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## **The Vocal Minority In American Politics**

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# THE VOCAL MINORITY IN AMERICAN POLITICS

American public opinion is being distorted and exaggerated by the voices that dominate the airwaves of talk radio, clog the White House switchboard when a Zoe Baird stumbles, and respond to call-in polls.

In the current environment, these new voices of public opinion can caricature discontent with American political institutions, rather than genuinely reflect public disquiet. Notably, the vocal minority sounds a conservative tone on many issues, and is much more critical of Bill Clinton and his policies than is the average American.

These are the principal findings of a series of recently conducted surveys by the *Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press* designed to explore how Americans are making their voices heard, and the ways in which the distinctive views of the vocal minority differ from the rest of the population.

The study finds that at a time in American politics when active public expression in the form of talk radio, letters to the White House and Congress and newer forms of electronic populism are being venerated, the voices of the vocal few represent a significant advantage for the GOP over the Democratic party. Republicans have louder voices than Democrats in almost all of the important venues of public expression. As a consequence, Bill Clinton's disapproval score is 10 to 15 percentage points higher among people who have talked on the radio, written their congressional representative or responded to 800 or 900 call-in polls than it is in the general population.

Although the vocal minority expresses itself in many ways, two methods stand out in terms of their reach and clout: talk radio and calls and letters to Congressional offices. Calling or writing a Congressperson topped a list of 15 means the public uses to express its opinions about politics or policy. Nearly one in five Americans (18%) say they called or wrote Washington in the past 12 months. This was a significantly greater percentage than said they attended a town meeting (14%), wrote a letter to some other elected official (14%), attended a public hearing (13%) or responded to an 800 or 900 call-in survey (11%).

Americans from all walks of life and demographic groups express their opinions to their representatives in Washington, although more of them come from the better educated, more affluent segments of society. But, the partisan and ideological stamp of this group is a more distinguishing feature: 39% of Republicans say they contacted a Congressional representative in the recent past, compared to 27% of Democrats and 33% of Independents.

## *The Reach of Talk Radio*

If contacting one's Congressional representative is the leading active form of expression, talk radio represents the widest window on the world of politics and issues for the vocal minority. Times Mirror's nationwide survey finds that almost one half of Americans listen to talk radio on a relatively frequent basis, with one in six listening regularly. The poll indicates that talk radio not only attracts millions of listeners, but millions of people either have, or aspire to express their opinions on air.

Eleven percent report they have attempted to call into a radio program and 6% report success in getting on the air to make their views on issues known. As many as 3% of the respondents report having done so in the past 12 months.

As with Congressional contacters, it's partisanship and ideology that most distinguish talk radio listeners and participants. Conservatives (24%) are twice as likely to be regular listeners as are liberals (11%). Half of all conservatives say they listen either regularly or sometimes,

compared to 37% of liberals and 40% of those in between. Conservatives are also more likely than liberals both to call in and to actually give voice to their opinions over the airwaves. Nine percent of conservatives versus 4% of liberals say they have talked on the air.

People say they listen to talk radio to get informed about issues of the day and to find out what other people think about those issues. A smaller number say they listen for entertainment or because of a particular talk show host.

### *Judging Clinton*

The poll finds that people who have talked on the air, written or called their Congressperson or expressed their views on politics or policy in other ways differ most from the average citizen in how they judge the new Clinton Administration.

The soundings of public opinion from virtually all the activist communities surveyed is far more critical of Clinton's job performance, far more negative about his economic program, and far more hostile to him personally than is the public at large.

At the time of the survey, nationwide public opinion was fairly evenly divided as to Clinton's overall job performance rating, with slightly more disapproving of the job he was doing (43%) than approving (39%). Among those having called into talk radio, however, negative evaluations outnumbered positive ones by 53% to 38%.

The vocal minority is also considerably less enthusiastic about Clinton's economic program. While national opinion of the plan was divided evenly at the time of the survey (42% support, 41% oppose), a majority of talk radio participants objected to the Clinton economic plan (39% favor, 53% oppose), as did a plurality of people who said they had contacted a congressional representative recently (47% opposed).

There is an even bigger disjuncture in opinion about Bill Clinton personally, between the vocal minority and the rest of the public. At the time of the survey, favorable impressions of Clinton outnumbered unfavorable ones by 60% to 35% among the general public. However, among talk radio callers, as many as 49% said they had an unfavorable opinion of the President. Similarly, Americans who had not contacted a Congressional representative were considerably more positive about Clinton personally (63% favorable to 31% unfavorable), than were "contacters" (53% to 43%).

### *Hosts Hostile But, More Moderate*

The vocal minority's views on Bill Clinton may reflect the influence of talk show hosts who conduct the political discourse. As part of this project, the Times Mirror Center interviewed a representative sample of 112 talk show hosts in major markets and found them extremely critical of Bill Clinton at the time of the survey. Just 26% of the talk show hosts approved of Clinton's performance as President and, by a margin of 48% to 32%, said they expect Clinton to fail rather than succeed in achieving his most important legislative goals.

The negativism of the talk show hosts toward Clinton does not reflect an ideological or partisan bias, however. Talk show hosts are clearly more middle of the road and politically independent than their audiences, despite the prominence of Rush Limbaugh and other conservative talk personalities. The Times Mirror Center's survey found a slight plurality of hosts leaning to the Democratic party and a relatively even split between liberal leaning and conservative leaning hosts in its sampling. In fact, Times Mirror's sample said they voted for Clinton over Bush and Perot by a 39% to 23% to 18% margin!

### *Four Modes of Expression*

The public survey discovered four discrete patterns of public expression: people who gave money, **contributors**; people who attend meetings, **attenders**; people who call and write officials, **contactors**; and people who answer questions and express their opinions, **responders**. Although there is some overlap between these patterns of activity, certain types of people are drawn to each. But, generally all four patterns of activity are more prevalent among the more affluent, better educated, Republican and conservative segments of society.

In turn, the opinions of the vocal minority, whether expressed by mail, fax, over the air, or in the form of contributions reflect the values of these kinds of people. Times Mirror's survey finds the activist element of the population having generally the same priorities regarding national concerns as the public at large, although it gives a somewhat higher priority to reducing the budget deficit. There is also a tendency for people who have called in to talk radio, and for **contactors and responders**, generally to feel more strongly about protecting family values than does the general public.

With regard to issue positions, activists generally take the same positions as the average American on controversial issues, ranging from abortion to hand gun control. However, talk radio listeners and callers tend to be more one sided in their views than the public at large. Their support for prayer in schools is greater. And their opposition to gays in the military, tax increases and military involvement in Bosnia are all more intense than among people who neither listen to nor call in to talk radio.

#### *An Anti-Congressional Point of View*

The activist public is most distinguished by its rabidly anti-Congressional point of view. In each of its manifestations, it is far more critical of Congress than the public at large. The most activist segment of the public divides 35% favorable vs. 58% unfavorable in opinion about Congress, compared to a 52% favorable vs. 36% unfavorable breakdown for the least vocal element in the population. Similarly, attenders, contributors, contactors, and responders all rate Congress much less positively than Americans who do not generally speak out, give money or contact officials.

The survey also finds that some segments of the vocal minority, **contactors in particular** tend to have less favorable opinions of many institutions, including: network tv news, daily newspapers, the UN and the Supreme Court than does the average American. But these differences are not nearly as large as the gaps in opinion about Congress.

As would be expected from a group that has more Republicans and conservatives in it, Robert Dole gets a much better than average rating and Hillary Clinton a lower than average rating from the vocal minority. Interestingly, Ross Perot, despite the birth of his presidential candidacy on the Larry King show, is not more of a hero to activists than he is to the broader public.

However, the values of the vocal minority tend in Perot's substantive direction. The activist segments of the public are more critical of the effectiveness and intrusiveness of government bureaucracy and less supportive of social welfarism than the average American. The vocal minority is a greater believer than the public at large in the idea that blacks have made social progress in recent years and expresses greater opposition to racial quotas. Despite these mostly conservative tendencies, the vocal minority is more tolerant and supportive of personal freedoms than less active elements of the public.

Many of the patterns observed in the survey of the public were confirmed by the assessments made by a representative sample of talk show hosts polled for this study. Although hosts say the people who call in to their programs represent the public at large, they acknowledge that

callers are somewhat biased. They describe callers as more likely to be angry, anti-government, more critical of the President and Congress, and by and large more conservative.

### *Opinion Molders*

Most hosts feel they play a significant role in shaping public opinion and have an impact on public policy and politics. While a significant number acknowledge the entertainment value of their programs, more see their job as informing the public.

When rating the importance of several issues, talk show hosts were far more likely to be concerned about the quality of public education, the general shape of the economy and the federal budget deficit than the general public, but hosts were less likely to place a high priority on environmental protection, the homeless and the controversy over abortion than the public.

Talk show hosts express more liberal points of view than the public generally, and their audiences specifically. They are far more likely to support allowing gays in the military and to oppose a constitutional amendment to allow prayer in school. There were modest differences in two other positions with hosts more likely to be pro-choice and anti-term limits for members of Congress.

But talk show hosts are more critical of a number of institutions than the public including: the Congress, the UN network tv news and the Church. On the other hand, talk show hosts were more positive than the public about the Supreme Court. The biggest gap between talk show hosts and their public is in regard to Ross Perot. Perot got a 39% favorable, 58% unfavorable opinion rating from the hosts surveyed by The Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page #</i>
<i>Summary</i> .....	1
<i>Introduction</i> .....	5
<i>I. Talk Radio</i> .....	6
The General Public .....	6
The Scope .....	6
The Shape .....	7
Talk Show Hosts .....	14
How Talk Show Hosts View their Callers and Listeners .....	15
How Talk Show Hosts View Themselves .....	17
How Talk Show Hosts View Political Issues and Prominent Politicians .....	18
<i>II. Other Expressions of Public Opinion</i> .....	23
<i>III. The Vocal Minority -- How Representative</i> .....	35
<i>IV. Political and Social Values</i> .....	48
<i>V. Survey Methodology</i> .....	57
<i>VI. Questionnaires</i> .....	61
General Public .....	61
Supplementary General Public .....	86
Talk Show Host .....	91

# THE VOCAL MINORITY

## *Introduction*

*The Vocal Minority* is the latest in a series of Times Mirror studies to explore the critical linkage between the media and American public opinion. This study focuses on various forms of public expression -- what Americans do to make their voices heard, and how they participate in the political process beyond the act of voting.

The first section of this report examines one of the fastest growing and most popular forms of public expression, *talk radio*. It begins with an analysis of the American public -- detailing how many people listen to talk radio, the reasons why they listen, and their views of talk show callers and hosts. Talk show *callers*, are profiled and contrasted to the general population. This section continues with a look at the opinions and attitudes of radio talk show *hosts*. The survey of major market radio call-in hosts examines their political make-up, how they evaluate political figures, and how they view those who listen to and call into their programs.

The second section moves beyond talk radio to examine a variety of other mechanisms by which people participate in politics -- by attending meetings, writing letters, contributing money, and the like. In this section the extent of Americans' involvement in some 15 different activities is examined, and four basic channels of participation are detailed. The analysis profiles these four "types" of participators -- *attenders*, *contacters*, *contributors* and *responders* --looking at the background characteristics of who engages in each type of activity.

The final section looks at the critical question of how *representative* "The Vocal Minority" is of the American public as a whole. Do those who communicate their views through talk radio and the other forms of expression have the same views of the President as other Americans? Do they have the similar or different national concerns and opinions on important issues of the day. How do they view prominent politicians and political institutions, and what are their basic values? Do political leaders receive an accurate reading of public opinion through these new forums, or are there significant biases in some important ways?

# I. TALK RADIO

## *THE GENERAL PUBLIC*

### *The Scope--Numbers of Listeners and Callers*

Talk Radio has become a staple in the diet of about one-in-six Americans. About 17 percent say they *regularly* listen to shows that "invite listeners to call in to discuss current events, public issues and politics." However, when added to another quarter of the public who say they *sometimes* listen to such shows, the power of talk radio becomes clearer, with about four-in-ten Americans listening on a relatively frequent basis. One-quarter of the public reported having listened to a radio talk show either the day they were interviewed for this study or on the previous day.

### **How Many Are Listening?**

- 61% say they have ever listened
- 42% say they listen either "regularly" or "sometimes"
- 23% say they listened either "yesterday" or "today"
- 17% say they listen regularly

Far fewer Americans have actually tried to *participate* in talk radio by calling in to make their opinions heard. While 61% of the citizenry say they have listened to talk radio at some point, only 11% report having attempted to call into a radio program. Moreover, only half of this number (6%) reports having made it through to actually talk on the air to make their views known, and only half of this number (3%) reports having done so in the last year. As can be seen below, the Times Mirror survey estimates that *just one percent of Americans* have actually talked on the radio at any point in the last month or two.

### **How Many Are Calling and Talking**

- 11% say they have tried to call in
- 6% say they have ever talked on the air
- 3% say they talked on the air in the past year
- 1% say they have talked on the air in the last month or two

## *THE SHAPE -- WHO LISTENS TO, AND CALLS INTO TALK RADIO*

### *Who Listens*

In one sense, the audience for talk radio looks very much like the nation as a whole. While not a perfect sampling of the American public, variations in its demographics -- age, sex, race,

education and income -- are not terribly large. In another sense -- in terms of its politics -- those who listen to talk radio are considerably different from the nation as a whole. They are more likely to be Republican in their partisanship, and more likely to be conservative in their political outlook.

Looking at those who say they listen either "regularly" or "sometimes," there is a slight gender gap, with a greater proportion of men (45%) than women (38%) reporting this level of listening. There are few differences by either race or age, although a slightly higher number of those over 30 report listening regularly. There is a slightly larger socio-economic gap, with better educated individuals and wealthier households reporting more exposure to talk radio. These differences, however, are quite modest, ranging only about 9 percentage points from the lowest category in the groupings to the highest.

The largest group differences in listening to talk radio are clearly by political orientation. Republicans (26%) are twice as likely as Democrats (12%) to report regularly listening to talk radio. Overall, 50% of Republicans say they listen to talk radio either regularly or sometimes, compared to 35% of Democrats and 41% of Independents. The same pattern holds true with ideology. Conservatives (24%) are twice as likely to be regular listeners as are liberals (11%). Half of all conservatives say they listen either regularly or sometimes, compared to 36% of liberals and 40% of those in between.

## LISTENS TO TALK RADIO

	<i>REGULARLY</i>	<i>SOMETIMES</i>	<i>RARELY</i>	<i>NEVER</i>	<i>DK</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	17	25	19	39	*=100	(1507)
<i>SEX</i>						
Male	18	27	20	34	*=100	(760)
Female	15	23	18	44	*=100	(747)
<i>RACE</i>						
White	17	24	19	39	*=100	(1292)
Non-White	13	26	18	41	*=100	(210)
<i>AGE</i>						
Under 30	12	28	20	39	*=100	(380)
30-49	17	25	20	37	*=100	(620)
50+	19	22	16	42	1=100	(490)
<i>EDUCATION</i>						
College Grad.	22	24	23	31	*=100	(499)
Other College	17	25	20	27	*=100	(434)
H.S. Grad.	14	25	17	43	1=100	(499)
< H.S. grad.	15	21	14	51	*=100	(122)
<i>FAMILY INCOME</i>						
\$50,000+	24	22	21	32	*=100	(339)
\$30,000-\$49,999.	17	27	17	38	*=100	(348)
\$20,000-\$29,999.	16	27	23	33	1=100	(295)
< \$20,000.	13	24	16	46	*=100	(411)
<i>REGION</i>						
East	17	20	14	49	*=100	(301)
Mid-west	14	23	22	39	1=100	(408)
South	17	26	19	37	*=100	(550)
West	18	29	20	33	*=100	(248)
<i>PARTY ID</i>						
Republican	26	24	18	32	*=100	(434)
Democrat	12	23	19	44	1=100	(490)
Independent	14	27	20	38	*=100	(506)
<i>IDEOLOGY</i>						
Liberal	11	25	19	43	1=100	(203)
Conservative	24	25	20	30	*=100	(381)
In Between	15	25	19	41	1=100	(871)

Refers to Q.T1 in the general public questionnaire.

## CALLS TO TALK RADIO

	<i>EVER CALLED</i>	<i>EVER TALKED</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	11	6	(1507)
<i>SEX</i>			
Male	14	9	(760)
Female	7	5	(747)
<i>RACE</i>			
White	11	6	(1292)
Non-White	17	7	(210)
<i>AGE</i>			
Under 30	8	2	(380)
30-49	15	7	(620)
50+	10	6	(490)
<i>EDUCATION</i>			
College Grad.	11	7	(499)
Other College	14	6	(434)
H.S. Grad.	10	4	(499)
< H.S. grad.	11	7	(122)
<i>FAMILY INCOME</i>			
\$50,000+	12	8	(339)
\$30,000-\$49,999	13	7	(348)
\$20,000-\$29,999	13	7	(295)
< \$20,000	10	3	(411)
<i>REGION</i>			
East	11	6	(301)
Mid-west	10	5	(408)
South	13	7	(550)
West	11	4	(248)
<i>PARTY ID</i>			
Republican	14	8	(434)
Democrat	9	3	(490)
Independent	12	6	(506)
<i>IDEOLOGY</i>			
Liberal	12	4	(203)
Conservative	16	9	(381)
In Between	10	5	(871)

Refers to Q.T9 & Q.T9a in general public questionnaire.

### *Who Calls and Who Talks*

Overall, 11% say they have tried to call into a radio talk show to register their opinion, with 6% saying they have successfully made it on the air. Interestingly, while there are no age, gender or racial differences in who listens to talk radio, there *are* differences in terms of who tries to call, *and* there is an additional filtering process in terms of who actually makes it onto the air. Men, for example, are far more likely to call than are women, by a margin of 14% to 7%, and are almost twice as likely to actually make their views known on the air, by a margin of 9% to 5%, as well. While non-whites (17%) are more likely than whites to call (11%), they are *equally* likely to make it on the air.

On the other hand, while there are modest differences in who *listens* according to education and age, those differences are largely muted in terms of the proportion who call into the radio station and the number who actually speak on the air.

The partisan differences observed in who listens to talk radio *are*, however, also reflected in the make-up of callers and talkers. Republicans are more likely than Democrats both to call in, and to make it on the air; conservatives are also more likely than liberals both to call in and to actually give voice to their opinions over the airwaves. Thus there appears to be both a Republican and conservative *tone*, or bias, to the voice of public opinion one might hear listening to talk radio. Overall, 8% of Republicans say they have talked on the air, compared to just 3% of Democrats. The ratio of conservatives (9%) to liberals (4%) who say they have been able to verbalize their opinions over the radio is also two-to-one.

### *Why People Listen*

There is no single reason that stands out as the primary attraction of "talk radio." When asked to identify the "most important reason" why they listen to talk radio, just over one-third (36%) mention something having to do with it being a good way to keep up on issues and current events. One-in-five (21%) report listening primarily to learn how different people feel about issues of the day and to hear other viewpoints, with another 10% offering the related view that they mainly listen to talk radio because it serves as a forum for a discussion of public opinion. About one-in-ten each say they listen simply to be entertained. No other single reason was mentioned by more than 5% of respondents. *Surprisingly, just one percent volunteered the most important reason why they listened was because they liked the host of a particular program.*

The talk radio audience was also read a list of six reasons and asked to describe each as a "major," "minor," or "not a reason" why they listen to the *specific* radio program they listen to most often. Better than seven-in-ten of all listeners (and an even greater number of regular listeners and callers) give *surveillance* reasons -- keeping up on issues of the day, and learning how different people feel about different issues -- as major reasons why they listen to talk radio. Additionally, 58 percent give another informational-related reason: that talk radio is a good place to learn things that cannot be learned elsewhere.

**PERCENT SAYING EACH IS A "MAJOR REASON"  
THEY LISTEN TO PROGRAM**

	<i>TOTAL</i> <sup>1</sup> (N=951)	<i>REGULAR LISTENERS</i> (N=277)	<i>CALLERS</i> (N=113)
To learn about how different people feel about different issues	71	85	83
To keep up on issues of the day	70	84	78
Because it is a good way to learn things that I can't find out elsewhere	58	68	62
Because it is entertaining	40	50	44
I pick up information that I use in conversation with other people	33	45	33
Because I like the host of the show	27	39	38

Refers to Q.T4 in the general public questionnaire.

Second, in addition to these primary reasons, there are a variety of other appeals of talk radio that are of lesser importance, but still significant. Some four-in-ten of all listeners, and half of regular listeners, cite the entertainment value of talk radio as a "major" reason why they listen. One-third also say they listen to use what they hear on talk radio in discussions of current events with other people.

Finally, the appeal of the host ranked at the *bottom* of the list as a primary appeal of talk radio. Just over one-quarter of all listeners, increasing to just under 40% of regular listeners and callers, say that the host of the show is a major reason why they listen to the *specific* talk radio program they listen to most often.

Talk listeners say they are eager to hear opposing viewpoints on an issue. By a two-to-one margin, more say they are more interested when they are listening to people with an *opposite* point of view (47%), than when they hear someone expressing a point of view similar to their own (22%).

*The Ideology of Talk Radio*

Both listeners and callers see talk radio as non-ideological, presenting a diversity of views rather than being dominated by either liberals or conservatives. Overall, just 16% feel that talk radio basically presents a liberal point of view, with an even smaller 11% saying that it is dominated by conservatives. Fully six-in-ten believe that talk radio presents a mixture of different views to its audience, with the remaining 13% saying that talk radio presents no particular point of view.

The Times Mirror Survey also finds a small amount of "reverse finger pointing," as people with strong ideologies or partisan views are more likely than others to think that talk radio over-represents people with views the opposite of themselves. For example:

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<sup>1</sup>Total is all respondents who said they ever listen to talk radio shows.

- More conservatives feel that talk radio offers a liberal (27%) rather than conservative (12%) point of view. Among self-described liberals there is much greater balance, with slightly more saying that talk radio offers a liberal (18%) rather than conservative (14%) point of view.
- More Democrats feel that talk radio is dominated by a conservative viewpoint (14%) rather than a liberal one (8%); far more Republicans feel talk radio is liberal in its orientation (23%) than feel it offers a conservative point of view (8%).
- While those who voted for George Bush are far more likely to see talk radio as a liberal (24%) versus a conservative (7%) platform, the reverse is true among those having voted for Bill Clinton, with just 9% saying that talk radio is generally liberal and 18% feeling that it is conservative in its orientation. Ross Perot voters are in the middle, with 15% feeling that talk radio expresses a liberal point of view and 10% saying that a conservative ideology dominates the airwaves.

While the vast majority of listeners believe the "opinion" they hear on the radio represents a diverse set of views, they find talk show *hosts* more easy to classify in ideological terms. When asked to think about "most of the hosts on talk radio," 33% of listeners say the hosts are more liberal than they are, with 19% saying they find hosts to be more conservative than they are. Forty-two percent of the public either say that talk show hosts have roughly the same ideology as they do, or that there is a mixture of talk show hosts in terms of their beliefs and opinions.

While regular listeners and callers differ little from the larger audience of *all* listeners, there are predictable differences in perceptions of talk show hosts among those with clear partisan or ideological views. Among conservative listeners, 52% think hosts are more liberal than they are, while just 7% say that the hosts are more conservative. Liberals offer somewhat of a mirror image -- 30% say hosts are more conservative than they themselves are, although 20% say hosts are actually more liberal.

A large plurality of those voting for either Bush or Perot believe that talk show hosts are more liberal than they are. Slightly more Clinton voters find talk show hosts to be more conservative than they are (29%), than feel hosts are more liberal than they are (20%). While Democrats are evenly divided about whether talk show hosts are more liberal or conservative than they themselves are, far more among both Independents and Republicans believe talk radio show hosts are to the left of them on the ideological spectrum.

**PERCENT SAYING "TALK RADIO HOSTS" ARE  
MORE LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE THAN THEY ARE**

	<i>MORE LIBERAL</i>	<i>MORE CONSERVATIVE</i>	<i>THE SAME</i>	<i>MIXED/ NO OPINION</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	33	19	37	11	951
<i>TALK RADIO</i>					
Regular Listeners	33	17	40	10	277
Callers	38	16	37	9	113
<i>PARTY ID</i>					
Democratic	24	25	42	10	280
Independent	35	19	33	13	321
Republican	41	13	37	10	308
<i>IDEOLOGY</i>					
Liberal	20	30	43	7	118
In Between	27	23	39	11	533
Conservative	52	7	30	11	280
<i>PRESIDENTIAL VOTE</i>					
Clinton	20	29	38	13	282
Perot	35	16	39	11	146
Bush	44	11	32	14	253

Refers to Q.T8 in the general public questionnaire.

## TALK SHOW HOSTS

### Who They Are

The Times Mirror Center interviewed 112 hosts of radio talk shows, including 66 from the top 25 markets in the country and 46 from smaller markets. An overview finds them to be well educated, affluent and largely independent politically.

In terms of political orientation, talk show hosts describe themselves as politically independent and ideologically moderate. Just 16% identify themselves as Republicans, with a like number (17%) saying they are Democrats. But when the Independents were probed further a slight Democratic plurality was found with 44% of the hosts saying they were Democrats or leaned Democratic and 38% Republican or Republican leaners.

They also reject ideological labels, with 21% describing themselves as conservative, a like number describing themselves as liberal (22), and most (53%) saying they are in-between. When the "in betweens" were asked for their inclinations the division was a narrow 43% liberal or liberal-leaning vs 46% conservative or conservative-leaning.

### PARTISAN AND IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HOSTS AND THEIR AUDIENCES

<i>DEMOCRAT AFFIL.</i>	<i>REPUBLICAN</i>	<i>LEAN</i>		<i>LEAN</i>	<i>NO</i>
	%	<i>REPUBLICAN</i>	%	<i>DEMOCRAT</i>	%
<i>PUBLIC</i>					
Listeners	42	13	26	10	9
Talkers	39	19	20	19	11
<i>HOSTS</i>	16	22	17	27	18

	<i>CON-</i>	<i>LEAN</i>		<i>LEAN</i>	<i>NO</i>
	<i>SERVATIVE</i>	<i>CON-</i>	<i>LIBERAL</i>	<i>LEAN</i>	<i>INCLIN.</i>
	%	<i>SERVATIVE</i>	%	<i>LIBERAL</i>	%
<i>PUBLIC</i>					
Listeners	36	31	9	13	11
Talkers	39	29	9	15	9
<i>HOSTS</i>	21	25	22	21	10

While appearing to be fairly independent, talk show hosts were no friend of George Bush in the last election, giving Bill Clinton more support than the public as a whole. Hosts favored Clinton over Bush by a margin of 39% to 23%, with 18% saying they voted for Ross Perot. As many as 8% say they voted for some other candidate, with the remaining 12% saying they did not vote. The survey finds however, that Clinton appears to have lost support among talk show hosts since becoming President. When asked how they would vote in a three way race, Clinton barely squeaks by Republican Senate leader Robert Dole by a margin of 33% to 31%, with additional support also going to Ross Perot (25%).

As would be expected, talk show hosts are extremely well educated. Only 15% have never attended college. Fully 60% report having a college degree, compared to just 21% of the general

public. Almost one-quarter of hosts have gone on to graduate school. And, as would be expected, they are also extremely affluent: just one-quarter (27%) earn under \$50,000, 33% make between \$50,000 and \$100,000, and 30% make in excess of \$100,000. The remainder declined to disclose their income. By way of comparison 63% of hosts and 18% of the public have incomes of over \$50,000.

Radio show hosts are also quite non-religious when compared to the public as a whole. Fully 30% say they have no religious affiliation, while 37% describe themselves as Protestant, 17% as Roman Catholic, and 10% as Jewish. The remainder express some other religious affiliation. In the large population, just 10% say they have no religious attachment, while 60% describe themselves as Protestants, 24% as Roman Catholics and 2% as Jews.

*How Talk Show Hosts View their Callers and Listeners*

Most talk show hosts say that the people who call into their programs are representative of the larger public in their listening area. Just over half, 56%, feel their callers are representative, although a very sizeable minority, 38%, believes they are not. But when presented with a list of how callers might be different from others in their listening area, *almost all talk show hosts acknowledge some biases in the opinions of those who call.* Moreover, of the 12 possible ways in which callers might be different, on only one did a majority of talk show hosts say that their callers were in fact representative of others in the same media market.

**TALK SHOW HOSTS PERCEPTIONS OF THE TYPES OF CALLERS "OVER" AND "UNDER" REPRESENTED ON THEIR SHOWS**

	<i>OVER</i>	<i>UNDER</i>	<i>NO DIFFERENCE</i>	<i>DK</i>
People who are angry	52	7	39	2=100
People who dislike the President	45	8	45	2=100
People who are anti-government	45	8	42	5=100
People who are conservative	50	19	30	1=100
People who dislike Congress	36	5	58	1=100
People who are pro-life	42	11	44	3=100
People who are strongly religious or moralistic	42	20	35	3=100
People who are hostile to gays and lesbians	38	20	41	1=100
Feminists	18	56	23	3=100
People who are liberal	29	50	19	2=100
People who are pro-choice	19	37	44	1=100
People who are racially intolerant	26	30	42	2=100

Refers to Q.TH4 in the talk host questionnaire.

*In general talk show hosts describe their callers as being angry, anti-government, more critical of the President and Congress, and more conservative than are other people.* A majority of hosts feel that "people who are angry" are over represented by those who call into their programs. Just 7% say these people are under represented, with 39% saying there is no difference between callers and the larger community they are drawn from.

Besides being more angry, talk radio callers are also unrepresentative in that they are more *critical* than others, according to the hosts. By a wide margin of 45% to 8% hosts say that people who dislike President Clinton are over represented on their shows, with 45% saying callers are representative of others' views of the President. The same pattern holds for Congress, although by a lesser margin. By 36% to only 5% hosts feel that negative opinions about Congress are *over* rather than *under* represented by their callers, although the majority believe that callers views of Congress are representative of the larger public.

This more negative view of the President and the Congress goes beyond specific actors to the political system itself. Hosts characterize their callers as being unrepresentative of the general public in that they express a strong "anti-government" bias. The margin of being over to under represented is an extremely wide 45% to 8%.

In keeping with this anti-government philosophy, hosts acknowledge that callers are far more conservative in their political orientation than is the public as a whole. Half of all hosts interviewed say that conservatives are over represented by those who call into their programs. Just 19% say conservatives are under-represented. Liberals are said to be under-represented by roughly the same amount -- 50%.

This conservative tone of public opinion extends to a number of issues and groups. Large pluralities of talk show hosts feel that people who are pro-life are over-represented and people who are pro-choice are under-represented by those who call in. They further feel that feminists are under-represented by callers, but that those who are strongly moralistic or religious, and those who are hostile to gays and lesbians are over-represented by their callers.

While unrepresentative of the general public talk show hosts believe that callers are more representative of another important community -- their *listeners*. Hosts describe their listeners as being more anti-government in orientation and more conservative in their ideology than others in their listening area. An extraordinary 71% of hosts describe their listeners as "more critical in their views of government and politics than others in their listening area." Just 4% say their listeners are less critical than others, with the remaining quarter saying their listeners are neither more or less critical than others. While a bare majority of hosts (51%) say their listeners are representative of the larger community, far more say there is a conservative bias to their audience (34%), than feel their listeners are more liberal than the public as a whole (13%).

### *How Talk Show Hosts View Themselves*

Talk radio hosts take themselves seriously and see themselves as "players" in shaping and influencing public opinion. When asked whether they felt their job was mainly one of *informing* the public or *entertaining* them, 40% say it is primarily to inform; just 25% describe themselves mainly as entertainers. A large number (35%) volunteer that their job entails both.

Most (63%) feel they "often play an important role in shaping or influencing public opinion" in their community, and three-quarters say they are able to recall a case in the recent past when they or something that happened on their show had an impact on public policy or politics. Most of these recountings (40%) have to do with bringing a local issue to the fore-front. Another 19% say they feel a local election was influenced by something that took place on their show, while

another 15% believe they affected a matter of public policy by bringing what they believe to be public opinion to the attention of governmental decision makers. Approximately this same number, 14%, say they have had an impact on politics or policy through pointing out an instance of corruption in government.

*How Talk Show Hosts View Political Issues and Prominent Politicians*

*Agenda*

The samples of talk show hosts and the general public evaluated some 13 issues as "critical," "very important," or just "somewhat important." There are large differences on half of them. Talk show hosts are far *more* likely to be concerned about the quality of public education, the general shape of the economy and the federal budget deficit than are others.

Three-quarters of hosts, for example, feel improving the nation's education system is a critical issue facing the country, compared to half of those in the public. Hosts are about 19 percentage points more likely than the American public to feel economic conditions are of critical importance, and 15 percentage points more likely to see reducing the federal budget deficit as critically important.

Talk hosts are *less* likely to give a high priority to environmental protection, problems of the homeless and the controversy over abortion than are others. There was less than a 10 percentage point difference between talk hosts and the public on seven other issues asked about, including the importance of health care, the situation in Bosnia, and protecting American family values, among others.

**PERCENT SAYING EACH IS A "CRITICAL" ISSUE**

	<i>TALK HOSTS</i>	<i>REGULAR LISTENERS</i>	<i>GENERAL PUBLIC</i>
Improving the quality of education in public schools 76	49	49	
Economic conditions in the country	72	55	53
Reducing the federal budget deficit	63	57	48
.....			
Dealing with the problem of the homeless	12	27	33
Protecting the environment	15	25	34
The controversy over abortion	11	23	21

Refers to Q.5.

*Issue Positions*

A comparison of talk show hosts and the American public across 8 controversial issues of the day shows a wide chasm on two: where the majority of both radio talk show listeners (63%) and others in the citizenry (53%) *oppose* allowing gays and lesbians to serve in the military, talk show hosts give strong support to this proposal by a margin of 63% in favor to 33% in opposition; where about 7-in-10 of those in the public *favor* a constitutional amendment to allow prayer in school, talk show hosts are decidedly against this idea, with just 39% in favor and 58% opposing.

On another two of the issues examined there are just modest differences between the hosts of radio call-in programs and others. While a majority of the public (60%) opposes changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to obtain an abortion, a larger number of hosts (83%) take this position. And while sizable majorities of all groups favor term limits for members of Congress, there is slightly more opposition (28%) among hosts than there is in the public (18%). There are even fewer differences between hosts, their listeners and the public as a whole on other important issues such as gun control, increasing taxes to reduce the deficit, and whether the U.S. should take a more active military role in Bosnia.

**ISSUES: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TALK SHOW HOSTS, REGULAR LISTENERS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC**

(Q.6)

<i>N</i>	<i>FAVOR</i>	<i>OPPOSE</i>	<i>DONT</i>	<i>K N O W</i>
Proposals to allow gays & lesbians to serve in the military				
Talk Hosts	63	33	4=100	(112)
Regular Listeners	30	63	7=100	(277)
General Public	36	53	10=100	(1507)
A constitutional amendment to permit prayer in the public schools				
Talk Hosts	39	58	3=100	(112)
Regular Listeners	72	24	4=100	(277)
General Public	69	26	5=100	(1507)
Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a women to get an abortion				
Talk Hosts	14	83	3=100	(112)
Regular Listeners	29	62	8=100	(277)
General Public	32	60	8=100	(1507)
Proposals for "term limitations" to limit the number of years that members of Congress can serve				
Talk Hosts	70	28	2=100	(112)
Regular Listeners	77	17	5=100	(277)
General Public	76	18	6=100	(1507)

### *Political Evaluations*

Despite their moderate views on issues, hosts of talk radio are far more critical than the public of the President, the Congress and Ross Perot.

At the time of the survey, a slight plurality of the public disapproved of how Bill Clinton was handling his job as President (39% approved, 43% disapproved). Among hosts, the gap was a much clearer disapproval margin of 26% to 62%. Whereas Clinton was *personally* popular with the American public, with favorable opinions outnumbering unfavorable ones by a comfortable 60% to 34%, a majority of talk radio hosts held an unfavorable view of the President (46% favorable, 53% unfavorable).

Talk hosts and the public displayed an even greater disparity in their opinions of Ross Perot. At the time of the survey Perot was quite popular with the American public -- twice as many held favorable (64%) as unfavorable (31%) opinions. The view of Perot held by talk show hosts, however, was decidedly negative with far more saying they had an unfavorable (58%) than favorable (39%) opinion of the Texas billionaire.

While the general public is mixed in its assessment of Congress (43% favorable, 48% unfavorable), talk show hosts are extremely critical, with just 25% holding a favorable impression of the institution and 73% offering an unflattering view.

The talk show hosts surveyed express more negative opinions than the general public of the UN, network TV news, daily newspapers and the Church. On the other hand, talk show hosts were more positive than the public about the Supreme Court and very positive about national newspapers, such as the New York Times, Los Angeles Times and Washington Post.

## EVALUATIONS OF INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICAL FIGURES

	<i>Favor- Able</i>	<i>Unfavor- Able</i>	<i>No Opinion</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Bill Clinton</i>				
Talk Hosts	46	53	5=100	(112)
Regular Listeners	48	48	3=100	(277)
General Public	60	34	1=100	(1507)
<i>Robert Dole</i>				
Talk Hosts	56	42	2=100	(112)
Regular Listeners	60	27	13=100	(277)
General Public	48	28	24=100	(1507)
<i>Ross Perot</i>				
Talk Hosts	39	58	3=100	(112)
Regular Listeners	65	30	5=100	(277)
General Public	64	31	5=100	(1507)
<i>The Congress</i>				
Talk Hosts	25	73	2=100	(112)
Regular Listeners	34	59	6=100	(277)
General Public	43	48	9=100	(1507)
<i>The United Nations</i>				
Talk Hosts	62	34	4=100	(112)
Regular Listeners	68	20	12=100	(277)
General Public	73	17	10=100	(1507)
<i>Daily Papers</i>				
Talk Hosts	67	29	4=100	(112)
Regular Listeners	78	18	4=100	(231)
General Public	81	13	6=100	(1235)
<i>Network TV News</i>				
Talk Hosts	54	42	4=100	(112)
Regular Listeners	76	22	4=100	(231)
General Public	81	15	4=100	(1235)
<i>The Supreme Court</i>				
Talk Hosts	86	12	2=100	(112)
Regular Listeners	72	18	10=100	(277)
General Public	73	18	9=100	(1507)
<i>The Church</i>				
Talk Hosts	64	26	10=100	(112)
Regular Listeners	82	12	6=100	(277)
General Public	82	10	8=100	(1507)

Refers to Q.17.

### *Values*

Talk show hosts are most different from the general public when it comes to matters of freedom of expression. For example, where one-third of the public feel school boards ought to have the right to fire homosexual teachers, just 11% of talk show hosts hold this same view. And, where more than half (52%) of the public believes that "books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries," fully 89% of talk show hosts *disagree* with this sentiment.

Relative to the general public, talk show hosts are also more likely to feel they are influential and that public officials pay heed to their opinions, that the United States should be involved in international affairs rather than solely paying attention to domestic concerns, and are also less likely to express strongly religious or moralistic views.

## II. OTHER EXPRESSIONS OF PUBLIC OPINION

### *How Americans Participate*

The Times/Mirror survey explored some 15 different activities that citizens might have done to examine the question of how Americans participate in politics, and to compile a profile of "who participates through what avenues." The fifteen activities, and the number reporting having done each in the last 12 months, and in the recent past are presented in the table on page 24 (Also, see Methodological Note following table).

Congress does not appear to suffer from a lack of input and feedback from the public. Of the 15 items asked about, calling or sending a letter to one's Congressperson topped the list of how Americans get make their voices heard. *Just under one-in-five Americans (18%) say they have contacted their Representative or Senator in the last year, with 29% reporting having done so in the recent past.*

Somewhat surprisingly, next on the list of activities is participation by what may be termed "advocacy polls." These are opinion polls, usually sent through the mail by an interest group to a member, asking for a response. These surveys, which are different than a scientific sampling of public opinion, are used to make members feel their voice counts in their organization, and are used for lobbying purposes in Washington by the organizations. Overall, 16% of all Americans report participating in one of these advocacy polls over the past year.

Between 12% and 14% report having engaged in an activity that is generally carried out at the local level -- attending a city or town council meeting, attending a public hearing, and participating in a town meeting or public affairs discussion group. A similar number (14%) say they have written some public official in the last 12 months. It is estimated that approximately twice as many say they have engaged in each activity at some point during the past few years.

About one-tenth of the public reports taking part in one of two newer technology-driven forms of participation asked about on the Times Mirror survey. At 11%, it is a significant portion of the citizenry that reports having *initiated* participation by dialing an 800 or 900 number to register their views on some issue of public concern in the last year. A similar number (10%) say they have called in or sent in a response to some question or issue put forth for discussion by a newspaper or TV station. Again, about twice as many report engaging in each activity at some point in the last few years.

Just under 10% say they have participated either through *joining* an organization in support of a cause (9%), or by offering *financial support* to a particular group or candidate. About 7% say they contributed money to a political action committee or group in the last year, and 8% say they contributed money to a candidate running for political office in the last year. Given that the time frame asked about included a presidential election, these figures show how *few* Americans are actually moved to participate by making a financial contribution to a cause or candidate.

Finally, about one-in-twenty Americans report having participated in one of the following ways in the last year: called or sent a letter to the White House (6%), called a TV or cable company with a complaint about some program (6%), *tried* to call into talk on the radio (5%), and written a letter to the editor of a newspaper (4%).

### PERCENT HAVING DONE EACH ACTIVITY

<i>In Last Year</i>	<i>In Recent Past</i>	
18	29	Called or sent a letter to your Congressman;
16	38	Participated in an opinion poll sent to you by some interest group or group you are a member of;
14	31	Attended a city or town council meeting in the community where you live;
14	28	Written a letter to any elected official;
13	25	Attended a public hearing;
12	24	Participated in a "town meeting" or public affairs discussion group;
11	22	Dialed an 800 or 900 number to register your opinion or views on some issue of public concern;
10	19	Called in or sent in a response to a question or issue put up for discussion by a newspaper or TV station;
9	27	Joined an organization in support of a particular cause;
8	17	Contributed money to a candidate running for public office;
7	19	Contributed money to a political action group or committee, sponsored by a union, business or other issue group that supported a candidate in an election;
6	12	Called television station or a cable company with some complaint about a program;
6	11	Called or sent a letter to the White House;
5	11	Tried to call into talk radio;
4	12	Written a letter to the editor of a newspaper.

### ***Measuring Participation--A Methodological Note***

The question asked of respondents read as follows: "People express their opinions about politics and current events in a number of ways besides voting. I'm going to read you a list of some of these ways. Please just tell me if you have or have not done each at some point in the last 12 months."

While respondents were repeatedly reminded to think about whether they had done each "in the last 12 months," the level of participation reported was extremely high for the time frame asked about. Prior research also has shown that many survey respondents do not have accurate recall about *when* they had actually engaged in a prior behavior.

Monitoring of interviews also indicated that some respondents were probably likely to err on the side of including some activity (giving themselves credit for something) they had done, even if it was not in the last 12 months. In order to test this theory, and remove the error that results from social desirability component--where those respondents who had engaged in an activity, but not in the last year said "yes" to the initial question--the Times Mirror Center conducted a second survey on participation.

In this second survey respondents were first asked if they had *ever* done each of the 15 activities. Those saying they had done any activity were then asked to think "only about the last 12 months, that is since June of 1992," and to tell interviewers if they had done each activity in that specific time frame. With the social desirability component removed by respondents being able to say they had "ever" done an activity, the resulting "12 month" figures are significantly lower. We feel the second measure is a much purer and more accurate reading of what people have actually done *in the last year*.

The results of both surveys are presented in the table. The more reliable data are presented in the left hand column under the heading "in the last year." We have labeled responses to the first survey, presented in the second column "in the recent past," feeling that label best characterizes what respondents had in mind when they answered the question. Also shown is the percent who said they *ever* engaged in this activity.

Looking a bit more broadly at political activity and extending the time frame from "the last 12 months" to the more distant "recent past", the participatory level for many of these 15 activities clusters around 20% to 25%. It is tempting to conclude that there is a single strata of activists in American politics that comprises about one-quarter of the electorate. But in fact, when all activities are looked at simultaneously, one-quarter of the public could be classified as *inactive*. Specifically, 24% say they took part in none of the activities asked about, with another 37% saying they had participated in 1 to 3 of the acts at some point in the recent past. Another 23 percent say they have done between 4 and 6 of the activities, with the final 16% reporting regular and massive participation, having engaged in 7 or more of the activities.

## NUMBER OF PARTICIPATORY ACTIVITIES ENGAGED IN

	<i>NONE</i>	<i>1-3</i>	<i>4-6</i>	<i>7+</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	24	37	23	16	1507
<i>SEX</i>					
Male	21	36	25	17	760
Female	27	38	22	14	747
<i>RACE</i>					
White	23	37	25	15	1292
Non-White	33	36	16	18	210
<i>AGE</i>					
Under 30	32	42	21	5	380
30-49	22	32	25	20	620
50+	21	39	23	14	490
<i>EDUCATION</i>					
College Grad.	15	32	30	23	499
Other College	18	36	24	22	434
H.S. Grad.	27	41	23	10	499
< H.S. grad.	39	34	16	8	122
<i>FAMILY INCOME</i>					
\$50,000+	9	30	33	28	339
\$30,000-\$49,999	23	38	26	14	348
\$20,000-\$29,999	26	38	23	14	295
< \$20,000	31	41	18	10	411
<i>REGION</i>					
East	23	36	25	17	301
Midwest	25	38	22	15	408
South	26	38	22	15	550
West	22	36	26	16	248
<i>PARTY ID</i>					
Republican	21	33	28	19	434
Democrat	21	43	21	14	490
Independent	26	36	21	14	506
<i>IDEOLOGY</i>					
Liberal	29	27	24	20	203
Conservative	16	38	27	18	381
In Between	25	38	23	14	871

Refers to Q.22 in the general public questionnaire.

There are some notable group variations in the amount of activity citizens report engaging in. There is a tremendous socio-economic factor in political participation, with the affluent and the better educated far more likely to take part. Some 61% of those earning over \$50,000 report having done four or more activities, compared to just under 40% of those earning between \$20,000 and \$50,000, and to 28% of those earning less than \$20,000. This same level of participation is claimed by 53% of college graduates, 46% of those having attended but not completed college, by 33% of high school graduates and by 24% of those not having completed high school.

### *Four Modes of Participation*

In addition to looking at the *amount* of participation in American politics, a more methodologically sophisticated analysis of the patterns of the types of activities that people engage in reveals an interesting underlying structure<sup>2</sup>. *The Times Mirror survey discovers that there are four unique modes of activities that people engage in to participate in American politics*. While there is certainly overlap between the groupings, it appears that the electorate is actually comprised of four fairly distinct *types* of participators. The public appears to be segmented into groups that can be labelled "attenders," "contacters," "contributors," and "responders".

- *Attenders* are those who are quite active participants in the political process. These are people who have attended a city or town council meeting, have participated in a town meeting or public affairs discussion group, or have attended a public hearing. There is a distinctly "local" orientation to this mode of participation.
- *Contacters* are distinguished by their participatory activity that involves writing or contacting public officials, including the White House, their Congressperson, or any elected official. Their participation is on the individual level, and generally through formal government offices.
- *Contributors* are those who primarily participate, or who seek to influence the political process, through giving money. Included here are such acts as giving money to a PAC or political interest group, giving money to a candidate running for public office, joining an organization in support of a cause (which usually involves some sort of financial commitment) or joining/contributing to Ross Perot's organization.
- *Responders* may comprise a new form of participators, essentially individualistic and entrepreneurial in nature. Included here are those that have dialed an 800 or 900 number to register their opinion, those who have called in or sent a response to some question or issue posed by a newspaper or television station, those who have attempted to call into a talk radio program, and those who may have called a television station with some complaint about a program.

When the different participatory items are so divided, it is clear that participation is in fact *significantly higher* than the 20 to 25 percent level the "single participator" theory would suggest. In fact, as shown in the table below, about 40 percent indicate they have done something in each of the four categories during the last few years, suggesting that while there is overlap between the categories, participation in these "alternative forms" is much more widespread than is apparent at first glance.

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<sup>2</sup> The multivariate technique employed, called "factor analysis," searches for patterns in the responses to the 16 questions asked. (This encompasses the 15 items depicted in the graph and those saying they had called into a talk radio station in the last 12 months.) In simplest terms, this technique tries to find and isolate any underlying dimensions to respondents' answers. It first looks for any commonalities in responses, arraying them on a single dimension, or factor, and then tries to differentiate one factor from the next to see how the dimensions are different.

## HOW AMERICANS PARTICIPATE

	<i>Never</i>	<i>Once</i>	<i>Twice</i>	<i>Three+</i>
<i>Attendees</i>				
Attended a public meeting/forum	57	17	15	11
<i>Contacters</i>				
Written or called a public official	63	13	17	7
<i>Contributors</i>				
Contributed money/ Joined an organization	57	24	12	6
<i>Responders</i>				
Expressed opinion through initiation	60	23	10	7

Refers to Q.22 in the general public questionnaire.

By way of statistical overview, 43% say they have done one of the "attender" activities in the last year, with one-quarter (26%) saying they had done two or more of the activities in this category. A slightly smaller number, 37%, say they have done one of the "contacter" activities of writing or calling a public official, with 24% saying they have done two or more of these in the recent past. About 42% each report doing one of the "contributor" or "responder" activities, with a smaller number of about 18% saying they have done two or more of each of the activities in their respective categories.

While this overview indicates that many, perhaps half of the public, is active in more than one mode of participation -- there is an overlap of about 50% among groups, each mode also has its *unique* characteristics and presents a different face of public opinion to those on the receiving end of each form of public expression. Some of the main differences are as follows:

### *Attendees*

- Attending is an activity for the affluent. Almost two-thirds of those from households earning over \$50,000 report having attended some public meeting or forum in the last year, compared to just under four-in-ten of those earning under \$50,000.
- Education is strongly related to this mode of participation. Just 31% of those not having completed high school report doing an activity in this area in the past year, compared to 55% of those having graduated college.
- Men are more likely to participate in this fashion than are women. Almost half of men (48%) say they have attended some sort of public meeting or forum, compared to 38% of women.
- There is a significant generational gap in this form of participation. Just under one-third of those under 30 report doing some activity in this group, compared to just under one-half of those over 30.
- There are no partisan or ideological biases to this form of participation. Democrats, Independents and Republicans show equal levels of activity, as do liberals, moderates and conservatives.

### *Contacters*

- This form of participation is also strongly related to both education and income. At the highest levels of each category (college graduates, those earning over \$50,000) about half say they have contacted a public official in the last year, compared to one-quarter at the lowest levels (non-high school graduate, those earning under \$20,000).
- Contacting is also associated with age, but in a more gradually increasing fashion than is "attending." The percentage of each group reporting contacting a public official is as follows: 18-29--24%, 30-49--38%, 50+--45%.
- There is a clear partisan and ideological relationship to contacting. Republicans report more activity in this area (45%) than Democrats (35%) and Independents (33%); conservatives report more (46%) than liberals (34%) or moderates (33%).
- There is no gender relationship to this form of expression. Men and women are equally likely to report having contacted a public official in the recent past.
- Whites are more likely to report activity in this sphere (38%) than non-whites (26%).

#### *Contributors*

- Income is a primary dividing line, as would be expected based on ability to contribute. Just under one-third (31%) of those earning under \$20,000 say they have been active in this mode of participation, compared to 43% of those earning between \$20,000 and \$50,000, and to 64% of those earning over \$50,000.
- Education is also important. Just over half of those who have attended college have contributed to or joined an organization, compared to one-quarter of those with a high school diploma or less in the way of formal education.
- There are slight separations according to race, gender and age, with whites, males and those over 30 some 8 to 10 percentage points more likely to be active in this area than their respective counterparts.
- Differences according to political orientation are slight. Democrats differ little from Republicans; conservatives differ little from liberals in this mode of participation.

#### *Responders*

- Compared to the more traditional modes of participation, there are relatively fewer demographic differences when it comes to this more modern form of expression. Gender differences are small, racial differences non-existent, and the generational gap in participation is less severe, although those under 30 are 8 or so percentage points less likely to report some sort of activity in this area.
- Status differences in education and income are apparent, but with generally less separation between groupings than in the more traditional modes of participation. The primary difference is among those making over \$50,000, 64% of whom report at least some activity in this area, compared to about 41% of those earning under \$50,000.
- While there is not a significant difference between Democrats (43%) and Republicans (46%) in this area, conservatives appear to be slightly more vocal in this mode (46%) than are liberals or moderates (39% and 38% respectively).

**ATTENDERS\***

	<i>Never</i>	<i>Once</i>	<i>Twice</i>	<i>Three</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	57	17	15	11	1507
<i>SEX</i>					
Male	52	18	17	13	760
Female	62	16	13	9	747
<i>RACE</i>					
White	57	18	14	11	1292
Non-White	58	13	17	11	210
<i>AGE</i>					
Under 30	69	14	11	6	380
30-49	53	17	15	15	620
50+	54	19	16	11	490
<i>EDUCATION</i>					
College Grad.	45	22	18	15	449
Other College	52	16	19	13	434
H.S. Grad.	62	16	11	10	499
< H.S. grad.	69	13	12	6	122
<i>FAMILY INCOME</i>					
\$50,000+	36	20	18	26	339
\$30,000-\$49,999	60	15	15	10	348
\$20,000-\$29,999	62	17	11	9	295
< \$20,000	64	16	14	6	411
<i>REGION</i>					
East	56	13	18	13	301
Mid-west	57	18	14	10	408
South	57	20	12	11	550
West	58	15	16	11	248
<i>PARTY ID</i>					
Republican	58	17	13	13	434
Democrat	56	17	17	10	490
Independent	56	18	14	11	506
<i>IDEOLOGY</i>					
Liberal	53	14	20	12	203
Conservative	56	19	13	12	381
In Between	57	17	15	11	871

\*Attenders are those people who said they have ... [Q.22 f, r, & s].

## CONTACTERS\*

	<i>Never</i>	<i>Once</i>	<i>Twice</i>	<i>Three</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	63	13	17	7	1507
<i>SEX</i>					
Male	63	12	19	6	760
Female	63	14	15	7	747
<i>RACE</i>					
White	62	13	18	7	1292
Non-White	73	11	10	5	210
<i>AGE</i>					
Under 30	76	10	11	3	380
30-49	62	12	19	7	620
50+	56	17	19	9	490
<i>EDUCATION</i>					
College Grad.	51	15	25	10	449
Other College	57	16	19	8	434
H.S. Grad.	69	11	13	5	499
< H.S. grad.	76	10	11	3	122
<i>FAMILY INCOME</i>					
\$50,000+	48	16	25	10	339
\$30,000-\$49,999	66	14	15	5	348
\$20,000-\$29,999	58	15	20	6	295
< \$20,000	72	11	12	5	411
<i>REGION</i>					
East	61	12	17	9	301
Mid-west	65	12	17	6	408
South	65	13	16	6	550
West	60	15	18	7	248
<i>PARTY ID</i>					
Republican	55	15	22	8	434
Democrat	65	14	14	7	490
Independent	67	11	17	5	506
<i>IDEOLOGY</i>					
Liberal	66	12	13	9	203
Conservative	54	16	21	9	381
In Between	66	12	16	5	871

\*Writers are those people who said they have ... [Q.22 a, n & o].

## CONTRIBUTORS\*

	<i>Never</i>	<i>Once</i>	<i>Twice</i>	<i>Three</i>	N
<b>TOTAL</b>	57	24	12	6	1507
<b>SEX</b>					
Male	53	25	14	8	760
Female	61	24	11	4	747
<b>RACE</b>					
White	56	24	13	7	1292
Non-White	63	23	9	5	210
<b>AGE</b>					
Under 30	64	25	8	2	380
30-49	53	25	14	9	620
50+	57	22	14	7	490
<b>EDUCATION</b>					
College Grad.	43	25	19	12	449
Other College	50	27	15	6	434
H.S. Grad.	74	14	8	4	499
< H.S. grad.	74	14	8	4	122
<b>FAMILY INCOME</b>					
\$50,000+	36	30	19	15	339
\$30,000-\$49,999	55	25	14	6	349
\$20,000-\$29,999	59	26	10	5	295
< \$20,000	69	21	8	2	411
<b>REGION</b>					
East	55	26	13	6	301
Midwest	56	22	14	7	408
South	61	24	11	4	550
West	53	25	13	9	248
<b>PARTY ID</b>					
Republican	53	25	15	6	434
Democrat	57	24	14	5	490
Independent	59	24	10	7	506
<b>IDEOLOGY</b>					
Liberal	50	26	17	7	203
Conservative	49	27	16	9	381
In Between	61	23	10	5	871

\*Contributors are those people who said they have ... [Q.22 e, h, t & k].

## RESPONDERS\*

	<i>Never</i>	<i>Once</i>	<i>Twice</i>	<i>Three</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>	60	23	10	7	1507
<i>SEX</i>					
Male	57	26	10	7	760
Female	63	20	11	6	747
<i>RACE</i>					
White	60	23	10	6	1292
Non-White	59	22	12	7	210
<i>AGE</i>					
Under 30	66	24	6	5	380
30-49	55	23	14	8	620
50+	57	22	14	7	490
<i>EDUCATION</i>					
College Grad.	57	26	10	7	449
Other College	51	27	16	6	434
H.S. Grad.	65	20	9	5	499
< H.S. grad.	69	17	4	9	122
<i>FAMILY INCOME</i>					
\$50,000+	36	30	19	15	339
\$30,000-\$49,999	58	24	12	6	348
\$20,000-29,999	61	22	10	6	295
< \$20,000	55	25	12	7	248
<i>REGION</i>					
East	62	23	10	5	301
Midwest	65	20	10	5	408
South	58	24	10	9	550
West	55	25	12	7	248
<i>PARTY ID</i>					
Republican	54	23	14	9	434
Democrat	57	24	14	5	490
Independent	62	22	10	6	506
<i>IDEOLOGY</i>					
Liberal	61	24	7	7	203
Conservative	54	24	15	7	381
In Between	62	22	9	7	871

\*Responders are those people who said they have ... [Q.22 g, l, p & T9].

### III. THE VOCAL MINORITY--HOW REPRESENTATIVE

#### *Support for the President*

The question: Is *The Vocal Minority* representative of the general public in its evaluations of and support for President Clinton? The answer: Decidedly not. In fact, the reading of public opinion from virtually all the activist communities is far more hostile and critical of Clinton's job performance, his economic program, and overall opinion of him, than is the public as a whole.

The tables on the following pages present the percentage who approve and disapprove of the President's job performance, those who approve and disapprove of his economic plan, and those who have a favorable and unfavorable overall impression of Bill Clinton.<sup>3</sup> Looking first at Clinton's overall job performance rating, at the time the survey was conducted public opinion in the country was fairly evenly divided, with slightly more disapproving of the job he was doing (43%) than approving (39%). Among those having called into talk radio, however, negative evaluations outnumbered positive ones by 53% to 38% -- a margin of 15 percentage points.

While attenders show little difference from the rest of the public, contacters, contributors and responders all show a similar pattern, where those not having engaged in any activity are *split* in their evaluations of Clinton's job performance and those expressing their opinions through some form are *critical* of the President. For those most active in voicing their views -- those having done two or more activities in the recent past, negative evaluations outweigh positive ones by 14 points among contacters, by 12 points among contributors and by 17 points among responders.

The same pattern holds true for opinion about Clinton, personally. While in the country at the time favorable impressions outnumbered unfavorable ones by 60% to 35% -- a margin of +25, talk radio callers were evenly divided at 49% each. Those who had not expressed their views through contacting an official were at +32 in their evaluations of the President, while those who had done so once were at +15 and those who had done two or more activities in this category were at +10. Those who had not contributed money in the past year averaged a +29 favorability score, compared to the +21 of those having done one contributory activity and +18 of those having done two or more. Among those not being active in the responder category of participation, favorable impressions of Clinton ran ahead of unfavorable ones by 30 points. Among those having done two or more activities in this area, the vocal minority was considerable less enthusiastic, with a +4 reading.

The same is largely true with regard to Clinton's economic program, although there are little differences among categories of attenders or contributors. In general, the more activist, vocal segment of the American public has been more hostile to the President and his programs than the nation as a whole. In this sense, the readings that policy makers get from those who contact them, contribute to them, or in some way take initiative activity to make their opinions known have been unrepresentative of the general public in a manner that would be politically harmful to the President and his policies.

#### **BILL CLINTON JOB APPROVAL**

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<sup>3</sup> The "margin" category is a summary measure computed by subtracting the negative assessments (disapprove or unfavorable) from the positive ones (approve or favorable).

	<i>APPROVE</i>	<i>DISAPPROVE</i>	<i>APP./DIS. MARGIN</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>TOTAL</i> 1507		39	43	-4
<i>TALK RADIO</i>				
Listeners	31	57	-26	277
Callers	38	53	-15	113
<i>ATTENDERS</i>				
Never	38	42	-4	802
Once	38	44	-6	278
Twice+	42	43	-1	427
<i>CONTACTERS</i>				
Never	40	39	+1	905
Once	39	48	-9	205
Twice+	37	51	-14	399
<i>CONTRIBUTORS</i>				
Never	39	39	0	803
Once	39	46	-7	389
Twice+	39	51	-12	315
<i>RESPONDERS</i>				
Never	39	40	-1	855
Once	42	44	-2	364
Twice+	35	52	-17	288

Refers to Q.1 in the general public questionnaire.

## EVALUATION OF CLINTON ECONOMIC PLAN

(Q.4a)

	<i>SUPPORT</i>	<i>OPPOSE</i>	<i>APP./DIS. MARGIN</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>TOTAL</i> 1507		42	41	+1
<i>TALK RADIO</i>				
Listeners	34	55	-21	277
Callers	39	53	-14	113
<i>ATTENDERS</i>				
Never	40	40	0	802
Once	44	42	+2	278
Twice+	46	42	+4	427
<i>CONTACTERS</i>				
Never	42	38	+4	903
Once	43	43	0	205
Twice+	41	47	-6	399
<i>CONTRIBUTORS</i>				
Never	41	39	+2	803
Once	44	41	+3	389
Twice+	43	46	-3	315
<i>RESPONDERS</i>				
Never	43	37	+6	855
Once	43	42	+1	364
Twice+	38	52	-14	288

## CLINTON FAVORABILITY

(Q.17a)

	<i>FAVOR- ABLE</i>	<i>UNFAVOR- ABLE</i>	<i>APP./DIS. MARGIN</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>TOTAL</i> 1507		60	35	+25
<i>TALK RADIO</i>				
Listeners	48	48	0	277
Callers	49	49	0	113
<i>ATTENDERS</i>				
Never	60	35	+25	802
Once	59	36	+23	278
Twice+	61	34	+27	427
<i>CONTACTERS</i>				
Never	63	31	+32	903
Once	56	41	+15	205
Twice+	54	42	+12	399
<i>CONTRIBUTORS</i>				
Never	61	32	+29	803
Once	58	37	+21	389
Twice+	57	39	+18	315
<i>RESPONDERS</i>				
Never	62	32	+30	855
Once	62	34	+28	364
Twice+	50	46	+4	288

### *The Agenda*

The question: Does *The Vocal Minority* have a different agenda of problems and concerns than they may be communicating to decision makers? The Answer: Not really. In most ways the concerns voiced by active participants are quite representative of the public as a whole.

The Times Mirror survey asked people what they thought was "the most important problem facing the country today," and then read them a list of 13 issue areas and asked if they felt each was a critical issue facing the country, a very important issue, or one that was just somewhat important. These issue areas cover a wide variety of political terrain, ranging from foreign (Bosnia) to domestic (economic conditions), specific (abortion) to general (health care), and encompass concerns generally associated with both the left (environmental protection) and the right (family values)<sup>4</sup>.

On only two of the these issues, could some of the communities of participators be said to be significantly different from the general public in terms of their level of concern. And even on these two issues -- reducing the budget deficit and protecting family values -- the magnitude of difference between activists and non-activists was not terribly large.

For example, while 48% of all Americans described reducing the federal deficit as a critical issue, 58% of those having called into a radio station felt so. Between 55% and 58% of those in the top activity level categories (done two or more activities) of attenders, contacters, contributors and responders also described reducing the deficit as a critical issue. Thus those who participate are somewhat more likely than others to view the deficit as a critical issue.

With regard to "protecting American family values," it is only among those who call into talk radio and those who are the most active among the "responder" type of participant (two or more activities) that slightly higher concern is found. Whereas 38% of the country as a whole described this as a critical issue, 46% of those who are most active in expressing their opinions through these forums felt the protection of family values to be critical. Thus in terms of the agenda -- of what is communicated to decision makers as issues that the public is concerned about -- participants in the alternative forms of public expression *are* quite representative of the public as a whole.

### *Issues*

The question: Does *The Vocal Minority* take different *positions* on controversial issues of the day than the general public. The Answer: No, on none of 8 issues tested did a majority of those expressing their views hold a position that was different from the majority of the citizenry as a whole<sup>5</sup>. Those not having attended, contacted, contributed or expressed their opinion

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<sup>4</sup>The agenda items asked about were: a. Economic conditions in the country; b. Improving the quality of education in public schools; c. Protecting U.S. jobs; d. Dealing with the changing situation and supporting Democratic reforms in Russia; e. Protecting the environment; f. Developing a health care plan for all Americans; g. Reducing drug usage; h. Making America competitive in the world economy; j. *Reducing the federal budget deficit*; k. Reducing crime; l. Dealing with the problem of the homeless; m. Increasing the availability of child care; n. The situation in Bosnia; o. The controversy over abortion; p. Protecting the rights of gays and lesbians; q. *Protecting American family values*.

<sup>5</sup>The items asked about were:

- a. Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion
- b. A constitutional amendment to permit prayer in the public schools
- c. Increasing environmental controls, even if it reduces employment opportunities
- d. Proposals to increase the federal income tax in order to reduce the deficit
- e. Restricting the sale of hand guns

through initiating contact were all quite similar in their opinions. As with the agenda, categories of participators were separated by only a few percentage points, rather than by wide chasms.

As an important side note, however, those calling into talk radio were generally more one-sided in their distribution of opinion than was the general public as a whole on a number of issues, and this could cause slightly different readings of public opinion in a number of cases. As shown in the following table the conservative and Republican inclinations of those who call into talk radio is clearly visible in opinions that callers have. In general, they are far more opposed to gays serving in the military, moderately more opposed to increasing taxes to reduce the deficit, to restricting the sale of handguns, and to the U.S. taking an interventionist role in Bosnia, and slightly more for a constitutional amendment allowing prayer in public schools, and increasing restrictions on abortion. Radio callers are also more likely to be anti-environmentalist.

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f. Proposals to allow gays and lesbians to serve in the military  
g. Proposals for the U.S. to take an active military role to stop the civil war in Bosnia  
h. Proposals for "term limitations" to limit the number of years that members of Congress can serve

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC AND TALK RADIO CALLERS  
ON ISSUES**

	<i>GENERAL PUBLIC</i> (N=1507)			<i>RADIO CALLERS</i> (N=113)		
	<i>Favor</i>	<i>Oppose</i>	<i>Margin</i>	<i>Favor</i>	<i>Oppose</i>	
<i>Margin</i>						
Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion	32	61	-29	36	57	-21
A constitutional amendment to permit prayer in the public schools	69	27	+42	75	20	+55
Increasing environmental controls, even if it reduces employment opportunities	48	44	+4	42	46	-4
Proposals to increase the federal income tax in order to reduce the deficit	37	57	-20	32	68	-36
Restricting the sale of handguns	55	42	+13	47	47	0
Proposals to allow gays and lesbians to serve in the military	37	52	-15	28	65	-37
Proposals for the U.S. to take an active military role to stop civil war in Bosnia	35	56	-21	30	63	-33
Proposals for "term limitations" to limit the number of years that members of Congress can serve	76	18	+58	74	23	+51

Refers to Q.6 in the general public questionnaire.

Taking three different cases from this table as examples, it is not difficult to see how opinions expressed on talk radio, if accepted by decision makers as an accurate reflection of public opinion, could lead to erroneous conclusions. Whereas support for handgun control clearly has popular support, with the public being divided 55 to 42 in favor of tougher restrictions, the sentiment expressed on talk radio appears to be that this is an issue that commands equal strength on both sides. Second, where the general public marginally favors the tradeoff of increasing environmental controls at the cost of economic growth (48 favor, 44 oppose), talk radio participants paint a portrait of a public marginally leaning in the other direction (42% favor, 46% oppose).

Finally, there are issues such as whether homosexuals should be allowed to serve in the military -- and on what should be done about intervention in Bosnia, and on the tradeoff between raising taxes and reducing the federal deficit -- where actual public opinion clearly favors one side, but where talk radio participants paint a far more one-sided picture. For example, although the majority of Americans oppose gays and lesbians serving in the military, by a margin of 52% to 37%, the opinions expressed by talk radio callers present a far more one-sided picture of public opinion, with 65% opposed and just 28% in favor.

Thus it is not so much *what* views the vocal minority has as it is the degree, or *intensity* with which they express those views that can lead to misrepresentations of overall American public opinion. But in the main, the issue positions held by those who participate in the various forms of public expression examined here are not terribly dissimilar from the larger public of all Americans.

#### *Opinions of Political Leaders, Parties, Institutions and the Mass Media*

The question: Does *The Vocal Minority* express different opinions about major political figures, the parties and institutions than the public as a whole. The Answer: Very definitely.

#### *Political Leaders*

Active participants are decidedly more Republican and conservative in their views. They give much more positive ratings to Republican Robert Dole, and are generally more favorable in their assessments of the Republican party. They are also *far* more critical of Hillary Clinton, the Democratic party and the Congress than is the citizenry as a whole. Their views of other institutions -- the Supreme Court and the United Nations, are slightly more negative than others, as are their views of the mass media, indicating a slight anti-institutional bias. Surprisingly, their views of political maverick Ross Perot are very similar to those held by non-participants.

## FAVORABILITY RATINGS OF POLITICAL FIGURES

	<i>ROBERT DOLE</i>		<i>HILLARY CLINTON</i>		<i>ROSS PEROT</i>		<i>N</i>
	<i>Favor- Able</i>	<i>Unfavor- Able</i>	<i>Favor- Able</i>	<i>Unfavor- Able</i>	<i>Favor- Able</i>	<i>Unfavor- Able</i>	
<i>TOTAL</i> 1507		48	28	60	29	64	31
<i>TALK RADIO</i>							
Listeners	60	27	50	38	65	30	277
Callers 50	26	<b>49</b>	<b>45</b>	66	32	113	
<i>ATTENDERS</i>							
Never	44	27	60	27	61	33	802
Once	49	30	61	29	61	31	278
Twice+ 55	29	59	32	71	27	427	
<i>CONTACTERS</i>							
Never	44	29	62	25	63	31	903
Once	53	24	59	34	63	30	205
Twice+ 56	28	55	36	65	32	399	
<i>CONTRIBUTORS</i>							
Never	45	27	61	26	61	31	803
Once	46	32	58	31	67	29	389
Twice+ 59	29	60	33	65	32	315	
<i>RESPONDERS</i>							
Never	47	28	63	25	62	31	855
Once	45	32	58	32	65	30	364
Twice+ 55	26	54	39	66	32	288	
<i>NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES</i>							
None	41	27	66	20	58	34	317
1-3	45	28	58	30	64	29	540
4-6	52	30	61	31	65	32	380
7+	57	29	55	36	69	29	270

Refers to Q.17 in the general public questionnaire.

*Political Parties*

Whereas Americans as a whole rate the Democratic and Republican parties about equally, the vocal minority expresses polarized partisan attitudes. This is most clearly seen among those who call into talk radio.

**FAVORABILITY RATING OF POLITICAL PARTIES**

	<i>DEMOCRATIC PARTY</i>		<i>REPUBLICAN PARTY</i>		<i>N</i>
	<i>Favor- Able</i>	<i>Unfavor- Able</i>	<i>Favor- Able</i>	<i>Unfavor- Able</i>	
<i>TOTAL</i>	57	33	54	35	1507
<i>TALK RADIO</i>					
Listeners	45	50	67	29	277
Callers	47	46	59	30	113
<i>ATTENDERS</i>					
Never	57	32	54	34	802
Once	52	39	60	31	278
Twice+	60	33	52	40	427
<i>CONTACTERS</i>					
Never	59	29	53	34	903
Once	56	36	57	32	205
Twice+	51	43	56	37	399
<i>CONTRIBUTORS</i>					
Never	59	30	57	32	803
Once	53	38	50	38	389
Twice+	56	38	53	40	315
<i>RESPONDERS</i>					
Never	59	30	55	33	855
Once	56	36	51	41	364
Twice+	50	41	57	33	288
<i>NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES</i>					
None	60	26	55	31	317
1-3	58	33	55	35	540
4-6	56	35	54	37	380
7+	52	43	53	39	270

Refers to Q.17 in the general public questionnaire.

- Contributors are in fact less favorable towards *both* political parties than are non-contributors. One might assume their contributions towards groups and/or candidates are in some fashion an anti-party mechanism. Interestingly, despite being extremely affluent and well educated, traits generally associated with Republican identification, those active in this area actually gave the Republican party a lower favorability score than the Democratic party.
- Responders are clearly less favorable towards the Democratic party, and are only somewhat more favorable to the Republican party.
- Contacters show a similar pattern. The most active are the least favorable towards the Democratic party, but there is no consistent increase in the Republican image score as one moves up the participatory ladder.
- Attenders show no clear pattern with regard to the Democratic or Republican party, with the exception that, like contributors, those who engage in the greatest number of activities show the least affection for the Republican party.

#### *Political Institutions*

At the time the survey was conducted, Americans were evenly divided in their views of the U.S. Congress, with slightly more (48%) expressing an unfavorable impression of the institution than viewed it in favorable terms (43%). One would never know this if one only heard the voices of those who participate in political activity. A very substantial majority of activists hold an unfavorable opinion of Congress. Talk radio callers are the most extreme in their displeasure with Congress. Those who call into radio stations are 16 percentage points more likely than the general public to rate the Congress unfavorably.

## FAVORABILITY RATING OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

<i>NATIONS</i>	<i>THE U.S. CONGRESS</i>		<i>THE SUPREME COURT</i>		<i>THE UNITED</i>		<i>N</i>
	<i>Favor- Able</i>	<i>Unfavor- Able</i>	<i>Favor- Able</i>	<i>Unfavor- Able</i>	<i>Favor- Able</i>	<i>Unfavor- Able</i>	
<i>TOTAL</i>	43	48	73	18	73	17	1507
<i>TALK RADIO</i>							
Listeners	34	59	72	18	68	20	277
Callers	30	64	67	21	70	17	113
<i>ATTENDERS</i>							
Never	45	44	73	17	72	16	802
Once	37	54	72	18	76	17	278
Twice+	41	53	72	21	72	20	427
<i>CONTACTERS</i>							
Never	46	44	73	17	73	15	903
Once	43	50	75	16	77	14	205
Twice+	34	57	70	22	70	23	399
<i>CONTRIBUTORS</i>							
Never	46	44	72	18	73	16	803
Once	40	49	72	18	73	18	389
Twice+	35	60	76	16	72	18	315
<i>RESPONDERS</i>							
Never	45	44	73	17	73	15	855
Once	40	53	73	19	74	19	364
Twice+	38	57	71	21	70	22	288
<i>NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES</i>							
None	52	36	74	14	73	13	317
1-3	43	47	73	18	73	16	540
4-6	38	55	73	19	75	19	380
7+	35	58	71	22	69	22	270

Refers to Q.17 in the general public questionnaire.

With regard to both the Supreme Court and the United Nations, two institutions with less visibility, participators are not terribly different from the public as a whole. Ratings of both these institutions are quite favorable. If anything, there is a slight anti-institutional tendency demonstrated by the most active, particularly in the case of contacters and responders. Those calling into talk radio also express less liking of the Supreme Court than does the general public.

### *The Mass Media*

The anti-institutional inclinations of participators is also evident with regard to the mass media, although far more for network TV news than for the newspaper that respondents read most frequently. Again, it is talk radio callers who are the most distinctive in terms of manifesting less favorable opinions. Where favorable opinions outnumbered unfavorable ones by a margin of 66 percentage points among the general public, talk radio callers give television news a much lower positive rating margin +44. Less affection is also demonstrated for TV news as one moves up the activity scale for contacters and contributors, while variations among attenders and responders are quite slight.

## FAVORABILITY RATING OF MASS MEDIA

	<i>NETWORK TV NEWS</i>		<i>DAILY NEWSPAPERS</i>		<i>N</i>
	<i>Favor- Able</i>	<i>Unfavor- Able</i>	<i>Favor- Able</i>	<i>Unfavor- Able</i>	
<i>TOTAL</i>	81	15	81	13	1235
<i>TALK RADIO</i>					
Listeners	76	22	78	18	231
Callers	71	27	74	22	100
<i>ATTENDERS</i>					
Never	82	14	81	12	649
Once	79	17	80	15	241
Twice+	82	17	82	14	345
<i>CONTACTERS</i>					
Never	84	11	81	12	720
Once	77	19	80	15	182
Twice+	75	23	81	16	333
<i>CONTRIBUTORS</i>					
Never	84	11	82	11	655
Once	79	18	80	16	310
Twice+	75	23	79	18	270
<i>RESPONDERS</i>					
Never	82	14	80	13	691
Once	80	17	83	14	309
Twice+	80	17	82	14	235
<i>NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES</i>					
None	85	9	84	10	248
1-3	83	13	78	15	448
4-6	80	19	82	15	317
7+	74	23	83	14	222

Refers to Q.17 in the general public questionnaire.

## IV. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL VALUES

### *Attitudes Toward Government*

Activists are far more critical of government and feel it is overly intrusive than are non-participants. Those calling into talk radio are the most extreme in their anti-government sentiment. While there is a generally held view that government is wasteful and inefficient, those who participate more are much more passionate in their endorsement of this sentiment. Just 16% of those not having engaged in any activity say they *completely* agree with this view, compared to 25% of those who participated in 1 to 6 activities and 32% of those who have done 7 or more. Radio callers top the chart with a high of 36%. The exact same pattern holds when people are asked if they think the federal government controls too much of their daily life. The more participation the stronger the agreement, with talk radio callers again being the most extreme.

### ATTITUDE TOWARDS GOVERNMENT BY NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES ENGAGED IN TO EXPRESS OPINION

	<i>NONE</i>	<i>1-3</i>	<i>4-6</i>	<i>7+</i>	<i>RADIO CALLERS</i>
When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful					
Agree	64	71	72	70	81
Disagree	33	26	26	28	18
Don't Know	3	3	2	2	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives					
Agree	60	64	66	70	77
Disagree	37	35	34	29	21
Don't Know	3	1	*	1	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Refers to Q.900 in the general public questionnaire.

*Political Alienation*

Three items asked about the relationship between citizens and their elected officials -- whether people have any say about what the government does, whether elected officials lose touch with their constituents, and whether elected officials care what people think. It is the *lack* of differences according to level of participation that is most interesting here. Where one might sense that being active would give participators a sense of empowerment, or of the system being responsive to them, this is clearly not the case. The table shows very little difference according to the level of participation. Participation, evidently, does not lead to a sense that one's opinion is valued or that politicians are attentive.

**POLITICAL ALIENATION BY NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES ENGAGED IN TO EXPRESS OPINION**

	<i>NONE</i>	<i>1-3</i>	<i>4-6</i>	<i>7+</i>	<i>RADIO CALLERS</i>
People like me don't have any say about what the government does					
Agree	55	54	51	47	50
Disagree	45	44	48	52	49
Don't Know	*	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly					
Agree	74	84	87	81	87
Disagree	21	15	13	17	12
Don't Know	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Most elected officials care what people like me think					
Agree	40	39	40	43	38
Disagree	56	59	59	55	61
Don't Know	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

Refers to Q.900 in the general public questionnaire.

*American Exceptionalism*

The most active participators *are* different on this value which centers on the belief that there are no limits to what America can do. While a slight majority of those not participating in any activity (56%) believe that as Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want, agreement rises steadily with participation, topping off at two-thirds of those having engaged in 7 or more activities. Those most active are also more likely to believe that there are no limits to growth in the country, but differences are not as sharp.

**AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM BY NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES ENGAGED IN TO EXPRESS OPINION**

	<i>NONE</i>	<i>1-3</i>	<i>4-6</i>	<i>7+</i>	<i>RADIO CALLERS</i>
As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want					
Agree	56	58	61	67	64
Disagree	42	38	37	32	35
Don't Know	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$
I don't believe that there are any real limits to growth in this country today					
Agree	53	53	55	61	57
Disagree	43	43	44	35	42
Don't Know	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

Refers to Q.900 in the general public questionnaire.

### *Racial Attitudes*

Activists are more inclined than others to believe that there has been an improvement in the status of blacks over the recent past and less likely to believe that strong efforts to improve the status of blacks and other minorities are necessary. Where a majority of those who have done nothing in the way of participatory activities (56%) feel there has been no real improvement in the status of blacks, less than half of those having engaged in any amount of activity, and of those who call into talk radio express a similar view. And, those who participate at any level (and who call into radio stations) are more likely to disagree that more should be done to improve the status of blacks and other minorities than those who are silent. While the data presented below are for all citizens, the same patterns hold only when white Americans are looked at.

#### **RACIAL ATTITUDES BY NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES ENGAGED IN TO EXPRESS OPINION**

	<i>NONE</i>	<i>1-3</i>	<i>4-6</i>	<i>7+</i>	<i>RADIO CALLERS</i>
In the past few years there has not been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country					
Agree	56	48	51	46	48
Disagree	39	48	47	52	52
Don't Know	$\frac{5}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$
We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment					
Agree	40	33	33	27	30
Disagree	56	65	64	72	69
Don't Know	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

Refers to Q.901 in the general public questionnaire.

### *Social Welfarism*

Those who are active participators appear to be less committed to helping those in need or at the bottom of the societal ladder than others. In this way there is a more conservative edge to their views, and probably what they communicate to decision makers in terms of their feelings on social welfare issues. Moreover, those who call into talk radio are even more extreme in their views, demonstrating less concern and compassion for the under class in most cases.

The difference is sharpest in response to the question of whether the government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt. A majority of those not having done any activity in the recent past, 53%, agree with this statement, while 41% disagree and the remainder express no opinion. Sentiment is reversed among those having participated in 1 to 3 activities, with 43% agreeing and 52% disagreeing. Disapproval increases to a margin of 57% to 38% among those participating in more than four activities, and tops out at 61% to 37% among those who call into talk radio.

**SOCIAL WELFARISM BY NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES  
ENGAGED IN TO EXPRESS OPINION**

	<i>NONE</i>	<i>1-3</i>	<i>4-6</i>	<i>7+</i>	<i>RADIO CALLERS</i>
We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country					
Agree	39	47	43	45	50
Disagree	58	50	55	53	48
Don't Know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves					
Agree	69	65	57	53	58
Disagree	28	32	40	43	42
Don't Know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	*
	100	100	100	100	100
The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt					
Agree	53	43	38	36	37
Disagree	41	52	57	59	61
Don't Know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs					
Agree	76	82	82	79	83
Disagree	21	16	16	20	15
Don't Know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

Refers to Q.900 in the general public questionnaire.

*Tolerance/Personal Freedom*

Activists appear to be more tolerant and supportive of personal freedoms and liberties than non-participants. While they are not terribly different in their beliefs about whether school boards should be able to fire teachers who are known homosexuals, the most active are the most firm in their disagreement with the idea that AIDS might be a punishment for immoral sexual behavior. Disagreement with this statement ranges from a low of 48% among non-participants to a high of 68% among the most active.

They also show more openness and tolerance of ideas in their response to whether books with "dangerous ideas" should be banned from public school libraries. Among those having done nothing in the way of participation, book banning receives strong support, by a margin of 62% to 33%. Support drops to a margin of 55% to 41% among those having done 1-3 activities, and then flip flops to clear opposition among those having participated in a larger number of activities.

**TOLERANCE/PERSONAL FREEDOM BY NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES ENGAGED IN TO EXPRESS OPINION**

	<i>NONE</i>	<i>1-3</i>	<i>4-6</i>	<i>7+</i>	<i>RADIO CALLERS</i>
School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals					
Agree	36	34	34	32	35
Disagree	57	59	62	63	60
Don't Know	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries					
Agree	62	55	41	45	47
Disagree	33	41	54	53	50
Don't Know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior					
Agree	41	37	32	25	38
Disagree	48	56	61	68	52
Don't Know	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

Refers to Q.901 in the general public questionnaire.

*Attitudes towards Business*

There are only modest differences in attitudes towards business according to how frequently people participate in politics, but they take a curious shape. On the one hand, while most hold the view that business corporations make too much profit, there is more disagreement with this sentiment among the most participative. Among those having engaged in none of the activities more feel there is excessive profit taking by a margin of 65% to 28%. Among those having done the largest number of activities, the margin is a narrower 57% to 40%. Radio callers join them as the least anti-business.

On the other hand, while there is also a consensus that too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few big companies, it is the most participative who are more likely to *completely* agree with this statement. Radio callers are again distinctive. Fully 32% express their reservations about this aspect of business by strongly agreeing with this statement, more than the 27% who have done 7 or more activities, and far more than the 21% who have done nothing.

**BUSINESS ATTITUDES BY NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES ENGAGED IN TO EXPRESS OPINION**

	<i>NONE</i>	<i>1-3</i>	<i>4-6</i>	<i>7+</i>	<i>RADIO CALLERS</i>
There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies					
Agree	73	71	72	73	69
Disagree	24	25	27	25	30
Don't Know	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Business corporations make too much profit					
Agree	65	65	61	57	57
Disagree	28	29	37	40	43
Don't Know	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	*
	100	100	100	100	100

Refers to Q.900 in the general public questionnaire.

*Militarism/Patriotism*

There is little difference in attitudes about the value of a strong military, or an indicator of patriotism -- being willing to fight and die for one's country, right or wrong -- according to how much participation people engage in. With the end of the Soviet threat and the lack of foreign threat, it is not surprising that participation would be much more strongly related to domestic affairs rather than show a strong link to militarism.

**MILITARISM BY NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES  
ENGAGED IN TO EXPRESS OPINION**

	<i>NONE</i>	<i>1-3</i>	<i>4-6</i>	<i>7+</i>	<i>RADIO CALLERS</i>
The best way to ensure peace is through military strength					
Agree	53	54	52	57	64
Disagree	44	42	46	42	34
Don't Know	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$
We should all be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong					
Agree	53	60	54	45	54
Disagree	42	36	44	52	45
Don't Know	$\frac{5}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

Refers to Q.901 in the general public questionnaire.

*International Beliefs*

There is a consensus on two items that relate to international affairs. First over 80% of the public believes it is best for the future of the country to be active in world affairs. With such a consensus, one would not expect to find large differences according to the level of participation, and they are modest. There *is* a difference, however, in the intensity with which that belief is held. Just 17% of those not having participated say they *completely* agree with the statement, a number that doubles among those having done 1-3 activities, and increases to 44% among those having done 7 or more. There is also a consensus that the U.S. should pay less attention to foreign and more attention to domestic problems, and differences in participation are quite slight.

**INTERNATIONAL BELIEFS BY NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES  
ENGAGED IN TO EXPRESS OPINION**

	<u>NONE</u>	<u>1-3</u>	<u>4-6</u>	<u>7+</u>	<u>RADIO CALLERS</u>
It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs					
Agree	82	86	92	89	89
Disagree	13	10	7	11	9
Don't Know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>2</u>
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home					
Agree	88	87	86	76	82
Disagree	11	12	12	22	15
Don't Know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Refers to Q.901 in the general public questionnaire.

*Financial Pressure*

Not surprisingly, given that participation is strongly related to income, those who participate more report feeling less financial pressure. Participants are less likely to say they have difficulty making ends meet and are more likely to report being satisfied with their current financial condition.

**FINANCIAL PRESSURE BY NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES  
ENGAGED IN TO EXPRESS OPINION**

	<i>NONE</i>	<i>1-3</i>	<i>4-6</i>	<i>7+</i>	<i>RADIO CALLERS</i>
I often don't have enough money to make ends meet					
Agree	62	56	51	43	53
Disagree	37	42	48	54	47
Don't Know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>*</u>
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially					
Agree	55	59	56	61	54
Disagree	44	39	43	38	45
Don't Know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Refers to Q.901 in the general public questionnaire.

# **SURVEY METHODOLOGY**

# ABOUT THE SURVEY

## *General Public*

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,507 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period May 18-24, 1993. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

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

## *Talk Show Hosts*

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a sample of 112 radio talk show hosts (described in detail in the sample design) during the period May 25 - June 11, 1993. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 10 percentage points.

# SURVEY SAMPLE DESIGN

## *General Public*

The sample for this survey was a representative sample of adults living in the continental United States augmented by a sample of previously interviewed "callers" to radio talk shows. The oversample of radio talk show callers had been interviewed in the past few months on other surveys and had reported that they had called into a radio or TV talk show. These 120 respondents were recontacted and asked if they had called into a radio talk show and, if so, were interviewed for this survey. The oversample of callers was weighted in analysis to its correct proportion in the population.

The sample for the random component of the survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted (including not-yet-listed) numbers. The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone households in the U.S. Estimates of the number of telephone households within each county are derived from 1990 Census data on residential telephone incidence that have been updated with state-level information on new telephone installations and county-level projections of the number of households. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample.

At least three attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home". If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who lives in the household". This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis. The data for this survey were also weighted to account for the oversampling of radio talk show callers that was part of the survey design. The oversample was weighted to its correct proportion in the population.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1992). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of telephone households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

### *Talk Show Hosts*

The sample for the Times Mirror Radio Talk Show Hosts Survey was designed to represent regularly scheduled radio talk shows with substantial audiences in the top 100 markets across the United States. The sample was selected from the radio talk shows listed in "Talk Show Selects" a product of Broadcast Interview Source of Washington, D.C. which lists over 700 local and national talk shows in the top 150 markets in the United States.

All radio talk shows in the top 100 markets that deal with news or politics were selected. Talk shows dealing exclusively with entertainment, business, or other substantive areas not related to politics were deleted from the sample.

Quotas for completed interviews were set in four strata by size of market: top 25 markets, markets 26 through 50, markets 51 through 75, and markets 76 through 100. These quotas were set to be proportional to the size of the strata in the list of radio talk shows.

Each person sampled for this survey was mailed an advance letter on the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press letterhead and signed by Andrew Kohut, Director of the Center. These letters were intended to introduce the survey to prospective respondents, describe the nature and purpose of the survey and encourage participation in the survey. Approximately one week after the letter was mailed specially trained interviewers began calling the individual sample members and conducting the survey or setting up appointments to conduct the survey at a later date.

Interviewers for this survey were experienced, executive interviewers specially trained to ensure their familiarity with the questionnaire and study objectives.

# **GENERAL PUBLIC QUESTIONNAIRE**

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS  
 EXPRESSIONS OF PUBLIC OPINION - "TALKIES" SURVEY  
 MAY 18 - 24, 1993  
 N=1507

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

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am \_\_\_\_\_ calling from the Princeton Survey Research Associates from Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)  
 (NOTE: THE RECALL OVERSAMPLE ASKS TO SPEAK WITH THE AGE/SEX IN THE HOUSEHOLD TO FOLLOW UP ON A SURVEY WE DID EARLIER THIS YEAR]

Q.1 First, do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?

		May <u>1993</u>	April <u>1993</u>	Feb <u>1993</u>
39	Approve	45	49	56
43	Disapprove	37	29	25
<u>18</u> 100	Don't know	<u>18</u> 100	<u>22</u> 100	<u>19</u> 100

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

		<u>Jan</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>
22	Satisfied	39	28	34	41	45	56	41	39
71	Dissatisfied	50	68	61	54	50	40	54	55
<u>7</u> <u>100</u>	No Opinion	<u>11</u> <u>100</u>	<u>4</u> <u>100</u>	<u>5</u> <u>100</u>	<u>5</u> <u>100</u>	<u>5</u> <u>100</u>	<u>4</u> <u>100</u>	<u>5</u> <u>100</u>	<u>6</u> <u>100</u>

Q.3 What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

		<u>April</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1987</u>
17	Economy (general)	18	43	5	4	7
19 13	Unemployment/Lack of jobs	18	22	7	9	
13 12	Deficit/National debt/ Balanced budget	17	4	11	19	
11 *	Health care (cost/accessibility)	13	3	3	1	
7 3	Morality/Ethics/ Family values	3	3	5	2	
7 3	Crime/Gangs/Justice system	5	3	7	8	
4 0	Taxes	4	1	3	2	
5 6	Drugs/Alcohol	4	4	37	23	
5 0	Dissatisfaction with government/Politics	3	2	2	1	
2 0	Racism	3	1	2	0	
3 6	Poverty	3	1	3	4	
2 3	Inflation/Difference between wages/Costs	2	2	3	2	

2 0	Too much foreign aid/ Spend money at home	2	1	3	1
5 *	Homelessness	2	6	8	10
5 0	Education	2	2	4	4
2 0	Issues related to elderly	2	1	2	2

Q.3 Continued ...

* 0	Environment/Garbage /Pollution	2	1	8	2
2 21	Other domestic	1	10	11	10
3 22	Other international	1	4	6	10
4 1	Other	8	1	5	9
2	Don't know/No answer	4	3	1	3 3
<b>53</b> (1507)	<b>NET ECONOMIC</b>	<b>58</b> (1011)	<b>76</b> (1220)	<b>26</b> (3004)	<b>28 35</b> (2048)(4244)

Q.4 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?

		<u>Jan 1992</u>	<u>May 1990</u>	<u>May 1988</u>	<u>Jan 1988</u>	<u>May 1987</u>
28	Republican	32	29	26	30	28
35	Democratic	41	30	38	35	38
23	No difference (VOLUNTEERED)	12	31	22	24	24
<u>14</u> <u>100</u>	Don't know	<u>15</u> <u>100</u>	<u>10</u> <u>100</u>	<u>14</u> <u>100</u>	<u>11</u> <u>100</u>	<u>10</u> <u>100</u>

Q4a. Overall, do you support or oppose Bill Clinton's economic plan?

		<u>May 1993</u>	<u>Feb 1993</u>
42	Support	46	58
41	Oppose	36	27
<u>17</u> <u>100</u>	Don't know/No answer	<u>18</u> <u>100</u>	<u>15</u> <u>100</u>

Q.5 I'd like to read you some issues the country will be facing over the next few years. For each one please tell me if you personally feel it is a critical issue facing the country, a very important issue, or one that is somewhat important. If you don't have an opinion on some, just say so. First (ROTATE ITEMS). Is (ITEM) a critical issue, very important or somewhat important?

	<u>Critical</u>	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Somewhat Important</u>	<u>(VOL) DK</u>
a. Economic conditions in the country	53	39	6	2=100
b. Improving the quality of education in public schools	49	44	6	1=100
c. Protecting U.S. jobs	50	44	5	1=100
d. Dealing with the changing situation and supporting Democratic reforms in Russia	10	31	47	12=100
e. Protecting the environment	34	46	18	2=100
f. Developing a health care plan for all Americans	44	40	14	2=100
j. Reducing the federal budget deficit	48	39	10	3=100
k. Reducing crime	53	42	4	1=100
l. Dealing with the problem of the homeless	33	44	21	2=100
n. The situation in Bosnia	16	26	46	12=100
o. The controversy over abortion	21	28	40	11=100
p. Protecting the rights of gays and lesbians	9	18	56	17=100
q. Protecting American family values	38	43	16	3=100

Q.6 I'm going to read you a list of some programs and proposals that are being discussed in this country today. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose it. The first one is ... (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM--ROTATE ITEMS). Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose or strongly oppose (ITEM)?

	<u>Strongly Favor</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Strongly Oppose</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion	15	17	35	25	8=100
April 1992	30		62		8=100
Oct 1990	21	17	29	26	7=100
May 1987	18	23	33	18	8=100
June 1985	47		49		4=100
c. A constitutional amendment to permit prayer in the public schools	31	38	19	7	5=100
April 1987	30	41	17	8	4=100
June 1985	68		28		4=100
d. Increasing environmental controls, even if it reduces employment opportunities	11	37	36	8	8=100
May 1990	17	40	29	7	7=100
f. Proposals to increase the federal income tax in order to reduce the deficit	4	33	35	23	5=100
g. Restricting the sale of hand guns	28	27	26	17	2=100
May 1990	38	27	20	13	2=100
h. Proposals to allow gays and lesbians to serve in the military	8	28	26	27	10=100
i. Proposals for the U.S. to take an active military role to stop the civil war in Bosnia	6	28	40	16	9=100
j. Proposals for "term limitations" to limit the number of years that members of Congress can serve	34	42	14	4	6=100

Q.7 I'd like to know how often, if ever, you read certain types of publications, listen to the radio, or watch certain types of TV shows. For each that I read tell me if you do it regularly, sometimes, hardly ever or never. How often do you ... (ITEM)? (READ SCALE) ROTATE ITEMS

	<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Not Familiar With</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. Read your daily newspaper	66	19	7	8	*	*=100
February, 1992	71	19	5	4	*	1=100
b. Read news magazines such as Time, U.S. News and World Report or Newsweek	24	39	14	23	*	*=100
May-June, 1992	20	39	18	23	*	*=100
July, 1990	18	34	18	30	*	*=100
June, 1990	21	39	16	24	*	*=100
May, 1990	17	34	19	30	*	*=100
April, 1990	20	35	16	29	*	*=100
March, 1990	16	35	19	30	*	*=100
February, 1990	17	36	18	29	*	0=100
January, 1990	18	34	17	31	*	0=100
d. Watch Sunday morning news shows such as Meet The Press, Face The Nation or This Week with David Brinkley	18	32	15	35	*	*=100
May-June, 1992	15	25	21	39	*	*=100
July, 1990	13	24	14	49	*	*=100
June, 1990	15	26	12	47	*	*=100
May, 1990	13	21	16	50	*	*=100
April, 1990	14	22	12	52	*	*=100
March, 1990	10	24	16	50	*	0=100
February, 1990	12	22	13	53	*	0=100
January, 1990	11	24	14	51	*	*=100
e. Watch MacNeil Lehrer News Hour	10	24	14	51	*	1=100
May-June, 1992	6	19	17	56	*	2=100
July, 1990	7	16	11	66	*	*=100
June, 1990	7	16	12	64	*	1=100
May, 1990	8	15	11	65	*	1=100
April, 1990	6	16	11	66	*	1=100
March, 1990	5	19	12	63	*	1=100
February, 1990	5	15	11	69	*	0=100
January, 1990	6	15	12	67	*	*=100
f. Watch the Larry King show	5	24	16	54	*	1=100

	<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Not Familiar With</u>	<u>DK</u>
g. Listen to programs on National Public Radio such as Morning Edition or All Things Considered	15	20	15	49	*	1=100
May-June, 1992	7	16	17	59	*	1=100
July, 1990	9	13	8	70	*	*=100
June, 1990	9	10	11	69	*	1=100
May, 1990	7	11	10	72	*	*=100
April, 1990	7	12	9	71	*	1=100
March, 1990	7	9	10	74	*	*=100
February, 1990	8	10	8	74	*	*=100
January, 1990	5	10	7	78	*	*=100
h. Watch the national nightly network news on CBS, ABC, or NBC. This is different from local news shows about the area where you live.	60	28	5	6	*	1=100
February, 1993	58	23	10	9	*	*=100
i. Watch local news about your viewing area. This usually comes on before the national news and then later at night at 10 or 11.	77	16	4	3	*	*=100
February, 1993	76	16	5	3	*	*=100
j. Watch Cable News Network (CNN).	35	34	7	24	*	*=100
May-June, 1992	30	32	10	27	*	1=100
July, 1990	27	28	8	36	*	1=100
June, 1990	30	27	6	37	*	*=100
May, 1990	27	25	7	40	*	1=100
April, 1990	26	29	7	37	*	1=100
March, 1990	22	28	8	41	*	1=100
February, 1990	23	29	8	40	*	0=100
January, 1990	26	25	7	41	*	1=100
c. Watch TV news magazine shows such as 60 minutes or 20/20.	52	37	6	5	*	0=100
February, 1993	49	32	11	8	0	*=100
l. Watch C-Span	11	25	13	48	*	3=100
February, 1993	7	18	14	45	15	1=100

	<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Not Familiar With</u>	<u>DK</u>
m. Watch television talk shows such as Oprah, Donohue or Geraldo	24	30	19	27	*	*=100
February, 1993	22	27	23	28	0	*=100
n. Read personality magazines such as People or US	12	25	19	44	*	*=100
May-June, 1992	8	28	25	39	*	*=100
July, 1990	9	25	18	48	*	*=100
June, 1990	10	28	19	43	*	*=100
May, 1990	7	24	19	50	*	*=100
April, 1990	9	25	20	46	*	*=100
March, 1990	8	25	20	47	*	*=100
February, 1990	8	24	19	49	*	*=100
January, 1990	9	23	19	49	*	0=100

Q.T1 How often, if ever, do you listen to radio shows that invite listeners to call in to discuss current events, public issues and politics: regularly, sometimes, rarely or never?

17 Regularly

25 Sometimes

19 Rarely

39 Never - GO TO Q.17

$\frac{*}{100}$  Don't know - GO TO Q.17

Q.T2 And have you listened to any talk radio shows either yesterday or today?

39 Yes

61 No

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

Q.T3 We are interested in people who listen to and participate in "talk radio" about politics and current affairs. What would you say is the most important reason why you listen to this type of program?

- 36 Keep up on current issues
- 21 Learn how different people feel
- 13 Entertainment/Like them/Enjoy them
- 10 Forum for public opinion
- 5 Don't listen often enough to answer
- 4 To find out about politics/Government
- 4 Get information you can't get elsewhere
- 4 Variety/Importance of issues
- 3 To find out about the economy
- 2 Shows support my views
- 1 Like the Host/Mentions Host
- \* Get information to use in conversation
- 1 Other
- 5 Don't know/No answer

Q.T4 I'm going to read you some reasons people have given us for why they listen to talk radio call in programs. I'd like you to think about the SPECIFIC program you listen to most often. For each one I read please just tell me if it is a major reason why you listen, a minor reason, or not a reason at all. First: **(READ LIST STARTING AT DESIGNATED POINT; ROTATE ITEMS)** Thinking about the specific program you listen to most often is **(ITEM)** a major reason, a minor reason, or not a reason for listening to the program you listen to most often?

	<u>Major Reason</u>	<u>Minor Reason</u>	<u>Not A Reason</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. To keep up on issues of the day	70	21	7	2=100
b. Because it is entertaining	40	43	15	2=100
c. Because it is a good way to learn things that I can't find out elsewhere	58	31	9	2=100
d. To learn about how different people feel about different issues	71	23	5	1=100
e. Because I like the host of the show	27	43	28	2=100
f. I pick up information that I use in conversation with other people	33	49	16	2=100

Q.T6 When do you find yourself being the most interested in what you are listening to on talk radio -- when you hear people expressing YOUR point of view on a subject or when you listen to people expressing THE OPPOSITE point of view?

22 Same point of view as yourself

47 Opposite point of view

25 Depends/Mixed/Both (VOL)

6 Don't know

100

Q.T7 Some people feel that talk radio is dominated by conservatives, others feel that liberal viewpoints are more often heard, and still others think there is a great mixture of views expressed. How about you: do you think talk radio basically presents a liberal view, a conservative one, a mixed one, or no particular point of view?

16 Liberal

11 Conservative

60 Mixed

10 No point of view

$\frac{3}{100}$  Don't know

Q.T8 How would you judge most of the hosts on talk radio--are they more liberal than you, more conservative, or about the same as you are?

33 More liberal

19 More conservative

37 The same

5 (DO NOT READ) Depends/some of each

$\frac{6}{100}$  Don't know

Q.T9 Have you, yourself ever tried to call into such a radio program, or not?


May  
1993


19 Yes 11

$\frac{81}{100}$  No/Don't know - SKIP TO Q.17  $\frac{89}{100}$

Q.T9a Did you get through and actually talk on the air?

50 Yes

49 No  SKIP TO Q.17

$\frac{1}{100}$  Don't know/No answer 

Q.T10 Have you done this at any time in the past 12 months?

54 Yes

45 No

$\frac{1}{100}$  Don't know

SKIP TO Q.17

Q.T11 And have you done this in the last month or two? IF YES, PROBE: About how many times--just once, twice, or three or more times?

71 No

28 Yes

14 once

7 twice

7 3 or more times

0 (DO NOT READ) Don't Know, if called in last month or two

$\frac{1}{100}$  (DO NOT READ) Called in in past month or two, but Don't know how many times

**SUMMARY BASE = TOTAL RESPONDENTS**

61 Ever listen to talk radio

23 Listened Yesterday

11 Ever tried to call in

6 Ever talked on air

3 Did so in the past year

$\frac{39}{100}$  Never listened to talk radio

ASK ALL

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

		Very Favor- able	Mostly Favor- able	Mostly Unfavor- able	Very Unfavor- able	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
a.	Bill Clinton	18	42	23	12	0	5=100
	July, 1992	17	42	25	9	0	7=100
	June, 1992	10	36	33	14	1	6=100
	May, 1992	11	42	32	10	*	5=100
	March, 1992	10	43	29	11	1	6=100
	February, 1992	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
	January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
	November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
b.	Robert Dole	11	37	20	8	11	13=100
	May, 1990	7	45	15	5	13	15=100
	May, 1987	9	51	11	3	9	17=100
c.	Howard Stern	4	17	15	18	26	20=100
d.	Larry King	12	40	15	6	8	19=100
e.	Hillary Clinton	19	41	18	11	1	10=100
f.	Rush Limbaugh	12	21	16	19	17	15=100
g.	Ross Perot	21	43	21	10	*	5=100
	July, 1992	18	30	21	14	1	16=100
	June, 1992	18	35	18	8	5	16=100
	May, 1992	11	39	20	7	2	21=100
	March, 1992	11	18	15	6	29	21=100
h.	The Democratic Party	14	43	25	9	0	9=100
	July, 1992	17	44	24	9	*	6=100
i.	The Republican Party	12	42	25	10	0	11=100
	July, 1992	9	37	31	17	*	6=100
j.	The Supreme Court	17	56	14	4	0	9=100
	November, 1991	18	54	16	5	0	7=100
	May, 1990	10	55	18	7	1	9=100
	January, 1988	14	65	11	2	*	8=100
	May, 1987	13	63	15	2	*	7=100

		<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>(VOL) Never Heard Of</u>	<u>(VOL) Can't Rate</u>
k.	The Congress	8	35	35	13	0	9=100
	November, 1991	7	44	34	9	0	6=100
	May, 1990	6	53	25	9	1	6=100
	May, 1988	8	56	23	5	0	8=100
	January, 1988	6	58	25	4	0	7=100
	May, 1987	10	64	16	4	*	6=100
	January, 1987	7	52	23	8	0	
	10=100 June, 1985	9	58	21	5	*	7=100
l.	The military	32	53	8	2	0	5=100
	May, 1990	18	55	15	6	*	6=100
	April, 1987	17	63	12	4	0	4=100
	January, 1987	19	54	11	5	*	11=100
	June, 1985	24	53	13	5	*	5=100
m.	The United Nations	21	52	13	4	0	10=100
	May, 1990	15	55	13	6	1	10=100
n.	The Church	44	38	7	3	0	8=100
	May, 1990	39	43	7	3	1	7=100
o.	Network TV News	23	58	12	3	0	4=100
	January, 1992	27	55	11	2	0	
	5=100 November, 1991	24	51	16	5	0	
	4=100 March, 1991	40	51	5	2	0	
	2=100 May, 1990	22	60	12	3	*	3=100
	August, 1989	28	54	11	3		4=100
	January, 1989	21	61	12	3		3=100
	August <sup>6</sup> , 1988	29	52	9	5		5=100
	May, 1988	20	58	14	4		4=100
	January 27, 1988	12	69	13	3		3=100
	January 7-18, 1988	18	60	14	4		4=100
	October, 1987	19	62	10	3		6=100
	May, 1987	21	63	11	3		2=100
	January, 1987	19	55	16	6		4=100
	July, 1986	30	53	10	4		3=100
	August, 1985	30	51	8	2		7=100
	June, 1985	25	59	8	2		6=100

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<sup>6</sup> Based on Registered Voters

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>(VOL) Never Heard Of</u>	<u>(VOL) Can't Rate</u>
p. Daily Newspaper you are most familiar with						5=100
January, 1992	26	55	10	4	0	
4=100	27	51	13	5	0	
November, 1991	24	56	11	5	0	
4=100						
March, 1991	30	55	7	3	*	
5=100						
May, 1990	22	56	12	5	*	
5=100						
August, 1989	25	52	12	5		6=100
January, 1989	22	56	13	4		5=100
August, 1988	30	48	10	5		7=100
May, 1988	19	59	13	4		5=100
January 27, 1988	19	62	11	3		5=100
January 7-18, 1988	21	59	12	4		4=100
October, 1987	21	58	9	4		8=100
May, 1987	22	59	12	3		4=100
January, 1987	19	57	13	6		5=100
July, 1986	28	51	11	6		4=100
August, 1985	25	52	10	5		8=100
June, 1985	25	56	8	3		8=100

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<sup>7</sup> Based on Registered Voters

FORM A ONLY AND ALL OF THOSE WHO HAVE TRIED TO CALL ON RADIO -- YES TO T9 SKIP IF 'NEVER' FOR ITEM IN Q7 OR QT1

FORM 1

Q.18 We are interested in finding out where people are learning about what the Clinton administration has been doing during its first months in office. For each of the following, please just tell me if you have learned a great deal, some, just a little, or nothing at all from it. First (READ FIRST ITEM STARTING AT ROTATION POINT) ... Have you learned a great deal, some, just a little or nothing about what the Clinton administration is doing from (ITEM)?

		<u>Great Deal</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Just a Little</u>	<u>Nothing At All</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Never Read</u>
a.	Your daily newspaper	43	32	13	4	1	7=100
c.	News magazine shows such as 60 minutes or 20/20	30	36	20	9	1	4=100
d.	Sunday morning news shows such as Meet The Press, Face The Nation or This Week with David Brinkley	19	22	15	11	2	31=100
e.	MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour	12	14	12	13	2	47=100
f.	The Larry King show	7	13	14	11	1	54=100
g.	Programs on National Public Radio such as Morning Edition or All Things Considered	12	15	13	11	3	46=100
o.	C-Span	14	14	11	12	2	47=100
i.	Talk shows on the radio where listeners call in to express their opinions	19	21	15	9	2	34=100
j.	From conversations with friends, neighbors, or people at work	17	37	30	15	1	*=100

FORM B ONLY AND ALL OF THOSE WHO HAVE TRIED TO CALL ON RADIO -- YES TO T9 SKIP IF 'NEVER' FOR ITEM IN Q7 OR QT1

FORM 2

Q.18 We are interested in finding out where people are learning about what the Clinton administration has been doing during its first months in office. For each of the following, please just tell me if you have learned a great deal, some, just a little, or nothing at all from it. First (READ FIRST ITEM STARTING AT ROTATION POINT) ... Have you learned a great deal, some, just a little or nothing about what the Clinton administration is doing from (ITEM?)

	<u>Great Deal</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Just a Little</u>	<u>Nothing At All</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Never Read</u>
k. The national nightly network news on CBS, ABC, NBC. This is different from local news shows about the area where you live	45	27	16	4	1	7=100
l. Local news that about your viewing area. This usually comes on before the national news and then later at night at 10 or 11	38	36	18	4	1	3=100
m. Cable News Network (CNN)	36	22	11	5	1	25=100
b. TV news magazines such as Time, U.S. News and World Report or Newsweek	26	24	16	9	1	24=100
p. Television talk shows such as Oprah, Donohue or Geraldo	12	15	20	26	1	26=100
q. Personality magazines such as People or US	6	13	13	21	2	45=100
r. Talk shows on the radio where listeners call in to express their opinions	16	21	17	9	1	36=100

ASK ALL:

Q.19 I'm going to read you four different ways you might have received information about Bill Clinton. After I read them, please tell me from which ONE you have actually learned the most about what the Clinton administration is doing. Have you learned the most about what the Clinton administration is doing when he is interviewed ... (READ LIST)?

18 By a group of reporters at a Washington news conference, OR

40 On a national network news program, OR

18 By a local news program in your viewing area, OR

17 By a radio or television talk show host

3 (DO NOT READ) Other/combo

3 (DO NOT READ) None of the above

1 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/No answer

100

**DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS:**

Q.900 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	15	37	31	16	1=100
b. Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly	29	53	13	3	2=100
c. Most elected officials care what people like me think	5	35	42	16	2=100
e. Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control	11	30	41	16	2=100
j. When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful	24	45	24	5	2=100
l. The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives	26	39	30	4	1=100
o. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	26	46	22	3	3=100
p. Business corporations make too much profit	22	41	27	5	5=100
s. As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	12	47	31	7	3=100
t. I don't believe that there are any real limits to growth in this country today	14	42	34	7	3=100

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>DK</u>
u2. People should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment	12	45	31	10	2=100
w. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country	14	29	34	20	3=100
x. It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves	19	43	26	9	3=100
y. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	9	34	40	12	5=100

Q.20 These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register. Are you now registered to vote in your precinct or election district or haven't you been able to register so far?

82 Yes, registered  
 17 No \_\_\_\_\_ } GO TO Q.22  
 1 Not sure/Don't know \_\_\_\_\_ }  
 100

Q.21 How often would you say you vote; always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

57 Always  
 31 Nearly always  
 7 Part of the time  
 4 Seldom  
 \* (DO NOT READ) Other  
 1 (DO NOT READ) Never vote  
 \* Don't know/No answer  
 100

Q.22 People express their opinions about politics and current events in a number of ways besides voting. I'm going to read a list of some of these ways. Please just tell me if you have or have not done each at some point in the last 12 months. In the last 12 months have you (ITEM)? (ROTATE ITEMS)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Can't Say</u>
a. Written a letter to any elected official?	28	72	* = 100
b. Written a letter to the editor of a newspaper?	12	88	* = 100
e. Contributed money to a political action group or committee, sponsored by a union, business or other issue group that supported a candidate in an election?	19	81	* = 100
f. Attended a public hearing?	25	75	* = 100
g. Dialed an 800 or 900 number to register your opinion or views on some issue of public concern?	22	77	1 = 100
h. Contributed money to a candidate running for public office?	17	82	1 = 100
k. Joined an organization in support of a particular cause?	27	72	1 = 100
l. Called in or sent in a response to a question or issue put up for discussion by a newspaper or TV station?	19	81	* = 100
n. Called or sent a letter to the White House?	11	89	* = 100
o. Called or sent a letter to your Congressman?	29	71	* = 100
p. Called a television station or a cable company with some complaint about a program?	12	87	1 = 100
q. Participated in an opinion poll sent to you by some interest group or group you are a member of?	38	62	* = 100

Q.22 con't ...

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Can't Say</u>
r. Participated in a "town meeting" or public affairs discussion group?	24	76	* = 100
s. Attended a city or town council meeting in the community where you live	31	69	* = 100
t. Given money to or joined Ross Perot's organization United We Stand	6	94	* = 100

(DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS)

Q.901 Now I would like to read you some more statements that will help us understand how you feel about things. For each one I read please just tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it. First, ...

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>DK</u>
dd. In the past few years there has not been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country	14	37	37	9	3=100
ff. We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment	8	26	41	22	3=100
ii. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	16	38	33	10	3=100
kk. We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	21	34	29	13	3=100
nn. It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs	33	54	9	1	3=100
nn1. Poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs	31	49	15	3	2=100
nn3. We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home	40	45	12	2	1=100
b. We all will be called before God at the judgment day to answer for our sins	56	26	6	5	7=100
f. School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals	17	17	34	26	6=100

		<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>DK</u>
g.	Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	26	26	23	21	4=100
o.	AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior	13	22	24	33	8=100
w.	I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	25	29	30	14	2=100
y.	I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially	12	46	28	13	1=100
z.	I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote	66	28	4	1	1=100

**SUPPLEMENTARY GENERAL PUBLIC  
QUESTIONNAIRE**

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS  
 RESPONDENT INVOLVEMENT STUDY  
 MAY 28 - JUNE 6, 1993  
 N=1003  
 (SEE METHODOLOGICAL NOTE ON PAGE 25)

Q.1 People express their opinions about politics and current events in a number of ways. I'm going to read a list of some of these ways. Have you ever ... ?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
a. Called or sent a letter to the White House	15	85	0=100
b. Called or sent a letter to your Congressman	39	61	0=100
c. Called a tv station or cable company with some complaint about a program	11	89	0=100
d. Participated in an opinion poll sent to you by some interest group or group you're a member of	28	71	1=100
e. Participated in town meeting or public affairs discussion group	25	75	*=100
f. Attended a city or town council meeting in the community where you live	30	70	*=100
g. Tried to call in to a radio talk program to discuss views on a public or political issue	9	91	*=100

Q.2 Well, thinking only about the last 12 months, that is since June of 1992, have you ... ?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Haven't Ever</u>
a. Called or sent a letter to the White House	6	9	0	85=100
b. Called or sent a letter to your Congressman	18	21	*	61=100
c. Called a tv station or cable company with some complaint about a program	6	5	0	89=100
d. Participated in an opinion poll sent to you by some interest group or group you're a member of	16	12	*	72=100
e. Participated in town meeting or public affairs discussion group	12	13	*	75=100
f. Attended a city or town council meeting in the community where you live	14	16	0	70=100
g. Tried to call in to a radio talk program to discuss views on a public or political issue	5	4	0	91=100

Q.3 People express their opinions about politics and current events in a number of ways. I'm going to read a list of some of these ways. Have you ever ... ?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
a. Written a letter to any elected official	29	71	*=100
b. Written a letter to the editor of a newspaper	13	87	*=100
c. Contributed money to a political action group or committee sponsored by a union, business or other issue group that supported a candidate in an election	14	86	*=100
d. Attended a public hearing	34	66	*=100
e. Dialed a 800 or 900 number to register your opinion or views on some issue of public concern	15	85	*=100
f. Contributed money to a candidate running for public office	19	80	1=100
g. Joined an organization in support of a particular cause	21	79	*=100
h. Called in or sent in a response to a question or issue put up for discussion by a newspaper or tv station	14	86	*=100

Q.4 Well, thinking only about the last 12 months, that is since June of 1992, have you ... ?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Haven't Ever</u>
a. Written a letter to any elected official	14	15	*	71=100
b. Written a letter to the editor of a newspaper	4	9	0	87=100
c. Contributed money to a political action group or committee sponsored by a union, business or other issue group that supported a candidate in an election	7	7	*	86=100
d. Attended a public hearing	13	21	0	66=100
e. Dialed a 800 or 900 number to register your opinion or views on some issue of public concern	11	4	*	85=100
f. Contributed money to a candidate running for public office	8	11	*	81=100
g. Joined an organization in support of a particular cause	9	12	*	79=100
h. Called in or sent in a response to a question or issue put up for discussion by a newspaper or tv station	10	4	*	86=100

# **TALK SHOW HOST QUESTIONNAIRE**

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS  
 EXPRESSIONS OF PUBLIC OPINION - "RADIO TALK SHOW" SURVEY  
 MAY 25 - JUNE 11, 1993  
 N=112

SEX: 1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female  
 TIME STARTED: \_\_\_\_\_  
 TIME FINISHED: \_\_\_\_\_  
 LENGTH: \_\_\_\_\_

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: \_\_\_\_\_  
 INTERVIEWER'S I.D.: \_\_\_\_\_  
 PAGE NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_  
 REPLICATE NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

REGION: 1 East  
 2 Midwest  
 3 South  
 4 West

STRATUM: 1 Stratum One  
 2 Stratum Two  
 3 Remainder

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

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

(NOTE: THE RECALL OVERSAMPLE ASKS TO SPEAK WITH THE AGE/SEX IN THE HOUSEHOLD TO FOLLOW UP ON A SURVEY WE DID EARLIER THIS YEAR]

Q.1 First, do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?

<u>HOSTS</u>		<u>PUBLIC</u>
26	Approve	39
62	Disapprove	43
<u>12</u>	Don't know	<u>18</u>
100		100

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

<u>HOSTS</u>		<u>PUBLIC</u>
15	Satisfied	22
82	Dissatisfied	71
<u>3</u>	No Opinion	<u>7</u>
100		100

Q.3 What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

<u>HOSTS</u>		<u>PUBLIC</u>
30	Economy (general)	17
10	Unemployment/Lack of jobs	19
24	Deficit/National debt/ Balanced budget	13
6	Health care (cost/accessibility)	11
3	Morality/Ethics/ Family values	7
3	Crime/Gangs/Justice system	7
6	Taxes	4
1	Drugs/Alcohol	5
21	Dissatisfaction with government/Politics	5
9	Racism	2
1	Poverty	3
2	Inflation/Difference between wages/Costs	2
*	Too much foreign aid/ Spend money at home	2
*	Homelessness	5
4	Education	5
1	Issues related to elderly	2
*	Environment/Garbage/ Pollution	*
5	Other domestic	2
5	Other international	3
*	Other	4
*	Don't know/No answer	2
<b>70</b>	<b>NET ECONOMIC</b>	<b>53</b>

(112)

(1507)

Q.4 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?

<u>HOSTS</u>		<u>PUBLIC</u>
25	Republican	28
28	Democratic	35
44	No difference (VOLUNTEERED)	23
$\frac{3}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{14}{100}$

Q4a. Overall, do you support or oppose Bill Clinton's economic plan?

<u>HOSTS</u>		<u>PUBLIC</u>
41	Support	42
52	Oppose	41
$\frac{7}{100}$	Don't know /No answer	$\frac{17}{100}$

Q4b. Overall, do you think the Clinton administration will succeed or fail at achieving its most important legislative goals?<sup>8</sup>

32	Succeed
48	Fail
5	(DO NOT READ) Both
$\frac{15}{100}$	Don't know/No answer

---

<sup>8</sup> Only "Talk Show" hosts were asked question.

Q.5 I'd like to read you some issues the country will be facing over the next few years. For each one please tell me if you personally feel it is a critical issue facing the country, a very important issue, or one that is somewhat important. If you don't have an opinion on some, just say so. First (ROTATE ITEMS). Is (ITEM) a critical issue, very important or somewhat important?

	<u>Critical</u>	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Somewhat Important</u>	<u>(VOL) DK</u>
a. Economic conditions in the country				
Public	53	39	6	2=100
Hosts	72	22	5	1=100
b. Improving the quality of education in public schools				
Public	49	44	6	1=100
Hosts	76	15	8	1=100
c. Protecting U.S. jobs				
Public	50	44	5	1=100
Hosts	45	38	13	4=100
d. Dealing with the changing situation and supporting Democratic reforms in Russia				
Public	10	31	47	12=100
Hosts	10	45	45	0=100
e. Protecting the environment				
Public	34	46	18	2=100
Hosts	15	53	31	1=100
f. Developing a health care plan for all Americans				
Public	44	40	14	2=100
Hosts	43	31	23	3=100
j. Reducing the federal budget deficit				
Public	48	39	10	3=100
Hosts	63	27	8	2=100
k. Reducing crime				
Public	53	42	4	1=100
Hosts	46	41	12	1=100
l. Dealing with the problem of the homeless				
Public	33	44	21	2=100
Hosts	12	29	57	2=100
n. The situation in Bosnia				
Public	16	26	46	12=100
Hosts	8	35	55	2=100

Q.5 con't ...

	<u>Critical</u>	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Somewhat Important</u>	<u>(VOL)</u> <u>DK</u>
o. The controversy over abortion				
Public	21	28	40	11=100
Hosts	11	24	58	7=100
p. Protecting the rights of gays and lesbians				
Public	9	18	56	17=100
Hosts	6	25	63	6=100
q. Protecting American family values				
Public	38	43	16	3=100
Hosts	21	32	37	10=100

Q.6 I'm going to read you a list of some programs and proposals that are being discussed in this country today. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose it. The first one is ... (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM--ROTATE ITEMS). Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose or strongly oppose (ITEM)?

	<u>Strongly Favor</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Strongly Oppose</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion					
Public	15	17	35	25	8=100
Hosts	5	9	36	47	3=100
c. A constitutional amendment to permit prayer in the public schools					
Public	31	38	19	7	5=100
Hosts	12	27	29	29	3=100
d. Increasing environmental controls, even if it reduces employment opportunities					
Public	11	37	36	8	8=100
Hosts	5	39	38	13	5=100
f. Proposals to increase the federal income tax in order to reduce the deficit					
Public	4	33	35	23	5=100
Hosts	5	32	26	34	3=100
g. Restricting the sale of hand guns					
Public	28	27	26	17	2=100
Hosts	31	26	19	21	3=100
h. Proposals to allow gays and lesbians to serve in the military					
Public	8	28	26	27	10=100
Hosts	21	42	16	17	4=100
i. Proposals for the U.S. to take an active military role to stop the civil war in Bosnia					
Public	6	28	40	16	9=100
Hosts	3	29	47	18	3=100

Q.6 con't ...

Strongly Favor      Strongly Oppose      Don't Know  
Favor      Oppose

j.      Proposals for "term limitations" to limit the number of years that members of Congress can serve

Public	34	42	14	4	6=100
Hosts	41	29	21	7	2=100

Q.TH9 What would you say is the single most important source of news information you use about government and politics? (DO NOT READ LIST. ONE ANSWER ONLY.)

- 44 National newspapers (NYT, WP, LAT)
  - 14 Associated Press (AP)
  - 9 National Public Radio (NPR)
  - 6 Contacts/People I know
  - 5 Local Press
  - 4 Cable News Network (CNN)
  - 3 C-SPAN
  - 2 Evening broadcast network newscasts
  - 2 News magazines
  - 1 Morning network talk shows
  - 3 Other (SPECIFY)
  - 7 Don't know
- 100

AS YOU KNOW, WE ARE INTERESTED IN UNDERSTANDING PEOPLE WHO LISTEN TO AND PARTICIPATE IN RADIO TALK SHOWS.

Q.TH1 Thinking about your audience, what would you say is the most important reason why people listen to your show?

- 32 Keep up on issues/current affairs
- 23 Entertaining/find them funny
- 20 Forum for public opinion
- 10 Learn how different people feel
- 10 Important issues
- 9 Fair/impartial/unbiased
- 8 Find out more about politics
- 7 Like the host
- 6 Get information can't get elsewhere
- 4 Like hearing people w/same perspective
- 2 Find out more about economy
- 1 Don't know/No answer

Q.TH2 Do you think people who CALL INTO your programs are representative of the larger public in your listening area, or are they unrepresentative in some way?

- 56 Representative - GO TO TH4
- 38 Unrepresentative - CONTINUE
- 6 Don't know - GO TO TH4

100

Q.TH3 In what ways are they unrepresentative?

- 28 More conservative
- 23 Extremists/have an agenda/ax to grind
- 19 More educated/smarter
- 16 Only very small segment calls
- 14 More involved/active/socially concerned
- 5 More vocal/want to talk
- 2 Less educated/dumber
- 7 Don't know/No answer

Q.TH4 I'm going to read you some ways that people who CALL INTO your show might be different than the public as a whole. Please tell me if you think each of the following views or traits is OVER-represented by people who call into your show, UNDER-represented, or if there is no difference between your callers and the general public in your media market. **ROTATE** Are **(PEOPLE)** over-represented by your callers, under-represented or is there no difference?

		OVER	UNDER	NO DIFFERENCE	DK
a.	People who are pro-choice	19	37	44	1=100
b.	People who are anti-government	45	8	42	5=100
c.	People who are liberal	29	50	19	2=100
d.	People who are racially intolerant	26	30	42	2=100
e.	People who are pro-life	42	11	44	3=100
f.	People who are angry	52	7	39	2=100
g.	People who are conservative	50	19	30	1=100
h.	People who dislike the President	45	8	45	2=100
i.	People who are strongly religious or moralistic	42	20	35	3=100
k.	Feminists	18	56	23	3=100
l.	People who are hostile to gays and lesbians	38	20	41	1=100
m.	People who dislike Congress	36	5	58	1=100

NOW LETS SHIFT AWAY, FROM THOSE WHO ACTUALLY CALL, TO YOUR AUDIENCE IN GENERAL.

Q.TH5 Would you say those who LISTEN to your show are more conservative than the general public, in your area, more liberal, or are they pretty much the same?

34 More conservative

13 More liberal

51 The same

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

Q.TH6 And would you say they are more critical in their views of government and politics, less critical, or the same as others in your viewing area?

71 More critical

4 Less critical

23 The same

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

Q.TH7 Do you think you often play an important role in shaping or influencing public opinion in your community or not?

63 Yes

30 No

$\frac{7}{100}$  Don't know

Q.TH8 Can you think of a case in the recent past when you or something that happened on your show had an impact on public policy or politics?

75 Yes - **CONTINUE**

22 No - **SKIP TO TH10**

$\frac{3}{100}$  Don't know - **SKIP TO TH10**

Q.TH9 What was that? What happened?

- 40 Brought local issues to fore front
- 19 Influenced local election
- 15 Broadcasting public opinion to officials
- 14 Point out corruption in government
- 11 Feeds public opinion on national issues
- 7 Influenced election for president
- 5 Brings consumer opinion to business
- 2 Other
- 1 Don't know/No answer

QTH10 Do you see your job mainly as INFORMING the public, or mainly as ENTERTAINING the public? (IF BOTH, PROBE: Well, if you had to come down on one side or the other, would it be informing or entertaining?)

- 40 Informing
- 11 Both -- lean to informing
- 13 Both -- cannot choose
- 11 Both -- lean to entertaining
- 25 Entertaining
- \*  
100 Don't know

ASK ALL. (DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS)

Q.900 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does					
Public	15	37	31	16	1=100
Hosts	3	20	32	41	4=100
b. Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly					
Public	29	53	13	3	2=100
Hosts	38	46	10	4	2=100
c. Most elected officials care what people like me think					
Public	5	35	42	16	2=100
Hosts	11	53	26	7	3=100
e. Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control					
Public	11	30	41	16	2=100
Hosts	2	10	36	49	3=100
j. When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful					
Public	24	45	24	5	2=100
Hosts	31	40	23	3	3=100
l. The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives					
Public	26	39	30	4	1=100
Hosts	30	29	34	5	2=100
o. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies					
Public	26	46	22	3	3=100
Hosts	14	40	37	8	1=100

Q.900 con't ...

		<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>DK</u>
p.	Business corporations make too much profit					
	Public	22	41	27	5	5=100
	Hosts	8	20	43	26	3=100
s.	As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want					
	Public	12	47	31	7	3=100
	Hosts	16	66	14	3	1=100
t.	I don't believe that there are any real limits to growth in this country today					
	Public	14	42	34	7	3=100
	Hosts	11	45	36	5	3=100
u2.	People should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment					
	Public	12	45	31	10	2=100
	Hosts	7	56	22	11	4=100
w.	We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country					
	Public	14	29	34	20	3=100
	Hosts	9	18	44	26	3=100
x.	It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves					
	Public	19	43	26	9	3=100
	Hosts	16	42	25	14	3=100
y.	The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt					
	Public	9	34	40	12	5=100
	Hosts	5	16	54	21	4=100

ASK ALL

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

		Very Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
a.	Bill Clinton						
	Public	18	42	23	12	0	5=100
	Hosts	3	43	36	17	0	1=100
b.	Robert Dole						
	Public	11	37	20	8	11	13=100
	Hosts	12	44	28	14	0	2=100
e.	Hillary Clinton						
	Public	19	41	18	11	1	10=100
	Hosts	19	45	20	12	0	4=100
g.	Ross Perot						
	Public	21	43	21	10	*	5=100
	Hosts	6	33	40	18	0	3=100
h.	The Democratic Party						
	Public	14	43	25	9	0	9=100
	Hosts	1	45	39	12	0	3=100
i.	The Republican Party						
	Public	12	42	25	10	0	11=100
	Hosts	3	43	42	8	0	4=100
j.	The Supreme Court						
	Public	17	56	14	4	0	9=100
	Hosts	12	74	9	3	0	2=100
k.	The Congress						
	Public	8	35	35	13	0	9=100
	Hosts	1	24	51	22	0	2=100
l.	The military						
	Public	32	53	8	2	0	5=100
	Hosts	28	54	15	2	0	1=100
m.	The United Nations						
	Public	21	52	13	4	0	10=100
	Hosts	8	54	29	5	0	4=100
n.	The Church						
	Public	44	38	7	3	0	8=100
	Hosts	14	50	20	6	0	10=100

Q.17 Con't ...

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never Heard Of</u>	<u>(VOL) Can't Rate</u>
o. Network TV News						
Public	23	58	12	3	0	4=100
Hosts	4	50	31	11	0	4=100
p. Daily Newspaper you are most familiar with						
Public	26	55	10	4	0	5=100
Hosts	12	55	20	9	0	4=100
q. National Newspapers such as the New York Times, Los Angeles Times and the Washington Post						
Hosts	20	67	9	1	0	3=100

ASK ALL. (DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS)

Q.901 Now I would like to read you some more statements that will help us understand how you feel about things. For each one I read please just tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it. First, ...

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>DK</u>
dd. In the past few years there has not been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country					
Public	14	37	37	9	3=100
Hosts	17	34	34	13	2=100
ff. We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment					
Public	8	26	41	22	3=100
Hosts	8	23	38	27	4=100
ii. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength					
Public	16	38	33	10	3=100
Hosts	22	40	24	12	2=100
kk. We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong					
Public	21	34	29	13	3=100
Hosts	7	24	38	28	3=100
nn. It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs					
Public	33	54	9	1	3=100
Hosts	43	52	2	1	2=100
nn1. Poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs					
Public	31	49	15	3	2=100
Hosts	29	54	13	2	2=100

Q.901 con't ...	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>DK</u>
nn3. We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home					
Public	40	45	12	2	1=100
Hosts	18	44	32	4	2=100
b. We all will be called before God at the judgment day to answer for our sins					
Public	56	26	6	5	7=100
Hosts	20	26	11	24	19=100
f. School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals					
Public	17	17	34	26	6=100
Hosts	4	7	35	51	3=100
g. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries					
Public	26	26	23	21	4=100
Hosts	1	5	15	74	5=100
o. AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior					
Public	13	22	24	33	8=100
Hosts	1	3	13	79	4=100
w. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet					
Public	25	29	30	14	2=100
Hosts	17	20	39	23	1=100
y. I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially					
Public	12	46	28	13	1=100
Hosts	10	53	27	9	1=100
z. I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote					
Public	66	28	4	1	1=100
Hosts	74	20	3	1	2=100