

FOR RELEASE: FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 1991, A.M.

**The People, The Press and Politics:
GOP Collects Big War Dividend**

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GOP COLLECTS BIG WAR DIVIDEND

The military victory in the Gulf has positioned Republicans to establish the GOP as the dominant national political party.

The latest nationwide survey by the *Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press* finds more Americans calling themselves Republicans than Democrats and shows the GOP with a 10 percentage point lead in congressional voting intentions.

George Bush's extraordinary popularity anchors the GOP's position with the public. Not only does the poll find Bush with an 84% approval rating, it also shows him trouncing Mario Cuomo by more than 50 percentage points in one of the most lopsided test elections results ever to come out of a major opinion poll (77% to 16%).

The nationwide survey of 2,028 adults, aged 18 years and older, found Republicans outnumbering Democrats by a margin of 36% to 29%. A late January mid-war poll was the first survey in the Times Mirror Center series to show a slight GOP lead on this critical political indicator. That survey found Republicans outnumbering Democrats by a thin 34% to 31% margin. Throughout the latter half of 1990, and as recently as early January of this year, Democrats slightly outnumbered Republicans in terms of party identification (3-4 percentage points) in Times Mirror's monthly surveys.

If the GOP holds on to its new converts, it could potentially break the longstanding Democratic lock on Congress. The current poll finds the GOP leading the Democrats by a 50% to 40% margin, when survey respondents were asked which party they would like to see win in their congressional district if the election were being held today. When the sample is restricted to registered voters, the GOP margin narrowed slightly to 51% to 42%.

Exit polls by Voter Research Surveys last November found Democrats outpolling Republicans in House races by a margin of 52% to 48%.

Republicans have never had a significant nationwide plurality in party affiliation or a meaningful lead in Congressional voting intentions since before the Great Depression of the 1930's. The ability of the GOP to keep its new adherents and its lead in voting intentions is a major political question.

Democratic weakness also must be factored into the equation. The survey finds incumbents who voted against the use of force in the Gulf to be highly vulnerable to voter disapproval.

Forty-seven percent of Times Mirror's respondents said they would be less likely to vote for their Congressperson if they learned that he or she had voted against the use of force in the Gulf. Conversely, 44% of those surveyed said they would be more likely to vote for their representative if they learned that he or she had voted in favor of using force in the Gulf.

The survey reveals that even groups that opposed the use of force back in early January now say they would vote against members of Congress who opposed force. For example, among women the margin of being more likely to vote against rather than in support of a member who opposed force is 42% to 13%; among blacks, it is 38% to 16%, and among Democrats 39% to 13%.

Part of the problem for the Democratic party is that although a plurality of Americans (46%) think that Democrats who opposed the use of force did so because they thought that economic sanctions would work, more than one-third of the public believes that Democrats opposed military action either because Democrats in Congress wanted to block Bush (19%) or because today's Democratic party is reluctant to use military force (18%).

A Youth Movement

Although the Republican party has made gains among virtually all demographic groups, its most sizable increases in support have occurred among young people. In Times Mirror's latest survey, Republicans outnumber Democrats by a 41% to 21% margin among people under 30. And these under

30s say they prefer Republican candidates to Democratic candidates in their congressional district by a similar 2 to 1 margin. Nationwide surveys taken in Fall 1990 revealed a slim 31%-27% margin in party affiliation among under 30s.

The poll also finds larger than average gains for the GOP in traditional areas of Democratic strength: in the East, among less well-educated and lower income people. The survey also finds black voters more disposed to Republican candidates than they were a year ago. In the spring of 1990, black voters favored Democratic candidates over Republicans for Congress in their district by a margin of 82% to 9%. The current survey shows that margin reduced to a 73% to 23% Democratic margin of support.

Although the GOP is in a much stronger position today with these traditional Democratic groups and with younger people, its connection with its new adherents is clearly jeopardized by the disparity between the political beliefs and values of these groups and Republican stalwarts.

Sixty-three percent of all Times Mirror respondents said they would be more likely to vote for their congressional representative if they learned that he or she had voted in favor of increasing spending on health care. Among Republicans, this percentage of probable support fell to 57%, while it rose to 76% among blacks and to 70% among people with family incomes under \$20,000.

One measure which might shore up GOP gains is the selection of Colin Powell as President Bush's vice presidential running mate. Times Mirror's survey was divided into two random half samples of 1000 people each. In one half, a Bush/Quayle ticket was tested against a Cuomo/Kerrey ticket; in the other half a Bush/Powell ticket was matched against the Democratic challengers. The Bush/Powell ticket beat Cuomo/Kerrey by a slightly larger but statistically significant margin. Bush/Powell led the Democratic challengers 79% to 14% while the ticket that included Dan Quayle resulted in a 74% to 17% margin.

Although such a small difference would be window dressing if Bush remains a popular President, the survey indicated that a Powell candidacy might help the GOP further down the ticket, where the margins will likely be thinner.

Support for the GOP in the Congressional voting intentions question was significantly greater in the Bush/Powell half sample than it was in the Bush/Quayle half sample. The Republican margin over the Democrats with Powell on the ticket was 53% to 40%, while it was 48% to 40% with Quayle.

Support for Republican candidates for Congress among blacks increased from 19% with Quayle in the second spot to 31% points when Colin Powell was tested as the GOP candidate for Vice President.

**TREND IN PARTY IDENTIFICATION
FALL 1990 TO MARCH 1991**

	<i>Republicans</i>		<i>Democrats</i>		<i>Independents</i>		<i>Number of Interviews</i>	
	<u>Fall 1990</u>	<u>March 1991</u>	<u>Fall 1990</u>	<u>March 1991</u>	<u>Fall 1990</u>	<u>March 1991</u>	<u>Fall 1990</u>	<u>March 1991</u>
Total	29	36	33	29	32	31	(3665)	(2028)
<i>Demographics</i>								
Sex								
Male	32	35	27	26	36	35	(1835)	(1011)
Female	27	36	38	31	28	28	(1830)	(1017)
Race								
White	32	38	30	26	33	31	(3125)	(1711)
Black	8	13	64	52	22	27	(294)	(172)
Age								
<25	33	44	25	18	38	31	(456)	(273)
25-29	28	38	30	24	35	34	(410)	(229)
30-39	29	33	31	28	35	35	(892)	(510)
40-49	30	28	30	31	35	35	(609)	(356)
50-59	24	34	37	34	31	28	(444)	(230)
60+	30	38	41	34	22	24	(827)	(430)
Family Income								
<\$20,000	23	35	40	31	33	28	(1055)	(510)
\$20,000-\$29,999	28	32	33	31	33	32	(639)	(371)
\$30,000-\$49,999	33	34	30	29	34	34	(902)	(520)
\$50,000+	41	41	25	25	30	31	(727)	(415)
Region								
East	29	38	34	26	32	33	(878)	(478)
Midwest	28	33	29	26	35	36	(950)	(529)
South	29	36	37	33	29	25	(1120)	(699)
West	32	36	31	29	32	30	(717)	(322)
Education								
College Grad.	36	43	28	26	34	29	(1014)	(536)
Some College	32	31	31	23	32	39	(812)	(407)
High School Grad.	29	35	33	29	32	32	(1388)	(818)
Less than High School Grad.	21	33	42	36	29	24	(423)	(261)

TREND IN CONGRESSIONAL PREFERENCE 1990-1991

	<i>Republicans</i>			<i>Democrats</i>			<i>Number of Interviews</i>	
	<u>Spring 1990</u>	<u>March 1991</u>	<u>Diff</u>	<u>Spring 1990</u>	<u>March 1991</u>	<u>Diff</u>	<u>Spring 1990</u>	<u>March 1991</u>
Total	42	51	+9	48	42	-6	(2308)	(1618)
<i>Demographics</i>								
Sex								
Male	47	54	+7	42	39	-3	(1142)	(803)
Female	39	49	+10	52	44	-8	(1166)	(815)
Race								
White	47	55	+8	42	38	-4	(1910)	(1382)
Black	9	23	+14	82	73	-9	(326)	(140)
Age								
<25	38	66	+28	47	31	-16	(172)	(166)
25-29	42	58	+16	43	37	-6	(181)	(151)
30-39	40	47	+7	47	47	0	(436)	(399)
40-49	39	47	+8	49	43	-6	(390)	(305)
50-59	45	48	+3	46	44	-2	(316)	(207)
60+	47	51	+4	48	42	-6	(796)	(390)
Family Income								
<\$20,000	36	47	+11	56	44	-12	(807)	(376)
\$20,000-\$29,999	41	51	+10	47	44	-3	(304)	(284)
\$30,000-\$49,999	44	51	+7	48	44	-4	(518)	(434)
\$50,000+	54	58	+4	35	37	+2	(376)	(364)
Region								
East	39	53	+14	49	42	-7	(580)	(357)
Midwest	40	50	+10	48	41	-7	(574)	(443)
South	46	52	+6	47	40	-7	(724)	(569)
West	44	49	+5	45	45	0	(430)	(249)

PERCENT SUPPORTING REPUBLICANS FOR CONGRESS WHEN TOP OF TICKET INCLUDES:

	Dan Quayle	Colin Powell	Difference In Percentage Points
Total Sample	48	53	+5
Registered Voters	50	53	+3
<u>Sex</u>			
Male	50	56	+6
Female	47	50	+3
<u>Race</u>			
White	52	55	+3
*Non-white	24	36	+12
Black	19	31	+12
<u>Age</u>			
18 - 29	56	60	+4
30-49	44	50	+6
50+	48	50	+2
<u>Region</u>			
East	56	47	-9
Midwest	44	54	+10
South	50	54	+4
West	42	56	+14
<u>Party ID</u>			
Republican	94	93	-1
Democrat	6	7	+1
Independent	43	46	+3

*Non-white include blacks

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among 2,028 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of March 14 - 19, 1991. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. The sample was divided into two random halves (Form I - 1,012 interviews; Form II - 1,016 interviews). The sampling error for results of questions based on Form I **or** Form II **only** 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.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

**THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS AND POLITICS
POST GULF WAR UPDATE
March 20, 1991
TOPLINE**

SEX: 1[]Male 2[]Female INTERVIEWER'S NAME: _____

TIME STARTED: _____ INTERVIEWER'S I.D.: _____

TIME FINISHED: _____ PAGE NUMBER: _____

LENGTH: _____ REPLICATE NUMBER: _____

REGION: 1 East
 2 Midwest
 3 South
 4 West

STRATUM: 1 Stratum One
 2 Stratum Two
 3 Remainder

DATE: _____

March 14-19, 1991

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am _____ calling from the Princeton Survey Research Associates from Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a public opinion poll and 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?)

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

NEWS INTEREST INDEX

		<u>JAN 25</u>
84	Approve	79
10	Disapprove	14
<u>6</u>	Don't know	<u>7</u>
100		100

D8. In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent?

- 1 Republican -- **SKIP TO D10**
- 2 Democrat -- **SKIP TO D10**
- 3 Independent
- 4 Other -- **SKIP TO D10**
- 5 DON'T KNOW

PARTY ID

	<u>MARCH</u>	<u>JAN</u>	<u>JAN</u>	<u>NOV</u>	<u>OCT</u>	<u>SEPT</u>
	<u>1991</u>	<u>25-27</u>	<u>3-6</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1990</u>
Republican	36	34	30	28	30	30
Democrat	29	31	34	32	33	34
Independent/Others	<u>35</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>36</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

D9. As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

- 1 Republican
- 2 Democratic
- 3 Other/Don't know

PARTY ID WITH LEANERS

	<u>MARCH</u>	<u>JAN</u>	<u>JAN</u>	<u>NOV</u>	<u>OCT</u>	<u>SEPT</u>
	<u>1991</u>	<u>25-27</u>	<u>3-6</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1990</u>
Republican & Leaners	50	46	43	40	42	43
Democrat & Leaners	38	40	43	46	44	42
I don't lean	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Now a few questions about elections..

Q.22d Suppose the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the Republican ticket was George Bush for President and Colin Powell for Vice President and the Democratic ticket was Mario Cuomo for President and Robert Kerrey for Vice President. Who would you like to see win?

FORM I

INCLUDES LEANERS

79	Bush/Powell
14	Cuomo/Kerrey
$\frac{7}{100}$	Other/Undecided

Q.22e As of today would you lean more to the Bush/Powell ticket or more to the Cuomo/Kerrey ticket?

FORM I

1	Bush/Powell
2	Cuomo/Kerrey
3	Other
4	Undecided

Q.22f Suppose the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the Republican ticket was George Bush for President and Dan Quayle for Vice President and the Democratic ticket was Mario Cuomo for President and Robert Kerrey for Vice President. Who would you like to see win?

FORM II

INCLUDES LEANERS

74	Bush/Quayle
17	Cuomo/Kerrey
$\frac{9}{100}$	Other/Undecided

Q.22g As of today would you lean more to the Bush/Quayle ticket or more to the Cuomo/Kerrey ticket?

FORM II

- 1 Bush/Quayle
- 2 Cuomo/Kerrey
- 3 Other
- 4 Undecided

**RESULTS REGARDLESS OF RUNNING MATE
(FORMS I & II COMBINED)**

Bush	77
Cuomo	15
Other/Undecided	8

ASK ALL:

Q.22h If the elections for Congress were being held today, which party would you like to see win in your Congressional district?

<u>INCLUDES LEANERS</u>		<u>QUESTION PRECEDED BY:</u>	
<u>Total Sample</u>		<u>BUSH/POWELL</u>	<u>BUSH/QUAYLE</u>
50	Republican	53	48
40	Democratic	40	40
<u>10</u>	Other/Undecided	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100

Q.22i As of today do you lean more to the Democratic party or more to the Republican party in your Congressional district?

- 1 Republican
- 2 Democratic
- 3 Other
- 4 Undecided

Now a few more questions about politics..

Q.25 If you learned that your Congressman had voted in favor of increasing spending to improve the nation's health care - would it make you more likely or less likely to vote for his or her re-election, or wouldn't it affect you?

FORM II

63 More likely

7 Less likely

25 No effect

$\frac{5}{100}$ No opinion

Q.26 If you learned that your Congressman had voted in favor of using force against Iraq after the January 15 deadline had expired - would it make you more likely or less likely to vote for his or her re-election, or wouldn't it affect you?

FORM II

44 More likely

13 Less likely

38 No effect

$\frac{5}{100}$ No opinion

Q.27 If you learned that your Congressman had voted no to using force against Iraq after the January 15 deadline had expired - would it make you more likely or less likely to vote for his or her re-election, or wouldn't it affect you?

FORM II

12 More likely

47 Less likely

36 No effect

$\frac{5}{100}$ No opinion

Q.28 Why do you think the Democrats in Congress who voted against going to war did so?
(READ CHOICES)

FORM II

- 19 Mainly because they wanted to oppose President Bush
 - 18 Mainly because today's Democrats are reluctant to use military force
 - 46 Mainly because they thought economic sanctions might work
 - 17 Don't know
- 100