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52% to 48% Current Republican Margin
**GOP LEADS AMONG LIKELY VOTERS, BUT DEMOCRATS
MAKING GAINS**

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52% to 48% Current Republican Margin
GOP LEADS AMONG LIKELY VOTERS, BUT DEMOCRATS MAKING GAINS

Going into the final days of the campaign, a nationwide Times Mirror survey finds the Republican party with about enough popular support to capture control of the House of Representatives, but not enough to *guarantee* such an outcome. Further, the trends observed in the survey suggest that the Democrats may narrow the margin even more. Most importantly, the GOP edge in support over the Democrats has consistently diminished in polls conducted over the course of the past four weeks. Secondly, the percentage of undecided voters has increased in each survey, which is unusual and suggests an unsettled electorate. Third, the percentage of voters saying they would like to see their incumbent re-elected has also improved since early October.

For the first time since early September, we find the two parties statistically tied when *registered voters* are questioned about their congressional voting intentions. The Times Mirror poll conducted Nov 3-5 among 1468 registered voters found 45% inclined to vote for Republican candidates for the House of Representatives vs. 43% disposed to Democrats, and 12% undecided. Ten days earlier, a Times Mirror survey found a 47% to 44% Republican margin, and in early October the GOP led by as much as 52% to 40%.

As in the earlier poll, when the current survey is narrowed to the 923 respondents most likely to vote on election day based on expressed intentions to vote, and voting history, the Republican party holds a 48% to 43% margin of support. There is no indication in the new survey that the level of voter turnout will be any greater in 1994 than it was in 1990 and 1986, as previously reported.

VOTING INTENTIONS

	<i>Democratic</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Other/Undecided</i>
<i>Likely Voters:</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
November 3-5, 1994	43	48	9
October 20-24, 1994	43	51	6
<i>Registered Voters:</i>			
November 3-5, 1994	43	45	12
October 20-24, 1994	44	47	9
October 6-9, 1994	40	52	8
September, 1994	46	48	6
July, 1994	47	45	8

The increased percentage of undecided voters, coupled with the Democratic gains in support, suggest that Democrats might get a lot of the "late deciders vote". However, if the current party standings remain as measured, and if undecided voters split about the way decided voters have, this would result in a 52% to 48% margin of popular support for the GOP. The popular vote does not translate into seats on a one to one basis. The GOP would need somewhat more than 52% of the vote to be assured of control based on the historical relationship between the popular vote and the division of seats. The Republicans require a higher share of the vote than the Democrats to control the House because they register greater turnout in the districts that they carry.

The poll found the percentage of registered voters saying they would like to see their incumbent sent back to Washington increasing to 58%, from 55% in late October and 49% in early October. But the survey found no change from the previous survey in the 31% saying they would like to see most members of Congress re-elected.

Shifting Patterns of Support

While new poll results show little change in congressional preferences overall, a demographic analysis shows the Democrats making significant gains among key subgroups. In the past week the Democrats have cut into the GOP margin or expanded their lead among the following groups (see Table):

* Seniors. Voters over 65 now prefer Democratic candidates by 48% to 38%, after leaning GOP in the last poll. Clinton's raising the Social Security issue may have been a factor.

* Low Income Voters. Support for Democratic candidates has swelled to a 55% to 34% margin among voters with incomes under \$20,000.

* Upper Income Voters and Suburbanites. Voters with family incomes of \$50,000 or more and those who live in the suburbs traditionally vote Republican but have shifted toward the Democrats in the final week.

* Voters with Some College. This group tends to vote, but is less informed about politics than college graduates. The poll shows 59% now favoring their own Representative's re-election, up from 54% last week.

* Easterners. Liberal icons Ted Kennedy and Mario Cuomo have made strong comebacks. So have Democratic congressional candidates in this part of the country.

* Non-Evangelical White Protestants and Catholics. Now that the Republicans are increasingly associated with evangelical conservatives, there may be a backlash among those with different religious backgrounds.

Only one group analyzed shows a significant shift toward the Republicans in the last week -- white Evangelicals. Their vote now divides 65% to 27% in favor of the Republicans.

The South is the region where the GOP is most likely to make big gains, while the East is the only region likely to resist the Republican tide. In 1990, the Democrats had a 56% to 42% margin over the GOP in the popular vote for Congress, but the two parties are dead even among Southern voters in the poll. In the East, the Democrats' point edge in the poll is similar to their 5-point margin in the 1990 popular vote.

Undecided voters are most likely to be political independents and former Perot backers. Supporters of the Texas billionaire who have a preference lean to the GOP by a 55% to 30% margin.

CONGRESSIONAL VOTE PREFERENCE

(Based On Registered Voters)

<i>DEM.</i>	<i>OCTOBER 1994</i>			<i>NOVEMBER 1994</i>			
	<i>GOP</i>			<i>GOP</i>			
	<i>Rep.</i>	<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Lead</i>	<i>Rep.</i>	<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Lead</i>	
<i>GAIN</i>							
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Total</i>	47	44	3	45	43	2	1
<i>Sex</i>							
Male	52	41	11	48	40	8	3
Female 43	46	-3	42	46	-4	1	
<i>Race</i>							
White	52	39	13	49	40	9	4
Black	13	81	-68	8	83	-75	7
Hispanic	33	55	-22	41	47	-6	-16
<i>Age</i>							
18-29	47	50	-3	48	46	2	-5
30-49	48	43	5	48	41	7	2
50-64	46	43	3	42	45	-3	6
65+	46	42	4	38	48	-10	14
<i>Education</i>							
College Grad.	48	45	3	49	40	9	-6
Some College	51	39	12	44	44	0	12
High School Grad.	50	43	7	48	40	8	-1
< High School	33	50	-17	30	56	-26	9
<i>Family Income</i>							
\$50,000+	56	38	18	51	42	9	9
\$30,000-\$49,000	51	42	9	48	41	7	2
\$20,000-\$29,000	39	51	-12	43	47	-4	-8
< \$20,000	41	48	-7	34	55	-21	14
<i>Region</i>							
East	48	41	7	40	43	-3	10
Midwest	46	41	5	44	43	1	4
South	47	48	-1	45	45	0	-1
West	49	42	7	50	40	10	-3
<i>Community Size</i>							
Large City	41	50	-9	40	50	-10	1
Suburb	53	41	12	44	43	1	11
Small City/Town	47	43	4	46	42	4	0
Rural Area	48	40	8	49	41	8	0

Question: If the 1994 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? (includes leaners)

<i>DEM.</i>	<i>OCTOBER 1994</i>			<i>NOVEMBER 1994</i>			
	<i>GOP</i>			<i>GOP</i>			
	<i>Rep.</i>	<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Lead</i>	<i>Rep.</i>	<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Lead</i>	
<i>GAIN</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Party ID</i>							
Republican	91	6	85	92	5	87	-2
Democrat	7	89	-82	7	87	-80	-2
Independent	44	39	5	43	38	5	0
<i>Past Vote</i>							
Bush	85	11	74	85	9	76	-2
Clinton	17	75	-58	15	76	-61	3
Perot	59	27	32	55	30	25	7
<i>Listens To Talk Radio</i>							
Regularly	55	40	15	48	40	8	7
Sometimes	47	45	2	48	42	6	-4
Rarely/Never	45	44	1	41	46	-5	6
<i>Whites By Religion</i>							
White Evangelical	58	32	26	65	27	38	-12
Other White Protestant	56	36	20	42	44	-2	22
Catholics	51	40	11	43	48	-5	16

WOULD LIKE TO SEE OWN REPRESENTATIVE RE-ELECTED

(Based On Registered Voters)

	OCTOBER 1994		NOVEMBER 1994			N
	Yes %		Yes %	No %	Don't ¹ Know %	
<i>Total</i>	55		58	25	17	1468
<i>Sex</i>						
Male	52		58	28	14	721
Female	58	58	22	21	747	
<i>Race</i>						
White	55		56	27	17	1252
Black	63		77	12	11	107
Hispanic	46		56	21	23	72
<i>Age</i>						
18-29	63		60	27	13	176
30-49	51		54	28	18	661
50-64	57		61	26	13	296
65+	59		62	18	20	291
<i>Education</i>						
College Grad.	56		53	29	18	480
Some College	52		59	26	15	348
High School Grad.	54		57	27	16	520
< High School	65		65	14	21	103
<i>Family Income</i>						
\$50,000+	54		57	30	13	353
\$30,000-\$49,000	54		57	27	16	365
\$20,000-\$29,000	58		57	23	20	220
< \$20,000	58		65	19	16	274
<i>Region</i>						
East	54		57	27	16	295
Midwest	56		62	21	17	375
South	57		57	26	17	490
West	54		53	28	19	308
<i>Community Size</i>						
Large City	57		59	23	18	275
Suburb	52		57	28	15	337
Small City/Town	54		25	18	511	
Rural Area	58		57	27	16	300

Question: Would you like to see your Representative in Congress be re-elected on Tuesday, or not?

¹ Combines don't know/refused/Congressman not running responses.

	<i>OCTOBER 1994</i>	<i>NOVEMBER 1994</i>			
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Don't</i>	<i>N</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Know</i>	
				<i>%</i>	
<i>Party ID</i>					
Republican	52	55	30	15	448
Democrat	65	68	17	15	460
Independent	48	52	30	18	485
<i>Past Vote</i>					
Bush	52	50	37	13	452
Clinton	65	68	19	13	551
Perot	42	43	38	18	147
<i>Listens To Talk Radio</i>					
Regularly	49	56	28	16	295
Sometimes	53	61	24	15	464
Rarely/Never	58	56	25	19	700
<i>Whites By Religion</i>					
White Evangelical	55	53	31	16	339
Other White Protestant	50	60	25	15	397
Catholics	60	55	26	19	314

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 2,000 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period November 3-5, 1994. 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 2.5 percentage points. For results based on registered voters only (N=1,468), 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.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

**TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
 CONGRESSIONAL OPINION SURVEY
 FINAL TOPLINE
 NOVEMBER 3-5, 1994
 N = 2000**

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am _____ calling from 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?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 How much thought have you given to Tuesday's election, quite a lot, or only a little?

		Times Mirror		Gallup			
		Oct	Early	Oct 25-28	Oct 15-18	Oct 13-16	Sept 22-25
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1978</u>
44	A lot	37	36	43	29	23	21
6	Some (VOL.)	5	1	7	22	22	18
39	Only a little	52	58	46	37	39	44
<u>11</u>	None/DK/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.2 How closely have you followed news about candidates and election campaigns in your state and district? Have you followed it very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

		Oct
		<u>1994</u>
18	Very closely	14
42	Fairly closely	38
25	Not too closely	31
15	Not at all closely	16
<u>*</u>	Don't know	<u>1</u>
100		100

Q.3 Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district?

74 Yes

26 No

$\frac{*}{100}$ No answer/Don't Know

Q.4 Do you happen to know where people in your neighborhood go to vote?

79 Yes - gives answer

20 No

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

Q.5 These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register... Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district, or haven't you been able to register so far?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "1" IN Q.5, ASK:

Q.6 Are you absolutely certain you are registered to vote, or is there a chance your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

		Oct <u>1994</u>	Early Oct <u>1994</u>	July <u>1994</u>	June <u>1992</u>
73	Yes, registered	77	76	79	76
70	Absolutely sure	74	72	75	73
2	Chance	3	4	4	3
1	Don't know	0	*	0	0
26	No	22	23	20	23
$\frac{1}{100}$	Not sure/Don't know	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

ASK ALL:

Q.7

Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs...(READ CHOICES)

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
49	Most of the time	45	46	39	47	37	37	41
30	Some of the time	35	33	34	34	37	35	35
13	Only now and then	14	15	18	14	17	18	15
7	Hardly at all	6	6	9	4	6	8	7
$\frac{1}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$

Q.8

How often would you say you vote? (READ CHOICES)

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
43	Always	43	40	47	41	38	33	45	39	34
24	Nearly always	28	30	26	32	37	35	30	33	37
11	Part of the time	13	14	10	13	13	12	10	12	11
13	Seldom	10	11	11	11	9	10	8	8	6
1	(VOL.) Other	5	*	1	*	0	1	1	1	2
8	(VOL.) Never vote	1	5	5	3	3	8	6	6	9
$\frac{*}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

SPLIT FORM FOR Q.9 & Q.10:

FORM 1, ASK REPUBLICAN FIRST; FORM 2, ASK DEMOCRAT FIRST

Q.9 If the 1994 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.9, ASK:

Q.10 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "1" OR "2" IN Q.9, ASK:

Q.11 Do you support the Dem\Rep candidate strongly or only moderately?

		Oct <u>1994</u>	Early Oct <u>1994</u>	Sept <u>1994</u>	July <u>1994</u>
45	Republican	47	52	48	45
19	Strongly	-	-	-	-
26	Moderately	-	-	-	-
43	Democratic	44	40	46	47
17	Strongly	-	-	-	-
26	Moderately	-	-	-	-
$\frac{12}{100}$	Undecided/Other candidate (VOL.)	$\frac{9}{100}$	$\frac{8}{100}$	$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{8}{100}$
(n=1468)					

ASK ALL:

Q.12 Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the election this Tuesday, or not?

		Oct <u>1994</u>
71	Yes	83
26	No	14
$\frac{3}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{3}{100}$

Q.13 Next, I'd like you to rate your chances of voting in Tuesday's election on a scale of 10 to 1. If 10 represents a person who definitely will vote and '1' represents a person who definitely will not vote, where on this scale of 10 to 1 would you place yourself. **(CIRCLE RESPONSE)**

		Oct <u>1994</u>
50	10 -- Definitely will vote	53
7	9	9
7	8	9
3	7	5
2	6	3
6	5	7
2	4	2
2	3	2
1	2	1
17	1 -- Definitely will not vote	8
$\frac{3}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{1}{100}$

Q.14 THROUGH Q.18 BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

Q.14 What will make the biggest difference in how you vote for Congress in your district -- national issues, local or state issues, the candidate's political party, or the candidate's character or experience? (**If more than one, probe:**) Well, which is most important?

		Times Mirror		CBS/NYT	
		Oct	Early	Oct 24-28	Sept 28-Oct 1
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1986</u>
22	National issue	<u>22</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>20</u>
38	State/local issue	38	27	25	23
5	Political party	3	5	6	9
30	Character/Experience	29	39	40	41
1	Other (VOL.)	3	2	1	3
*	None (VOL.)	1	1	1	*
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
(n=1468)					

Q.15 Do you think of your vote for Congress this Tuesday as a vote for Bill Clinton, or as a vote against Bill Clinton, or isn't Bill Clinton much of a factor in your vote?

		Clinton		Bush	Reagan		
		Oct	Early	Oct 28-31	Oct 24-28	Sept 28-Oct 1	Oct 23-28
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1982</u>
17	For	<u>17</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>23</u>
21	Against	21	23	15	12	16	21
55	Not a factor	57	54	61	55	51	51
<u>7</u>	Don't know/refused	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
(n=1468)							

A FEW MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ELECTION ...

Q.16 Would you like to see your Representative in Congress be re-elected on Tuesday, or not?

		Times Mirror		Gallup
		Oct	Early	Oct 25-28
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1990</u>
58	Yes	55	49	62
25	No	30	29	22
1	Congressman is not running (VOL.)	2	2	2
$\frac{16}{100}$	No opinion	$\frac{13}{100}$	$\frac{20}{100}$	$\frac{14}{100}$
(n=1468)				

Q.17 Regardless of how you feel about your own Representative, would you like to see most members of Congress re-elected on Tuesday or not?

		Oct	Early
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
31	Yes	31	28
51	No	56	56
$\frac{18}{100}$	Don't know/refused	$\frac{13}{100}$	$\frac{16}{100}$
(n=1468)			

Q.18 Do you happen to know the name of your current Representative in Congress or not?

		Gallup
		Oct 25-28
		<u>1990</u>
63	Yes	61
34	No	39
$\frac{3}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{*}{100}$
(n=1468)		

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE:

Q.20 In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

			Early							
		Oct	Oct	July	June	May	Feb	May	Jan	May
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1987</u>
28	Republican	31	33	29	28	28	31	28	27	25
31	Democrat	32	30	33	32	33	38	38	39	37
35	Independent	33	32	35	36	28	23	26	26	28
4	No preference	3	-	2	1	9	7	6	6	8
*	Other party	*	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
$\frac{2}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "3", "4", "5", OR "9" IN Q.20, ASK:

Q.21 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

		Oct	July	June	May	Feb	May	Jan	May
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1987</u>
13	Republican	14	17	14	13	9	12	11	13
13	Democratic	12	14	13	13	11	12	13	13
$\frac{15}{41}$	Don't know	$\frac{8}{34}$	$\frac{7}{38}$	$\frac{13}{40}$	$\frac{13}{39}$	$\frac{11}{31}$	$\frac{10}{34}$	$\frac{10}{34}$	$\frac{12}{38}$

ASK ALL ...

Q.22 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?

16	Regularly
31	Sometimes
26	Rarely
26	Never
$\frac{1}{100}$	Don't know/Refused