

FOR RELEASE: SATURDAY, APRIL 17, 1999, 4:00 P.M.

CLINTON FATIGUE UNDERMINES GORE POLL STANDING

Also Inside ...

- * Whither the Gender Gap?
- * Democrats Still Ahead on Issues.
- * More Horse Race Coverage.
- * NATO Needed.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Andrew Kohut, Director
Kimberly Parker, Research Director
Molly Sonner, Gregory Flemming, Survey Directors
Scott Nolde, Survey Analyst
Beth Donovan, Editor
Pew Research Center for The People & The Press
202/293-3126
<http://www.people-press.org>

CLINTON FATIGUE UNDERMINES GORE POLL STANDING

Personal image problems and fallout from Clinton administration scandals are contributing to Al Gore's declining favorability ratings and his poor showing in early horse race polls. As the vice president has inched closer to the Democratic presidential nomination, his favorability ratings have fallen and he has slipped further behind GOP frontrunner George W. Bush in the horse race polls.

While general election polls taken at this point in the cycle are more often wrong than right (see page 5), Gore's problems may be more enduring. Fewer Americans volunteer positive descriptions of Gore than did so just two years ago, and his favorability ratings are well below the 1987 ratings of Vice President Bush, who trailed the likely Democratic nominee at that time.

The patterns of response to questions about Gore may be more troublesome than the weak numbers themselves. Analysis of the latest Pew Research Center survey shows that attitudes toward Gore are more closely linked to Bill Clinton's mixed personal ratings than to his strong job approval. The opposite pattern was observed for Bush and Reagan 12 years ago. The survey also finds that three-quarters of Americans say they are tired of the problems of the current administration — an attitude more closely tied to voter choice than are views of Gore's likability or his sympathy for the problems of ordinary Americans.

Moreover, Gore's support among women — especially the Independent women who played an important role in both of Clinton's victories — is dramatically below Clinton's in 1996. These are the principal findings of a March 24-30, 1999 Pew Research Center survey of 1,786 adults.

Gore's Favorability Dips

For the first time since the September 1997 allegations of wrongdoing in Gore's fund raising activities, his favorability ratings slipped below 50% this month. Today, 47% of the public holds a favorable opinion of Gore; 43% say their view is unfavorable. This is down significantly from December 1998, when 58% viewed Gore favorably and 33% unfavorably.

The falloff in favorability is especially dramatic among Republican-oriented groups: men, the college-educated and those with incomes over \$75,000 a year. This partisan pattern suggests that opinion about Gore is becoming more politicized as he is perceived more as a candidate than a vice president, but Gore is also losing support among Independents and those aged 50-64.

Most Democrats continue to hold favorable opinions of Gore (71%), although Clinton receives higher favorability ratings from his own party members (85%).

When asked to give their impression of Gore in a single word or phrase, fewer Americans now describe the vice president in positive terms than did so in recent years. In 1996, 32% described Gore positively compared to only 19% today. This month, the top response was “boring.” Nearly a quarter (23%) use other mocking words such as wimp, wooden or stiff. This represents an increase from 1997, when 16% used words that poked fun at the vice president. One-in-five (22%) describe Gore in neutral terms. Relatively few (15%) use more cutting negative words.

Gore Lags Despite Clinton Ratings

Gore continues to trail Republican Bush in a hypothetical match-up for the 2000 presidential election. In this poll, the Texas governor leads Gore by 54%-41%, a wider margin than in January, when Bush’s support was 50% and Gore’s 44%. Gore leads only among non-whites, senior citizens and urban dwellers. Bush runs strongest among white men, those making over \$50,000, white evangelicals, and Independents.

In a Gore-Bush match-up, Clinton’s mixed favorability ratings are a stronger predictor of support for Gore than is Clinton’s job approval. In the spring of 1987, the relative importance of presidential job approval and favorability ratings differed. In a horse race poll pairing George Bush and Gary Hart, Reagan’s job approval ratings were more of a driving force than personal ratings of Reagan in predicting support for Bush. It is important to note that as Reagan’s approval ratings rebounded somewhat over the course of the 1988 campaign, support for Bush grew.

	<u>9/96</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>4/99</u>
	%	%	%	%
Positive	32	27	22	19
<i>Good, Honest, Competent</i>				
Poking fun	20	20	16	22
<i>Boring, Dull, Stiff</i>				
Negative	7	15	17	15
<i>Weak, Idiot, Incompetent</i>				
Neutral	17	14	17	22
<i>Quiet, Okay, Unknown</i>				
No answer	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>22</u>
	100	100	100	100

* Italicized examples reflect the top three responses from 1999 in each category.

	Bush vs. Hart	Gore vs. Bush
	<u>1987</u>	<u>1999</u>
<i>Index of Relative Influence*</i>		
Party identification	.39	.36
Vice President favorability	.17	.26
Presidential favorability	.07	.21
Presidential approval	.19	.07

* Figures are beta coefficients (standardized regression coefficients).

While Gore does benefit from Clinton's robust job approval ratings, he is clearly being hurt by weariness with problems of the Clinton administration. An overwhelming majority (74%) of Americans agree with the statement, "I am tired of all the problems associated with the Clinton administration." This view is held by 77% of Independents and 64% of Democrats. Among those who express fatigue, 60% say they would vote for Bush over Gore in a two-way 2000 match-up; only 35% pick Gore.¹

Most Americans *like* Gore better than Clinton, although the margin is not overwhelming. Half (52%) agree with the statement, "I like Al Gore better as a person than Bill Clinton." One-third (35%) disagree.

While Americans may like Gore better than Clinton, they don't see the vice president as more caring. Only 34% of the public agrees with the statement, "Al Gore cares more than Bill Clinton about people like me." A narrow majority (50%) disagree.

Despite Clinton's strong 62% job approval rating, few Americans wish he could run for a third term. Only 29% of the public would like to see four more years of Clinton; 69% would not.

Gore and Gender

The gender gap that helped fuel Clinton's reelection in 1996 is helping Gore only at the margins this year. Women prefer Bush over Gore by a margin of 52%-42%. Men opt for Bush by an even wider 57%-40% margin. In January of 1996, Clinton led Dole among women by nearly 20 percentage points and ran slightly ahead among men.

Views About Clinton-Gore			
	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Ind.</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Tired of problems with Clinton administration</i>			
Agree	83	64	77
Disagree	15	31	21
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Wish Clinton could run again</i>			
Agree	8	54	25
Disagree	92	45	74
Don't know	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Like Clinton better than Gore*</i>			
Agree	27	47	34
Disagree	63	40	56
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Clinton cares more than Gore*</i>			
Agree	38	53	42
Disagree	49	33	46
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100

* Combines variations in question wording, see topline G.1c, d and G.1e, f.

	----1996----			----1999----		
	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Other</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men	49	46	5=100	40	57	3=100
Women	55	37	8=100	42	52	6=100

¹ This finding holds when other factors are taken into account in a multivariate regression analysis.

Gore has an edge among women in his personal favorability rating. Half (50%) of women rate him favorably, compared to 44% of men. Men are more likely than women to give Gore an unfavorable rating — 49% vs. 38%, respectively. Nonetheless, in the horse race, Gore lags behind Bush among some key groups of women: whites, those aged 50-64, high-income women, and Independents.

Other Political News

Americans in general have a positive view of George W. Bush and Elizabeth Dole — nearly three times as many describe these Republican candidates in positive terms as describe them in negative terms. For Bush, the most common description is “good,” with “okay,” “unknown,” “leader,” and “honest” also in the top five. Overall, 61% of Americans have a favorable opinion of Bush.

Dole is also described in mostly positive terms by the public, much as she was in 1996, when her husband was the Republican presidential candidate. “Intelligent,” “strong” and “good” continue to be the most commonly used terms to describe Elizabeth Dole, with “smart” and “alright” rounding out the top five.

Dole’s favorability ratings, however, have slipped somewhat over the past several months as her visibility has increased. In January, 66% had a favorable opinion of Dole, today her rating stands at 58% favorable.

In a match-up with Gore, Dole leads 52%- 42%. Dole runs particularly well among white women, women under 30 and rural voters.

Candidate preferences notwithstanding, more Americans say that the Democratic Party is best suited to deal with the most important problem facing the country today — 42%, compared to 38% who name the Republican Party. On specific issues, more people identify

George W. Bush	
“One-Word” Descriptions*	
	<u>%</u>
Positive	36
<i>Good, Leader, Honest</i>	
Negative	12
<i>Boring, Untrustworthy, Bad</i>	
Neutral	28
<i>Okay, Unknown, Conservative</i>	
Don’t Know	<u>24</u>
	100
Elizabeth Dole	
“One-Word” Descriptions*	
	<u>%</u>
Positive	45
<i>Intelligent, Strong, Good</i>	
Negative	17
<i>Old, Pushy, Unqualified</i>	
Neutral	11
<i>Ambitious, Okay, Woman</i>	
Don’t Know	<u>27</u>
	100
* Italicized examples reflect the top three responses in each category.	

Party Best Able to Deal With...			
	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Neither Both/DK</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Most Important Problem	38	42	20=100
Foreign Policy	42	37	21=100
Improving Education	33	46	21=100
Keeping Country Prosperous	39	44	17=100

the Democratic than the Republican Party as being able to do a better job of improving our educational system (46% compared to 33%). Similarly, more Americans think that Democrats can do a better job of keeping the country prosperous (44% compared to 39%), although among those with incomes over \$75,000, confidence in the Republican Party is greater (52%).

Although the Democrats have made gains on foreign policy, the public continues to trust Republicans more than Democrats on this issue: 42% say the Republican Party is best able to make wise foreign policy decisions, compared to 37% who say the Democratic Party.

Wobbly Horse Race Polls

Image problems notwithstanding, Gore might take some comfort in the poor track record of early presidential trial heat polls. History suggests the political climate is almost certain to change between now and November 2000.

A review of polls conducted in the first quarter of the year preceding the election, found many of them forecasting the wrong winner — often by substantial margins. Just four years ago, several early readings showed Republican Bob Dole leading President Clinton by as many as 6 percentage points. Sixteen months later, Clinton won by 8 percentage points. In March of 1991, President Bush had the support of 78% of the electorate against Democrat Mario Cuomo, the New York governor then perceived as the Democratic frontrunner. Bush lost to Clinton by 5 percentage points in 1992.

The two times the polls did accurately forecast the winner date back more than 25 years. Polls in March 1967 placed Richard Nixon neck-in-neck with Lyndon Johnson, with the public split 48%-48% between them; the final popular vote was 43% for Nixon, 43% for the Democratic nominee Hubert Humphrey. The other gave Nixon a slim 43%-39% lead over Edmund Muskie in March, 1971; 20 months later, Nixon defeated Democrat George McGovern by a whopping 61%- 38%.

Presidential Trial Heats 1959-1995			
	<u>Feb 1995</u>		<u>March 1975</u>
	%		%
Clinton	45	Ford	43
Dole	51	Jackson	41
Don't Know	<u>4</u>	Don't Know	<u>16</u>
	100		100
	<u>March 1991</u>		<u>March 1971</u>
	%		%
Bush	78	Nixon	43
Cuomo	17	Muskie	39
Don't Know	<u>5</u>	Wallace	12
	100	Don't Know	<u>6</u>
			100
	<u>April 1987</u>		<u>March 1967</u>
	%		%
Bush	42	Nixon	48
Hart	50	Johnson	48
Don't Know	<u>8</u>	Don't Know	<u>4</u>
	100		100
	<u>Feb 1983</u>		<u>Feb 1963</u>
	%		%
Reagan	41	Kennedy	63
Mondale	47	Rockefeller	32
Don't Know	<u>12</u>	Don't Know	<u>5</u>
	100		100
	<u>March 1979</u>		<u>May 1959</u>
	%		%
Carter	52	Stevenson	53
Reagan	38	Nixon	42
Don't Know	<u>10</u>	Don't Know	<u>5</u>
	100		100

Source: Gallup polls.

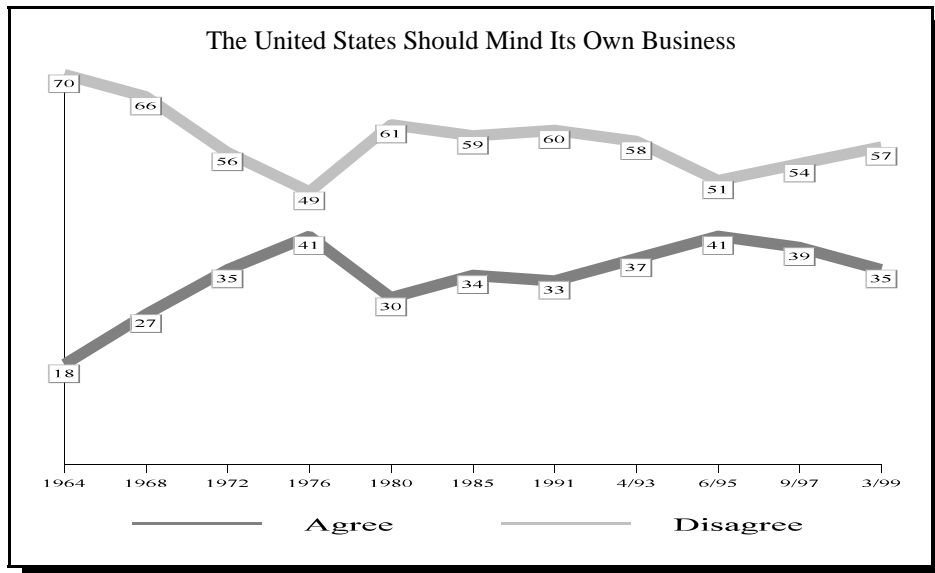
This record notwithstanding, coverage of horse race polls in national newspapers is considerably higher this year than it was at a comparable period in 1987 — the last time both parties had open contests for the nomination. In the first quarter of 1987, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* carried 13 stories about who’s ahead. These same newspapers ran 30 stories through mid-March of this year, an increase of 130%.²

More Horse Race Coverage			
	1987	1999	Change
Number of stories in top papers	13	30	+130%

NATO Anniversary News

As NATO prepares to celebrate its the 50th anniversary, public support for the alliance remains strong. Indeed, the number of Americans who say that the alliance should be maintained is up significantly over recent years — 74% today, compared to 61% in 1997.

More generally, while isolationism remains a significant minority sentiment, it is no longer growing in prevalence as it was in the early- and mid-1990s. The 35% of the public who feels the U.S. should mind its own business internationally — while twice that of 1964 — is down somewhat from a high of 41% in 1995.



²

Based on a content analysis conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates.

At a time when the United States has joined NATO efforts in Yugoslavia, 82% of the public agree that the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies in deciding on its foreign policies, up from 72% in 1997. And while 26% say that the U.S. should disregard the view of other countries and follow its own course in international matters, 69% say they disagree with this view (up from 62% in 1997).

Despite this, Americans are still hesitant to see the U.S. assume responsibility in conflicts around the world. It is only when war might threaten the supply of oil or erupt next door that a bare majority of the public supports the *idea* of U.S. involvement. More people agree than disagree with the notion that the U.S. should get involved if war breaks out in the Middle East (50% to 38%) or Persian Gulf (53% to 36%), in Mexico (54% to 33%) or Central America (50% to 36%).

U.S. Responsibility If War Breaks Out			
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
<i>In:</i>			
Mexico	54	33	13=100
The Persian Gulf	53	36	11=100
Central America	50	36	14=100
The Middle East	50	38	12=100
Western Europe	49	39	12=100
Eastern Europe	44	42	14=100
South America	42	45	13=100
Africa	41	46	13=100
Taiwan	40	46	14=100
Russia	37	52	11=100
South Korea	36	50	14=100

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for the *main survey* are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,786 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period March 24-30, 1999. 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=893) or Form 2 (N=893), the sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

Results for the *U.S. foreign policy survey* are based on telephone interviews among a nationwide sample of 1,008 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period March 24-28, 1999. 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 3.5 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.

PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEAT

(Based on Registered Voters)

	<u>Gore/ Lean Gore</u>	<u>Bush/ Lean Bush</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Gore/ Lean Gore</u>	<u>Dole/ Lean Dole</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	41	54	5=100	42	52	6=100	(1324)
Sex							
Male	40	57	3	43	50	7	(617)
Female	42	52	6	41	53	6	(707)
Race							
White	37	59	4	38	56	6	(1072)
Non-white	67	26	7	65	26	9	(240)
Black	72	21	7	70	21	9	(151)
Age							
Under 30	44	54	2	42	56	2	(187)
30-49	38	57	5	37	55	8	(579)
50-64	39	57	4	44	50	6	(309)
65+	52	42	6	52	42	6	(238)
Education							
College Grad.	39	57	4	40	55	5	(484)
Some College	39	55	6	39	56	5	(312)
H.S. Grad	41	56	3	43	52	5	(415)
< H.S.	48	45	7	48	38	14	(109)
Family Income							
\$75,000+	33	64	3	38	57	5	(269)
\$50,000-\$74,999	37	59	4	39	57	4	(214)
\$30,000-\$49,999	40	56	4	40	53	7	(339)
\$20,000-\$29,999	46	49	5	44	50	6	(168)
<\$20,000	49	48	3	47	46	7	(188)

Question: Suppose the 2000 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were Al Gore, the Democrat and Texas Governor George W. Bush/Elizabeth Dole, the Republican. Who would you vote for? As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to Gore, the Democrat or Bush/Dole, the Republican?

Continued...

	<u>Gore/ Lean Gore</u>	<u>Bush/ Lean Bush</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Gore/ Lean Gore</u>	<u>Dole/ Lean Dole</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	41	54	5=100	42	52	6=100	(1324)
Region							
East	48	46	6	48	47	5	(224)
Midwest	41	55	4	41	54	5	(312)
South	37	59	4	40	52	8	(501)
West	43	52	5	41	53	6	(287)
Religious Affiliation							
Total White Protestant	31	65	4	34	59	7	(652)
White Prot. Evangelical	22	73	5	27	64	9	(318)
White Prot. Non-Evangel.	41	55	4	42	54	4	(304)
White Catholic	38	58	4	44	51	5	(228)
Community Size							
Large City	57	40	3	54	40	6	(296)
Suburb	41	56	3	46	51	3	(297)
Small City/Town	38	57	5	37	55	8	(442)
Rural Area	32	62	6	33	60	7	(279)
Party ID							
Republican	7	91	2	13	83	4	(424)
Democrat	80	16	4	75	20	5	(466)
Independent	32	61	7	33	58	9	(384)
Clinton Approval							
Approve	60	35	5	59	36	5	(801)
Disapprove	9	88	3	13	81	6	(454)
GOP Congressional Approval							
Approve	21	77	2	25	70	5	(499)
Disapprove	57	38	5	55	40	5	(685)
1996 Presidential Vote							
Clinton	69	27	4	67	28	5	(604)
Dole	4	93	3	6	89	5	(296)

AL GORE FAVORABILITY

December 1998 vs. March 1999

	----- December 1998 -----		----- March 1999 -----		Change in Favorability
	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
Total	58	33	47	43	-11
Sex					
Male	58	36	44	49	-14
Female	58	31	50	38	-8
Race					
White	56	36	45	45	-11
Non-white	71	18	58	32	-13
Black	74	13	60	31	-14
Race and Sex					
White Men	55	39	42	51	-13
White Women	57	33	49	39	-8
Age					
Under 30	57	37	48	39	-9
30-49	57	33	45	46	-12
50-64	62	31	46	47	-16
65+	60	30	54	37	-6
Education					
College Grad.	65	32	49	44	-16
Some College	55	36	49	41	-6
High School Grad.	54	38	44	47	-10
<H.S. Grad	63	21	49	38	-14
Family Income					
\$75,000+	60	36	43	51	-17
\$50,000-\$74,999	56	36	53	43	-3
\$30,000-\$49,999	56	38	44	47	-12
\$20,000-\$29,999	62	31	49	41	-13
<\$20,000	63	25	50	39	-13

Question: 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 Al Gore is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? (INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")

Continued ...

	----- December 1998 -----		----- March 1999 -----		Change in Favorability
	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
<i>Total</i>	58	33	47	43	-11
<i>Region</i>					
East	66	26	49	39	-17
Midwest	53	38	46	42	-7
South	60	31	47	46	-13
West	55	37	48	43	-7
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>					
Total White Protestant	53	39	44	48	-9
White Prot. Evangelical	49	42	41	52	-8
White Prot. Non-Evangel.	59	34	48	44	-11
White Catholic	60	32	45	44	-15
<i>Community Size</i>					
Large City	61	30	53	39	-8
Suburb	63	32	47	46	-16
Small City/Town	57	32	47	41	-10
Rural Area	52	39	42	48	-10
<i>Party ID</i>					
Republican	38	54	25	66	-13
Democrat	73	20	71	21	-2
Independent	61	31	46	44	-15
<i>Clinton Approval</i>					
Approve	71	22	61	30	-10
Disapprove	36	57	21	71	-15
<i>GOP Congressional Approval</i>					
Approve	48	45	37	52	-11
Disapprove	70	25	56	39	-14
<i>1996 Presidential Vote</i>					
Clinton	75	18	69	24	-6
Dole	34	59	17	79	-17

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
MARCH 1999 NEWS INTEREST INDEX
FINAL TOPLINE
March 24 - 30, 1999
N=1,786

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>
March, 1999	62	31	7=100
February, 1999	64	30	6=100
Mid-January, 1999	66	29	5=100
January, 1999	63	30	7=100
Late December, 1998	71	27	2=100
Early December, 1998	61	32	7=100
November, 1998	65	29	6=100
September 21-22, 1998	62	33	5=100
September 19-20, 1998	55	36	9=100
Early September, 1998	61	33	6=100
Late August, 1998	62	32	6=100
Early August, 1998	63	28	9=100
June, 1998	59	32	9=100
May, 1998	62	28	10=100
April, 1998	62	28	10=100
March, 1998	65	26	9=100
Early February, 1998	71	26	3=100
January, 1998	61	30	9=100
November, 1997	58	31	11=100
September, 1997	58	29	13=100
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

Q.1 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
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
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>
March, 1999	38	47	15=100
February, 1999	37	51	12=100
Mid-January, 1999	36	51	13=100
January, 1999	38	50	12=100
Late December, 1998	39	56	5=100
Early December, 1998	38	49	13=100
November, 1998	41	48	11=100
September 21-22, 1998	44	44	12=100
September 19-20, 1998	46	41	13=100
Early September, 1998	44	37	19=100
Late August, 1998	48	36	16=100
Early August, 1998	43	37	20=100
June, 1998	42	38	20=100
May, 1998	40	41	19=100
April, 1998	41	40	19=100
March, 1998	43	39	18=100
January, 1998	43	41	16=100
November, 1997	41	43	16=100
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

Q. 2 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
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 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the nation's foreign policy? **[IF DON'T KNOW, ENTER AS DON'T KNOW. IF "DEPENDS", PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the nation's foreign policy? IF STILL DEPENDS, ENTER AS DON'T KNOW]**

		Sept	Sept	Jan	June	Oct	July	Oct	Sept	Aug	<u>Newsweek</u> June 30-July 1
		<u>1998</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>
56	Approve	61	54	52	39	50	38	39	47	52	49
34	Disapprove	30	34	39	52	42	53	46	33	25	35
<u>10</u>	DK/Refused	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>16</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

NOW A DIFFERENT KIND OF QUESTION...

Q.4 Please tell me what one word best describes your impression of Al Gore. Tell me just the ONE best word that describes him. **(OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW". ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE).**

<u>March 1999</u>	<u>Frequency*</u>	<u>Sept 1997</u>	<u>Frequency*</u>	<u>Early Sept 1996</u>	<u>Frequency*</u>
Boring	66	Okay	59	Intelligent	20
Quiet	38	Good	52	Good	16
Good	38	Boring	42	Environmentalist	15
Okay	33	Stiff	30	Honest	14
Weak	29	Intelligent	27	Leadership	14
Honest	27	Honest	27	Smart	14
Dull	27	Fair	25	Quiet	13
Wimp	22	Quiet	24	Stiff	13
Competent	21	Wimp	24	Fair	12
Incompetent	20	Environmentalist	21	Boring	11
Stiff	19	Competent	21	Follower	11
Unknown	18	Nice	20	Nice	11
Intelligent	18	Invisible	19	Alright	9
Follower	17	Dull	18	Dull	9
Environmentalist	17	Unknown	15	Personable	9
Idiot	16	Phony	14	Sincere	9

Q.4 CONTINUED ...

<u>March 1999</u>	<u>Frequency*</u>	<u>Sept 1997</u>	<u>Frequency*</u>	<u>Early Sept 1996</u>	<u>Frequency*</u>
Alright	14	Alright	13	Wimp	8
Bland	13	Fine	13	OK	7
Puppet	11	Follower	13	Politician	6
Stupid	11	Adequate	13	Puppet	5
	(N=1786)		(N=2000)		(N=750)

*** Q.4: The "frequency" column is the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages.**

ASK Q.5 OF FORM 1 ONLY: [N=893]

Q.5 Please tell me what one word best describes your impression of George W. Bush. Tell me just the ONE best word that describes him. **(OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW". ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE).**

<u>March 1999</u>	<u>Frequency*</u>
Good	42
Okay	25
Unknown	24
Leader	20
Honest	16
Great	15
Conservative	14
Fair	13
Old	11
Alright	11
Intelligent	10
Excellent	9
Republican	8
Potential	7
Interesting	7
Confident	6
Fine	6
Nice	6
Strong	6
Competent	6
	(N=893)

*** Q.5: The "frequency" column is the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages.**

ASK Q.6 OF FORM 2 ONLY: [N=893]

Q.6 Please tell me what one word best describes your impression of Elizabeth Dole. Tell me just the ONE best word that describes her. **(OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS “DON’T KNOW”. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE).**

<u>March 1999</u>	<u>Frequency*</u>	<u>July 1996</u>	<u>Frequency*</u>
Intelligent	21	Intelligent	21
Strong	20	Okay	18
Good	20	Good	14
Smart	18	Nice	13
Alright	13	Strong	11
Energetic	12	Honest	9
Okay	11	Unknown	8
Capable	11	Competent	8
Competent	10	Smart	7
Nice	9	Old	7
Interesting	9	Pushy	5
Dynamic	8	Responsible	5
Old	8	Rich	5
Ambitious	8	Fair	5
Honest	7	Capable	5
Outgoing	7	Loyalty	5
Woman	7	Alright	4
Great	7	Fine	4
Conservative	6	Pleasant	4
Impressive	6	Sincere	4
	(N=893)		(N=610)

*** Q.6: The "frequency" column is the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages.**

Q.13 Now I'd like your views on some people in the news. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who I name. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of...(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS) 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	21	34	19	23	*	3=100
December, 1998	23	32	19	24	0	2=100
October, 1998 ³	15	37	20	24	0	4=100
Early September, 199 8	18	39	18	23	0	2=100
Late August, 1998	18	36	20	24	0	2=100
March, 1998	22	40	19	16	*	3=100
November, 1997	19	44	21	14	0	2=100
October, 1997	15	47	20	16	*	2=100
September, 1997	18	44	21	14	0	3=100
August, 1997	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 ³	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

3

October 1996 and 1998 based on registered voters.

Q. 13 CONTINUED ...

	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 Rate
b. Al Gore	12	35	26	17	2	8=100
December, 1998	18	40	22	11	1	8=100
October, 1998 ⁴	16	37	25	13	1	8=100
Early September, 1998	13	44	22	13	1	7=100
Late August, 1998	11	44	23	14	1	7=100
March, 1998	17	42	19	11	2	9=100
November, 1997	12	43	26	12	1	6=100
September, 1997	11	35	28	15	1	10=100
August, 1997	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 ⁵	15	32	14	5	6	28=100
September, 1987	6	23	11	3	23	34=100
c. Texas Governor George W. Bush	21	40	14	7	4	14=100
November, 1997	13	41	12	6	9	19=100
d. Elizabeth Dole	18	40	17	7	5	13=100
January, 1999	21	45	13	7	3	11=100
April, 1996	11	32	17	9	5	26=100
e. Bill Bradley	7	26	14	4	31	18=100
August, 1995	8	25	14	5	20	28=100
June, 1992	8	27	17	6	22	20=100
May, 1990	6	23	6	2	40	23=100
f. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright	20	43	14	8	6	9=100
April, 1997	16	49	10	4	6	15=100
January, 1997	13	44	12	4	9	18=100

⁴ October 1998 based on registered voters.

⁵ July 1992 trend based on 461 respondents asked on July 9, 1992 only.

**ROTATE Q.14/Q.14a AND Q.15/Q.15a
ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...**

Q.14 Suppose the 2000 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were Al Gore, the Democrat and Texas Governor George W. Bush, the Republican. Who would you vote for?

IF '3' OTHER, '8' DON'T KNOW, OR '9' REFUSED, ASK:

Q.14a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to Gore, the Democrat or Bush, the Republican?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1324]:

	Jan <u>1999</u>	Early Sept <u>1998</u>
41 Gore/Lean Gore	44	40
54 Bush/Lean Bush	50	53
<u>5</u> Undecided/Other	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
100	100	100

Q.15 Suppose the 2000 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were Al Gore, the Democrat and Elizabeth Dole, the Republican. Who would you vote for?

IF '3' OTHER, '8' DON'T KNOW, OR '9' REFUSED, ASK:

Q.15a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to Gore, the Democrat or Dole, the Republican?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1324]:

	Jan <u>1999</u>
42 Gore/Lean Gore	43
52 Dole/Lean Dole	47
<u>6</u> Undecided/Other	<u>10</u>
100	100

G.1 Now I am going to read you a series of statements. For each, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it. (The first one is...) **(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS)**

	Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	DK/ <u>Refused</u>
a. I am tired of all the problems associated with the Clinton administration	46	28	15	8	3=100
b. I wish Bill Clinton could run for a third term	16	13	19	50	2=100

ASK (c-d) FORM 1 ONLY [N=893]:

c. I like Bill Clinton better as a person than Al Gore	15	22	24	28	11=100
d. Bill Clinton cares more than Al Gore about people like me	11	26	26	25	12=100

G.1 CONTINUED ...

		Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	DK/ <u>Refused</u>
ASK (e-f) FORM 2 ONLY[N=893]:						
e.	I like Al Gore better as a person than Bill Clinton	20	32	19	16	13=100
f.	Al Gore cares more than Bill Clinton about people like me	7	27	31	19	16=100

G.2 In your opinion, how can we best avoid things like the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal in the future — by electing a president with high moral character, or by making sure that a president's private life remains private?

		<u>Dec 1998</u>
35	Electing a president with high moral character	34
59	Making sure a president's private life remains private	60
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>
100		100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.16a Now a few questions about the political parties. First, please tell me if you think the REPUBLICAN Party or the DEMOCRATIC Party could do a better job handling the most important problem facing the country today.

38	Republican Party
42	Democratic Party
5	Both equally (VOL)
6	Neither (VOL)
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.16 And which party could do a better job of...(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS)

	Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	(VOL) Both <u>Equally</u>	(VOL) Neither	Don't <u>Know</u>	
b.	Making wise decisions about foreign policy					
	42	37	6	4	11=100	
	September, 1998	40	31	11	5	13=100
	March, 1998	41	33	12	4	10=100
	October, 1994	47	30	7	5	11=100
	July, 1994 ⁶	51	31	4	6	8=100
	December, 1993	49	23	n/a	10	18=100
	May, 1990	39	28	n/a	17	16=100

⁶ In July 1994 and May 1990, question was worded "Making wise decisions about the country's defense policies."

Q.16 CONTINUED ...

		Republican	Democratic	Both		Don't
		<u>Party</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Equally</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Know</u>
c.	Improving our educational system	33	46	6	5	10=100
	September, 1998	34	42	10	4	10=100
	March, 1998	29	49	10	5	7=100
	July, 1994	37	46	4	5	8=100
	January, 1992	28	48	n/a	10	14=100
	May, 1990	30	42	n/a	14	14=100
d.	Keeping the country prosperous	39	44	5	3	9=100
	September, 1998	40	38	8	4	10=100
	March, 1998	40	40	12	3	5=100
	October, 1994	45	33	5	7	10=100
	October, 1992 ⁷	36	45	10	0	9=100
	October, 1990 ⁸	37	35	0	0	28=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.16e Which of the following two statements best describes you: "I follow INTERNATIONAL news closely ONLY when something important or interesting is happening" OR "I follow INTERNATIONAL news closely most of the time, whether or not something important or interesting is happening"?

44 Follow INTERNATIONAL news closely ONLY when something important or interesting is happening
 53 Follow INTERNATIONAL news closely MOST of the time
3 Don't know/Refused
 100

Q.16f Do you think the NATO alliance should be maintained or is the alliance not necessary any more?

		Jan	Dec	June
		<u>1997</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1991</u>
74	Maintained	61	60	62
13	Not necessary	21	27	17
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>18</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>21</u>
100		100	100	100

⁷ Gallup poll conducted Oct. 23-25, 1992 based on registered voters.

⁸ Gallup poll Oct 25-28, 1990.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
U.S. FOREIGN POLICY
FINAL TOPLINE
March 24-28, 1999
N=1,008

Q.1 Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

a. The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations

		Sept 1997	June 1995	Feb 1995	Oct 1993	April 1993	1991 ⁹	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
65	Agree	59	62	65	64	71	77	56	59	46	63	72	72
26	Disagree	30	30	29	28	22	17	35	28	41	28	21	16
<u>9</u>	DK/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

b. In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies

		Sept 1997	June 1995	April 1993	1991	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
82	Agree	72	74	80	86	82	79	72	80	84	81
12	Disagree	18	18	13	10	12	13	18	12	9	7
<u>6</u>	DK/Refused	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

c. Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not

		Sept 1997	June 1995	April 1993	1991	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
26	Agree	32	34	34	29	26	26	29	22	23	19
69	Disagree	62	60	63	66	70	66	62	72	72	70
<u>5</u>	DK/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

d. The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own

		Sept 1997	June 1995	April 1993	1991	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
35	Agree	39	41	37	33	34	30	41	35	27	18
57	Disagree	54	51	58	60	59	61	49	56	66	70
<u>8</u>	DK/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

9

All trend data are from public opinion surveys conducted by Potomac Associates, The Gallup Organization and the Institute for International Social Research.

Q.1 CONTINUED ...

e. We should not think so much in international terms but concentrate more on our own national problems and building up our strength and prosperity here at home

		Sept	June	April								
		<u>1997</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1993</u>		<u>1991</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1964</u>
68	Agree	72	78	79		78	60	61	73	73	60	55
27	Disagree	24	18	18		16	34	30	22	20	31	32
<u>5</u>	DK/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>		<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>13</u>
100		100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

SPLIT FORM Q.2 AND Q.3

Q.2 If a war breaks out in (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS), in your opinion would the United States have a responsibility to do something about the fighting there, or not?

		Have <u>Responsibility</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
ASK FORM 1 ONLY: [N=500]				
a.F1	Western Europe	49	39	12=100
b.F1	Africa	41	46	13=100
c.F1	The Middle East	50	38	12=100
d.F1	Russia	37	52	11=100
e.F1	Taiwan	40	46	14=100
f.F1	Central America	50	36	14=100
ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [N=508]				
g.F2	Mexico	54	33	13=100
h.F2	Eastern Europe	44	42	14=100
i.F2	South Korea	36	50	14=100
j.F2	South America	42	45	13=100
k.F2	The Persian Gulf	53	36	11=100