

FOR RELEASE: SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1998, 4:00 P.M.

44% Republican, 46% Democrat Final Generic Ballot Measure
DEMOCRATS ERASE GOP CONGRESSIONAL LEAD

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44% Republican, 46% Democrat Final Generic Ballot Measure
DEMOCRATS ERASE GOP CONGRESSIONAL LEAD

A nationwide Pew Research Center survey finds voting intentions shifting significantly in favor of Democratic congressional candidates going into the final days of the 1998 midterm election campaign. For the first time this fall, the new survey shows likely voters equally divided between the two parties.¹ In three previous surveys since late August, generic support for GOP candidates was consistently greater than that for Democrats.

The general increase in support for Democrats coincides with a similar increase in President Clinton's approval ratings, now at 65%. In the latest survey, likely voters are split between Democratic and Republican candidates 46%-44%, a significant change since mid-October when the GOP had a 48%-43% edge. Conducted October 28-31, the new survey of 1,714 registered voters (743 likely voters) began the same day that nationwide reports broke of a Republican advertising campaign drawing attention to the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal.

The survey suggests that the judgment of undecided voters may be crucial to the outcome of many congressional races this year. Nearly one-in-five voters now only *lean* to a candidate or are flatly undecided, and the race is still even among likely voters who are committed to a choice at this time. The uncertainty of the election outcome is further underscored by two factors:

Voting Intentions				
	Rep.	Dem.	Other/ Undec.	Total
	%	%	%	%
Election Weekend '98				
<i>Oct 28 - 31</i>				
Registered Voters	40	47	13	= 100
Likely Voters	44	46	10	= 100
<i>Oct 14 - 18</i>				
Registered Voters	43	44	13	= 100
Likely Voters	48	43	9	= 100
<i>Aug 27 - Sept 8</i>				
Registered Voters	45	46	9	= 100
Likely Voters	48	45	7	= 100
<i>Aug 21 - 24</i>				
Registered Voters	44	45	11	= 100
Likely Voters	47	43	10	= 100
<i>June 4 - 8</i>				
Registered Voters	44	46	10	= 100
Likely Voters	48	44	8	= 100
Election Weekend '94				
<i>Nov 3 - 5</i>				
Registered Voters	45	43	12	= 100
Likely Voters	48	43	9	= 100

First, throughout the fall, the campaign has attracted less voter attention than it did in 1994, suggesting that voters may conclusively make up their minds later than they did four years ago or choose not to vote.

Secondly, the chances for reversal or acceleration of a trend is greatest when a shift occurs late in a campaign, as it apparently has this year.

¹ Likely voters are derived from series of eight questions that measure thought given to the election, past voting history and expressed intention to vote. An assumption that 35% of the voting age population would cast a ballot for member of Congress was made.

Democrats have made gains since mid-October among many voter groups, but the change in their favor is most evident among non-whites, older voters and those on the East and West coasts. Voter interest is higher on both coasts than it was in mid-October.

As in previous Pew surveys this fall, voter turnout seems likely to be lower than four years ago. However, the survey indicates that compared to 1994, participation will be *relatively* greater among core Republicans and Democrats and lower among independent voters.

The percentage of people saying their vote for Congress will be a vote against Clinton slipped slightly to 17% from 23% in mid-October. At the same time, the percentage of voters with an unfavorable view of members who voted for congressional impeachment inquiry rose slightly to 54% from 49%.

As the President’s job approval rating has climbed, so has disapproval of GOP congressional leaders. Both of these factors are closely tied to generic support for congressional candidates of the respective parties. The survey finds increased support for reelection of incumbents compared to mid-October, but the view that most members deserve reelection remains significantly below what it was earlier in the year. However, voters express more satisfaction with incumbents — both their own and generally — than they did four years ago.

Education is the top issue for voters this year: 88% rank it as very important to the nation. The debate over how to use the budget surplus and efforts to ease the global economic crisis follow, with 76% ranking each as very important. Regulating health maintenance organizations is next at 68%. Majorities in both parties rank each of these issues as very important.

At the very bottom of the list is the investigation into the relationship between President Clinton and Monica Lewinsky: Just 18% of registered voters say the issue is very important. The congressional debate over impeachment is deemed more significant, with 35% saying it is very important to the nation. Supporters of Republican candidates are far more likely to say these issues are important than are either backers of Democrats or undecided voters.

Voting Preference & Issue Importance				
(Based on Registered Voters)				
	All	Rep.	Dem.	Undec.
	%	%	%	%
<i>Very Important...</i>				
Education	88	83	92	90
Surplus Debate	76	72	80	78
Global & US Economy	76	72	80	67
HMO Regulation	68	59	76	71
Middle-class Tax Cuts	62	63	61	62
Party Control of Congress	54	55	59	29
Campaign Finance Reform	49	49	48	50
Tobacco Regulation	38	35	41	37
Impeachment Debate	35	49	24	35
Lewinsky Investigation	18	35	6	11

CONGRESSIONAL VOTE PREFERENCE †
Among Likely Voters*

	--- Early October 1998 ---			--- Late October 1998 ---			(N)
	Republican	Democrat	Undecided	Republican	Democrat	Undecided	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	48	43	9=100	44	46	10=100	(743)
Sex							
Male	53	38	9	50	42	8	(348)
Female	41	48	11	41	50	9	(395)
Race							
White	51	39	10	50	42	8	(649)
Non-white	18	77	5	9	81	10	(88)
Race and Sex							
White Men	56	35	9	55	37	8	(304)
White Women	45	44	11	45	46	9	(345)
Age							
Under 50	48	45	7	46	45	9	(330)
50-64	47	41	12	46	46	8	(210)
65+	45	42	13	42	49	9	(195)
Education							
College Grad.	49	42	9	46	45	9	(312)
Some College	50	40	10	47	44	9	(192)
High School Grad.+ Below	44	46	10	43	48	9	(237)
Family Income							
\$75,000+	53	38	9	53	42	5	(150)
\$50,000-\$74,999	51	43	6	47	45	8	(132)
\$30,000-\$49,999	55	37	8	47	45	8	(178)
<\$30,000	40	53	7	35	57	8	(160)

† Includes Leaners.

* **NOTE:** Table is based on likely voters classified on the basis of multiple voting intention questions.

Question: If the 1998 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?
 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

Continued ...

	--- Early October 1998 ---			--- Late October 1998 ---			(N)
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	48	43	9=100	44	46	10=100	(743)
Region							
East	46	46	8	32	63	5	(132)
Midwest	48	43	9	48	36	16	(188)
South	47	41	12	53	40	7	(242)
West	47	44	9	43	50	7	(181)
Community Size							
Large City	42	50	8	36	57	7	(157)
Suburb	50	38	12	48	45	7	(195)
Small City/Town	43	48	9	42	47	11	(247)
Rural Area	55	38	7	55	34	11	(139)
Party ID							
Republican	95	2	3	94	5	1	(260)
Democrat	6	91	3	5	92	3	(276)
Independent	42	36	22	40	37	23	(180)
Clinton Approval							
Approve	21	69	10	19	71	10	(445)
Disapprove	86	6	8	89	5	6	(274)
GOP Congressional Approval							
Approve	79	15	6	76	19	5	(313)
Disapprove	20	70	10	21	69	10	(382)
1996 Presidential Vote							
Clinton	14	78	8	14	77	9	(401)
Dole	92	3	5	89	5	6	(242)
1996 Congressional Vote							
Republican	86	10	4	85	9	6	(299)
Democrat	9	84	7	11	84	5	(296)

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 1,714 registered voters, 18 years of age or older, during the period October 28-31, 1998. 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=848) or Form 2 (N=866), the sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points. For results based on likely voters (N=743), the sampling error is plus or minus 4 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.

A COPY OF THE FULL TOPLINE IS AVAILABLE ON THE CENTER'S WEB SITE:

<http://www.people-press.org/>

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
1998 ELECTION WEEKEND SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
October 28-31, 1998
N= 1,714 Registered Voters**

NOTE: ALL RESULTS, INCLUDING TREND FIGURES, ARE BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS.

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

	Quite <u>A lot</u>	(VOL) <u>Some</u>	Only a <u>Little</u>	None/DK/ <u>Refused</u>
Late October, 1998	49	11	35	5=100
Early October, 1998	42	8	43	7=100
November, 1994	56	7	32	5=100
October, 1994	45	7	45	3=100
October, 1994	44	2	50	4=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 1990 ²	43	7	46	4=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 1982	29	22	37	12=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 1978	23	22	39	17=100
<i>Gallup</i> : September, 1978	21	18	44	18=100

R.1 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 YES, ASK:

R.2 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?

100	Yes, registered
97	Yes, absolutely certain
3	Chance registration may have lapsed — GO TO D.1
*	DK/Refused — GO TO D.1
0	No, not registered — GO TO D.1
<u>0</u>	DK/Refused — GO TO D.1
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?

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	DK <u>Refused</u>
Late October, 1998	26	45	20	9	*=100
Early October, 1998	21	43	24	11	1=100
Early September, 1998	20	35	28	17	*=100
Early August, 1998	16	35	25	24	*=100
June, 1998	12	31	32	25	*=100
April, 1998 ³	19	37	23	21	*=100
November, 1994	23	49	21	7	*=100
October, 1994	18	43	28	10	1=100
Early October, 1994	28	37	21	14	*=100
September, 1994	22	37	28	13	*=100
November, 1990 ⁴	44	36	13	7	*=100
October, 1990 ⁵	18	32	28	22	*=100

Q.6 How often would you say you vote... always, nearly always, part of the time or seldom?

	Always	Nearly Always	Part of The time	Seldom	(VOL) Other	Never	DK/ Ref.
Late October, 1998	56	28	10	5	*	1	*=100
Early October, 1998	50	32	11	5	1	1	*=100
Early September, 1998	53	33	9	4	1	0	*=100
Late August, 1998	48	35	13	4	0	*	*=100
June, 1998	49	33	12	5	1	0	0=100
November, 1997	42	44	10	3	*	1	*=100
September, 1997	62	26	8	3	*	1	*=100
June, 1996	52	33	9	4	1	1	*=100
February, 1996	42	41	11	4	1	1	*=100
October, 1995	53	35	7	4	*	1	*=100
April, 1995	53	34	9	4	*	*	*=100
November, 1994	58	28	8	5	1	*	0=100
October, 1994	55	32	10	3	*	*	*=100
July, 1994	52	34	10	4	*	*	*=100
June, 1992	60	29	7	3	1	*	*=100
May, 1992	50	35	10	4	*	1	*=100
November, 1991	46	41	9	4	0	*	*=100
May, 1990	42	42	11	4	*	1	1=100
May, 1988	43	41	11	3	1	2	*=100
January, 1988	49	39	9	2	*	1	*=100
May, 1987	43	43	9	3	1	1	*=100

³ In April 1998, September 1994 and October 1990, story was listed as "Candidates and election campaigns in your state."

⁴ In November 1990, story was listed as "Candidates and elections in your state."

⁵ October 1990 trend based on total respondents.

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.7 If the 1998 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?

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.8 If the 1998 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Democratic Party's candidate or the Republican Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

IF '3' OTHER, '8' DON'T KNOW, OR '9' REFUSED IN Q.7, ASK:

Q.9 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

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

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

	Republican/ <u>Lean Rep.</u>	Democrat/ <u>Lean Dem.</u>	Other/ <u>Undecided</u>
Late October, 1998	40	47	13=100
Early October, 1998	43	44	13=100
Early September, 1998	45	46	9=100
Late August, 1998	44	45	11=100
Early August, 1998	42	49	9=100
June, 1998	44	46	10=100
March, 1998	40	52	8=100
February, 1998	41	50	9=100
January, 1998	41	51	8=100
August, 1997	45	48	7=100
Early November, 1996 ⁶	44	48	8=100
October, 1996	42	49	9=100
Late September, 1996	43	49	8=100
Early September, 1996	43	51	6=100
July, 1996	46	47	7=100
June, 1996	44	50	6=100
March, 1996	44	49	7=100
January, 1996	46	47	7=100
October, 1995	48	48	4=100
August, 1995	50	43	7=100
November, 1994	45	43	12=100
October, 1994	47	44	9=100
Early October, 1994	52	40	8=100
September, 1994	48	46	6=100
July, 1994	45	47	8=100

6

Early November 1996 trend based on likely voters.

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' OR '2' IN Q.7 OR Q.8, ASK:

Q.11 Do you support the (INSERT: Democratic/Republican) candidate strongly or only moderately?

		<u>Nov 1996</u>	<u>Nov 1994</u>
40	Republican/Lean Rep	41	45
	19 Strongly	18	19
	21 Moderately	23	26
	-- Don't know/Refused	*	--
47	Democrat/Lean Dem	48	43
	24 Strongly	22	17
	23 Moderately	25	26
	-- Don't know/Refused	1	--
<u>13</u>	Other/Undecided	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100

ASK ALL:

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

	<u>Yes, Plan To Vote</u>	<u>No, Don't Plan To</u>	<u>Can't Say/DK</u>
Late October, 1998	91	6	3=100
Early October, 1998	92	4	4=100
Early September, 1998†	95	2	3=100
Late August, 1998†	93	3	4=100
June, 1998†	95	3	2=100
November, 1996	96	2	2=100
October, 1996	98	1	1=100
Late September, 1996	98	1	1=100
Early September, 1996	96	2	2=100
July, 1996	95	3	2=100
June, 1996	96	2	2=100
November, 1994†	93	5	2=100
Late October, 1994†	95	3	2=100
Early October, 1992	98	1	1=100
September, 1992	98	1	1=100
August, 1992	97	1	2=100
June, 1992	97	1	2=100
Gallup: November, 1988	97	2	1=100
Gallup: October, 1988	98	1	1=100

† Non-Presidential elections

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 WITH: Well, which is most important?)**

	National <u>Issue</u>	State/Local <u>Issue</u>	Political <u>Party</u>	Character/ <u>Experience</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>None</u>	DK/ <u>Ref</u>
Late October, 1998	20	39	5	27	3	2	4=100
Early October, 1998	23	36	7	28	1	*	5=100
Early September, 1998	22	34	5	33	2	*	4=100
Early August, 1998	20	38	5	31	2	*	4=100
June, 1998	22	37	4	32	1	1	3=100
March, 1998	18	37	6	35	1	1	2=100
November, 1996	23	38	6	25	2	*	6=100
October, 1996	19	45	7	26	1	1	1=100
Late September, 1996	25	38	6	24	2	*	5=100
Early September, 1996	18	42	6	30	1	*	3=100
November, 1994	22	38	5	30	1	*	4=100
Late October, 1994	22	38	3	29	3	1	4=100
Early October, 1994	22	27	5	39	2	1	4=100
CBS/NTY: 10/24-28, 1986	22	25	6	40	1	1	5=100
CBS/NTY: 9/28-10/1, 1986	20	23	9	41	3	*	4=100

ROTATE Q.15 AND Q.16

Q.15 Thinking about your vote for Congress this Tuesday, will the issue of which party controls Congress, the Republicans or the Democrats, be a factor in your vote, or not?

	Early Oct <u>1998</u>	Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Early Aug <u>1998</u>	June <u>1998</u>
46 Yes, will be a factor	47	41	44	45
50 No, will not	49	56	53	51
<u>4</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100	100	100	100	100

Q.16 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?

	For	Against	Not a Factor	DK/ Ref.
Late October, 1998	20	17	58	5=100
Early October, 1998	19	23	52	6=100
Early September, 1998	18	16	63	3=100
Late August, 1998	20	17	61	2=100
Early August, 1998	21	18	57	4=100
June, 1998	20	18	57	5=100
March, 1998	21	15	59	5=100
September, 1996	24	18	51	7=100
November, 1994	17	21	55	7=100
October, 1994	17	21	57	5=100
Early October, 1994	17	23	54	6=100
CBS/NTY (BUSH): 10/28-31, 1990	19	15	61	6=100
CBS/NTY (REAGAN): 10/24-28, 1986	26	12	55	7=100
CBS/NTY (REAGAN): 9/28-10/1, 1986	26	16	51	7=100
CBS/NTY (REAGAN): 10/23-28, 1982	23	21	51	5=100

A FEW MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ELECTION...

Q.17 Would you like to see your Representative in Congress be re-elected on Tuesday, or not?

(VOL)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Congressman is not running</u>	<u>NO Opinion</u>
Late October, 1998	64	19	1	16=100
Early October, 1998	58	20	2	20=100
Early September, 1998	63	20	1	16=100
March, 1998	63	21	1	15=100
January, 1998	66	23	0	11=100
August, 1997	66	22	0	12=100
Early November, 1996	60	16	3	21=100
October, 1996	62	19	2	17=100
Late September, 1996	55	17	2	26=100
Early September, 1996	62	19	2	17=100
November, 1994	58	25	1	16=100
October, 1994	55	30	2	13=100
Early October, 1994	49	29	2	20=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 1990	62	22	2	14=100

Q.18 Regardless of how you feel about your own Representative, would you like to see most members of Congress re-elected on Tuesday, or not?

		<u>Early Oct 1998</u>	<u>Early Sept 1998</u>	<u>March 1998</u>	<u>Jan 1998</u>	<u>Aug 1997</u>	<u>Early Sept 1996</u>	<u>Late Nov 1994</u>	<u>Late Oct 1994</u>	<u>Early Oct 1994</u>
41	Yes	39	46	45	44	45	43	31	31	28
37	No	39	36	41	43	42	43	51	56	56
<u>22</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>22</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>16</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.20 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president? **(IF "DON'T KNOW," ENTER AS CODE 9. 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 CODE 9.)**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Late October, 1998	65	30	5=100
Early October, 1998	62	34	4=100
Early September, 1998	59	36	5=100
Late August, 1998	63	33	4=100
Early August, 1998	64	30	6=100
June, 1998	59	33	8=100
May, 1998	59	31	10=100
April, 1998	63	30	7=100
March, 1998	65	27	8=100
Early February, 1998	71	27	2=100
January, 1998	61	33	6=100

Q.21 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>
Late October, 1998	42	46	12=100
Early October, 1998	42	48	10=100
Early September, 1998	45	39	16=100
Late August, 1998	50	38	12=100
Early August, 1998	46	39	15=100
June, 1998	42	41	17=100
May, 1998	40	42	18=100
April, 1998	42	43	15=100
March, 1998	44	41	15=100
January, 1998	44	44	12=100

Now a few questions about the allegations against Bill Clinton...

Q.22 Thinking about the decision by Congress to begin an impeachment inquiry against President Clinton, how do you feel about the members who voted in FAVOR of this? Is your opinion of them **(READ)**?

		<u>Early Oct</u>
		<u>1998</u>
20	Very favorable	21
20	Mostly favorable	26
23	Mostly Unfavorable OR	24
31	Very unfavorable	25
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>4</u>
100		100

Q.23 Based on what you know at this point, do you think that Bill Clinton should or should not be impeached and removed from office?

		<u>Early Oct</u>
		<u>1998</u>
28	Should be impeached	32
66	Should not	62
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>
100		100

Q.25 Compared to past elections, would you say there has been MORE mud slinging or negative campaigning this year, or LESS mud slinging or negative campaigning this year?

--- **Presidential Elections**⁷ ---

		<u>Nov 1996</u>	<u>Nov 1992</u>
52	More	49	68
23	Less	36	16
20	Same (VOL)	12	14
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100

7

Trends for 1996 and 1992 are based on **voters**. The question was worded "Compared to past presidential elections, would you say there has been MORE mud slinging or negative campaigning in this campaign or LESS mud slinging or negative campaigning in this election?"