that makes manifest a broader populist agenda. The same survey which measured the appeal to voters of raising import taxes tested the popularity of a variety of potential campaign themes. The only theme to surpass protectionism in voter approval was a public jobs program for the unemployed. Seventy eight percent of Times-Mirror/Gallup respondents reported they would be more likely to vote for a candidate who took this position. In effect, proposals that mentioned government action

to deal with jobs were the only themes out of 15 tested that received majority endorsement from all voter groups.

**LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING FOR A CANDIDATE WHO
SUPPORTS PUBLIC WORKS JOBS FOR THE UNEMPLOYED**

	<u>More Likely</u> %	<u>Less Likely</u> %	<u>No Effect</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Inter views</u> #
<u>TOTAL</u>	78	11	7	4	100	2109
<u>Republicans/leaners</u>						
Enterprisers	61	29	7	3	100	227
Moralists	74	13	8	5	100	254
Upbeats	79	13	7	1	100	200
Disaffecteds	80	11	7	7	100	209
<u>Democrats/Leaners</u>						
Followers	61	13	13	13	100	107
Seculars	85	9	6	--	100	158
60'S Democrats	84	8	7	1	100	198
New Dealers	86	7	4	3	100	252
God & Country Democrats	76	14	4	6	100	154
Partisan Poor	89	4	3	4	100	189

Protectionism: An Umbrella for Democratic Hopefuls

In recent years the most difficult of political dilemma for the Democrat party has been how to regain its advantage over the Republicans as the party of effective government management and prosperity. Unlike the three decades that preceded it, by the mid 1980's, public opinion regarding economic issues clearly favored the Republicans over the Democrats. For example, a Gallup Poll found that at the outset of the last election, 45% of all registered voters believed the Republican Party was the party of prosperity, while 37%

was the party of prosperity, while 37% thought the Democratic Party would do a better job of keeping the country prosperous. Since 1984, this pattern has remained essentially unchanged. In January 1988, four years later, 42% of all registered voters thought the Republicans would be best able to keep the country prosperous, and 37% thought the Democrats would be best suited to the task.

**ASSESSMENTS OF WHICH PARTY IS
BETTER FOR PROSPERITY**

	REPUBLICAN PARTY %	DEMOCRATIC PARTY %	NO DIFFERENCE NO OPINION %
1987-Dec. 4-6	41	38	21
Oct. 23-26	41	33	26
July	34	36	30
January	38	37	25
1986-October	41	30	29
March	51	33	16
1985-June	44	35	21
March	48	32	20
1984-September	49	33	18
April	44	36	20
1983	33	40	27
1982	33	43	24
1981	40	31	29
1980	35	36	29

Recent economic uncertainty has had no effect on the images of the two parties. Most pointedly, the stock market crash and the attendant decline in economic expectations have not resulted in less economic confidence in the Republicans and more in the Democrats. In fact, the Gallup Poll actually showed an increase in the Republican advantage on party best able to manage the economy between early and late 1987. Perhaps, this was the only time in polling history that the party in power

did not suffer a decline in confidence as a consequence of an economic calamity.

At the heart of the problem for the Democrats is the bad image for management they sustained during the Carter years. Their inability to make gains on the Republicans despite economic uncertainty is highlighted by the lack of confidence members of their own party express in their management abilities. While large majorities of staunchly Republican Enterprisers (64%) and Moralists (65%) say their party is best able to manage, traditionally Democratic groups are less likely to say their own party is best able to manage the federal government. Only slightly fewer than half of all 60's Democrats (48%), and only slightly more than half of all New Dealers (57%) believe their party is best able to manage. Among Followers, 20% think the Democratic Party is best able to manage, while an additional 36% think neither or both parties are best.

Protectionism represents an opportunity for the Democrats to perhaps reverse these findings by addressing an economic theme that has broad based support, yet one which Republican candidates may have much more difficulty embracing. The failure of the Democrats to make gains in public confidence in light of the stock market crash underscored that bad news alone would not help. Given their views on the issue, a strong position on import duties could be seen by many doubting Democrats as a positive step toward dealing with economic problems, and potentially, evidence of more effective management.

But it's not only defecting democrats who can be swayed by this issue. Independent Republicans such as Upbeats and disaffecteds were drawn to Ronald Reagan by many of the themes that are evoked by Protectionist appeals. Gallup analyses show a correlation between favoring import quotas and political alienation and pro Americanism. Both values cut in Reagan's favor in 80 and 84 and both are pivotal to independent Republican voters. Upbeats who favor tariffs at the 80% level are staunchly pro American. Disaffecteds are alienated and angry voters whose resentment toward other countries is coupled with high rates of financial pressure. All things being equal, it might be extremely

extremely difficult for a GOP candidate to prevent at least some defections should the Democrats place heavy emphasis on this theme.

The extent to which protectionist themes hit a responsive chord in the electorate can be seen in the opinions of voters in early primaries toward Jackson and especially, Gephardt. By concentrating on the trade issue, these candidates have set themselves apart from other candidates in articulating a clear message that touches a nerve in the electorate. The Missouri Congressman's base of support in both states was among older, less well educated, union Democrats, a profile that coincides with the demographics of new deal Democrats. Going into the primary season, New Dealers were the Democratic constituency most up for grabs and also the group that most favored import tariffs.

The protectionist theme has enabled Gephardt and Jackson to achieve one of the things Ronald Reagan was able to do....be seen by voters as an instrument of change. In the New Hampshire primary, for example, 25% of Gephardt voters said they were most influenced to vote for Gephardt by his ability to bring about the changes the country needs. Similarly, 26% of all Jackson voters in New Hampshire say they were most influenced to vote for him because he could bring about change. In comparison to other Democratic candidates, only 13% of Dukakis voters and only 8% of Simon voters reported being influenced in this way.

Protectionism is but one element in public opinion that expresses concern for America's trade problems. In fact protectionism is not the first choice solution to correcting trade imbalances. Results from the E.E.C. survey show that 69% of all Americans believe finding new ways for U.S. industry to produce better products is a very good way to solve the trade problem, and 64% of the population also believes reducing the Federal budget deficit would be a very good way to correct the problem. In contrast only 46% feel raising tariffs would be a very good way of reducing our trade deficit.

Competitiveness and America's problems in world competition, as an issue, has the potential to draw on a number of other domestic issues. The ability of competitiveness to draw on supporters of other issues stems from another

The ability of competitiveness to draw on supporters of other issues stems from another unifying aspect of this message, most notably that core groups in both the Republican and the Democratic Party believe America's educational system and its ability to produce quality products is weak compared to other countries.

Among the population as a whole, 48% think the system of education in this country is strong compared to other countries, while a similar proportion (47%) believe it is weak. Among core Republican and Democratic groups, however, much larger proportions show concern over this issue. For example, 58% of all Enterprisers believe the American system of education is weak compared to other countries, while among Democratic groups, 62% of all Seculars and 61% of all 60's Democrats believe America is weak in this regard.

Moreover, these same groups express concern about America's ability to produce quality products, which as results from the E.E.C. study showed is an area most Americans believe should be improved upon if the U.S. to correct its trade problems. Although the majority (56%) of Americans believe the United States is strong in the production of quality goods, a large proportion (40%) think the U.S. is weak in this area. Similar to public concern over education, Enterprisers (46%), Seculars (47%) and 60's Democrats are among those most likely to think America's ability to produce quality products is weak compared to other countries.

**COMPARISON OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER COUNTIES
ON EDUCATION AND ABILITY TO
PRODUCE QUALITY GOODS**

	<u>Education</u>			<u>Quality Products</u>		
	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Weak</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Weak</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	48	47	5	56	40	4
<u>Republicans/leaners</u>						
Enterprisers	41	58	1	54	46	--
Moralists	52	44	4	64	34	2
Upbeats	55	43	2	64	35	1
Disaffecteds	41	52	7	45	53	2
<u>Democrats/Leaners</u>						
Followers	61	30	9	61	31	8
Seculars	36	62	2	51	47	2
60'S Democrats	36	61	3	46	52	2
New Dealers	53	42	5	60	37	3
God & Country Democrats	55	38	7	62	32	6
Partisan Poor	44	50	6	51	44	5

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The sampling procedure is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, eighteen years and older, living in the United States, except those persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals.

The design of the sample is that of a replicated, probability sample down to the block level in the case of urban areas, and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas. Over three hundred sampling locations are used in each survey.

The sample design includes stratification by the following seven size-of-community strata, using 1980 Census data: (1) incorporated cities of population 1,000,000 and over; (2) incorporated cities of population 250,000 to 999,999; (3) incorporated cities of population 50,000 to 249,999; (4) urbanized places not included in (1)-(3); (5) cities over 2,500 population outside of urbanized areas; (6) towns and villages with less than 2,500 population; and (7) rural places not included within town boundaries. Each is further stratified into four geographic regions: East, Midwest, South and West. Within each city size-regional stratum, the population is arrayed in geographic order and zoned into equal sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities are selected in each zone, with probability of selection for each locality proportional to its population size in the 1980 census, producing two replicated samples of localities.

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For this Times Mirror Survey, face-to-face personal interviews were conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2,109 adults during the period from January 8 to 17, 1988. The margin of error due to sampling is + 3 percentage points.

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Important Problems Facing the Country

As they did last spring, domestic economic issues dominate the concerns of respondents in the latest Times-Mirror survey when they were asked to name the most important problem facing the country today. One in seven of all those surveyed (15%) indicate that the federal budget deficit and the government's failure to balance the federal budget is the most important problem, while 11% express concern about unemployment and the prospects of a recession and 9% more general concerns about the state of the national economy. The most frequently mentioned problem in the international arena is the fear or threat of a nuclear war (6%).

* Republicans continue to express greater concern about the federal budget deficit than Democrats (23% vs. 12%), while Democrats express greater concern about unemployment and a recession than Republicans (13% vs. 7%).

* The highest levels of concern about the deficit come from one core Republican group - the Enterprisers (31%) - and from one Democratic-oriented group - the Seculars (30%). For the Seculars, this is a significant jump from the 17% who mentioned the deficit as a problem last spring.

Members of the God & Country Democrats (19%) and the Partisan Poor (16%) are the most likely to mention unemployment and the prospects of a recession as the most important problem, and one in eight of the Partisan Poor (12%) mention poverty and hunger as a problem.

TABLE 1
THE NATION'S MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM

	TOTAL	ENTERPRISERS	MORALISTS	UPBEATS	DISAFFECTEDS	BYSTANDERS	FOLLOWERS	SECULARS	60's DEMS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PARTISAN POOR
Unemployment/ recession	11% 13%	8% 6%	8% 11%	4% 8%	9% 16%	10% 14%	15% 9%	6% 8%	11% 8%	13% 20%	19% 20%	16% 25%
Federal Budget Deficit	15 12	31 30	23 14	18 11	14 12	7 3	5 6	30 17	15 12	11 12	4 7	11 6
Threat/ fear of nuclear war	6 7	5 4	3 8	7 9	6 6	8 10	5 9	9 9	6 8	6 7	2 5	6 6
Poverty/ hunger	5 6	2 2	4 3	5 8	4 3	4 10	10 6	4 5	5 6	4 7	4 6	12 8

The top row for each response category is the proportion giving the answer in the January, 1988 survey, while the bottom row contains the equivalent proportion of responses from May, 1987.

When asked which political party would do a better job of handling the problem which they had just mentioned, one-third of those surveyed (35%) said the Democratic party, three in ten (30%) the Republican party, and one-quarter (24%) said it would not make any difference. There is no shift in these proportions since the drop in preference for the Republicans which occurred in Summer, 1986.

TABLE 2

POLITICAL PARTY BETTER ABLE TO HANDLE THE NATION'S
MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM¹

	Republican	Democratic	No Difference	
Current Survey	30%	35	24	(2109)
Times Mirror (5/87)	28%	38	24	(4244)
July, 1986 ²	33%	36	21	(1539)
January, 1985 ²	39%	29	24	(1528)

¹ "Don't Know" responses are excluded from the totals.

² Gallup Poll trend.

There is a strong - but not perfect - relationship between party identification and these responses, as 72% of those who call themselves Republicans say their party would do a better job, while 66% percent of those who call themselves Democrats say their party would do a better job. Members of the core Republican groups are more likely to indicate that their party would do a better job (Enterprisers - 73%, and Moralists - 69%) than members of the core Democratic groups are to express confidence in their party (60's Democrats - 63%, New Dealers - 58%, the God & Country Democrats -53%). SEE TABLE 3

* When combined with the finding that members of Republican groups give their party higher marks for the quality of its candidates seeking the party's nomination than members of Democratic groups give their candidates, this does not bode well for the Democrats' ability to assemble a winning coalition in the fall.

TABLE 3
PARTY BEST ABLE TO HANDLE THE PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY TODAY
(Republican Groups)

CLUSTERS

	TOTAL	TOTAL REPUB- LICANS	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	UPBEATS	DIS- AFFEC TEDS
	----- %	----- %	----- %	----- %	----- %	----- %
BETTER HANDLE PROBLEMS						
REPUBLICAN PARTY	30	72	73	69	55	28
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	35	5	3	5	13	23
NO DIFFERENCE	24	18	18	20	21	35
DON'T KNOW	11	5	6	6	10	14
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	589	227	254	200	209

Question 18: Which political party do you think can do a better job of handling the problem you have just mentioned -- the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

TABLE 3
PARTY BEST ABLE TO HANDLE THE PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY TODAY
(Democratic Groups)

CLUSTERS

	TOTAL	TOTAL DEMO- CRATS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR
	----- %	----- %	----- %	----- %	----- %	----- %	----- %	----- %
BETTER HANDLE PROBLEMS								
REPUBLICAN PARTY	30	5	19	18	6	6	10	7
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	35	66	25	58	63	58	53	67
NO DIFFERENCE	24	19	31	17	25	24	27	15
DON'T KNOW	11	10	24	7	6	12	11	11
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	799	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 18: Which political party do you think can do a better job of handling the problem you have just mentioned -- the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

In a different form of questioning on this topic, respondents were subsequently read a list of four important problems facing the country and asked which of several institutions is the most responsible for it. The problems included the deficit in the U.S. federal budget, the recent drop in the stock market, the problems of farmers, and American industries not being competitive with foreign industries.

The American public is discriminating in its assignment of responsibility for different problems to different institutions.

* For two problems - the federal deficit and the problems of farmers - the blame centered on the Congress and the President; and Democrats and Republicans had sharply divergent views about who is responsible.

* On the issue of the competitiveness of American industries, opinions are divided equally about the responsibility of business corporations or organized labor for the problem, even among most Republican groups. Only Enterprisers place greater responsibility on labor (53%) as opposed to business (27%), suggesting that Republican candidates may have a difficult time dealing with this issue among their regular constituencies.

For the deficit, the public is about twice as likely to assign responsibility to the Congress (45%) as to the President (27%), while one-eighth (13%) say they do not know who is responsible or cannot assign responsibility. Republican-oriented groups are much more likely to assign blame to the Congress (Enterprisers - 72%; Upbeats - 61%; Disaffecteds - 59%; and Moralists - 56%), while most of the Democratic-oriented groups are as likely to blame the President (60's Democrats - 48%; Seculars - 40%; Partisan Poor - 35%; and New Dealers - 32%) as the Congress.

TABLE 4
INSTITUTION MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEFICIT IN THE U.S. FEDERAL BUDGET
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

INSTITUTIONS	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- TEDS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
CONGRESS	45	72	56	61	59	35	23	43	35	34	33	36
THE PRESIDENT	27	13	13	20	24	27	20	40	48	32	29	35
BUSINESS CORPORATIONS	5	6	6	4	4	4	6	3	4	6	8	8
BANKS	5	1	4	6	4	2	11	3	3	8	6	5
ORGANIZED LABOR	2	1	7	*	*	3	5	1	-	2	2	2
WALL STREET BROKERS	2	*	5	3	1	3	1	1	-	3	4	1
NEWS ORGANIZATIONS	1	*	*	*	*	*	3	*	-	1	3	*
NONE/DON'T KNOW	13	6	9	5	8	25	31	9	10	15	15	13
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 19: Here is a list of some of the important institutions in the United States. I am going to read a list of problems and would like you to tell me which one, if any, of these institutions is most responsible for this problem. Please read off your answer by number.

Respondents with higher levels of education are more likely to blame the Congress for the deficit (56% among college graduates compared to 32% among those with less than a high school education), while those with lower levels of education are more likely to be undecided (22%). Respondents with the highest levels of political knowledge and who say they follow public affairs "most of the time" are also most likely to assign responsibility to Congress. There is no difference in the assignment of responsibility to the President by education.

* In the Republican campaign, George Bush and Robert Dole will be at direct odds with each other's institutional role as they debate controlling the deficit. This survey suggests that Bush may have the upper hand among Republicans on this issue if he tries to blame the Congress and cites Dole's leadership role there. It will be more difficult for Dole to score points among Republicans by laying blame in the White House, given most Republicans' high approval ratings of Ronald Reagan and their reluctance to blame the President for the deficit.

For the problem of American industries not being competitive with foreign industries, the sample divides responsibility equally between business corporations (29%) and organized labor (25%). Enterprisers are much more likely to assign responsibility to labor than business (53% vs. 27%, respectively). But Upbeats see it more as a problem of business than labor (43% vs. 30%), and two other Republican-oriented groups divide the blame equally between labor and business (Moralists - 33% vs. 28% respectively, and Disaffecteds - 24% vs. 26% respectively).

On the Democratic side, Seculars are the most likely to attribute responsibility to business rather than labor (52% vs. 21%), followed by the Partisan Poor (33% vs. 13%). The 60's Democrats, God & Country Democrats, and the New Dealers are about equally as likely to assign blame to business as to labor (34% vs. 28%, 25% vs. 20%, and 21% vs. 20%, respectively).

TABLE 5

INSTITUTION MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR AMERICAN INDUSTRIES NOT BEING
COMPETITIVE WITH FOREIGN INDUSTRIES

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

INSTITUTIONS	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	
BUSINESS CORPORATIONS	29	27	28	43	26	25	19	52	34	20	20	33
ORGANIZED LABOR	25	53	33	30	24	12	10	21	28	21	25	13
CONGRESS	15	13	14	11	22	16	16	8	7	19	12	18
THE PRESIDENT	11	3	6	8	15	15	13	8	12	14	19	13
BANKS	2	*	1	1	4	-	2	*	2	5	5	1
WALL STREET BROKERS	1	-	2	1	2	2	2	-	1	2	1	1
NEWS ORGANIZATIONS	1	-	*	1	1	3	2	*	1	2	-	3
NONE/DON'T KNOW	15	4	15	4	7	26	36	10	15	17	18	18
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 19: Here is a list of some of the important institutions in the United States. I am going to read a list of problems and would like you to tell me which one, if any, of these institutions is most responsible for this problem. Please read off your answer by number.

Those with higher levels of education are more likely to assign the responsibility to business corporations and to organized labor (38% and 35%, respectively), as the proportion saying they did not know who was responsible decreases. By almost two-to-one margins, respondents who belong to labor unions (34% to 17%) or are from union households (32% to 18%) are more likely to assign responsibility to business corporations than to organized labor, while those from nonunion households are evenly divided (29% to 26% respectively).

Ratings of organized labor as an institution are strongly related, in the expected direction, to the assignment of responsibility (to business or to labor,) for the lack of competitiveness; but evaluations of corporations are not. Those who rate labor most favorably are much less likely to assign responsibility to organized labor than those who rate labor least favorably (10% compared to 43%). To a lesser degree, those who rate labor most favorably are more likely to assign blame to business than those who rate labor least favorably (36% compared to 21%).

At the same time, those who rate business least favorably are only somewhat more likely to assign responsibility for the lack of competitiveness to business than are those who rate business most favorably (36% compared to 26%); but there is no difference in assignment of responsibility to labor by ratings of business organizations.

TABLE 6

RELATIONSHIP OF RATINGS OF BUSINESS AND LABOR TO THE ASSIGNMENT OF BLAME
FOR U.S. LACK OF COMPETITIVENESS¹

	Institution Most Responsible For U.S Lack of Competitiveness with Foreign Industries	
	<u>Business Corporations</u>	<u>Organized Labor</u>
<u>Ratings of Business*</u>		
Very Favorable	26	25
Mostly Favorable	29	30
Mostly Unfavorable	32	23
Very Unfavorable	36	22
<u>Ratings of Labor*</u>		
Very Favorable	36	10
Mostly Favorable	34	20
Mostly Unfavorable	26	37
Very Unfavorable	21	43

*Ratings for "Business Corporations" and Organized Labor" were measured in Question 37: Now I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category on this card best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. Probably, there will be some people and organizations on this list that you have never heard of.

¹Each table entry is the proportion of those giving each rating who assigned responsibility for the lack of competitiveness to "organized labor" or to "business corporations".

The problems of farmers are most likely to be attributed to Congress (26%), followed by banks (19%) and the President (14%), although one-fifth of those surveyed (22%) could not assign responsibility. Republican-oriented groups are the most likely to assign blame to the Congress, while Democratic oriented groups are the most likely to assign responsibility to the president. Upbeats (27%), Seculars (23%), and 60's Democrats (23%) are the most likely to assign blame to banks. One-fifth of Seculars (20%) also assign blame to business corporations.

**TABLE 7
INSTITUTION MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROBLEMS OF FARMERS
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE
CLUSTERS**

INSTITUTIONS	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
CONGRESS	27	38	35	29	33	20	19	28	23	16	28	23
BANKS	19	21	18	27	16	15	12	23	23	19	14	17
THE PRESIDENT	14	3	10	8	16	13	7	10	20	18	22	20
BUSINESS CORPORATIONS	9	9	6	8	7	11	9	20	10	5	8	12
ORGANIZED LABOR	8	5	10	12	4	8	8	6	5	10	8	10
WALL STREET BROKERS	1	*	2	2	1	-	2	1	1	1	-	1
NEWS ORGANIZATIONS	1	*	*	1	2	1	2	-	-	2	1	1
NONE/DON'T KNOW	22	24	19	13	19	31	41	13	17	29	19	16
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 19: Here is a list of some of the important institutions in the United States. I am going to read a list of problems and would like you to tell me which one, if any, of these institutions is most responsible for this problem. Please read off your answer by number.

Those with higher levels of education are more likely to assign responsibility for the problems of farmers to Congress, as are those with higher levels of income. Those with high levels of political knowledge are twice as likely to assign responsibility to Congress as to banks (38% compared to 19%).

The recent drop in the stock market is clearly attributed to Wall Street brokers. Half of those surveyed (47%) assign responsibility to them, while 14% blame business corporations and 20% cannot assign responsibility. Among the typology groups, New Dealers are the most likely to assign responsibility to Wall Street brokers (54%). While 44% of the Upbeats assign responsibility to Wall Street brokers, they are also the most likely to assign responsibility to business corporations (26%).

TABLE 8
INSTITUTION MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RECENT DROP IN THE STOCK MARKET
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- TEDS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
INSTITUTIONS												
WALL STREET BROKERS	47	43	50	44	46	46	31	51	45	54	51	46
BUSINESS CORPORATIONS	14	18	13	25	13	13	10	14	19	10	9	10
THE PRESIDENT	7	2	5	5	8	5	4	11	9	5	12	7
BANKS	6	2	6	4	8	5	7	5	5	4	6	11
CONGRESS	4	12	4	3	6	2	5	4	4	4	1	4
NEWS ORGANIZATIONS	2	5	5	2	1	1	4	1	1	-	1	2
ORGANIZED LABOR	1	1	1	*	*	2	2	*	-	1	3	-
NONE/DON'T KNOW	20	17	16	15	17	27	37	13	17	22	17	20
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 19: Here is a list of some of the important institutions in the United States. I am going to read a list of problems and would like you to tell me which one, if any, of these institutions is most responsible for this problem. Please read off your answer by number.

THE GALLUP PERSONAL INTERVIEW SAMPLE DESIGN

The sampling procedure is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, eighteen years and older, living in the United States, except those persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals.

The design of the sample is that of a replicated, probability sample down to the block level in the case of urban areas, and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas. Over three hundred sampling locations are used in each survey.

The sample design includes stratification by the following seven size-of-community strata, using 1980 Census data: (1) incorporated cities of population 1,000,000 and over; (2) incorporated cities of population 250,000 to 999,999; (3) incorporated cities of population 50,000 to 249,999; (4) urbanized places not included in (1)-(3); (5) cities over 2,500 population outside of urbanized areas; (6) towns and villages with less than 2,500 population; and (7) rural places not included within town boundaries. Each is further stratified into four geographic regions: East, Midwest, South and West. Within each city size-regional stratum, the population is arrayed in geographic order and zoned into equal sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities are selected in each zone, with probability of selection for each locality proportional to its population size in the 1980 census, producing two replicated samples of localities.

Separately for each survey, within each subdivision so selected for which block statistics are available, a sample of blocks or block clusters is drawn with probability of selection proportional to the number of dwelling units. In all other subdivisions or areas, blocks or segments are drawn at random or with equal probability.

In each cluster of blocks and each segment so selected, a randomly selected starting point is designated on the interviewer's map of the area. Starting at this point, interviewers are required to follow a given direction in the selection of households until their assignment is completed.

Interviewing is conducted at times when adults, in general, are most likely to be at home. Interviewers were asked to make up to three calls at a specific address in order to complete an interview.

Allowance for persons not at home is made by a weighting* procedure which uses information from two sources: respondents' answers to a series of "times at home" questions and from interviewer contact records. This procedure is a standard method for reducing the sample bias that would otherwise result from underrepresentation in the sample of persons who are difficult to find at home.

The pre-stratification by regions is routinely supplemented by fitting each obtained sample to the latest available Census Bureau estimates of the regional distribution of the population. In addition, minor adjustments of the sample are made by educational attainment of men and women separately, based on the annual estimates of the Census Bureau (derived from their Current Population Survey), and by age and race.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

For this Times Mirror Survey, face-to-face personal interviews were conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2,109 adults during the period from January 8 to 17, 1988. The margin of error due to sampling is + 3 percentage points.

* Politz, A. and Simmons, W., "An Attempt to Get the "Not at Homes" into the Sample without Callbacks", JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, Volume 44, (March, 1949), pp. 9-31.

PERSPECTIVES ON THE REAGAN PRESIDENCY

With Ronald Reagan's tenure in the White House nearing an end, the jury of American public opinion is still out on his legacy to the nation and his party.

Future events could conceivably effect public perception of the Reagan legacy: a new arms control agreement with the Soviets, the legal problems of Attorney General Meese, or some major new international crisis. But it is clear that we can begin to draw some early conclusions.

For the country as a whole, his contributions will be evaluated in terms of how well they fulfill his campaign promises in three important areas - creating a more optimistic national spirit, shaping attitudes toward important national issues and institutions, and giving the U.S. a stronger role in world affairs.

For the Republicans, Reagan's legacy will be assessed in terms of how well his personal popularity is translated into enduring party allegiances so that another generation of Republican candidates can benefit.

In the first area, Reagan's attempts to increase national optimism have met with mixed success. Satisfaction with the way things are going in the United States improved dramatically in Reagan's first term, but the recent trend has been downward. Now there are more Americans expressing dissatisfaction (55%) than satisfaction (39%).

*While majorities of two Republican-oriented groups express satisfaction - Enterprisers (70%) and Upbeats (62%) - the Moralists are evenly divided. And majorities of all other groups express dissatisfaction.

Evaluations of personal economic prospects are less optimistic now than they were one year ago, and concerns about the national economy have increased as well.

*Republicans are more optimistic than Democrats about their financial prospects, especially the Enterprisers.

An important element of Reagan's domestic agenda has been his intention to diminish the size and active role of the federal government in citizens' daily lives. No consensus has developed around the way in which this should take place, nor about specific programs which can be cut to reduce the federal deficit. American public opinion continues to be characterized by conflicting attitudes about the role of government.

Despite Reagan's intentions and promises to improve the image of the United States in world affairs, the American public does not perceive a shift in greater respect for the United States around the world. But they do agree on the need for the United States to maintain an active role in world affairs.

*The best prospect for a significant foreign policy success in the Reagan administration is the INF treaty with the Soviet Union. The public strongly endorses the treaty.

The prospects for a new political era can be assessed in terms of three important questions:

- Can Reagan help Republican candidates get elected in November?
- Will he leave behind more people who identify with the Republican party than when he took office?
- Will the composition of the American electorate, as described by the new constituencies which the Times Mirror surveys have identified, be altered?

Reagan's personal popularity has lead Republican voters to support George Bush in the primaries. But Reagan's appeal is now less likely to attract independents and Democrats to vote for Republican candidates in the general election. Reagan's fall off in support from the high point of his political power in November, 1984 is greatest among disaffected independent Republican voters and among traditional Democratic groups that supported him in that election. From this vantage point, the 1988 general election may well be determined by the rates of defection among these traditional Democrats to the Republican nominee and the degree to which Disaffecteds vote Republican.

Changing attitudes toward Reagan in the last two years, largely brought about by a softening of the economy and concerns about a number of policy issues, mean that there will be no lasting shift in partisanship. But, Reagan will leave behind a cadre of young voters who began their political lives during his administration and have strong predispositions to the Republican party.

*For one group in particular - the Upbeats - there is a chance for a visible increase to the Republican party's constituency.

In these regards, Reagan has been able to assemble the basic elements of a coalition which other Republicans can take advantage of. Furthermore, Republicans feel more positively about their party and its candidates than the Democrats do. But lasting shifts in partisanship are now more likely to rest upon assessments of the next generation of candidates than upon Reagan himself.

THE STATE OF THE NATIONAL SPIRIT

The national spirit or mood can be measured in a variety of ways. One dimension involves basic attitudes about the country and its prospects for achieving success. Another dimension involves public expectations about near term economic conditions - both personal and national. Ronald Reagan promised to increase national optimism, and on this score his record has been mixed.

The American Exceptionalism Scale

Americans are a very optimistic people who have consistently expressed confidence in their ability to control their own destiny. In terms of basic underlying attitudes and orientations, these feelings are captured in the Times Mirror surveys in a measure called "American Exceptionalism." This scale combines questions about traditional patriotism with views about our country's capacity to solve its problems. As the data presented in Table 1 show, these positive feelings can be found across the political spectrum, but they are most prevalent among two Republican-oriented groups - the Enterprisers and the Upbeats - and one core Democratic group - the God & Country Democrats.

**TABLE 1
SCORES ON AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM SCALE BY TYPOLOGY GROUPS
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE**

	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
<u>AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM</u>												
1 LOW	21%	9%	12%	4%	12%	26%	77%	25%	25%	22%	9%	32%
2	23	14	29	20	24	27	18	27	23	27	21	23
3	27	29	29	33	32	21	5	26	29	26	32	28
4 HIGH	29	48	30	43	32	26	-	21	23	25	38	17
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	599	690	578	548	632	368	395	521	771	482	608

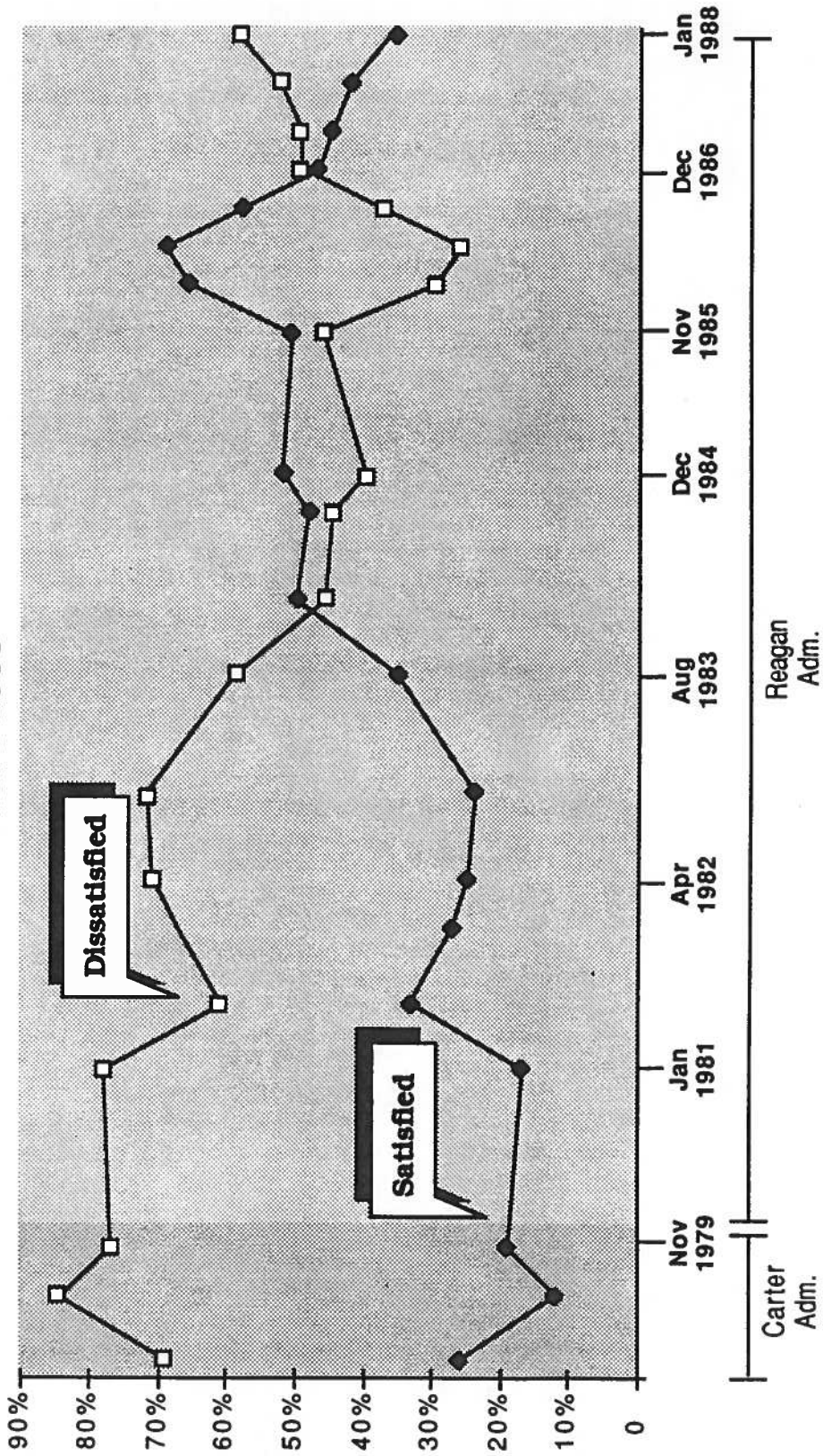
Evaluations of Economic Conditions

However, when the public is asked more specifically about current political, social, and economic conditions, as well as the president's handling of his job, differences of opinion are more pronounced. On these measures, there is considerable disagreement about the way things are going, and these attitudes have fluctuated across the last eight years.

Prior to the 1980 election, a general concern about the pessimistic state of the national psyche led Jimmy Carter to deliver his now famous "malaise" speech about the national mood. One of the major campaign promises of then-candidate Ronald Reagan was to restore a national sense of optimism. On this score, the national spirit has improved, but it is currently resting on shaky ground.

One dimension of the national spirit that has been tracked since 1979 is a Gallup Poll item which measures satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the way things are going in the United States at the current time. When Ronald Reagan took office, 17% of Americans said they were satisfied and 78% said they were dissatisfied with the way things were going. As the data in Figure 1 show, levels of satisfaction had increased significantly by the end of his first term. In 1984, there were more Americans saying they were satisfied with the way things were going (52%) than were dissatisfied (40%). And the proportion expressing satisfaction continued to increase through the summer of 1986 (to 69%).

FIGURE 1
Changes in the Public Mood From the Carter to Reagan Administrations
1979-1988



By this measure, then, there was a positive improvement in the tone of the national spirit, but this trend has halted and is now reversed by the Iran-Contra disclosures and other problems for the administration. While the domestic economy has remained inflation free, sluggish business conditions and the October stock market crash have made consumers edgy. Once again, there are more Americans expressing dissatisfaction (55%) than satisfaction (39%).

*Republicans are more likely to express satisfaction with the way things are going than Democrats; but even among Republican-oriented groups there are differences in these perceptions. The most satisfied are the Enterprisers (70%), followed by the Upbeats (62%). Moralists are evenly divided in their perceptions (46% responding in each way), and the Disaffecteds, as their name implies, are the least satisfied (32%).

*Among Democratic-oriented groups, the Seculars are the most satisfied (39%), while the Partisan Poor are the least (22%).

TABLE 2
SATISFIED/DISSATISFIED WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING IN THE U.S.
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

STATE OF U.S.	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN-TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS-AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL-LOWERS	SECU-LARS	60'S DEMO-CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
SATISFIED	39%	70%	46%	62%	32%	39%	36%	39%	26%	29%	32%	22%
DISSATISFIED	55	27	46	34	62	56	52	56	71	64	65	69
DON'T KNOW	6	3	8	4	6	5	12	4	3	7	3	9
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 16: In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the U.S. at this time?

Another dimension along which to evaluate the popular response to the Reagan tenure is the degree to which Americans perceive that their current and prospective economic condition, as well as the financial state of the nation, has improved. This is another way of assessing how well Reagan has fulfilled his 1980 campaign promise to improve the economy.

Again, the shifts in public sentiment across the last eight years provide a mixed picture. The public is generally more optimistic now than it was at the end of the Carter administration; but there is less optimism for the future than there has been in the last year.

Currently, most Americans (46%) expect that their personal financial condition will be better one year from now. But the proportion expecting their financial condition to be the same has increased from 18% to 30% since last summer, prior to the stock market crash. Only 18% expect their financial condition to be worse in one year. This is virtually identical to the final reading taken during the Carter administration (October 1980), when 45% said they expected things to be better, 25% felt they would be the same, and 21% expected to be worse off.

TABLE 3

PERSONAL FINANCIAL EXPECTATIONS - TREND

		<u>Better than now</u>	<u>Same (vol.)</u>	<u>Worse than now</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
1988 -	January	46%	30	18	6
1987 -	June	57%	18	17	8
	March	59%	18	17	1
	January	51%	26	16	7
1986 -	September	57%	19	16	8
	July	51%	28	15	6
	June	57%	17	20	6
	March	61%	16	18	5
	January	53%	25	15	7
1985 -	October	49%	32	12	7
	June	52%	19	19	10
	March	57%	26	12	5
1984 -	Nov.-Dec.	50%	26	17	5
	September	53%	28	9	10
	July	52%	28	12	8
	March	54%	28	11	7
1983 -	June	43%	28	19	10
1982 -	November	41%	27	22	10
	August	37%	24	29	10
	February	42%	21	31	6
1981 -	October	45%	25	21	9
	June	41%	25	26	8
1980 -	October	45%	25	21	9
	June	41%	25	26	8
	March	36%	24	31	9
	January	37%	26	29	8
1979 -	October	34%	27	32	7
	July	30%	25	37	8
	April	36%	26	30	8
	January	39%	28	24	9

The exact question wording is:

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

In the latest Times Mirror survey, Republicans are generally more optimistic about their personal economic circumstances than the Democrats; and the Enterprisers are most optimistic of any group (64% expect to be better off financially one year from now). Majorities of the Upbeats (57%), the 60's Democrats (55%), and the Seculars (50%) also have positive expectations. But the God & Country Democrats are as likely to think they will be worse off (25%) as better off (27%).

TABLE 4
PERSONAL FINANCIAL EXPECTATIONS
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

FUTURE FINANCIAL POSITION	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN-TERPRISERS	MORAL LISTS	UPBEATS	DIS-AFFEC TEDS	BY STAN-DERS	FOL-LOWERS	SECU-LARS	60'S DEMO-CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CENTRY DEMS	PART-ISAN POOR
BETTER OFF	46%	64%	49%	57%	38%	52%	40%	50%	55%	31%	27%	44%
WORSE OFF	18	10	14	13	28	15	22	18	16	19	25	22
SAME	30	24	34	25	27	27	30	29	26	45	35	25
DON'T KNOW	5	2	3	5	7	5	8	2	2	5	13	9
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 20: Now looking ahead -- do you expect that at this time next year you will be financially better off than now, or worse off than now?

As for the country as a whole, almost half (45%) expect financial conditions to be the same one year from now, while as many expect things to be better (22%) as expect them to be worse (26%). By comparison, at Reagan's second inaugural, one-third (35%) expected conditions would get better, half thought they would be the same (49%), and only one in eight (13%) expected them to get worse. Four years earlier, when he took over from Carter, one half (47%) expected things to get worse, and 37% expected them to be the same.

TABLE 5
TREND IN ECONOMIC EXPECTATIONS FOR THE COUNTRY

	Better <u>than now</u>	Same <u>(vol.)</u>	Worse <u>than now</u>	No <u>opinion</u>	
1988 - January	22%	45	26	7	=100
1984 - Jan.-Feb.	35%	49	13	3	=100
1982 - June	50%	5	39	6	=100
1980 - January	11%	37	47	5	=100
1979 - October	14%	36	46	4	=100
July	10%	29	54	7	=100
April	9%	28	56	7	=100

The exact question wording is:

A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be better than they are at present, or worse, or just about the same as now?

Thus, while economic expectations for the country are certainly more positive now than at the end of the Carter administration, they are not as optimistic as they were earlier in the Reagan administration.

Presidential Approval Ratings

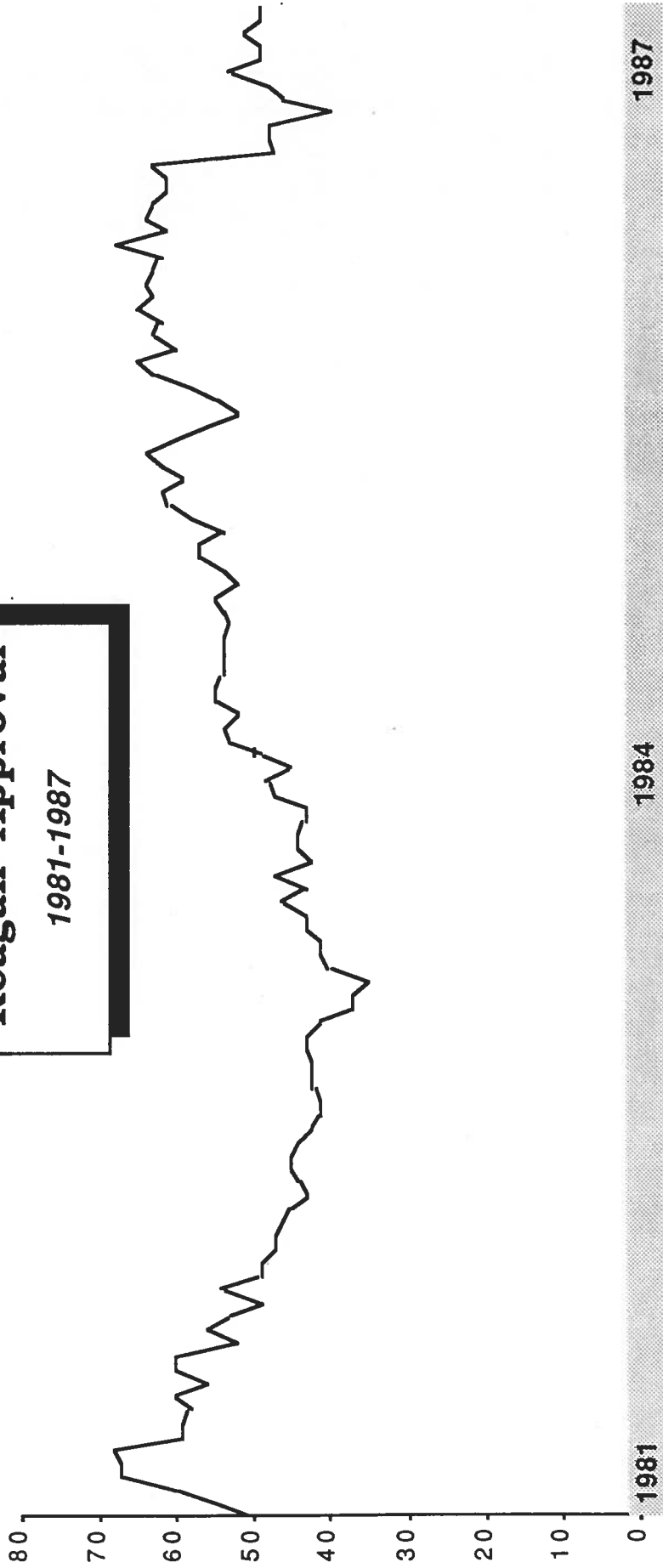
These expectations about economic conditions are related to President Reagan's job performance ratings. After receiving broad public support during his inauguration and recovery from the assassination

attempt, Reagan's approval ratings fell in the middle of his first term as economic conditions worsened. When the economy recovered, the President's approval ratings surged. SEE FIGURE 2

While Reagan has often had approval ratings that were historically higher than other presidents at the same point in their service, his approval ratings dropped sharply in late 1986 after the Iran-Contra disclosures. They have yet to return to their former levels, diminishing the prospects of his attracting large numbers of new members to the Republican party by November.

Figure 2

Reagan Approval
1981-1987



ATTITUDES TOWARD AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

A second element of the Reagan revolution has been his intent to diminish the size and active role of the federal government in citizens' daily lives. At the beginning of his administration, the public held out great hope for reductions in the size of both the federal government and the federal budget deficit, as well as for more autonomy for state governments. At the same time, they were reluctant to identify specific social programs which should be eliminated or have their budgets cut. Nearing the end of the Reagan service, these same tensions persist.

Attitudes toward the Role of the Federal Government

There have historically been sharp differences in the ways in which Democrats and Republicans view the role of the federal government, and these differences generally remain intact and unaffected by the Reagan tenure.

The Times Mirror surveys have summarized these attitudes in a variety of measures. For example, a scale which measures attitudes toward the government indicates that the most negative attitudes are concentrated among three of the four Republican-oriented groups - the Enterprisers, the Moralists, and the Disaffecteds -- but they are also characteristic of one of the core Democratic groups - the God & Country Democrats.

TABLE 6
GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE
CLUSTERS

		EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR		
GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES		TOTAL											
1	PRO-GOVERNMENT	21%	3%	2%	61%	2%	29%	32%	29%	25%	23%	6%	26%
2		24	16	21	31	13	27	36	28	24	25	14	31
3		26	34	33	8	26	25	23	30	19	29	29	25
4	ANTI-GOVERNMENT	29	47	44	*	59	19	9	13	32	23	51	18
TOTAL RESPONDENTS		2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

The range of group differences is illustrated in the specific item about government inefficiency and waste. The highest levels of agreement (concern about waste and inefficiency) come among the Disaffecteds (89%), the Enterprisers (86%), the Moralists (80%), and the God & Country Democrats (78%).

TABLE 7

DO YOU AGREE/DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT?

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

****WHEN SOMETHING IS RUN BY THE GOVERNMENT,
IT IS USUALLY INEFFICIENT AND WASTEFUL****

CLUSTERS

AGREEMENT LEVEL	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- TEDS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
AGREE	64%	86%	80%	32%	89%	49%	50%	64%	66%	62%	78%	47%
COMPLETELY AGREE	22	38	29	3	47	19	8	9	20	20	32	15
MOSTLY AGREE	42	47	51	30	42	29	42	56	46	43	47	32
DISAGREE	29	13	18	64	8	38	27	31	31	30	14	42
MOSTLY DISAGREE	25	10	17	54	7	31	20	28	29	25	12	39
COMPLETELY DISAGREE	4	3	1	10	1	6	7	3	1	6	2	3
DON'T KNOW	7	1	2	4	4	14	23	4	3	7	8	11
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 36: 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.....

*The Upbeats are the only group in which more people disagree with this item (64%) than agree with it (32%).

*In most Democratic-oriented groups, twice as many people agree as disagree with the statement, but the Partisan Poor are equally divided (47% agree and 42% disagree)

Despite many Americans' concerns about government intrusiveness, waste, and inefficiency, they still perceive the need for it to maintain responsibility for the less fortunate. These compassionate attitudes, which are captured in the Social Justice scale, remain a clear difference between most Democratic and Republican groups. The exceptions are Moralists, who are more likely to favor social justice than other Republicans, and the New Dealers, who are less likely to favor social justice than other Democrats.

TABLE 8
SOCIAL JUSTICE
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE
CLUSTERS

		EN- TERPR TOTAL	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & NEW CNTRY DEALERS	PART- ISAN DEM POOR			
SOCIAL JUSTICE													
1	LOW	25%	55%	28%	36%	44%	18%	36%	14%	6%	23%	-%	13%
2		24	30	26	31	28	21	33	20	23	31	3	19
3		26	11	24	23	18	36	26	30	27	32	22	32
4	HIGH	25	4	22	10	10	25	5	36	44	14	75	36
TOTAL RESPONDENTS		2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

An important item in the Social Justice scale measures support for the governments role in guaranteeing every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep. Overall, 62% of Americans agree with this proposition.

*But twice as many Enterprisers disagree with this proposition (65%) as agree (32%) with it.

*Among Democratic-oriented groups, the God & Country Democrats are most supportive (95%), but only 56% of the New Dealers agree.

TABLE 9

DO YOU AGREE/DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT?

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

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

CLUSTERS

AGREEMENT LEVEL	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS-BY			60'S			GOD & PART-		
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	AFFEC TEDS	STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR
AGREE	62%	32%	58%	56%	51%	73%	50%	70%	74%	56%	95%	79%
COMPLETELY AGREE	26	6	21	18	18	33	10	27	41	19	61	31
MOSTLY AGREE	37	25	36	38	33	40	40	43	33	36	34	48
DISAGREE	33	65	40	38	42	22	34	28	25	38	4	15
MOSTLY DISAGREE	23	45	32	23	27	15	24	23	20	27	3	10
COMPLETELY DISAGREE	10	20	8	16	15	7	10	4	4	11	1	6
DON'T KNOW	5	4	3	6	6	5	17	2	1	6	2	6
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 36: 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.....

Attitudes toward Congress and the Supreme Court

The public's evaluations of the other two branches of government remain high. Despite Reagan's continuous battles with a Democratic-controlled Congress on a variety of issues and his difficulty in appointing a conservative to the Supreme Court, the public's positive images of Congress and the Supreme Court remain intact. The current favorability ratings for Congress are higher than Reagan's (64% compared to 59%). And the favorability rating of the Supreme Court is even higher (79%).

The favorability ratings of Congress generally correspond to respondents' partisanship. They are higher among Democratic-oriented groups and lower among Republican-oriented groups, with the significant exception of the Upbeats. They are the most likely to give the Congress a favorable rating (84%), as well as the Supreme Court (95%). This includes 22% who give the court a "very favorable" rating.

TABLE 10
WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE AND ORGANIZATIONS?
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE
***** THE CONGRESS ****

	EN- TERPR TOTAL	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- TEDS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR		
OPINION												
FAVORABLE	64%	50%	63%	84%	44%	55%	46%	65%	72%	70%	70%	77%
VERY FAVORABLE	6	2	6	7	4	6	3	5	7	8	10	10
MOSTLY FAVORABLE	58	49	56	77	40	49	43	61	65	62	59	67
UNFAVORABLE	30	49	34	15	50	25	34	30	27	20	28	19
MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	25	40	29	14	41	18	29	28	24	18	25	18
VERY UNFAVORABLE	4	8	5	1	9	8	6	2	3	2	3	2
NEVER HEARD OF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CAN'T RATE	7	1	4	1	6	20	19	5	1	10	2	3
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 37: Now I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category on this card best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. Probably, there will be some people and organizations on this list that you have never heard of. First, how would you describe your opinion of.....

TABLE 11
***** THE SUPREME COURT ****

	EN- TERPR TOTAL	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- TEDS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR		
OPINION												
FAVORABLE	79%	90%	80%	95%	69%	60%	57%	79%	87%	78%	82%	82%
VERY FAVORABLE	14	14	14	22	10	11	7	17	11	13	17	12
MOSTLY FAVORABLE	65	76	66	72	59	49	50	62	76	65	65	70
UNFAVORABLE	13	8	14	4	24	18	18	16	9	12	10	14
MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	11	8	11	4	20	14	14	15	8	9	9	12
VERY UNFAVORABLE	2	-	3	1	4	4	4	*	2	3	1	1
NEVER HEARD OF	*	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	*
CAN'T RATE	8	2	6	1	6	22	24	5	4	10	7	4
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 37: Now I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category on this card best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. Probably, there will be some people and organizations on this list that you have never heard of. First, how would you describe your opinion of.....

PERCEPTIONS OF THE U.S. ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

Another Reagan campaign promise was to increase the respect for the United States around the world. This has been a difficult task, with alternating foreign policy successes and failures in conjunction with recurring problems in the Middle East and in Central America, as well as in relations with the Soviet Union.

The best prospect for a significant foreign policy success is the INF treaty with the Soviet Union. If ratification can be accomplished in the next few months and tensions between the two countries reduced further, this is the area in which Ronald Reagan is most likely to exert a lasting influence on American political life. Not only would Americans feel more secure and less fearful of the threat of war, but the image of the Republican party would be enhanced sufficiently that its share of partisans could be increased permanently.

Overall, more Americans are concerned about declining respect for the United States around the world. At the end of Reagan's first term, Americans were more likely to respond that the U.S. was less respected by other countries (36%) compared to four years ago than to say it was more respected (27%). In the first Times Mirror survey, conducted last summer, which asked for comparisons with five years before that, 55% said the U.S. was less respected and 19% said more.

Nevertheless, this does not result in a call for isolationism. In the latest Times Mirror survey, nine in ten Americans agree that it is best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs. However, the public also draws clear and important distinctions about our international relations.

Attitudes toward the INF Treaty

Many Americans still hold reservations about dealing with Communist countries; but a significant majority express concerns about the chances of a nuclear war (63%). While the Partisan Poor and the God & Country Democrats are the most likely to agree that they often worry about this, the core Republican group of Enterprisers is very different from the rest of the population. This is the only group in the electorate in which more people disagree with the statement (60%) than agree with it (37%).

TABLE 12
PUBLIC CONCERN ABOUT CHANCES FOR A NUCLEAR WAR
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

AGREEMENT LEVELS	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN-TERPRISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS-UPBEATS	BY-AFFEC TEDS	STAN-DERS	FOL-LOWERS	SECU-LARS	60'S DEMO-CRATS	GOD & NEW CNTRY DEALERS	PART-ISAN DEMS	POOR
AGREE	63	37	60	62	63	61	60	61	66	66	74	81
COMPLETELY AGREE	28	15	29	27	34	30	12	22	31	29	34	38
MOSTLY AGREE	35	22	31	34	29	31	49	40	35	37	40	43
DISAGREE	34	60	38	35	36	31	30	36	34	32	24	18
MOSTLY DISAGREE	25	43	25	28	25	20	26	28	24	24	19	12
COMPLETELY DISAGREE	10	17	13	7	11	12	4	8	11	8	5	6
DON'T KNOW	3	3	2	3	1	8	10	2	-	3	3	1
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 36: 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 or completely disagree with it. The first one is.....

These concerns with nuclear war are reflected in broad support for ratification of the treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union to eliminate their intermediate range nuclear weapons. Three out of four Americans favor ratification of the INF treaty (77%). Those most likely to express support are from the best educated groups in the electorate - including the Republican-oriented groups of Enterprisers (87%) and Upbeats (89%) as well as the Democratic-oriented Seculars (92%) and 60's Democrats (91%).

PARTISANSHIP AND REALIGNMENT

Is Ronald Reagan another FDR?

In terms of a possible realignment, the question is whether Reagan can create durable and lasting allegiances to the Republican party that will survive far beyond his own presidency and into another political generation.

The question of realignment can be addressed along multiple dimensions. The fundamental issue is the rate at which members of the electorate identify themselves with the parties, including the strength of this identification.

*Here the Republicans have not been successful to date, as partisanship looks almost the same now as when Reagan took office.

A second dimension involves shifts in the public's evaluation of the parties in terms of their competence and responsiveness.

*Here the Republican party is in good shape on many dimensions, including perceptions that it is well organized and selects good candidates. It is also more positively viewed by its partisans than the Democrat party is by its members.

And a third dimension involves the respondents' intent to vote for a party's candidate at the next presidential election.

*The definitive answer to this question will not be known until November, but the potential for substantial defections from Democrats and support among independents is still there.

Party Identification

American political history can be divided into eras in which identification with one party or the other predominates and gives it a decided advantage in elections. Since the Depression, we have been in a Democratic era in which that party's loyalists have consistently outnumbered the Republicans'. Since the 1970's, however, the strength of

Democratic identification has been weakening, and Ronald Reagan's personal popularity raised the possibility of a partisan realignment.

As Table 13 shows, there has been short-term fluctuations since Ronald Reagan took office in the relative proportions of Americans who identify themselves as Democrats and Republicans. In 1980, there were almost twice as many Americans who identified themselves as Democrats (46%) compared to Republicans (24%). Activated by the presidential campaign, the proportion identifying themselves as Republicans in late 1984 (35%) almost reached parity with the proportion of Democrats (38%).

Since that time, however, the erosion of Democratic support has stopped; and the proportion of self-identified Republicans has grown no further. In the latest Times Mirror survey, 39% of the respondents identify themselves as Democrats and 27% identify themselves as Republicans - not very different from the distribution in early 1984.

TABLE 13

TRENDS IN POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>
1988 year			
January	27%	39%	34%
1986 year	<u>32</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>29</u>
4th Quarter	31	40	29
3rd	31	40	29
2nd	32	39	29
1st	33	39	28
1985 year	<u>33</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>29</u>
4th	33	40	27
3rd	32	37	31
2nd	33	38	29
1st	35	37	28
1984 year	<u>31</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>29</u>
4th	35	38	27
3rd	32	39	29
2nd	28	42	31
1st	28	41	31
1983 year	<u>25</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>31</u>
4th	27	42	31
3rd	26	44	30
2nd	23	46	31
1st	24	46	30
1982 year	<u>26</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>29</u>
4th	26	45	29
3rd	27	45	28
2nd	26	46	28
1st	26	44	30
1981 year	<u>28</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>30</u>
4th	26	43	31
3rd	28	41	31
2nd	28	42	30
1st	27	42	31
1980	24	46	30
1979	22	45	33

The exact question wording is:

In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?

While the distribution of partisanship has largely returned to past levels, areas of concern for Democrats and optimism for Republicans remain. The distribution of Republican identifiers does not vary significantly by age, but the distribution of Democrats does. Better than 4 in 10 of those born before World War II identify themselves as Democrats, while the remainder are equally likely to identify themselves as Republicans or Independents. But among adults who are 24 years of age or less - who have come of political age during the Reagan administration - 30% identify themselves as Republicans, 29% as Democrats, and 41% as Independents. The 1988 campaign and the votes which these newest members of the electorate cast in November will play an important role in how this political generation will identify with our two political parties in the future.

TABLE 14
PARTY ID BY GENERATIONS

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
AGE IN DETAIL					
18-24	30%	29	41	100%	174
25-29	23%	37	40	100%	208
30-39	24%	37	39	100%	471
40-49	25%	40	35	100%	361
50-59	29%	45	26	100%	301
60-69	29%	44	27	100%	317
70+	30%	41	29	100%	272
TOTAL SAMPLE	27%	39	34	100%	2109

Question 31: In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

Images of the Parties

The public has distinct images of the two parties. While they are strongly related to party identification, of course, the relative perceptions of the parties and their candidates are important factors contributing to voter defections. Party images have been measured in terms of three factors: the traits of the parties, opinions about their competence to deal with important national problems, and perceptions of their ability to nominate attractive candidates.

The Republican party is generally seen as better organized and more likely to select good candidates for office. The Democratic party, on the other hand, is seen as better able to bring about the kinds of change the country needs and more concerned with the needs of people like the respondents. There is no difference in perceptions of which party would be better able to manage the federal government well.

While there has been little change in attitudes toward the parties overall between April 1987 and January 1988, we see two elements among the groups which are worth noting. Upbeats are now more likely to say they will vote Republican and show greater satisfaction with the Republican candidates than earlier. Disaffecteds are unchanged and remain outside the mainstream of the Republican party in these terms.

TABLE 15
TRENDS IN ASSESSMENTS OF PARTY TRAITS¹

Party Best Described by Trait

Trait	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Is well organized					
April, 1987	34%	19	25	13	9
January, 1988	38%	20	19	14	9
Selects good candidates for office					
April, 1987	27%	26	25	13	9
January, 1988	31%	24	18	18	9
Able to manage Federal Government well					
April, 1987	24%	25	13	28	10
January, 1988	30%	28	12	20	10
Can bring about the kinds of changes the country needs					
April, 1987	26%	36	14	14	10
January, 1988	28%	37	14	11	10
Is concerned with the needs of people like me					
April, 1987	-	-	-	-	-
January, 1988	22%	47	11	13	7

¹The exact question wording is:
Now I am going to read you a few phrases. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether you think that the phrase better describes the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. How about the phrase...?

Twice as many respondents are likely to identify the Republican party as well organized (38%) compared to the Democratic party (20%). Furthermore, the core Republican groups are more likely to see their party in these terms than the core Democratic groups. Sixties Democrats (by a 40% to 23% margin) and the Seculars (by a 57% to 15% margin) are more likely to say the Republican party is well organized than to say the

Democratic party is. While New Dealers are the most likely to indicate their party is well organized compared to the Republicans (45% to, 15%), this is still a minority of the group's membership.

In the latest survey, six in ten of the two strongest Republican-oriented groups - the Enterprisers and Moralists - think their party is more likely to select good candidates, while fewer than half of the strongest Democratic-oriented groups feel that way about their party. In the same fashion, few Enterprisers or Moralists believe the two parties are equivalent in their ability to manage the federal government or will admit that the Democrats might do better. Relatively large proportions of two Democratic-oriented groups (24% of Seculars and 16% of 60's Democrats) give the edge to the Republican party, and one in ten say both are the same.

TABLE 16

DO THE FOLLOWING PHRASES MORE ACCURATELY DESCRIBE
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OR DEMOCRATIC PARTY?

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

** IS WELL ORGANIZED **

CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR TOTAL	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR		
<u>DESCRIBES</u>												
REPUBLICAN PARTY	38%	59%	69%	54%	35%	26%	15%	57%	40%	15%	22%	21%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	19	5	2	8	10	21	15	15	23	45	37	29
BOTH	19	21	15	21	23	23	20	12	13	17	21	26
NEITHER	14	13	10	14	20	11	26	12	16	16	10	16
DON'T KNOW	9	2	4	4	12	20	24	4	8	8	10	8
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

TABLE 17

** SELECTS GOOD CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE **

CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR TOTAL	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR		
<u>DESCRIBES</u>												
REPUBLICAN PARTY	31%	61%	72%	52%	22%	21%	16%	17%	18%	12%	18%	14%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	24	2	1	8	14	24	16	31	36	45	47	44
BOTH	18	16	15	24	24	18	26	11	17	16	13	16
NEITHER	18	18	8	10	31	16	17	36	23	16	14	14
DON'T KNOW	9	2	4	6	9	22	26	4	6	10	8	11
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 35: Now I'm going to read you a few phrases. for each, I'd like you to tell me whether you think that the phrase better describes the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. How about the phrase..... Does that more accurately describe the Republican Party and its leaders or the Democratic Party and its leaders?

TABLE 18

DO THE FOLLOWING PHRASES MORE ACCURATELY DESCRIBE
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OR DEMOCRATIC PARTY?

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

** IS CONCERNED WITH THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE LIKE YOU **

CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR MORAL		DIS- BY AFFEC STAN- FOL- SECU- UPBEATS TEDS DERS LOWERS LARS			60'S DEMO- NEW CRATS DEALERS		GOD & PART- CNTRY ISAN DEMS POOR				
DESCRIBES	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS									
REPUBLICAN PARTY	22%	58%	66%	39%	16%	11%	14%	7%	5%	2%	9%	2%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	47	15	9	24	38	37	28	74	75	76	67	80
BOTH	11	13	11	21	13	10	16	8	7	9	6	8
NEITHER	13	9	10	9	24	22	21	7	10	8	14	6
DON'T KNOW	7	4	3	7	9	19	22	4	2	5	4	4
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

TABLE 19

** IS ABLE TO MANAGE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WELL **

CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR MORAL		DIS- BY AFFEC STAN- FOL- SECU- UPBEATS TEDS DERS LOWERS LARS			60'S DEMO- NEW CRATS DEALERS		GOD & PART- CNTRY ISAN DEMS POOR				
DESCRIBES	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS									
REPUBLICAN PARTY	30%	64%	65%	50%	26%	22%	16%	24%	16%	7%	14%	14%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	28	1	2	6	17	19	20	36	48	57	51	54
BOTH	12	8	11	21	14	17	11	9	11	12	10	10
NEITHER	20	24	19	17	28	17	25	26	23	13	19	15
DON'T KNOW	10	3	3	7	16	25	28	5	3	12	6	7
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 35: Now I'm going to read you a few phrases. for each, I'd like you to tell me whether you think that the phrase better describes the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. How about the phrase..... Does that more accurately describe the Republican Party and its leaders or the Democratic Party and its leaders?

TABLE 20

DO THE FOLLOWING PHRASES MORE ACCURATELY DESCRIBE
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OR DEMOCRATIC PARTY?

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

** CAN BRING ABOUT THE KINDS OF CHANGES THE COUNTRY NEEDS **

CLUSTERS

DESCRIBES	EN- TERPR MORAL		DIS- BY AFFEC STAN- FOL- SECU- UPBEATS TEDS DERS LOWERS LARS			60'S DEMO- NEW CRATS DEALERS		GOD & PART- CNTRY ISAN DEMS POOR				
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS									
REPUBLICAN PARTY	28%	65%	70%	53%	23%	17%	14%	16%	7%	4%	14%	8%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	37	5	6	10	30	27	22	58	63	66	55	69
BOTH	14	13	10	19	18	18	24	8	14	12	11	9
NEITHER	11	12	9	6	16	13	11	14	11	10	14	8
DON'T KNOW	10	5	6	11	13	26	30	5	5	8	6	6
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 35: Now I'm going to read you a few phrases. for each, I'd like you to tell me whether you think that the phrase better describes the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. How about the phrase..... Does that more accurately describe the Republican Party and its leaders or the Democratic Party and its leaders?

Political Party Best Able to Handle Important Problems

Across the last decade, the Democrats have generally been perceived as the party better able to handle the most important problem which respondents identified. The significant exceptions to this trend, however, have been during and immediately following the 1980 and 1984 presidential campaign, when the Republican party was more likely to be selected as the most competent. During the off-year elections of 1982 and 1986, the Democratic advantage narrowed but persisted.

TABLE 21

PARTY BETTER ABLE TO HANDLE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM - TREND

	<u>Republican Party</u>	<u>Democratic Party</u>	<u>No Difference/ no opinion</u>
1988 January	30%	35	35
1987 April	29%	37	34
January	30%	39	31
1986 July	33%	36	31
January	33%	28	39
1985 October	32%	32	36
May	37%	31	32
January	39%	29	32
1984 August	39%	37	24
June	33%	35	32
February	30%	32	38
1983 November	28%	35	37
July	24%	38	38
April	20%	41	39
1982 October	29%	41	30
August	26%	35	39
June	28%	35	37
April	25%	35	40
January	30%	34	36
1981 October	32%	29	39
May	36%	21	43
January-February	39%	20	41
1980 October	40%	31	29
July	30%	27	43
March	28%	32	40
January	21%	34	45
1979 October	25%	33	42
August	20%	30	50
May	21%	31	48
February	23%	29	48

Question 18: Which political party do you think can do a better job of handling the problem you have just mentioned -- the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

In the latest Times Mirror survey, the Democratic edge has narrowed since last year. One-third (35%) of those surveyed indicated the Democratic party would be better able to handle the most important problem they identified, while 30% said the Republican party would be. The Republican party continues to receive more enthusiastic support from its members, as 73% of the Enterprisers and 69% of Moralists indicated their party could do better. Among Democratic-oriented groups, approximately six in ten indicated that their party could do better, with the exception of the Partisan Poor (67%).

TABLE 22
PARTY BEST ABLE TO HANDLE THE PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY TODAY

	CLUSTERS					
	TOTAL	TOTAL REPU- LICANS	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	UPBEATS	DIS- AFFEC TEDS
<u>BETTER HANDLE PROBLEMS</u>						
REPUBLICAN PARTY	30%	72%	73%	69%	55%	28%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	35	5	3	5	13	23
NO DIFFERENCE	24	18	18	20	22	35
DON'T KNOW	11	5	6	6	10	14
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	589	227	254	200	209

Question 18: Which political party do you think can do a better job of handling the problem you have just mentioned -- the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

TABLE 23

PARTY BEST ABLE TO HANDLE THE PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY TODAY

	CLUSTERS							
	TOTAL	TOTAL DEMO-CRATS	FOL-LOWERS	SEC-LARS	60'S DEMO-CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART-ISAN POOR
<u>BETTER HANDLE PROBLEMS</u>								
REPUBLICAN PARTY	30%	5%	20%	18%	6%	6%	10%	7%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	35	66	25	58	63	58	53	67
NO DIFFERENCE	24	19	31	17	25	24	27	15
DON'T KNOW	11	10	24	7	6	12	10	11
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	799	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 18: Which political party do you think can do a better job of handling the problem you have just mentioned -- the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

Candidate Evaluations and Likely Vote

At the start of active campaigning in 1988, the Republican party has assembled more of the coalition which it needs to win in November than the Democratic party has. There is stronger support among its own partisans, while the potential for attracting defections is present because of less enthusiastic Democratic support for Democratic candidates.

For example, the perceptions of the quality of the Democratic and Republican candidate pools are ostensibly the same, with few describing the overall quality of the candidates as "excellent," only about three in ten describing them as "good," and four in ten as "fair." But Republicans feel more positively toward their candidates than Democrats do toward theirs. Six in ten Republicans describe their candidates as "good" or "excellent," while no more than four in ten of any of the Democratic-oriented groups respond in a similar fashion to their candidates.

TABLE 24
OPINIONS OF REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR MORAL ISERS LISTS			DIS- BY AFFEC STAN- FOL- UPBEATS TEDS DERS LOWERS			SECU- LARS			60'S DEMO- NEW CRATS DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY ISAN DEMS POOR	PART- ISAN POOR
OPINION OF REPUBLICANS												
EXCELLENT CANDIDATES	3%	5%	10%	7%	2%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	6%	1%
GOOD CANDIDATES	34	55	56	47	30	29	39	24	17	27	25	23
FAIR CANDIDATES	42	36	28	42	45	36	33	55	56	45	45	46
POOR CANDIDATES	11	2	2	2	18	11	9	17	19	13	13	16
DON'T KNOW	10	2	4	2	6	24	16	2	7	14	11	14
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 15: Overall, what's your opinion of the men who are running for the Republican nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates, or poor candidates?

TABLE 25
OPINIONS OF DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR MORAL ISERS LISTS			DIS- BY AFFEC STAN- FOL- UPBEATS TEDS DERS LOWERS			SECU- LARS			60'S DEMO- NEW CRATS DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY ISAN DEMS POOR	PART- ISAN POOR
OPINION OF DEMOCRATS												
EXCELLENT CANDIDATES	3%	1%	*%	2%	*%	3%	2%	3%	2%	4%	9%	2%
GOOD CANDIDATES	28	17	21	28	17	28	34	28	35	30	29	40
FAIR CANDIDATES	44	50	44	44	45	34	37	54	48	45	43	40
POOR CANDIDATES	17	28	28	19	28	11	11	13	10	13	8	11
DON'T KNOW	9	4	6	7	10	24	15	2	4	7	11	7
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 14: Overall, what's your opinion of the men who are running for the Democratic nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates, or poor candidates?

Overall, 42% of all the respondents indicate they are more likely to vote for a Democratic candidate for president while 33% express similar sentiments for a Republican. These data are unchanged from two Times-Mirror/Gallup surveys conducted last May and September. But again, members of the Republican-oriented groups express greater support for their party than do the Democrats.

*Nine in ten of the Enterprisers and Moralists say they will vote for a Republican, as do 62% of the Upbeats. This is a significant shift from the 47% who expressed this intent last summer.

*Equivalent support for a Democrat is only found among the Partisan Poor (84%). Other Democratic groups currently show significantly less electoral support for their party's eventual nominee - New Dealers (74%) and 60's Democrats (76%), Seculars (69%), and the God & Country Democrats (55%).

TABLE 26

IN THE 1988 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, ARE MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR A REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE?

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE	EN-TERPR MORAL			DIS-AFFEC		BY STAN-FOL-		SECU-	60'S DEMO-	GOD & CENTRY	PART- ISAN	
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	TEDS	DERS	LOWERS	LARS	CRATS	DEALERS	DEMS	POOR
REPUBLICAN	33%	81%	89%	62%	28%	23%	21%	7%	5%	7%	13%	7%
DEMOCRATIC	42	2	2	13	24	34	47	69	76	74	55	84
OTHER	1	-	-	3	3	2	1	2	*	-	2	1
IT DEPENDS	14	13	7	18	32	16	12	14	14	12	19	5
DON'T KNOW	9	4	2	4	13	24	18	8	5	7	11	4
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 3: Thinking ahead to the 1988 Presidential election, are you in general more likely to vote for a Republican candidate for President, or for a Democratic candidate for President?

THE GALLUP PERSONAL INTERVIEW SAMPLE DESIGN

The sampling procedure is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, eighteen years and older, living in the United States, except those persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals.

The design of the sample is that of a replicated, probability sample down to the block level in the case of urban areas, and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas. Over three hundred sampling locations are used in each survey.

The sample design includes stratification by the following seven size-of-community strata, using 1980 Census data: (1) incorporated cities of population 1,000,000 and over; (2) incorporated cities of population 250,000 to 999,999; (3) incorporated cities of population 50,000 to 249,999; (4) urbanized places not included in (1)-(3); (5) cities over 2,500 population outside of urbanized areas; (6) towns and villages with less than 2,500 population; and (7) rural places not included within town boundaries. Each is further stratified into four geographic regions: East, Midwest, South and West. Within each city size-regional stratum, the population is arrayed in geographic order and zoned into equal sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities are selected in each zone, with probability of selection for each locality proportional to its population size in the 1980 census, producing two replicated samples of localities.

Separately for each survey, within each subdivision so selected for which block statistics are available, a sample of blocks or block clusters is drawn with probability of selection proportional to the number of dwelling units. In all other subdivisions or areas, blocks or segments are drawn at random or with equal probability.

In each cluster of blocks and each segment so selected, a randomly selected starting point is designated on the interviewer's map of the area. Starting at this point, interviewers are required to follow a given direction in the selection of households until their assignment is completed.

Interviewing is conducted at times when adults, in general, are most likely to be at home. Interviewers were asked to make up to three calls at a specific address in order to complete an interview.

Allowance for persons not at home is made by a weighting* procedure which uses information from two sources: respondents' answers to a series of "times at home" questions and from interviewer contact records. This procedure is a standard method for reducing the sample bias that would otherwise result from underrepresentation in the sample of persons who are difficult to find at home.

The pre-stratification by regions is routinely supplemented by fitting each obtained sample to the latest available Census Bureau estimates of the regional distribution of the population. In addition, minor adjustments of the sample are made by educational attainment of men and women separately, based on the annual estimates of the Census Bureau (derived from their Current Population Survey), and by age and race.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

For this Times Mirror Survey, face-to-face personal interviews were conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2,109 adults during the period from January 8 to 17, 1988. The margin of error due to sampling is + 3 percentage points.

* Politz, A. and Simmons, W., "An Attempt to Get the "Not at Homes" into the Sample without Callbacks", JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, Volume 44, (March, 1949), pp. 9-31.

THE MEDIA AND THE NOMINATING PROCESS

Americans generally hold favorable opinions of news organizations as institutions. On the latest Times-Mirror survey, the ratings of news organizations - both TV network newspapers and daily newspapers - are as high or higher than other major political institutions and much higher than business corporations, organized labor, and Wall Street brokers.

TABLE A

RECENT TREND IN FAVORABILITY RATINGS OF INSTITUTIONS¹

	TREND	
	<u>JUNE 1985</u>	<u>JANUARY 1988</u>
NETWORK TV NEWS	84	78
THE DAILY NEWSPAPER YOU ARE MOST FAMILIAR WITH	81	80
THE SUPREME COURT	NA	79
THE MILITARY	77	77
THE CONGRESS	67	64
BUSINESS CORPORATIONS	58	59
ORGANIZED LABOR	46*	52
WALL STREET BROKERS	NA	33

*"LABOR UNIONS" in the 1985 survey.

¹ The exact question wording is:

Now I would like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list please tell me which category on this card describes your overall opinion of who or what I name.

"Very favorable" and "mostly favorable" responses are combined.

But our recent surveys on the press and politics (conducted in June, 1985 and October-November, 1987) also show that the public expresses significant criticisms of the role of the press in the political process. The results of the current study come to the same conclusion, as a majority of the public (51%) feels that the press is having too much of influence on which candidates become presidential nominees.

The poll also finds an increase in the percentage of Americans holding unfavorable attitudes toward network TV news. Even though the field work for the main survey was conducted prior to the Bush - Rather confrontation, the survey recorded 18% of the public holding unfavorable views of network TV news, up from 14% in the spring of 1987. The proportion of those holding highly favorable opinions of network TV has fallen comparably.

**TABLE B
TRENDS IN FAVORABILITY RATING:
NETWORK TV NEWS**

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never Heard Of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Jan. 27, 1988	12%	69	13	3	-	3	100	(642)
Jan. 8-17, 1988	18%	60	14	4	-	4	100	(2109)
Oct/Nov 1987	19%	62	10	3	*	6	100	(1501)
Apr/May 1987	21%	63	11	3	*	2	100	(4244)
Jan 1987	19%	55	16	6	--	4	100	(1502)
July 1986	30%	53	10	4	--	3	100	(1504)
Aug 1985	30%	51	8	4	*	7	100	(1018)
June 1985	25%	59	8	2	*	6	100	(2104)

Immediately after the Bush - Rather confrontation we re-interviewed some of our respondents from last fall. That survey showed a continuation of the steep decline in the percentage of Americans holding highly favorable opinions of network TV news. In the aftermath of the Bush-Rather interview, only 12% of respondents had very favorable opinions, compared to 18% who felt this way just prior to the interview and to the 30% who held such favorable views just two and one-half years ago.

Favorability ratings of daily newspapers have been less sharply affected.

TABLE C
TRENDS IN FAVORABILITY RATINGS:
DAILY NEWSPAPERS

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never Heard Of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Jan 27, 1988	19%	62	11	3	-	5	100	(642)
Jan 8-17, 1988	21%	59	12	4	*	4	100	(2109)
Oct/Nov 1987	21%	58	9	4	*	8	100	(1501)
Apr/May 1987	22%	59	12	3	*	4	100	(4244)
Jan 1987	19%	57	13	6	--	5	100	(1502)
July 1986	28%	51	11	6	--	4	100	(1504)
Aug 1985	25%	52	10	5	--	8	100	(1018)
June 1985	25%	56	8	3	*	8	100	(2104)

It should be kept in mind that the vast majority of the public continues to have positive opinions of news organizations; nonetheless these shifts in favorability ratings are indicative of a change in the climate of opinion toward the press. Detailed analysis of the relationship between perceptions of press performance and these favorability ratings (presented below) shows a stronger relationship between these factors now than eighteen months ago.

Looking at the sectors of the public where unfavorable opinions of the press increased the most, we find that two Republican and two Democratic oriented groups are most apt to register increases in unfavorable attitudes toward TV news - Moralists (+11 percentage points), Disaffecteds (+10 percentage points), Followers (+12 percentage points), and 60's Democrats (+9 percentage points). The latter group had been Gary Hart's strongest constituency prior to the Donna Rice expose and generally holds among the most positive attitudes toward the press.

**TABLE D
PERCENT UNFAVORABLE OPINION
NETWORK TV NEWS**

	<u>April/May 87</u>	<u>January 88</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Enterprisers	30	34	+ 4
Moralists	17	28	+11
Upbeats	10	16	+ 6
Disaffecteds	12	22	+10
Bystanders	11	10	- 1
Followers	11	23	+12
Seculars	23	17	- 6
60's Democrats	13	22	+ 9
New Dealers	10	11	+ 1
God & Country Democrats	2	5	+ 3
Partisan Poor	10	15	+ 5

In effect, the latest data show that all three sophisticated groups - Enterprisers, Seculars and 60's Democrats contain significant numbers of people holding unfavorable opinions toward network TV news. Enterprisers

are far and away the most critical of TV news, which made the Bush - Rather confrontation particularly relevant to this core group of likely Republican primary voters.

It is also of note that all groups that contain significant numbers of TV news critics also contain majorities holding unfavorable opinions of Gary Hart. However, concerns which the public expresses about the quality of the media's coverage of the Gary Hart - Donna Rice affair do not affect the favorability ratings of the press in the same fashion that assessments of the quality of regular reporting do. This may be attributed to the fact that a large plurality of the public thought the information about the affair was relevant to making a decision about Hart's ability to serve as president and the negative ratings reflect more fundamental concerns about press procedures than concern with this specific case.

News Organizations and the Nominating Process

A majority of Americans are concerned about the influence that news organizations have on which candidates becomes presidential nominees - more than are concerned about the role of advertising consultants and pollsters. Their concern is focused on the treatment of candidates in routine news coverage rather than in newspaper endorsements, as an equivalent majority also believe that newspapers should be allowed this right.

Fifty-one percent of those surveyed feel that news organizations have too much influence on which candidates become presidential nominees, while one-third (37%) say they have about the right amount of influence. The remaining 12% are undecided or say they have too little influence. This compares to 59% of those interviewed last October who said news

organizations have too much influence and 31% who said they have about the right amount.

This concern about the influence of the media is most prevalent among the most educated and politically active segments of the electorate, including those who are most likely to follow public affairs. And it is more prevalent among Republicans (56%) than among Democrats (46%).

* The greatest levels of concern are found among two core Republican groups - the Enterprisers (65%) and the Moralists (58%) - while only one core Democratic group - the 60's Democrats (55%) - expresses high levels of concern.

TABLE E
ASSESSMENTS OF HOW MUCH INFLUENCE NEWS ORGANIZATIONS
HAVE ON WHICH CANDIDATES BECOME
PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

NEWS ORGANIZATIONS	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & NEW DEALERS	PART- CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR	
TOO MUCH INFLUENCE	51%	65%	58%	47%	63%	46%	24%	52%	55%	46%	48%	44%
TOO LITTLE INFLUENCE	4	2	3	5	2	2	11	*	3	3	9	6
ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT	37	31	32	41	29	35	43	43	39	40	39	40
DON'T KNOW	8	2	8	8	6	17	22	5	3	10	5	10
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 56: How much influence do you feel news organizations have on which candidates become Presidential nominees: too much influence, too little influence, or about the right amount?

Less concern is expressed about the influence that advertising consultants and pollsters have on which candidates become presidential nominees, as 38% say they have too much influence and 45% indicate they have about the right amount. Respondents with the highest levels of education, political knowledge, and an interest in public affairs are the most concerned; but party identification is not directly related to concern about the influence of advertising consultants and pollsters.

TABLE F
ASSESSMENTS OF HOW MUCH INFLUENCE ADVERTISING CONSULTANTS
AND POLLSTERS HAVE ON WHICH CANDIDATES BECOME PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE
CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR		
ADVERTISING CONSULTANTS AND POLLSTERS												
TOO MUCH INFLUENCE	38%	42%	42%	32%	42%	31%	23%	43%	45%	38%	36%	41%
TOO LITTLE INFLUENCE	5	3	4	6	7	6	7	5	4	1	9	9
ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT	45	50	39	53	40	40	46	44	43	49	47	41
DON'T KNOW	12	6	14	8	11	24	24	8	8	11	9	9
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 57: And how about advertising consultants and pollsters? (IF NECESSARY, PROMPT: How much influence do you feel advertising consultants and pollsters have on which candidate become their parties' Presidential nominees? Would you say they have too much influence, too little influence, or about the right amount?).

Six in ten (58%) of those surveyed think that newspapers should be allowed to endorse a presidential candidate on their editorial page. Those with high levels of education, who are most likely to follow public affairs, and who are most knowledgeable politically are the most likely to think that newspapers should be allowed endorsements.

*Seculars (80%), 60's Democrats (74%) and Enterprisers (69%) are the most likely to think that newspapers should be allowed to endorse presidential candidates, while Followers (34%) are the least likely to think this.

TABLE G
ATTITUDES TOWARD NEWSPAPER ENDORSEMENTS OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

ENDORSE CANDIDATE	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	GOD & NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
YES, SHOULD BE ALLOWED	58%	69%	56%	58%	52%	49%	34%	80%	74%	52%	54%	58%
NO, SHOULD NOT	34	28	37	38	41	34	39	16	25	38	32	37
DON'T KNOW	9	4	7	4	7	17	27	4	2	10	14	6
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 46: Do you think that newspapers should or should not be allowed to endorse a Presidential candidate on their editorial page?

Half those surveyed indicate a belief that news organizations are "often influenced by the powerful" (49%) as opposed to 40% who characterize them as "pretty independent." Those with college educations are more likely to see news organizations as independent (51%) than those with lower levels of education (37%). These dates are essentially unchanged from June 1985, when 53% indicated that news organizations are "often influenced by the powerful" and 37% said they are "pretty independent."

* This is reflected in the fact that both Seculars (54%) and Enterprisers (52%) - two groups from opposite ends of the political spectrum whose members are nevertheless well educated - are the most likely to describe news organizations as "pretty independent."

TABLE H
ASSESSMENTS OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF NEWS ORGANIZATIONS
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

NEWS ORGANIZATIONS	EN-	MORAL		DIS-	BY					60'S	GOD &	PART-	
	TERPR	LISTS	TOTAL	AFFEC	STAN-	FOL-	SECU-			DEMO-	NEW	CNTRY	ISAN
	ISERS			UPBEATS	TEDS	DERS	LOWERS	LARS		CRATS	DEALERS	DEMS	POOR
PRETTY INDEPENDENT	40%	52%	29%	42%	28%	31%	31%	54%		47%	41%	41%	42%
OFTEN INFLUENCED BY THE POWERFUL	49	46	59	48	63	49	46	41		45	47	47	48
CAN'T SAY	11	3	12	9	9	20	22	5		8	13	13	10
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158		198	252	154	189

Question 44: In general, do you think news organizations are pretty independent, or are they often influenced by powerful people and organizations?

Continuing a trend which has been observed in other Times Mirror surveys, the public sees corporations, advertisers, and the federal government as the groups most likely to exert influence on news organizations, rather than political parties, ideologues, or religious groups in society.

TABLE I
SUMMARY TABLE OF GROUPS THAT OFTEN INFLUENCE THE WAY
NEWS ORGANIZATIONS REPORT THE NEWS
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

GROUPS THAT INFLUENCE	<u>JUNE 1985</u>	<u>JANUARY 1988</u>
BUSINESS CORPORATIONS	70%	71%
ADVERTISERS	65%	69%
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT	73%	67%
ORGANIZED LABOR	62%	58%
REPUBLICANS	60%	54%
DEMOCRATS	58%	50%
THE MILITARY	50%	49%
LIBERALS	48%	42%
BLACKS	44%	41%
CONSERVATIVES	45%	38%
JEWS	33%	29%
CATHOLICS	35%	29%

Question 45: Now I will read a list of some different groups. As I read each one, tell me whether you feel this group often influences news organizations in the way they report the news, or not?

Attitudes toward the Quality of News Coverage

There are three dimensions along which the public's attitudes toward the quality of news coverage can be assessed - general standards of performance in reporting, coverage of political issues, and coverage of political figures. Differences in the opinions which respondents express indicate a clear ability to discriminate between these dimensions; and they have different relationships with the public's favorability ratings of media institutions.

In the first instance, the public is concerned about the general quality of news reporting. As many of those surveyed say that news organizations are often inaccurate (48%) as say they get the facts straight (44%). This represents a significant shift from a Times Mirror survey in June, 1985, in which a majority (55%) said they get the facts straight and one-third (34%) said they were inaccurate.

TABLE J
ASSESSMENTS OF ACCURACY OF REPORTING BY NEWS ORGANIZATIONS

	TREND	
<u>NEWS ORGANIZATIONS</u>	<u>JUNE 1985</u>	<u>JANUARY 1988</u>
GET FACTS STRAIGHT	55%	44%
INACCURATE	34	48
CAN'T SAY	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>
TOTAL	100%	100%
NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	(2104)	(2109)

Question 41: In general, do you think news organizations get the facts straight or do you think that their stories and reports are often inaccurate?

In general, these attitudes are related to partisanship - with Republicans more likely to believe that the media are inaccurate - and to education - where those who are best educated are most likely to believe that the media get the facts straight.

* Two core Republican groups - Moralists (62%) and Enterprisers (55%) - are the most likely to feel that the media are inaccurate; while two Democratic-oriented groups - Seculars (63%) and 60's Democrats (56%) - are the most likely to feel they get the facts straight.

TABLE K
ASSESSMENTS OF THE ACCURACY OF REPORTING BY NEWS ORGANIZATIONS
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

NEWS ORGANIZATIONS	EN- TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY			60'S			GOD & PART-		
	TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS	UPBEATS	AFFEC TEDS	STAN- DERS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	CNTRY DEMS	ISAN POOR
GET FACTS STRAIGHT	44%	42%	29%	56%	36%	33%	37%	63%	56%	44%	45%	50%
INACCURATE	48	55	62	38	55	48	44	34	43	49	47	42
CAN'T SAY	8	3	9	6	9	19	20	2	1	7	8	8
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 41: In general, do you think news organizations get the facts straight or do you think that their stories and reports are often inaccurate?

In the coverage of political and social issues, news organizations are faulted by six in ten Americans (59%) for tending to favor one side, while only 30% say they deal fairly with all sides. These proportions are unchanged from a measurement taken in a Times Mirror Survey in June, 1985.

**TABLE L
ASSESSMENTS OF THE FAIRNESS OF NEWS ORGANIZATIONS' COVERAGE
OF POLITICAL & SOCIAL ISSUES**

	TREND			
<u>NEWS ORGANIZATIONS</u>	<u>JUNE 1985</u>	<u>JULY 1986</u>	<u>JANUARY 1987</u>	<u>JANUARY 1988</u>
DEAL FAIRLY WITH ALL SIDES	34%	37%	39%	30%
TEND TO FAVOR ONE SIDE	53	57	54	59
CAN'T SAY	<u>13</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS (2104)		(1504)	(1502)	(2109)

Question 42: In presenting the news dealing with political and social issues, do you think that news organizations deal fairly with all sides or do they tend to favor one side?

Even among those who believe that news organizations have shown no bias toward either party in their coverage of the 1988 campaign, half (54%) say the media tend to favor one side in their coverage of political and social issues.

Whites are more likely to perceive favoritism (61%) than nonwhites (42%), as are those with high school level educations or higher compared to those who are less well educated.

Among every group across the political spectrum, more people feel that news organizations show favoritism than say they deal fairly with all sides. But Republicans are much more likely to perceive favoritism than Democrats.

* Disaffecteds (73%), Enterprisers (72%), and Moralists (69%) are the most likely to think that news organizations favor one side.

* The Seculars (43%) are the most likely Democratic group to indicate that news organizations deal fairly with all sides, but one-half (50%) believe that news organizations tend to favor one side.

TABLE M
ASSESSMENTS OF THE FAIRNESS OF NEWS ORGANIZATIONS' COVERAGE
OF SOCIAL & POLITICAL ISSUES

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

	EN- TERPR MORAL			DIS- BY AFFEC STAN- FOL- SECU- UPBEATS TEDS DERS LOWERS LARS					60'S DEMO- NEW		GOD & PART- CNTRY ISAN	
TOTAL	ISERS	LISTS							CRATS	DEALERS	DEMS	POOR
POLITICAL/SOCIAL ISSUES												
DEAL FAIRLY WITH ALL SIDES	30%	21%	21%	33%	19%	35%	23%	43%	37%	31%	34%	39%
TEND TO FAVOR ONE SIDE	59	72	69	59	73	45	58	50	59	56	49	52
CAN'T SAY	11	7	10	8	8	20	19	7	3	13	17	9
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 42: In presenting the news dealing with political and social issues, do you think that news organizations deal fairly with all sides or do they tend to favor one side?

Since the 1985 survey, the relationship between the public's concerns about media accuracy and bias and their favorability ratings of media organizations has gotten stronger, suggesting that this may lie at the root of the declines in favorability. Data are presented in Tables N and O which show how these relationships have changed. Among those who say that news organizations are often inaccurate, for example, 29% assign unfavorable ratings to network TV news, while only 9% of those who say they get the facts straight assign unfavorable ratings. In the 1985 survey, the equivalent figures were barely different (14% and 8% respectively). The same relationship pertains for favorability ratings of daily newspapers. And the association between perceptions of favoritism in the coverage of political issues and negative favorability ratings is equally strong.

TABLE N

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTIONS OF MEDIA BIAS AND ACCURACY
AND FAVORABILITY RATINGS OF NETWORK TV NEWS,
1985 AND 1988

	Rating of Network TV News	
	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
ACCURACY OF NEWS ORGANIZATIONS¹		
Gets facts straight		
1985	89%	8
1988	90%	9
Difference	+1	+1
Inaccurate		
1985	81%	14
1988	67%	29
Difference	-14	+15
COVERAGE OF NEWS ABOUT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES²		
Deals fairly with all sides		
1985	90%	5
1988	91%	7
Difference	+1	+2
Tends to favor one side		
1985	82%	13
1988	71%	26
Difference	-11	+13

¹The exact question wording is:

In general, do you think news organizations get the facts straight or do you think that their stories and reports are often inaccurate?

²The exact question wording is:

In presenting the news dealing with political and social issues, do you think that news organizations deal fairly with all sides or do they tend to favor one side?

TABLE 0

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTIONS OF MEDIA BIAS AND ACCURACY
AND FAVORABILITY RATINGS OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS,
1985 AND 1988

	Rating of Daily Newspaper	
	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
ACCURACY OF NEWS ORGANIZATIONS¹		
Gets facts straight		
1985	85%	10
1988	89%	9
Difference	+4	-1
Inaccurate		
1985	78%	14
1988	73%	24
Difference	-5	+10
COVERAGE OF NEWS ABOUT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES²		
Deals fairly with all sides		
1985	84%	10
1988	91%	7
Difference	+7	-3
Tends to favor one side		
1985	82%	13
1988	75%	22
Difference	-7	+9

¹The exact question wording is:
In general, do you think that news organizations get the facts straight or do you think that their stories and reports are often inaccurate?

²The exact question wording is:
In presenting the news dealing with political and social issues, do you think that news organizations deal fairly with all sides or do they tend to favor one side?

Evaluations of Political Figures

In evaluating their treatment of political figures, two-thirds of those surveyed (66%) believe that the news organization they are most familiar with has been fair in dealing with the Reagan administration, while only 21% say it has been unfair. While this reflects strong support for the media's coverage of the Administration, this is nevertheless a decline from June, 1985 when 78% said the press was giving fair treatment.

TABLE P

ASSESSMENTS OF THE FAIRNESS OF NEWS ORGANIZATIONS' COVERAGE OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

TREND

<u>NEWS ORGANIZATIONS</u>	<u>JUNE 1985</u>	<u>JANUARY 1987</u>	<u>JANUARY 1988</u>
FAIR	78%	67%	66%
UNFAIR	12	25	21
DON'T KNOW	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>13</u>
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	(2104)	(1502)	(2109)

Question 43: Are the news organizations you are most familiar with fair or unfair to the Reagan Administration?

Coverage of the Presidential Candidates

Six in ten (58%) of those surveyed say that news organizations have not shown any bias toward the Democrats or the Republicans in the way they have been covering the presidential race so far. This proportion is essentially unchanged since a Times Mirror survey last October, although the proportion volunteering that they don't know if they are showing any bias has increased from 11% to 23% across this period.

TABLE Q

TRENDS IN ASSESSMENTS OF PARTISAN BIAS IN THE MEDIA

	<u>OCTOBER/NOVEMBER 1987</u>	<u>JANUARY 1988</u>
<u>NEWS ORGANIZATIONS</u>		
BIAS TOWARDS DEMOCRATS	16%	9%
BIAS TOWARDS REPUBLICANS	11	10
SHOW NO BIAS	62	58
DON'T KNOW	<u>11</u>	<u>23</u>
TOTAL	100%	100%

Question 62: In the way they have been covering the Presidential race so far, do you think that news organizations are biased in favor of the Democrats, biased in favor of the Republicans, or don't you think news organizations have shown any bias one way or the other?

While Democrats and Republicans are no different in their sense that news organizations have been biased, there are clear partisan differences in the direction of perceived bias among those who think there has been some. Republicans are three times as likely to see bias in favor of Democrats than their own party (18% to 6%), while Democrats are more than twice as likely to see bias in favor of their opposition (13% to 5%).

* Members of two core Republican groups are the most likely to perceive bias in favor of the Democrats - the Enterprisers (23%) and the Moralists (19%) - while members of three core Democratic groups are most likely to see bias in favor of the Republicans - the Partisan Poor (20%), the God & Country Democrats (17%), and the 60's Democrats (14%).

TABLE R

PERCEPTIONS OF BIAS IN NEWS ORGANIZATIONS' COVERAGE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

NEWS ORGANIZATIONS	CLUSTERS											
	TOTAL	EN-TERPRISERS	MORALISTS	DIS-UPBEATS	BY-AFFEC TEDS	STAN-DERS	FOL-LOWERS	SECU-LARS	60'S DEMO-CRATS	GOD & NEW DEALERS	PART-CNTRY DEMS	PART-ISAN POOR
BIASED IN FAVOR OF DEMOCRATS	9%	23%	19%	8%	9%	4%	3%	7%	6%	3%	7%	5%
BIASED IN FAVOR OF REPUBLICANS	9	8	4	6	5	5	6	10	14	10	17	20
HAVEN'T SHOWN ANY BIAS	58	56	55	70	64	42	45	69	67	61	58	55
DON'T KNOW	23	13	21	17	21	49	45	15	12	26	18	20
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 62: In the way they have been covering the Presidential race so far, do you think that news organizations are biased in favor of the Democrats, biased in favor of the Republicans, or don't you think news organizations have shown any bias one way or the other?

The one exception to the public's sense of fair treatment of the presidential candidates is their views about news coverage of Gary Hart. In an extension of more general concerns about the operating procedures of the press, six in ten Americans (61%) believe that news organizations went too far in the way they reported that Gary Hart was having an affair with Donna Rice. This is related to the perception of three out of four respondents (78%) that news organizations often invade people's privacy. The public nevertheless remains equally divided about whether the actual information gained from the disclosure - as opposed to the way in which the story was reported - was important to learn in order to judge whether he would be a good president (43%) or it was unrelated to his ability to serve (50%).

TABLE S
INVASION OF PRIVACY AND NEWS COVERAGE OF GARY HART
BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

CLUSTERS

	TOTAL	EN- TERPR ISERS	MORAL LISTS	DIS- AFFEC UPBEATS	BY STAN- TEDS	FOL- LOWERS	SECU- LARS	60'S DEMO- CRATS	NEW DEALERS	GOD & CNTRY DEMS	PART- ISAN POOR	
<u>NEWS ORGANIZATIONS</u>												
INVADE PEOPLE'S PRIVACY	78%	78%	84%	76%	88%	79%	61%	79%	81%	75%	69%	81%
RESPECT PEOPLE'S PRIVACY	17	19	10	18	10	15	21	17	19	20	26	14
<u>NEWS COVERAGE</u>												
WENT TOO FAR	61%	64%	57%	58%	61%	63%	34%	68%	75%	56%	64%	67%
ACTED PROPERLY	32	32	41	37	33	23	34	29	24	39	28	29
<u>VALUE OF COVERAGE</u>												
IMPORTANT TO LEARN ABOUT HART	43%	56%	60%	49%	41%	33%	36%	40%	35%	40%	30%	38%
NOT RELATED TO HIS ABILITY TO SERVE	50	39	33	45	53	50	41	54	63	53	61	59
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2109	227	254	200	209	161	107	158	198	252	154	189

Question 47: Do you feel news organizations often invade people's privacy or do they generally respect people's privacy?

Question 66: In reporting the charges that Gary Hart was having an affair with Donna Rice, do you think news organizations went too far in the way they reported the story, or do you think news organizations acted properly?

Question 67: Apart from the way news organizations reported the story, do you think it was important that voters learned about this aspect of Gary Hart's life in order to judge whether he would be a good president, or do you think this aspect of his life is not related to his ability to serve as President?

NOTE: PERCENTAGES DO NOT ADD TO 100 BECAUSE DON'T KNOWS OMITTED.

THE GALLUP PERSONAL INTERVIEW SAMPLE DESIGN

The sampling procedure is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, eighteen years and older, living in the United States, except those persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals.

The design of the sample is that of a replicated, probability sample down to the block level in the case of urban areas, and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas. Over three hundred sampling locations are used in each survey.

The sample design includes stratification by the following seven size-of-community strata, using 1980 Census data: (1) incorporated cities of population 1,000,000 and over; (2) incorporated cities of population 250,000 to 999,999; (3) incorporated cities of population 50,000 to 249,999; (4) urbanized places not included in (1)-(3); (5) cities over 2,500 population outside of urbanized areas; (6) towns and villages with less than 2,500 population; and (7) rural places not included within town boundaries. Each is further stratified into four geographic regions: East, Midwest, South and West. Within each city size-regional stratum, the population is arrayed in geographic order and zoned into equal sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities are selected in each zone, with probability of selection for each locality proportional to its population size in the 1980 census, producing two replicated samples of localities.

Separately for each survey, within each subdivision so selected for which block statistics are available, a sample of blocks or block clusters is drawn with probability of selection proportional to the number of dwelling units. In all other subdivisions or areas, blocks or segments are drawn at random or with equal probability.

In each cluster of blocks and each segment so selected, a randomly selected starting point is designated on the interviewer's map of the area. Starting at this point, interviewers are required to follow a given direction in the selection of households until their assignment is completed.

Interviewing is conducted at times when adults, in general, are most likely to be at home. Interviewers were asked to make up to three calls at a specific address in order to complete an interview.

Allowance for persons not at home is made by a weighting* procedure which uses information from two sources: respondents' answers to a series of "times at home" questions and from interviewer contact records. This procedure is a standard method for reducing the sample bias that would otherwise result from underrepresentation in the sample of persons who are difficult to find at home.

The pre-stratification by regions is routinely supplemented by fitting each obtained sample to the latest available Census Bureau estimates of the regional distribution of the population. In addition, minor adjustments of the sample are made by educational attainment of men and women separately, based on the annual estimates of the Census Bureau (derived from their Current Population Survey), and by age and race.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

For this Times Mirror Survey, face-to-face personal interviews were conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2,109 adults during the period from January 8 to 17, 1988. The margin of error due to sampling is + 3 percentage points.

* Politz, A. and Simmons, W., "An Attempt to Get the "Not at Homes" into the Sample without Callbacks", JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, Volume 44, (March, 1949), pp. 9-31.