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Now Fix Education and Social Security
WHEN WASHINGTON WORKS, INCUMBENTS PROSPER

Also Inside ...

- * Re-election percentages rise.
- * Third party interest slips.
- * Clinton image improves.
- * Budget provisions rated.
- * Thompson hearings ignored.

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Now Fix Education and Social Security

WHEN WASHINGTON WORKS, INCUMBENTS PROSPER

For the first time in a very long time, Americans are happy with the country's course and it is beginning to pay dividends to the political establishment. Not only are Bill Clinton's approval ratings approaching Reagan's at a comparable point, but support for Congressional incumbents is at a decade high, and interest in a third party has fallen to a 15 year low.

A near majority of Americans (49%) are satisfied with the way things are going in the country. That is nearly twice as many as felt that way just a year ago — and the first time since the heady days immediately following victory in the Gulf that most of the public is happy with the country's direction. While not paying close attention to the budget debate and Washington policy matters generally, the public is clearly picking up on improving social and economic trends. People not only recognize that unemployment is down (59%) and that the stock market is up (58%), but majorities also no longer see crime and the budget deficit as worsening problems.

Political opinions reflect these perceptions. Clinton's approval ratings (59%-32%) are coming close to Reagan's in the summer of 1986 (63%-28%). This is quite an accomplishment given that Reagan achieved re-election in a 59% landslide, while Clinton failed to win a majority (49%). The Pew Center survey conducted this past weekend also found support for re-electing one's Congressional representative rising to 66%, which is higher than observed in Center and Gallup surveys in 1996, 1994 and 1990.

Although neither political party has made gains either in affiliation or in congressional voting intentions, the percentage of Americans thinking a third party is needed tumbled to 47% from 58% a year ago. At the same time, the survey found increased public awareness of bipartisan cooperation and a greater endorsement of divided government than in previous polls.

Good News For Incumbents							
	May <u>90</u>	Feb <u>91*</u>	Jan <u>92</u>	Sept <u>93</u>	July <u>94</u>	June <u>95</u>	Aug <u>97</u>
<i>Satisfaction w/Nation:</i>							
Satisfied	41	66	28	20	24	25	49
Dissatisfied	54	31	68	75	73	73	46
DK	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Oct <u>90*</u>	Oct <u>94</u>	Nov <u>94</u>	Sept <u>96</u>	Nov <u>96</u>	Aug <u>97</u>	
<i>My Rep. Deserves Re-Election:◇</i>							
Yes		62	55	58	62	60	66
No		22	30	25	19	16	22
Not running		2	2	1	2	3	0
DK		<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>12</u>
		100	100	100	100	100	100
	Sept <u>82†</u>	Jan <u>84†</u>	July <u>94</u>	Oct <u>95</u>	July <u>96</u>	Aug <u>97</u>	
<i>Need For Third Party:</i>							
Agree	44	41	53	59	58	47	
Disagree	44	48	43	37	37	46	
DK	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	100	
* Gallup trend							
◇ Based on Registered Voters							
† ABC/Washington Post trend							

The President's personal image has been boosted by the budget agreement. While Clinton scandals have not been purged from the public's mind, news about policy issues (23%) is now being spontaneously recalled as often as the President's problems (24%). Earlier in the year, when respondents were asked to cite anything they had heard about the President in the news, scandal mentions (32%), mostly Whitewater, far outweighed policy mentions (10%). In the current survey the budget agreement dominated policy related answers. News about allegations of sexual harassment was more often recalled than Whitewater or the fund raising charges. (In that regard, strong public interest in the campaign finance scandal is half as great as it was *before* the Thompson hearings began.)

The President is getting much higher marks from the public for his abilities, but his personal character evaluations remain low. Fully 64% of Pew respondents associated the phrase "*able to get things done*" with Bill Clinton — a 23% point improvement on this measure since the fall of 1994. But, as in earlier surveys, only 47% describe him as *trustworthy* and 45% as someone who *keeps his promises*.

The Republican Congressional leadership has not reaped any benefits from the positive climate of national opinion. While approval ratings for GOP leaders have rebounded since June, when they slipped following the party's perceived mishandling of the disaster relief bill, their 42%-44% rating is well below the President's public evaluation and has not increased significantly over the past six months. With a considerable percentage of the public aware of bipartisan cooperation, undoubtably much of this has to do with opinion of Newt Gingrich. The Speaker's favorability rating remains as low as 30%.

Things Americans Have Been Hearing About Clinton In The News		
	<u>Feb</u> <u>1997</u> %	<u>Aug</u> <u>1997</u> %
Budget agreement	--	13
Alleged sexual harassment	--	12
Paula Jones	6	6
Tax bill	--	6
Whitewater	18	5
UPS strike	--	4
Campaign finance	7	3
Line item veto	--	3
Knee injury	--	2
His travels	--	2
Bad things, don't like him (general)	--	2
Welfare reform	2	1
Personal life (general)	4	1
Weight loss	--	1
Other	11	18
Don't know	47	41
Scandal News (NET)	32	24
Policy News (NET)	10	23

Budget Legislation Cheered

A 75% majority of Americans have heard about the balanced budget legislation passed by Congress and signed into law by President Clinton, and they approve of it overwhelmingly — 70% vs. 18% who disapprove and 12% who are undecided.

Approval of the budget legislation is strong across the board. Equal proportions of Republicans and Democrats express approval — 72%. The tax cuts and spending initiatives hold appeal for upper, middle and lower income Americans, but those making over \$50,000 a year show the most enthusiasm. Non-whites are the only group expressing significant opposition to the budget legislation — 35% disapprove, while a bare majority (52%) approve. (See table page 20)

When asked to rate the importance of the balanced budget legislation relative to other recent government accomplishments, the budget agreement ranks at the top. It is clear that, in spite of cynicism toward government and elected officials, the public truly values several of the initiatives undertaken in recent years. Eight in ten say the Kassebaum-Kennedy health insurance “portability” bill, which allows people to keep their health insurance even if they lose their job or change jobs, has been *very* important for the country. Fully 74% rate the budget agreement as very important for the country. The Family Leave Act, welfare reform and the minimum wage increase are also viewed as very important accomplishments by strong majorities of Americans (68%, 67% and 64%, respectively). A narrow majority (52%) view the recent deal between several state attorneys general and the tobacco industry as very important for the country, and even fewer place such value on the new television ratings system advocated by the President (34%) and the decision to expand NATO membership (27%).

Government Initiatives and Accomplishments		
	Most Important <u>For Me</u>	Very Important <u>For Country</u>
	%	%
Balanced Budget agreement	34	74
Health insurance portability (Kassebaum-Kennedy)	24	82
Family Leave Act	12	68
Minimum wage increase	9	64
Welfare reform	8	67
Tobacco deal	4	52
TV ratings system	3	34
NATO expansion	1	27

The balanced budget agreement and the health insurance portability law top the list of government actions that have been most important *personally* for Americans and their families (34% and 24%, respectively). The Family Leave Act is judged most important by 12% of the public, followed by the minimum wage increase (9%) and welfare reform (8%).

Men and women differ significantly in their assessments of the importance of these government initiatives. A plurality of men (41%) say the budget agreement has been most important to them personally. Women are more evenly divided on the issue: 28% name the budget agreement, but an equal proportion cite the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill. Another 14% of women name the Family Leave Act.

More affluent Americans also place more value on the balanced budget legislation. Half of those with a college education say the budget agreement has been most important for them personally, compared to 36% of those with some college education and only 27% of those who never attended college. Those with less education tend to place considerably more value on the minimum wage increase than the better educated.

But Still, Show Me

Despite positive feelings about the legislation, Americans continue to doubt that the budget will actually be balanced by the year 2002. Only 16% think the budget will be balanced, 77% think it will not be — down slightly from 85% in May. Assuming the budget *is* balanced, the public is divided as to what effect this will have on them personally: 43% say a balanced budget is likely to help them and their family financially, 44% say it will not have much impact on them. Very few (8%) believe a balanced budget will hurt them.

The public is slightly less optimistic about their own prospects when asked more specifically about the effect of the recent budget agreement.¹ About one third (30%) believe the current budget legislation will help them and their families, more than half (54%) say it will not have much impact on them. Men more than women anticipate positive effects from the budget legislation (35% vs. 26% say they will be helped). Other groups expressing greater optimism include middle aged Americans and college graduates.

When asked in what ways the budget agreement will help them and their families, most

How Will the Budget Agreement Help You and Your Family?	
	%
Net references to tax cuts	52
Tax cuts (general)	36
Capital gains tax cuts	10
Child tax credit	8
Education tax cuts and incentives	6
People will have more money	20
Good for future generations	8
Good for the economy	4
Help lower the debt	3

¹ Half the sample was asked, “In your opinion, if the federal budget is balanced in five years, do you think this will help you and your family financially, hurt you and your family financially, or not affect you and your family too much?” The other half was asked, “From what you’ve heard or read about the balanced budget agreement, do you think it will help you and your family financially, hurt you and your family financially, or not affect you and your family too much?”

respondents referred either generally or specifically to the tax cuts included in the legislation. Other reasons given were that people will have more money, that a balanced budget is good for future generations, and that the legislation will further strengthen the economy.

The public is fairly well aware of the specific provisions of the budget and tax bills, though certain aspects of the legislation are better known than others. As many as 69% have heard about the \$500 per child tax credit heralded by the leaders of both parties in the aftermath of the bill's passage. Nearly as many (65%) were familiar with the tax credits and incentives for higher education. Large majorities have heard of two key changes to the Medicare system — limiting payments to hospitals, doctors and other health care providers (64%) and offering new insurance options such as HMOs to the elderly (62%).

About half of the poll's respondents had heard of some of the other major provisions in the budget legislation: 53% knew about a new program to finance health care for uninsured children, 50% knew of the restoration of some welfare benefits to legal immigrants, and 47% knew about capital gains tax cuts. Fewer knew about changes in estate taxes (45%) and new rules for IRAs (43%).

Provisional Reaction

Those who have heard about these provisions express overwhelming approval for most of them. The major exceptions are the restoration of benefits to legal immigrants and certain proposed Medicare changes. The public disapproves of the immigrant benefits provision by a margin of 56% to 39%. On balance the public approves of the Medicare changes, but there is significant opposition to the reduction in payments to health care providers (37% disapprove). Seniors are more resistant to this idea than are those of middle age. One in five Americans disapprove of expanding insurance options for Medicare recipients beyond the traditional fee-

Provisions of the Budget Agreement*				
Heard About		Approve	Disapprove	DK
%		%	%	%
43	New rules for IRAs	92	4	4=100
69	\$500 child tax credit	89	8	3=100
65	Education tax credits/ incentives	88	9	3=100
53	Health insurance for children	88	9	3=100
45	Estate tax changes	79	16	5=100
62	New insurance options for Medicare recipients	75	20	5=100
47	Capital gains tax cuts	74	19	7=100
47	Limits on exemptions for home sales	72	21	7=100
64	Reduced payments to Medicare providers	54	37	9=100
50	Restoring benefits to legal immigrants	39	56	5=100

* Approve/disapprove figures are based on those who have heard or read about the provision.

for-service approach. Again, seniors are more resistant to the change, 41% disapprove.

With the balanced budget agreement enacted, Americans would like Congress and the President to turn to education reform and Social Security. When asked to choose from six pressing national issues, the public showed a very limited appetite for campaign finance reform. A mere 2% of respondents chose that as the issue the nation's leaders should address next. Nearly one third (30%) say the focus should now shift to improving

What Should Congress and Clinton Focus on Next?					
		---Age---			
	<u>Total</u>	<u><30</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Education	30	46	35	18	12
Social Security	29	19	26	45	31
Poverty	18	21	22	13	12
Medicare	12	8	8	13	26
Race relations	4	5	6	2	4
Campaign finance	2	1	2	4	4

the educational system. A similar proportion (29%) would opt for improving the long term stability of the Social Security system. Eighteen percent say reducing poverty and homelessness should be the next priority, and 12% say Medicare reform. Less than 5% think improving race relations should be the major focus, in spite of Clinton's effort to launch a national dialogue on the issue. While there is a surprising degree of partisan agreement on the legislative agenda, there are significant generational differences. Those under 50 would place education at the top of the agenda, their older counterparts, particularly those age 50-64, place much more value on entitlement reform.

Bipartisanship Noticed

In recent months significant numbers of Americans have become aware of bipartisan cooperation in Washington. The percentage thinking that the parties are working together is now 43%, compared to 34% in June and only 21% in October 1995, during the days leading up to the government shutdown.

Americans are also more likely to approve of divided government now than they have been in the past. Almost twice as many people say it is better to have one party control the White House and the other Congress than say one party should control both. In May 1992, the public was evenly divided between these attitudes. At both times, however, a plurality said it did not matter one way or the other.

	<u>May 1992</u>	<u>Aug 1997</u>
<i>Which is Better?</i>	%	%
President's party controls		
Congress	26	18
One party controls each	23	32
Doesn't matter	40	42
Can't say	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100

Interest in Third Party Slips

For the first time in the nineties, less than half of the public agrees that the country should have a third major party. Young people are particularly changed in this regard. Last summer, 70% of those under age 30 wanted a new party; that number has dropped by 17% points. Americans without a high school diploma are also significantly more content with the two party system. In July 1996, half (51%) wanted a third party, now only 31% do. (See table page 22)

There are still sharp generational distinctions in the desire for a third party, however. Fully 55% of those under age 50 support the idea of a new party, compared to only 34% of those over age 50.

Party Ratings Fall

Contentment with the way things have been working in Washington has not improved public assessments of the parties. The Democrats' favorability rating has fallen to a 52% to 42% margin from a 61% to 33% margin in June. The Republican party's rating also fell, though somewhat less dramatically: 47% to 47% now compared with 51% to 42% in June. The drop in Democratic favorability has occurred among both Independents and Republicans, though not among Democrats themselves. Independents account for much of the Republicans' loss in favorability.

Overall, the image of the two parties is mostly unchanged. The Democrats remain identified as the party of the people, and the Republicans are chosen more often as better able to manage the federal government. The GOP margin has slipped somewhat since July 1996 on the latter measure (from a 13% advantage over the Democrats to a 6% advantage). The GOP also maintains an edge as the party more often described as well organized (39% vs. 30% for the Democrats), this despite the recently publicized divisions among Republican House members, to which few Americans paid very close attention (13%).

Perhaps the most crucial difference in perception is on the measure of which party can bring about change. The Democrats had the advantage here in the summer before Clinton's reelection, while the Republicans held an edge after their takeover of Congress. In the current poll, however, the parties pull even. Much of the Democrats' loss occurs among Independents: 49% said the Democrats could bring about needed changes in 1996, only 35% say so now.

Parties As Agents Of Change				
<i>Which better able to bring about changes:</i>				
	July <u>1994</u>	April <u>1995</u>	July <u>1996</u>	Aug <u>1997</u>
	%	%	%	%
Republicans	39	51	39	38
Democrats	42	34	46	40
Both	4	4	2	4
Neither	10	7	7	11
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100

While the Democrats are under heavier fire in the campaign finance hearings, the public has less confidence in *both* parties' capacity to govern in an honest and ethical way. The number of Americans saying *neither* party is capable of ethical governance has increased from 18% in July 1996 to 26% now. The poll found that Independents have lost confidence in both parties. Democrats are about as likely as a year ago to think their party is more ethical. However, significantly fewer Republicans are willing to choose their party as capable of honest governance.

The News Interest Index

The slaying of designer Gianni Versace in Miami and the Pathfinder spacecraft's exploration on Mars were the most closely followed news stories of the last month. Americans' interest in news from Washington continues to fall, meanwhile, despite passage of the balanced budget legislation and the start of campaign finance hearings in the Senate.

More than one in five Americans (24%) followed Versace's death and the search for suspect Andrew Cunanan very closely, and another 33% fairly closely. Similarly, 22% followed news about the exploration of Mars very closely, and 36% fairly closely. Among these top stories, women paid the closest attention to the Versace slaying (29% following very closely, compared to 19% of men), while men paid more attention to the Mars exploration (24% following very closely, compared to 19% of women).

Declining Interest In Washington Policy News	
	% Follow <u>Closely</u>
<i>Major Domestic Policy News:**</i>	
1993	62
1994	68
1995	56
1996	54
1997	51
<i>Budget Debate:</i>	
Aug 95	52
Sept 95	55
Jan 96	74
March 96	59
Feb 97	47
May 97	54
Current	48

* Based on a cumulative News Interest Index database.

Foreign news is less interesting than national news — even when it happens in outer space. Only 14% of Americans paid very close attention to the other space story in the news, the problems aboard the Russian space station Mir.

As the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee began its first round of hearings on improper foreign campaign contributions, public interest in the topic fell to its *lowest* point in eight months. Only one in ten Americans followed the hearings very closely; more than one third (35%) paid almost no attention at all. Interest in the hearings was about the same among Republicans (13% following very closely) and Democrats (10%).

In recent years, only the Whitewater and Ruby Ridge hearings have drawn as little public interest as the Thompson hearings. Congressional inquiries into Iran-Contra, the Persian Gulf conflict, and the federal raid in Waco were followed by more people than this summer's campaign finance hearings.

Attentiveness to Congressional Hearings			
	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Total Closely
	%	%	%
<i>Hearings About:</i>			
Iran Contra Affair (9/87)	33	39	72
U.S. Persian Gulf Policy (1/91)	22	36	58
Federal Raid on Waco (8/95)	18	35	53
Whitewater (8/95)	11	26	37
FBI Siege at Ruby Ridge (9/95)	11	26	37
Campaign Contributions (8/97)	10	28	38

Other political stories this month raised only slightly more interest. Some 14% of Americans followed the budget debate very closely, for example, also down from previous months. Only 13% paid very close attention to news about the failed attempt to replace Newt Gingrich as House Speaker.

Among recent international events, the reunification of Hong Kong and China drew the most attention, with 14% of Americans following the story very closely and another 34% following fairly closely. But China's historic reunification with Hong Kong clearly had less impact than news closer to home. Fully twice as many Americans — 79% — knew the name of the ear-biting professional boxer as could name China as the country that had reacquired a former British colony.

The Chomp		%
<i>Percent Who Knew...</i>		
Tyson bit off part of the ear of his opponent		79
China re-acquired a piece of territory that had been a British colony		40

**PERCENT FOLLOWING EACH
NEWS STORY "VERY CLOSELY"**

	Slaying Of Versace	Exploration Of Mars	Reunification Of Hong Kong & China	(N)
<i>Total</i>	24	22	14	(1213)
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	19	24	17	(586)
Female	29	19	12	(627)
<i>Race</i>				
White	24	22	14	(1007)
*Hispanic	23	27	17	(80)
Black	30	19	15	(103)
<i>Age</i>				
Under 30	25	19	11	(250)
30-49	23	20	15	(527)
50+	26	24	15	(423)
<i>Education</i>				
College Grad.	20	29	20	(379)
Some College	27	24	18	(304)
High School Grad	26	19	12	(412)
< H. S. Grad.	24	15	8	(112)
<i>Region</i>				
East	28	24	15	(211)
Midwest	24	22	14	(329)
South	25	17	12	(425)
West	20	27	18	(248)
<i>Party ID</i>				
Republican	23	23	14	(383)
Democrat	29	23	15	(405)
Independent	21	20	16	(355)

Question: Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely.

*The designation, Hispanic, is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

CONTINUED...

**PERCENT FOLLOWING EACH
NEWS STORY "VERY CLOSELY"**

	Problems with Mir space Station	Budget Debate	Gingrich Coup	(N)
<i>Total</i>	14	14	13	(1213)
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	15	16	17	(586)
Female	13	12	10	(627)
<i>Race</i>				
White	14	13	12	(1007)
*Hispanic	9	17	17	(80)
Black	12	25	21	(103)
<i>Age</i>				
Under 30	10	5	4	(250)
30-49	12	14	13	(527)
50+	19	19	20	(423)
<i>Education</i>				
College Grad.	19	21	18	(379)
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<i>Region</i>				
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West	14	15	16	(248)
<i>Party ID</i>				
Republican	15	14	12	(383)
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Independent	15	13	12	(355)

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*The designation, Hispanic, is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

CONTINUED...

**PERCENT FOLLOWING EACH
NEWS STORY "VERY CLOSELY"**

	Suicide Bombing in Jerusalem	Campaign Finance Hearings	NATO Expansion	(N)
<i>Total</i>	12	10	6	(1213)
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	12	10	8	(586)
Female	12	10	4	(627)
<i>Race</i>				
White	11	10	5	(1007)
*Hispanic	16	11	7	(80)
Black	18	13	13	(103)
<i>Age</i>				
Under 30	7	5	2	(250)
30-49	9	8	7	(527)
50+	19	15	7	(423)
<i>Education</i>				
College Grad.	14	13	8	(379)
Some College	11	12	6	(304)
High School Grad	11	8	6	(412)
< H. S. Grad.	15	9	4	(112)
<i>Region</i>				
East	14	7	7	(211)
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Republican	9	13	6	(383)
Democrat	14	10	6	(405)
Independent	14	9	6	(355)

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*The designation, Hispanic, is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

TABLES

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL

June 1997 vs. August 1997

	--- June 1997 ---		--- August 1997 ---		Change in Approval
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
Total	54	34	59	32	+5
Sex					
Male	55	35	61	33	+6
Female	54	32	57	31	+3
Race					
White	51	36	56	35	+5
Non-white	71	20	76	14	+5
Black	74	18	81	8	+7
Race and Sex					
White Men	53	36	56	37	+3
White Women	50	36	56	33	+6
Age					
Under 30	54	35	60	31	+6
30-49	57	31	59	32	+2
50-64	44	42	56	38	+12
65+	59	30	62	27	+3
Education					
College Grad.	56	33	61	32	+5
Some College	54	36	56	34	+2
High School Grad.	56	29	61	30	+5
<H.S. Grad	49	39	58	32	+9
Family Income					
\$75,000+	47	49	58	35	+11
\$50,000-\$74,999	51	38	59	36	+8
\$30,000-\$49,999	56	32	62	31	+6
\$20,000-\$29,999	54	31	59	33	+5
<\$20,000	59	28	60	27	+1

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

Continued ...

	--- June 1997 ---		--- August 1997 ---		Change in <u>Approval</u>
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
<i>Total</i>	54	34	59	32	+5
<i>Region</i>					
East	62	26	66	28	+4
Midwest	56	31	59	32	+3
South	50	38	60	30	+10
West	51	36	50	38	-1
<i>Community Size</i>					
Large City	60	29	66	24	+6
Suburb	50	36	56	36	+6
Small City/Town	58	30	60	30	+2
Rural Area	47	40	55	37	+8
<i>Party ID</i>					
Republican	30	60	35	58	+5
Democrat	79	12	84	10	+5
Independent	52	33	57	32	+5
<i>1996 Presidential Vote</i>					
Clinton	80	10	90	6	+10
Dole	16	75	21	74	+5
<i>1996 Congressional Vote</i>					
Republican	27	62	34	60	+7
Democrat	77	14	80	16	+3

TREND IN GOP CONGRESS JOB APPROVAL

June 1997 vs. August 1997

	--- June 1997 ---		--- August 1997 ---		Change in Approval
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
Total	33	50	41	44	+8
Sex					
Male	37	52	43	47	+6
Female	30	48	40	42	+10
Race					
White	35	47	44	42	+17
Non-white	27	63	25	58	-2
Black	23	68	25	58	+2
Race and Sex					
White Men	38	50	47	44	+9
White Women	32	45	42	40	+10
Age					
Under 30	40	45	49	38	+9
30-49	35	49	44	44	+9
50-64	33	55	37	51	+4
65+	21	55	31	46	+10
Education					
College Grad.	33	54	44	46	+11
Some College	32	56	47	40	+15
High School Grad.	36	46	44	43	+8
<H.S. Grad	32	46	24	50	-8
Family Income					
\$75,000+	37	54	50	45	+13
\$50,000-\$74,999	40	52	50	41	+10
\$30,000-\$49,999	37	48	49	42	+12
\$20,000-\$29,999	35	49	41	47	+6
<\$20,000	26	51	29	48	+3

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job Republican leaders in Congress are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

Continued ...

	--- June 1997 ---		--- August 1997 ---		Change in <u>Approval</u>
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
<i>Total</i>	33	50	41	44	+8
<i>Region</i>					
East	30	52	44	45	+14
Midwest	34	45	44	43	+10
South	30	53	41	42	+11
West	42	46	37	48	-5
<i>Community Size</i>					
Large City	35	48	37	50	+2
Suburb	33	52	43	45	+10
Small City/Town	35	50	40	45	+5
Rural Area	30	49	47	38	+17
<i>Party ID</i>					
Republican	55	34	63	29	+8
Democrat	18	68	25	60	+7
Independent	31	48	40	46	+9
<i>1996 Presidential Vote</i>					
Clinton	22	65	31	57	+9
Dole	51	38	67	28	+16
<i>1996 Congressional Vote</i>					
Republican	49	40	64	29	+15
Democrat	17	73	22	66	+5

SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING IN THIS COUNTRY

July 1996 vs. August 1997

	--- July 1996 ---		--- August 1997 ---		Change in Satisfaction
	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
Total	29	67	49	46	+20
Sex					
Male	32	64	54	43	+22
Female	27	70	44	49	+17
Race					
White	29	68	50	45	+21
Non-white	33	61	46	51	+13
Black	30	64	44	52	+14
Age					
Under 30	32	65	48	49	+16
30-49	31	66	52	44	+21
50-64	28	67	47	48	+19
65+	24	71	48	44	+24
Education					
College Grad.	41	55	64	31	+23
Some College	31	64	54	42	+23
High School Grad.	26	70	42	54	+16
<H.S. Grad	19	76	42	53	+23
Family Income					
\$75,000+	42	56	62	33	+20
\$50,000-\$74,999	28	69	62	36	+34
\$30,000-\$49,999	32	64	52	44	+20
\$20,000-\$29,999	30	67	46	51	+16
<\$20,000	25	70	38	56	+13

Question: All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

Continued ...

	--- July 1996 ---		--- August 1997 ---		<u>Change in Satisfaction</u>
	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
<i>Total</i>	29	67	49	46	+20
<i>Region</i>					
East	36	61	52	43	+15
Midwest	26	72	52	42	+26
South	27	69	46	51	+19
West	30	63	48	47	+18
<i>Community Size</i>					
Large City	35	61	49	47	+14
Suburb	35	62	56	40	+21
Small City/Town	24	71	46	49	+22
Rural Area	26	71	46	48	+20
<i>Party ID</i>					
Republican	23	75	44	51	+21
Democrat	39	55	58	37	+19
Independent	26	69	46	50	+20
<i>Clinton Approval</i>					
Approve	41	54	62	34	+21
Disapprove	14	84	29	67	+15
No opinion	21	72	39	48	+18

APPROVAL OF BALANCED BUDGET LEGISLATION

(Based on Those Who Have Heard of It)

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	
Total	70	18	12=100	(934)
Sex				
Male	73	19	8	(477)
Female	65	18	17	(457)
Race				
White	72	16	12	(788)
Non-white	52	35	13	(141)
Black	53	34	13	(74)
Race and Sex				
White Men	77	16	7	(405)
White Women	67	15	18	(383)
Age				
Under 30	68	22	10	(142)
30-49	71	17	12	(410)
50-64	72	17	11	(204)
65+	64	21	15	(168)
Education				
College Grad.	76	14	10	(322)
Some College	72	16	12	(242)
High School Grad.	67	19	14	(291)
<H.S. Grad	60	27	13	(75)
Family Income				
\$75,000+	76	14	10	(140)
\$50,000-\$74,999	79	13	8	(142)
\$30,000-\$49,999	72	18	10	(256)
\$20,000-\$29,999	70	18	12	(142)
<\$20,000	62	26	12	(159)

Question:

[ASKED OF THOSE WHO HAD HEARD OF LEGISLATION]

From what you've heard or read, would you say you approve or disapprove of the balanced budget legislation?

Continued ...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	
Total	70	18	12=100	(934)
Region				
East	68	19	13	(169)
Midwest	69	20	11	(261)
South	69	18	13	(315)
West	70	17	13	(189)
Community Size				
Large City	70	19	11	(181)
Suburb	69	21	10	(234)
Small City/Town	71	18	11	(321)
Rural Area	67	15	18	(192)
Party ID				
Republican	72	18	10	(307)
Democrat	72	19	9	(310)
Independent	66	20	14	(269)
1996 Presidential Vote				
Clinton	74	16	10	(337)
Dole	77	14	9	(221)
1996 Congressional Vote				
Republican	75	14	11	(298)
Democrat	74	18	8	(243)

SUPPORT FOR THIRD POLITICAL PARTY

July 1996 vs. August 1997

	--- July 1996 ---		--- August 1997 ---		Change in
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	58	37	47	46	-11
Sex					
Male	63	34	50	45	-13
Female	54	39	44	48	-10
Race					
White	59	35	49	44	-10
Non-white	53	43	36	57	-17
Black	50	47	35	58	-15
Age					
Under 30	70	28	53	43	-17
30-49	62	33	56	37	-6
50-64	53	43	38	56	-15
65+	39	50	29	64	-10
Education					
College Grad.	58	37	52	41	-6
Some College	65	32	54	38	-11
High School Grad.	58	38	47	47	-11
<H.S. Grad	51	38	31	62	-20
Family Income					
\$75,000+	51	42	49	47	-2
\$50,000-\$74,999	67	31	55	38	-12
\$30,000-\$49,999	62	34	51	46	-11
\$20,000-\$29,999	62	34	48	46	-14
<\$20,000	51	42	41	50	-10

Question: Some people say we should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and the Republicans. Do you agree or disagree?

Continued ...

	--- July 1996 ---		--- August 1997 ---		Change in
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Total</i>	58	37	47	46	-11
<i>Region</i>					
East	62	33	51	44	-11
Midwest	61	31	46	48	-15
South	52	44	42	49	-10
West	60	34	52	42	-8
<i>Community Size</i>					
Large City	58	37	50	46	-8
Suburb	59	37	52	44	-7
Small City/Town	56	39	42	49	-14
Rural Area	61	30	50	44	-11
<i>Party ID</i>					
Republican	50	45	47	47	-3
Democrat	50	45	40	54	-10
Independent	74	23	59	36	-15
<i>Clinton Approval</i>					
Approve	58	37	44	51	-14
Disapprove	59	37	53	42	-6

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for the survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,213 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period August 7-10,1997. 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. For results based on either Form 1 (N=610) or Form 2 (N=603), the sampling error is plus or minus 4.5 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.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The sample for this 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 numbers (including not-yet-listed). 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 four 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 demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1994). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
AUGUST 1997 NEWS INTEREST INDEX
-- FINAL TOPLINE --
August 7 - 10, 1997
N = 1,213

Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates in 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?]**

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
August, 1997	59	32	9=100
June, 1997	54	34	12=100
May, 1997	57	34	9=100
April, 1997	55	34	11=100
February, 1997	60	32	8=100
Early February, 1997	57	30	13=100
January, 1997	59	31	10=100
November, 1996	57	34	9=100
July, 1996	54	38	8=100
June, 1996	54	38	8=100
April, 1996	53	39	8=100
March, 1996	55	38	7=100
February, 1996	51	39	10=100
January, 1996	50	43	7=100
October, 1995	48	42	10=100
September, 1995	45	42	13=100
August, 1995	44	44	12=100
June, 1995	50	40	10=100
April, 1995	47	43	10=100
March, 1995	44	44	12=100
February, 1995	44	44	12=100
December, 1994	41	47	12=100
November, 1994	48	40	12=100
October, 1994	41	47	12=100
Early October, 1994	38	47	15=100
September, 1994	41	52	7=100
July, 1994	45	46	9=100
June, 1994	42	44	14=100
May, 1994	46	42	12=100
March, 1994	45	42	13=100
January, 1994	51	35	14=100
Early January, 1994	48	35	17=100

Q.1 con't ...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
December, 1993	48	36	16=100
October, 1993	44	42	14=100
September, 1993	49	35	16=100
Early September, 1993	43	43	14=100
August, 1993	39	46	15=100
May, 1993	39	43	18=100
Early May, 1993	45	37	18=100
April, 1993	49	29	22=100
February, 1993	56	25	19=100

Q.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
August, 1997	42	44	14=100
June, 1997	33	50	17=100
May, 1997	40	44	16=100
April, 1997	40	44	16=100
February, 1997	44	42	14=100
January, 1997	38	47	15=100
November, 1996	40	43	17=100
July, 1996	38	48	14=100
June, 1996	36	50	14=100
April, 1996	39	46	15=100
March, 1996	35	51	14=100
February, 1996	33	53	14=100
January, 1996	36	54	10=100
October, 1995	36	51	13=100
September, 1995	36	50	14=100
August, 1995	38	45	17=100
June, 1995	41	45	14=100
April, 1995	44	43	13=100
March 1995	43	39	18=100
December, 1994	52	28	20=100

Q.3 Can you recall anything you have heard or read about Bill Clinton in the news recently? (**ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; PROBE ONCE**)

		Feb <u>1997</u>
24	SCANDAL (NET)	32
18	Sexual Harassment (Net)	--
11	Sexual harassment (unspecified)	--
6	Paula Jones	6
1	Accused of harassment by woman in White House	--
5	Whitewater	18
3	Campaign Finance	7
23	DOMESTIC POLICY (NET)	10
19	Balanced Budget (Net)	--
13	Budget agreement	--
6	Tax bill	--
3	Line item veto	--
4	UPS Strike	--
1	Welfare Reform	2
2	Bad things, Don't like him (general)	--
2	Knee Injury	--
2	His Travels	--
1	Personal Life (general)	4
1	Weight Loss	--
18	Other	11
41	Don't know/No answer	47

Q.4 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
August, 1997	49	46	5=100
January, 1997	38	58	4=100
July, 1996	29	67	4=100
March, 1996	28	70	2=100
October, 1995	23	73	4=100
June, 1995	25	73	2=100
April, 1995	23	74	3=100
July, 1994	24	73	3=100
March, 1994	24	71	5=100
October, 1993	22	73	5=100
September, 1993	20	75	4=100
May, 1993	22	71	7=100
January, 1993	39	50	11=100
January, 1992	28	68	4=100
November, 1991	34	61	5=100
<i>Late February, 1991 (Gallup)</i>	66	31	3=100
August, 1990	47	48	5=100
May, 1990	41	54	5=100
January, 1989	45	50	5=100
September, 1988	50	45	5=100
May, 1988	41	54	5=100
January, 1988	39	55	6=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.4a Do you happen to know the name of the professional boxer who bit off part of the ear of his opponent in a recent championship bout?

79 Mike Tyson

4 Other answer

17 DK/Refused
100

Q.4b Can you name the country which recently re-acquired a piece of territory that had been a British colony?

40 China

12 Other answer

48 DK/Refused
100

Q.5 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?
[READ AND ROTATE LIST]

	<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all Closely</u>	(VOL) DK
a. The debate in Washington about the federal budget	14	34	25	26	1=100
May, 1997	16	38	23	22	1=100
February, 1997	19	28	22	29	2=100
March, 1996	24	35	23	18	*=100
January, 1996	32	42	17	9	*=100
September, 1995	20	35	27	18	*=100
August, 1995 ²	18	34	27	20	1=100
b. Senate hearings on improper foreign campaign contributions	10	28	26	35	1=100
May, 1997 ³	18	33	23	25	1=100
April, 1997	19	37	22	21	1=100
February, 1997 ⁴	18	27	21	33	1=100
January, 1997	17	29	26	28	*=100
December, 1996	22	26	22	30	*=100
c. An attempt by some Republican House members to replace Newt Gingrich as Speaker	13	27	28	31	1=100
d. The problems aboard the Russian space station Mir	14	39	24	23	*=100
e. The exploration of the planet Mars by the Pathfinder spacecraft	22	36	23	19	*=100
f. The slaying of designer Gianni Versace and the search for the suspect, Andrew Cunanan	24	33	24	19	*=100
g. The expansion of NATO to include Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic ⁵	6	16	31	46	1=100
April, 1997	6	16	27	50	1=100
January, 1997	5	15	32	47	1=100

² In this month the story was listed as "The debate in Congress over the federal budget."

³ In this month story was listed as "Charges of improper campaign contributions to the Democrats by foreign business interests."

⁴ In previous months story was listed as "Charges of improper campaign contributions to the Democrats by Indonesian business interests."

⁵ In previous months story was listed as "The discussion and debate about expanding NATO into Eastern Europe."

Q.5 con't ...

		Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	(VOL) <u>DK</u>
h.	The reunification of Hong Kong and China	14	34	23	28	1=100
i.	The suicide bombing by Palestinian terrorists in a Jerusalem market	12	28	31	29	*=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.6 If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "3" OR "9" IN Q.6, ASK:

Q.6a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS: [N=904]

		Early		Late Early		Early										
		Nov <u>1996⁶</u>	Oct <u>1996</u>	Sept <u>1996</u>	Sept <u>1996</u>	July <u>1996</u>	June <u>1996</u>	March <u>1996</u>	Jan <u>1996</u>	Oct <u>1995</u>	Aug <u>1995</u>	Nov <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	Sept <u>1994</u>	July <u>1994</u>
45	Rep/Lean Rep	44	42	43	43	46	44	44	46	48	50	45	47	52	48	45
48	Dem/Lean Dem	48	49	49	51	47	50	49	47	48	43	43	44	40	46	47
<u>7</u> 100	Other/Undecided	<u>8</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100

⁶

Based on Likely Voters.

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

ASK OF FORM 1 ONLY: [N=610]

Q.7F1 Now I'd like your views on some people and things in the news. 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 say your overall opinion of... **(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE)** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? **(INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")**

	Very Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Never Heard <u>Of</u>	Can't <u>Rate</u>
a. Bill Clinton	16	45	21	17	0	1=100
April, 1997	17	44	21	16	*	2=100
January, 1997	17	49	18	14	*	2=100
October, 1996 ⁷	12	45	22	19	0	2=100
June, 1996	16	45	23	14	*	2=100
April, 1996	16	41	24	16	0	3=100
February, 1996	20	35	22	21	0	2=100
January, 1996	13	43	27	15	0	2=100
August, 1995	13	36	29	20	0	2=100
February, 1995	14	41	25	17	0	3=100
December, 1994	17	34	24	22	0	3=100
July, 1994	15	43	25	16	*	1=100
May, 1993	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. Al Gore	15	39	22	15	1	8=100
April, 1997	12	45	24	12	1	6=100
January, 1997	18	47	21	8	1	5=100
July, 1994	18	49	19	7	2	5=100
August, 1992	22	44	15	5	2	12=100
July, 1992 ⁸	15	32	14	5	6	28=100
September, 1987	6	23	11	3	23	34=100
c. Newt Gingrich	6	24	35	27	2	6=100
April, 1997	5	23	36	28	3	5=100
January, 1997	4	24	39	26	2	5=100
August, 1995	9	21	29	25	4	12=100
February, 1995	12	29	22	15	10	12=100
December, 1994	7	18	15	13	30	17=100
July, 1994	2	12	8	4	65	9=100

⁷ October 1996 trend based on registered voters.

⁸ July 1992 trend based on 461 respondents asked on July 9, 1992 only.

Q.7F1 con't ...

	Very Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Never Heard <u>Of</u>	Can't <u>Rate</u>
d. Congress	6	44	33	11	0	6=100
June, 1997	4	48	34	8	0	6=100
May, 1997	5	44	32	10	*	9=100
February, 1997	6	46	31	9	*	8=100
January, 1997	6	50	32	8	*	4=100
June, 1996	6	39	38	12	*	5=100
April, 1996	6	39	37	13	0	5=100
January, 1996	4	38	38	16	*	4=100
October, 1995	4	38	42	13	0	3=100
August, 1995	5	40	34	13	*	7=100
June, 1995	8	45	31	11	*	5=100
February, 1995	10	44	27	10	0	9=100
July, 1994	7	46	34	9	*	4=100
May, 1993	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
e. The Democratic Party	11	41	32	10	0	6=100
June, 1997	10	51	25	8	*	6=100
January, 1997	13	47	28	7	*	5=100
October, 1995	9	40	37	11	-	3=100
July, 1994	13	49	27	7	*	4=100
May, 1993	14	43	25	9	0	9=100
July, 1992	17	44	24	9	*	6=100
f. The Republican Party	9	38	36	11	*	6=100
June, 1997	8	43	31	11	1	6=100
January, 1997	8	44	33	10	*	5=100
October, 1995	10	42	28	16	*	4=100
July, 1994	12	51	25	8	*	4=100
May, 1993	12	42	25	10	0	11=100
July, 1992	9	37	31	17	*	6=100

Q.9 Generally, what's the better situation: that a President's political party also have a controlling majority in Congress OR is it better that one party control the White House, while the other party controls the Congress...or don't you think it matters too much one way or the other?

		<u>May</u> <u>1992</u>
18	President's party also control Congress	26
32	One party control each	23
42	Doesn't matter	40
<u>8</u> 100	Can't say	<u>11</u> 100

-- NO QUESTION 10 --

Q.11 As I read some pairs of opposite phrases, tell me which ONE best reflects your impression of Bill Clinton. (First,) does Bill Clinton impress you as... **(READ AND ROTATE)**

		<u>Sept</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1993</u>
a.	47	Trustworthy or	47	46	56	56
	47	Not trustworthy	49	49	35	37
	2	(DO NOT READ) Neither particularly	3	2	3	2
	<u>4</u> 100	(DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100

		<u>Sept</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>1993</u>
b.	64	Able to get things done or	41	40	63
	29	Not able to get things done	54	56	27
	3	(DO NOT READ) Neither particularly	5	2	5
	<u>4</u> 100	(DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused	<u>0</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100

		<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>1993</u>
c.	31	Liberal,	37	32
	52	Middle of the road or	47	49
	12	Conservative	13	12
	1	(DO NOT READ) Neither particularly	1	2
	<u>4</u> 100	(DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100

		<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>1993</u>
d.	45	Keeps his promises or	36	41
	46	Doesn't keep his promises	56	42
	5	(DO NOT READ) Neither particularly	3	7
	<u>4</u> 100	(DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.12 Would you like to see your Representative in Congress be re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS: [N=904]

		Early Nov <u>1996</u>	Oct <u>1996</u>	Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Early Sept <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	Early Oct <u>1994</u>	---Gallup--- Oct 25-28 <u>1990</u>
66	Yes	60	62	55	62	58	55	49	62
22	No	16	19	17	19	25	30	29	22
0	Congressman is not running (VOL)	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	2
<u>12</u> 100	No opinion	<u>21</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100	<u>26</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>20</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100

Q.12a Regardless of how you feel about your own Representative, would you like to see most members of Congress re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS: [N=904]

		Early Sept <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1994</u>	Late Oct <u>1994</u>	Early Oct <u>1994</u>
45	Yes	43	31	31	28
42	No	43	51	56	56
<u>13</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>14</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100

Q.13 Now, I'm going to read you some phrases. Please tell me if you think each one better describes the REPUBLICAN Party and its leaders or the DEMOCRATIC Party and its leaders. (First,) which party do you think is better described by the phrase... (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE START)

		Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	Both <u>Equally</u>	<u>Neither</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
a.	Able to manage the Federal government well	39	33	4	16	8=100
	July, 1996	45	32	4	12	7=100
	April, 1995	49	30	3	13	5=100
	July, 1994	43	31	4	17	5=100
	May, 1990	28	20	12	31	9=100
	May, 1988	33	30	10	17	10=100
	January, 1988	30	28	12	20	10=100
	May, 1987	24	25	13	28	10=100

Q.13 con't ...

		Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	Both <u>Equally</u>	<u>Neither</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
b.	Can bring about the kind of changes the country needs	38	40	4	11	7=100
	July, 1996	39	46	2	7	6=100
	April, 1995	51	34	4	7	4=100
	July, 1994	39	42	4	10	5=100
	May, 1990	27	31	13	18	11=100
	May, 1988	27	43	9	11	10=100
	January, 1988	28	37	14	11	10=100
	May, 1987	26	36	14	14	10=100
c.	Is concerned with the needs of people like me	31	49	3	10	7=100
	July, 1996	35	50	2	7	6=100
	April, 1995	39	49	2	7	3=100
	July, 1994	35	49	4	8	4=100
	May, 1990	21	42	12	18	7=100
	May, 1988	23	51	8	11	7=100
	January, 1988	22	47	11	13	7=100
d.	Governs in an honest and ethical way	28	33	5	26	8=100
	July, 1996	38	37	2	18	5=100
	April, 1995	35	36	4	19	6=100
	July, 1994	32	35	6	21	6=100
e.	Well organized	39	30	6	16	9=100
	July, 1996	40	35	9	9	7=100
	July, 1994	48	27	7	13	5=100
	May, 1990	40	16	22	13	9=100
	May, 1988	39	23	15	14	9=100
	January, 1988	38	20	19	14	9=100
	May, 1987	34	19	25	13	9=100

Q.14 This year, have Republicans and Democrats in Washington been working together more to solve problems, OR have they been bickering and opposing one another more than usual?

		June <u>1997</u>	Oct <u>1995</u>	Aug <u>1993</u>
43	Working together more	34	21	20
46	Opposing each other more	49	72	57
3	Same as in past (VOL)	6	3	13
<u>8</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100

Now, I'd like to ask you about some things that have been in the news recently. Not everyone will have heard about them...

Q.15 Compared to five years ago, has the federal budget deficit increased, decreased, or stayed about the same?

		<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
40	Increased	74
32	Decreased	9
17	Stayed about the same	8
<u>11</u> 100	DK/Refused	<u>9</u> 100

Q.16 Now thinking about the PAST YEAR, please tell me whether you think each of the following has increased, decreased or stayed the same... (First), **INSERT ITEM; ROTATE**

	<u>Increased</u>	<u>Decreased</u>	<u>Stayed the Same</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. The crime rate	49	34	15	2=100
b. Unemployment	24	59	14	3=100
c. Inflation	41	24	32	3=100

Q.17 Over the PAST FEW MONTHS has the stock market been going up, going down, or not changing too much either way?

		May <u>1994</u>
58	Going up	11
6	Going down	39
20	Staying the same	21
<u>16</u>	DK/Refused	<u>29</u>
100		100

Q.18 Have you heard that Congress recently passed legislation to balance the federal budget and cut taxes for many Americans?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' HAVE HEARD ABOUT THE BUDGET LEGISLATION, ASK:

Q.19 From what you've heard or read, would you say you approve or disapprove of the balanced budget legislation?

75 Yes, have heard about the budget legislation
52 Approve
14 Disapprove
9 DK/Refused

23 No, have not heard — **GO TO Q.20**

2 DK/Refused — **GO TO Q.20**
100

ASK ALL:

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

- Q.20 Now I'm going to ask you about several things the federal government has done in recent years. For each item I read, please tell me how important you think it has been for country. (First),(**INSERT ITEM; ROTATE**)...has this been very important, somewhat important, not too important or not at all important?
- Q.21 Of all the things I just read, which ONE has been most important to you and your family personally? (**READ LIST AGAIN IF NECESSARY**)

		<i>----- Importance Level -----</i>					Ranked
		<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Not too</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Most</u>
							<u>Important</u>
a.	The Family Leave Act, which allows people to take time off from work to care for a new baby or a sick family member	68	23	6	2	1=100	12
b.	An increase in the minimum wage	64	24	7	4	1=100	9
c.	A new ratings system for television programs	34	23	21	19	3=100	3
d.	Welfare reform	67	22	5	3	3=100	8
e.	A deal reached between several states and the tobacco industry to severely restrict the advertising and sale of cigarettes	52	20	14	12	2=100	4
f.	The recent agreement to balance the federal budget and cut taxes for many Americans	74	20	2	2	2=100	34
g.	The decision to expand the membership of NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization	27	37	18	9	9=100	1
h.	A law which allows people to keep their health insurance even if they lose their job or change jobs	82	14	2	1	1=100	24

Now thinking about the balanced budget legislation passed by Congress and signed into law by President Clinton...

ASK Q.22 AND Q.23 OF FORM 1 ONLY: [N=610]

Q.22F1 In your opinion, if the federal budget IS balanced in five years, do you think this will help you and your family financially, hurt you and your family financially, or not affect you and your family too much?

		May <u>1997</u>	Feb <u>1997</u>	Jan <u>1996</u> ⁹
43	Help	32	33	40
8	Hurt	14	19	20
44	Not much affect	47	40	35
<u>5</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100

Q.23F1 Do you think the federal budget will actually be balanced by the year 2002, or won't the budget be balanced by then?

		May <u>1997</u>	Feb <u>1997</u>
16	Will be balanced	10	9
77	Won't be balanced	85	18
<u>7</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u> 100	<u>1</u> 28% ¹⁰

ASK Q.24 AND Q.25 OF FORM 2 ONLY: [N=603]

Q.24F2 From what you've heard or read about the balanced budget agreement, do you think it will help you and your family financially, hurt you and your family financially, or not affect you and your family too much?

30	Help — GO TO Q.25
9	Hurt — GO TO Q.26
54	Not much affect — GO TO Q.26
<u>7</u> 100	DK/Refused — GO TO Q.26

⁹ In January 1996, the question referred to a seven year balanced budget plan.

¹⁰ In February 1997 question was based on the percent of respondents who thought President Clinton and the Republican leaders in Congress would be able to reach an agreement (28% yes, 62% no, 2% depends, 8% don't know/refused).

IF “HELP” IN Q.24, ASK:

Q.25F2 In what ways will the budget agreement help you and your family? (*Open-end*)

- 36 Will cut taxes
- 20 People will have more money
- 10 Capital gains tax change/Reduce capital gains tax
- 8 Balanced budget good for future generations
- 8 Tax credit for children
- 6 Cut for college tuition/Deductions for college/Tuition assistance
- 4 Improve economy
- 3 Will help to lower debt
- 16 Other
- 11 Don't know/No answer

ASK ALL:

Q.26 Now, I'd like to ask you about some specific parts of the recent balanced budget agreement. The (first one) is... (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE) Have you heard or read about this, or not? **IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS 'YES, HAVE HEARD' ABOUT THE ITEM, CONTINUE WITH Q.27 BEFORE READING NEXT ITEM IN Q.26; IF 'NO' OR 'DK', MOVE ON TO NEXT ITEM IN Q.26.**

IF '1' HAVE HEARD, ASK:

Q.27 Do you approve or disapprove of this?

INTERVIEWER NOTE: SPLIT FORM ITEMS WHERE INDICATED

		-- Heard Of --			-- Based On Those Who Heard --		
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	A \$500 tax credit for each child under 17	69	31	*=100	89	8	3=100
b.	Tax credits and incentives for college tuition expenses	65	34	1=100	88	9	3=100
c.	A reduction in the capital gains tax rate	47	52	1=100	74	19	7=100
d.	New rules for Individual Retirement Accounts, making these accounts available to more Americans	43	56	1=100	92	4	4=100
e.	An increase in the amount of inherited wealth which is exempt from federal estate taxes	45	55	*=100	79	16	5=100
f.	A new program to finance health care for children without insurance	53	46	1=100	88	9	3=100
ASK FORM 1 ONLY: [N=610]							
g.F1	Changes in the Medicare system, including offering new insurance options, such as HMOs, to the elderly	62	37	1=100	75	20	5=100
ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [N=603]							
h.f2	Changes in the Medicare system, including limiting payments to hospitals, doctors and other health care providers	64	35	1=100	54	37	9=100
ASK ALL:							
i.	Restoring some welfare benefits to legal immigrants	50	49	1=100	39	56	5=100
j.	A limit on the amount of capital gains that can be exempted in the sale of a home	47	52	1=100	72	21	7=100

ASK ALL:

Q.28 Now that Congress and the President have reached an agreement on how to balance the federal budget by the year 2002, which ONE of the following issues do you think they should address next? (**READ ITEMS; ROTATE**) (**ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE**)

- 2 Reforming the campaign finance system
- 12 Improving the long term stability of the Medicare system
- 29 Improving the long term stability of the Social Security system
- 30 Improving the educational system
- 4 Improving race relations
- 18 Reducing poverty and homelessness
- 1 None of the above
- 2 Other (**SPECIFY**)
- 1 DK/Refused

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.29 There is a proposal that the country apologize to African Americans for slavery. Do you favor or oppose this?

- 33 Favor
- 58 Oppose
- $\frac{9}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

Q.30 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?

		Early										
		Sept	July	June	April	March	Oct	April	Nov	July	Dec	April
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>
17	Regularly	15	16	17	13	18	18	19	16	17	23	23
24	Sometimes	25	24	25	23	28	33	30	31	29	22	32
28	Rarely	22	27	26	25	24	25	24	26	24	25	23
31	Never	37	33	31	39	30	24	27	26	30	30	22
<u>$\frac{*}{100}$</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>$\frac{1}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{*}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{1}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{*}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{*}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{*}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{*}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{1}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{*}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{0}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{*}{100}$</u>

Q.31 Some people say we should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans. Do you agree or disagree?

		<i>ABC/Washington Post¹¹</i>					
		July	Oct	April	July	Jan	Sept
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1982</u>
47	Agree	58	59	57	53	41	44
46	Disagree	37	37	38	43	48	44
<u>$\frac{7}{100}$</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>$\frac{5}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{4}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{5}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{4}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{11}{100}$</u>	<u>$\frac{12}{100}$</u>

¹¹ Trends based on a somewhat different question wording: "Tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with [the following statement], or if perhaps, you have no opinion about the statement -- "We should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans."