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Turnout Indicators Slightly Below '94 Level  
**GOP CONGRESSIONAL LEAD NOT UNDERCUT BY BACKLASH**

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## Turnout Indicators Slightly Below '94 Level

### **GOP CONGRESSIONAL LEAD NOT UNDERCUT BY BACKLASH**

The House of Representatives' decision to hold impeachment hearings has not significantly eroded support for Republicans. Despite a public backlash against proceeding with the inquiry, Republican congressional candidates continue to hold a small lead over Democrats among likely voters nationwide. Further, the Pew Research Center's latest survey includes an oversample of voters in the 105 most competitive districts, where it found Republican House candidates running ahead of Democrats by 48%-to-44%, a margin almost identical to the GOP's 48%-to-43% advantage nationwide.

The current Republican edge is comparable to that obtained in three previous Pew surveys conducted since June. All of these polls, including the current one, found Republicans owing their lead to a disproportionate advantage among *likely voters*.<sup>1</sup> The parties are at parity when preferences are based on all *registered voters*.

There is no indication that the Republican turnout advantage has grown since Clinton's admission of misleading the public about his relationship with Monica Lewinsky, the release of the Starr report or the broadcast of Clinton's grand jury testimony. Moreover, the GOP's likely turnout advantage is no greater than it was in mid-October 1994.<sup>2</sup> (The Republicans' narrow victory in the popular vote that year was a first in recent decades and as a result led to a major turnover in Congress. A similar vote this year would lead to a status quo outcome since the GOP continues to hold a majority of House seats.)

These findings are based on a national survey of 1,532 registered voters conducted October 14-18, 1998. The study has a margin of error of +/- 3.5 percentage points. For more information on the oversample in competitive House races, see pages 20 and 21.

<b>Voting Intentions</b>				
	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Other/ Undec.</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<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
<i>October 1994</i>				
Registered Voters	47	44	9	= 100
Likely Voters	51	43	6	= 100

<sup>1</sup> Likely voters are classified based on their answers to eight "turnout" questions, including intention to vote, past voting history, thought given to the election, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Currently, the GOP draws 5 percentage points more from likely voters than from registered voters. In October 1994, the GOP drew 4 percentage points more from likely voters than from registered voters.

Several indicators of voter turnout, however, are slightly below what they were in 1994 at a comparable period, suggesting that turnout may be lower this year. Slightly fewer voters say they *plan to vote*, rate themselves *10 or 9* on a ten-point voting scale, say they *always* vote, and report they have given *a lot of thought* to the upcoming elections. Only 35% of the voting age population answered affirmatively to five turnout questions in 1998, compared to 41% who did so in October 1994.

The slippage in likely voters does not appear related to the escalation of the White House scandal. Turnout indicators were pointing downward as early as June, well before Clinton's admission and serious talk of impeachment. In fact, the current survey provides little indication that voters see the congressional elections as a mandate on impeachment.

Most voters say that either state and local issues or a candidate's experience and character will be most influential in how they vote. Less than half (42%) say their vote will be either for Clinton (19%) or against him (23%). Very few mention Clinton or the scandal as the most important problem facing the nation or as an issue they want candidates to discuss (4% and 3%, respectively).

However, when impeachment is raised as an issue, 40% of voters say a candidate's likely position on it will be a factor, suggesting the issue could have more impact than is apparent today. Democrats more often say a candidate's stand on impeachment would be a motivating factor than do either Republicans or Independents. In that regard, many Democrats (46%) say that their party's congressional members should have been more loyal to the president. Republicans, on the other hand, are mostly satisfied that GOP members have acted appropriately (58%).

Following the vote to open an impeachment inquiry, the Pew Research Center survey found job approval ratings for Republican congressional leaders slipping along with support for reelecting incumbents. As most of this change occurred among loyal Democratic constituencies, it is having little impact on support for Democrats and Republicans on the generic ballot question.

### ***Who's Voting***

Although turnout may be slightly lower this year than in 1994, there are no substantial differences in the composition of those most likely to go to the polls. As in the last midterm election, voters will be disproportionately older (49% over age 50, just 9% of those under 30), better educated and more affluent. Reflecting the relatively close margin in congressional preferences, the base of likely voters is evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats this year — 35% in each party, compared to a 40% vs. 30% Republican advantage in October 1994.

### ***Patterns of Support***

As in 1994, among likely voters Republicans continue to hold a strong advantage among white men (56% vs. 35% for Democrats). But while women were divided evenly between the two parties in October 1994, Democrats today have a 48%-41% edge among women. (See table, page 13.)

One of the biggest differences from the 1994 election is Clinton's relatively high job approval. Currently, the voters most likely to go to the polls approve of Clinton by a 58%-39% margin, while in 1994 likely voters disapproved 39%-56%. With the Clinton ratings closely tied to congressional voting preferences (69% of those who approve say they will vote for a Democrat), the president's strong approval ratings even amid the prospect of impeachment may be helping Democrats.

### ***Opinion of Congress Sours***

Although there has been no significant change in party preference on the generic ballot measure, public sentiment toward Congress has dipped in recent weeks, as has support for incumbents and the Republican congressional leadership. However, most of the fall-off is within traditional Democratic constituencies already inclined to vote with their party in the fall. Similarly, increased animosity toward Clinton comes mainly from those already inclined to vote Republican.

As Congress prepares to complete its legislative business for the year, the percentage of Americans saying it has accomplished less than previous Congresses is up significantly from earlier this year. Nearly one-in-four voters (23%) now hold this opinion, compared to 17% in early September and 15% in August. A plurality of voters (49%) think this Congress has accomplished about the same amount; 24% say it has accomplished more. Among those who say Congress has accomplished *less*, more than half say the Republicans are to blame, 19% blame Clinton, and 5% blame Democratic congressional leaders.

Approval ratings for Republican leaders in Congress slid somewhat in October, with the voters now disapproving of the job they are doing by 48%-42%. In early September, approvers outweighed disapprovers — 45%-39%. The GOP has lost the most ground among women, blacks and Democrats.

***Incumbents less Popular***

At the same time, support for congressional incumbents has fallen off the near-record high levels recorded earlier this year. Today, 58% of registered voters would like to see their own member of Congress reelected, compared to 63% in September and 66% in January of this year. Some 39% would like to see *most* members reelected, compared to 46% a month ago. Here the decline is most dramatic among blacks, Democrats and those with less than a high school education.

Not surprisingly, 55% of those who plan to vote Republican this fall would like to see most incumbents reelected in the House, compared to only 33% of those who plan to vote Democratic. Among crucial swing voters, support for incumbents is relatively weak: 24% would like to see most incumbents reelected; 43% would not.

Nonetheless, incumbents remain in a stronger position than they were at a comparable point in 1994. In the weeks leading up to the Republican takeover of the House, only about half of registered voters (55%) said their own member should be reelected; 31% thought most members should stay in office. Similarly, voters are less inclined today than they were in 1994 to say having new faces in office is more important than having experienced people who know how the government works.

Partisan control of Congress has become a more important issue for voters in recent weeks. Fully 47% say the question of which party controls Congress will be a factor in their vote this fall; 49% say it will not. In September, 56% of voters said partisan control would not be a factor. Republican and Democratic voters are equally likely to cite party control as important.

Similarly, Bill Clinton has become more salient in voters' decision-making than he was just a month ago. In September, 63% said the President would not be a factor in their vote for Congress. Today, that number has fallen to 52%. More people

<b>Less Support for Incumbents But Still More than 1994</b>			
	Oct 1994	Sept 1998	Oct 1998
	%	%	%
<i>Reelect own member</i>			
Yes	55	63	58
No	30	20	20
Don't know/Refused	<u>15</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>22</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Reelect most members</i>			
Yes	31	46	39
No	56	36	39
Don't know/Refused	<u>13</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>22</u>
	100	100	100
<i>What's more important</i>			
New faces	31	n/a	22
Experience	57	n/a	66
Don't know/Refused	<u>12</u>	n/a	<u>12</u>
	100		100

<b>Party Control and Clinton, More Important Factors</b>		
	Sept 1988	Oct 1998
	%	%
<i>Is party control a factor?</i>		
Yes	41	47
No	56	49
Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100
<i>Is Clinton a factor?</i>		
Yes, for	18	19
Yes, against	16	23
No	63	52
Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100

now characterize their vote as a vote against Clinton — 23% vs. 16% in September. This sentiment has increased the most among men and Republicans. Fully 48% of Republicans now say they think of their vote for Congress as a vote against Clinton.

***Congress’ Handling of the Scandal***

These marginal shifts in sentiment away from incumbents and the GOP leadership may reflect a backlash against the Republicans for their handling of the Clinton-Lewinsky investigation. Clinton’s approval rating remains high (62%) and the public continues to overwhelmingly oppose his impeachment — 62% of voters say, based on what they know at this point, the president should *not* be impeached and removed from office; 32% say he should be. Most voters (52%) think the Republicans in Congress have pushed too hard for Clinton’s impeachment. Even 22% of Republicans share this view. Only 9% of voters say the GOP hasn’t pushed hard enough; 35% say they have handled the situation about right.

Women, blacks and those with less income and less education are among the most likely to think the Republicans have pushed too hard. Voters from competitive districts do not differ from those in non-competitive districts on this score. Among the most likely voters, half (48%) say the GOP has pushed too hard for the president’s impeachment.

Voters are more approving of Democratic members’ handling of the issue. A plurality (42%) think Democrats have been loyal enough to the president; 27% think they should have shown more loyalty. Just 23% say Democrats have been too loyal to Clinton.

General attitudes about the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal and Congress’ handling of the matter continue to divide largely along partisan lines. Nearly half of the public (48%) has a great deal or a fair amount of confidence that Congress will reach the right decision about whether or not to impeach Clinton; an equal proportion (48%) has little or no confidence. Similarly, 47% of voters have a favorable opinion of members of Congress who voted to go forward with an impeachment inquiry; 49% have a negative opinion of those members. Republicans are much more likely to have confidence in Congress to reach the right decision (68% vs. 35% of Democrats) and to have a favorable

<b>A Partisan Point of View</b>			
	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Indep</u> %
<i>Should Clinton be impeached?</i>			
Yes	61	7	32
No	33	89	62
Don’t know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Confidence in Congress to handle the matter</i>			
Great deal/Fair amount	68	35	44
Not too much/None	30	61	53
Don’t know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100
<i>View of members who voted for inquiry</i>			
Favorable	77	22	49
Unfavorable	20	75	46
Don’t know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100

view of those members who voted to proceed with an impeachment inquiry (77% vs. 22% of Democrats).

While most voters (55%) say a candidate's likely position on impeachment will not be a factor in their vote for Congress, a large minority (40%) say it will be a factor. Those who say the issue matters favor Democrats over Republicans in the generic ballot by 52%-to-37%, while those who say the issue won't make a difference back Republicans over Democrats 47%-to-39%.

### ***Talk of Education; Concern for Economy***

Although half of voters report following Congress' decision to begin an impeachment inquiry very closely, only 19% say the Clinton-Lewinsky investigation is very important for the nation and few express interest in making Clinton a campaign issue. Only 3% say that they want candidates to talk about Clinton and just 4% name the president as the most important problem facing the country today. Instead, education and economic issues top the list of voter concerns.

Moreover, although voters continue to express the greatest interest in hearing candidates talk about education, they are most concerned about the state of the economy. Almost one-fourth (24%) say they want candidates to address educational issues in the campaign; only 9% rank it as the most important problem facing the nation. Instead, 27% cite economic issues as the most important problem facing the country. Concern about the economy is up 11 percentage points since May, when 16% of voters mentioned it.

There are other signs that voters' confidence in the economy has ebbed somewhat since just last month. Today, 59% of voters say they expect to be better off financially next year, down from 66% in early September. The greatest drop in optimism occurred among senior citizens, voters without high school diplomas, Easterners, and voters living in rural states. Conversely, voters who live in regions of the country where the technology and communications industries are prominent are among the most optimistic about their personal financial prospects for the coming year.

Rising concern about the future is not limited to personal expectations. More voters now say that they expect economic conditions in the country to be *worse* a year from now than said so in early September (22% vs. 17%, respectively). Although the fall-off has occurred among voters of every demographic and political group, white men, college graduates and the wealthy express more pessimism (28%, 27%, and 29%, respectively).

***Economic and Financial Issues Overshadow Scandal***

Concern about the economy is also reflected in the priority voters attach to government economic policies. Three-quarters rank the debate in Washington over how to use the budget surplus (77%) and U.S. efforts to ease worldwide financial instability and maintain a strong domestic economy (74%) as very important issues.

Indeed, most voters place policy concerns over political issues. Two-thirds (66%) see regulation of health maintenance organizations as very important; 62% rank proposals for middle-class tax cuts this high. Party control of Congress and campaign finance reform (55% and 48% respectively) are lower on the list of very important issues. Government efforts to regulate the sale of tobacco products is considered very important to the nation by only 37% of voters.

	<u>June</u> %	<u>Oct</u> %
<i>Very Important...</i>		
HMO Regulation	69	66
Party control of Congress	52	55
Campaign Finance Reform	51	48
Tobacco regulation	41	37
Lewinsky Investigation	18	19

There has been almost no change in voters' attitudes concerning the importance of these issues over the past four months. In June, 69% ranked HMO regulation very important, about half considered control of Congress and campaign finance reform very important, 41% saw tobacco regulation that way, and 18% gave this ranking to the Clinton-Lewinsky investigation.

Broad consensus on the importance of these issues even extends to competitive districts and across partisan lines, with two notable exceptions: Voters who support Democratic candidates differ from those who favor the GOP in the importance they assign both HMO regulation and the Starr investigation.

	<u>All</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Ind</u> %
<i>Very Important...</i>				
Surplus Debate	77	75	85	71
Global & US Economy	74	77	76	68
HMO Regulation	66	52	75	70
Middle-class Tax Cuts	62	66	63	57
Party Control of Congress	55	58	64	46
Campaign Finance Reform	48	49	51	44
Tobacco Regulation	37	30	42	38
Lewinsky Investigation	19	35	6	18

Three-quarters (75%) of Democrats see regulation of HMOs as very important, compared to 52% of Republicans who agree. Independents are closer to the Democrats, with 70% ranking this issue very important. Conversely, while the Lewinsky investigation is hardly on the radar screen of most Democrats, 35% of Republicans see it as a very important issue (compared to just 6% of Democrats and 18% of Independents).



Moreover, there are also differences between those who are most likely to go to the polls on Election Day and average voters: 64% of likely voters rank the outcome of the 1998 elections as very important and 57% see campaign finance reform as such — compared to 55% and 48%, respectively, of all voters.

***Local Issues Most Important in Close Races***

Among likely voters, Republicans have a slight edge in both competitive and non-competitive congressional districts. Even in the 105 races predicted to be the closest on Election Day, state and local issues rank above national issues. Registered voters in competitive districts say party control of Congress will *not* be a factor in their vote by a 52%-to-44% margin, while those in non-competitive districts are more evenly divided (48%-to-48%). Similarly, majorities in competitive and non-competitive districts say a candidate’s likely position on impeaching Clinton will not be a factor in their vote.

	Competitive <u>Districts*</u>	Non-competitive <u>Districts</u>
<i>Congressional vote preference...</i>	%	%
Rep/Lean Rep	48	49
Dem/Lean Dem	44	43
Other/Don’t know	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100
<i>Reelect own Rep?</i>		
Yes	56	63
No	27	22
Other/Don’t know	<u>17</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100

\* Competitive districts based on ratings by *Congressional Quarterly*, *Cook Political Report*, and *Campaigns & Elections*.

Reflecting the more heavily-contested nature of the competitive seats, incumbents have slightly less support in these districts. Just 56% of likely voters in competitive districts say their own representative should be reelected, compared to 63% in non-competitive seats.

## SELECTED TABLES

## THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF LIKELY VOTERS\*

	----- A Profile -----		Incidence Among Registered Voters 1998	(N)
	1994	1998		
	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	--	--	64	(1532)
<b>Sex</b>				
Male	51	49	67	(727)
Female	49	51	61	(805)
<b>Race</b>				
White	92	88	64	(1322)
Non-white	8	10	57	(186)
Black	6	8	57	(135)
<b>Race and Sex</b>				
White Men	48	44	69	(627)
White Women	44	44	61	(695)
<b>Age</b>				
Under 30	9	9	35	(237)
30-49	42	41	64	(612)
50-64	26	29	78	(383)
65+	23	20	71	(273)
<b>Sex and Age</b>				
Men: Under 30	3	4	32	(123)
Women: Under 30	5	5	37	(114)
Men: 30-49	23	22	68	(317)
Women: 30-49	19	19	60	(295)
Men: 50+	25	23	79	(278)
Women: 50+	23	26	71	(378)
<b>Education</b>				
College Grad.	34	32	75	(508)
Some College	22	28	68	(431)
High School Grad.	36	32	58	(485)
<H.S. Grad	8	7	42	(96)
<b>Family Income</b>				
\$50,000+	31	31	75	(444)
\$30,000-\$49,999	30	24	64	(380)
\$20,000-\$29,999	15	13	54	(222)
<\$20,000	16	15	57	(218)
	(N=724)	(N=1017)		

\* **NOTE:** First two columns in table reflect the demographic *composition within* the set of likely voters in each year. — i.e., the percentage of all likely voters who are men, women, etc. The third column reflects the percentage within each demographic category that is likely to vote in the 1998 election — i.e., the percentage of men who will vote.

Continued ...

	----- A Profile -----		Incidence Among	
	<u>1994</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>Registered Voters 1998</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	--	--	64	(1532)
<b>Region</b>				
East	20	16	56	(242)
Midwest	25	27	66	(437)
South	32	34	64	(514)
West	23	23	67	(339)
<b>Community Size</b>				
Large City	18	18	60	(277)
Suburb	24	23	68	(342)
Small City/Town	36	32	62	(535)
Rural Area	21	24	66	(344)
<b>Party ID</b>				
Republican	40	35	72	(475)
Democrat	30	35	63	(520)
Independent	27	25	58	(443)
<b>Clinton Approval</b>				
Approve	39	58	59	(940)
Disapprove	56	39	73	(527)
	(N=724)	(N=1017)		

**CONGRESSIONAL VOTE PREFERENCE**  
Among Likely Voters\*

	<u>Rep/Lean Rep</u>	<u>Dem/Lean Dem</u>	<u>Refused to Lean</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%		
<b>Total</b>	47	43	10=100	+4	(1017)
<b>Sex</b>					
Male	53	38	9	+15	(497)
Female	41	48	11	-7	(520)
<b>Race</b>					
White	51	39	10	+12	(892)
Non-white	18	77	5	-59	(112)
Black	10	86	4	-76	(82)
<b>Race and Sex</b>					
White Men	56	35	9	+21	(439)
White Women	45	44	11	+1	(453)
<b>Age</b>					
Under 30	41	50	9	-9	(83)
30-49	50	43	7	+7	(404)
50-64	47	41	12	+6	(308)
65+	45	42	13	+3	(205)
<b>Education</b>					
College Grad.	49	42	9	+7	(390)
Some College	50	40	10	+10	(305)
High School Grad.+ Below	44	46	10	-2	(316)
<b>Family Income</b>					
\$75,000+	53	38	9	+15	(187)
\$50,000-\$74,999	51	43	6	+8	(154)
\$30,000-\$49,999	55	37	8	+18	(254)
\$20,000-\$29,999	47	47	6	0	(126)
<\$20,000	33	58	9	-25	(123)

\* **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 ...**

	<u>Rep/Lean Rep</u>	<u>Dem/Lean Dem</u>	<u>Refused to Lean</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%		
<b>Total</b>	47	43	10=100	+4	(1017)
<b>Region</b>					
East	46	46	8	0	(146)
Midwest	48	43	9	+5	(290)
South	47	41	12	+6	(342)
West	47	44	9	+3	(239)
<b>Community Size</b>					
Large City	42	50	8	-8	(179)
Suburb	50	38	12	+12	(237)
Small City/Town	43	48	9	-5	(353)
Rural Area	55	38	7	+17	(231)
<b>Party ID</b>					
Republican	95	2	3	+93	(348)
Democrat	6	91	3	-85	(353)
Independent	42	36	22	+6	(269)
<b>Clinton Approval</b>					
Approve	21	69	10	-48	(592)
Disapprove	86	6	8	+80	(388)
<b>GOP Congressional Approval</b>					
Approve	79	15	6	+64	(434)
Disapprove	20	70	10	-50	(506)
<b>1996 Presidential Vote</b>					
Clinton	14	78	8	-64	(459)
Dole	92	3	5	+89	(311)
<b>1996 Congressional Vote</b>					
Republican	86	10	4	+76	(414)
Democrat	9	84	7	-75	(352)

## WHAT MATTERS TO CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

	National	State/Local	Political	Candidates'		
	<u>Issues</u>	<u>Issues</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Character/ Experience</u>	<u>Other/ None</u>	<u>DK/ Ref.</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	23	36	7	28	1	5=100
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	25	34	9	28	1	3
Female	21	38	5	29	2	5
<b>Race</b>						
White	23	36	7	28	2	4
Non-white	17	38	6	29	2	8
Black	18	37	6	29	2	8
<b>Race and Sex</b>						
White Men	25	33	9	29	1	3
White Women	21	39	5	28	2	5
<b>Age</b>						
Under 30	21	50	6	21	1	1
30-49	20	40	8	29	1	2
50-64	26	31	7	31	1	4
65+	27	22	6	29	3	13
<b>Sex and Age</b>						
Men: Under 30	20	44	7	26	1	2
Women: Under 30	23	54	4	17	2	*
Men: 30-49	21	39	10	27	1	2
Women: 30-49	19	41	6	30	1	3
Men: 50+	30	23	9	29	2	7
Women: 50+	23	30	4	32	2	9
<b>Education</b>						
College Grad.	29	35	8	26	1	1
Some College	22	37	8	29	1	3
High School Grad.	20	39	6	29	1	5
<H.S. Grad	19	26	4	32	5	14
<b>Family Income</b>						
\$75,000+	26	31	10	31	1	1
\$50,000-\$74,999	26	45	5	21	1	2
\$30,000-\$49,999	21	37	6	31	3	2
\$20,000-\$29,999	19	40	7	30	1	3
<\$20,000	22	33	7	28	2	8

Question: 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?)**

**Continued ...**

	National	State/Local	Political	Candidates'		
	<u>Issues</u>	<u>Issues</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Character/</u>	<u>Other/</u>	<u>DK/</u>
	%	%	%	<u>Experience</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
				%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	23	36	7	28	1	5=100
<b>Region</b>						
East	23	40	9	22	1	5
Midwest	22	35	6	30	2	5
South	24	32	6	31	2	5
West	22	39	7	26	2	4
<b>Community Size</b>						
Large City	20	37	6	31	1	5
Suburb	28	37	7	25	1	2
Small City/Town	24	35	7	29	1	4
Rural Area	21	37	6	29	3	4
<b>Party ID</b>						
Republican	25	32	8	33	1	1
Democrat	25	37	9	22	2	5
Independent	21	38	3	33	2	3
<b>1996 Presidential Vote</b>						
Clinton	23	40	8	24	1	4
Dole	28	25	7	37	1	2
<b>1996 Congressional Vote</b>						
Republican	26	30	7	34	1	2
Democrat	25	38	8	25	1	3
<b>Clinton Approval</b>						
Approve	22	41	6	24	2	5
Disapprove	25	28	8	36	1	2
<b>GOP Congress Approval</b>						
Approve	23	37	7	30	1	2
Disapprove	25	35	8	26	1	5



## FACTORS IN CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

	<i>Who Controls Congress</i>			<i>Voting For/Against Clinton</i>				<i>Candidates' Position on Impeachment</i>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>Not a Factor</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Not a Factor</u>	<u>Yes, a Factor</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	47	49	4=100	19	23	52	6=100	55	40	5=100
<b>Sex</b>										
Male	48	50	2	16	27	52	5	59	39	2
Female	46	48	6	23	19	51	7	53	41	6
<b>Race</b>										
White	45	51	4	15	25	55	5	57	39	4
Non-white	62	29	9	52	8	32	8	50	44	6
Black	65	25	10	56	5	29	10	47	46	7
<b>Race and Sex</b>										
White Men	46	51	3	13	28	55	4	59	39	2
White Women	44	51	5	18	22	54	6	54	40	6
<b>Age</b>										
Under 30	44	54	2	16	18	61	5	61	37	2
30-49	43	55	2	18	21	57	4	59	38	3
50-64	49	48	3	19	29	46	6	53	43	4
65+	57	32	11	27	26	37	10	49	41	10
<b>Sex and Age</b>										
Men: Under 30	47	51	2	13	14	65	8	66	31	3
Women: Under 30	41	56	3	19	21	58	2	57	42	1
Men: 30-49	43	55	2	16	20	62	2	62	36	2
Women: 30-49	42	55	3	20	22	53	5	55	40	5
Men: 50+	52	44	4	18	39	37	6	52	45	3
Women: 50+	53	38	9	27	18	47	8	50	41	9
<b>Education</b>										
College Grad.	46	53	1	13	21	64	2	60	37	3
Some College	46	52	2	16	27	52	5	56	42	2
High School Grad.	47	48	5	24	24	46	6	54	41	5
<H.S. Grad	54	32	14	30	16	39	15	51	39	10
<b>Family Income</b>										
\$75,000+	50	50	*	12	29	56	3	53	46	1
\$50,000-\$74,999	42	57	1	15	22	60	3	61	35	4
\$30,000-\$49,999	46	52	2	19	27	51	3	58	40	2
\$20,000-\$29,999	50	47	3	18	23	54	5	53	42	5
<\$20,000	53	40	7	32	18	43	7	51	41	8

Question: Thinking about your vote for Congress this fall, will the issue of which party controls Congress, the Republicans or the Democrats, be a factor in your vote, or not?  
 Do you think of your vote for Congress this fall as a vote for Bill Clinton, as a vote against Bill Clinton, or isn't Bill Clinton much of a factor in your vote?  
 And will the candidate's likely position on impeaching Bill Clinton be a factor in your vote, or won't this be a factor?

Continued ...

	<i>Who Controls Congress</i>			<i>Voting For/Against Clinton</i>				<i>Candidates' Position on Impeachment</i>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>Not a Factor</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Not a Factor</u>	<u>Yes, a Factor</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	47	49	4=100	19	23	52	6=100	55	40	5=100
<b>Region</b>										
East	45	50	5	24	18	52	6	50	44	6
Midwest	46	50	4	19	22	53	6	58	38	4
South	50	46	4	20	27	47	6	55	40	5
West	44	52	4	16	21	57	6	58	38	4
<b>Community Size</b>										
Large City	52	43	5	25	17	52	6	54	43	3
Suburb	48	50	2	15	29	54	2	55	43	2
Small City/Town	48	48	5	22	22	49	7	56	40	4
Rural Area	41	55	4	16	24	54	6	58	36	6
<b>Party ID</b>										
Republican	57	41	2	4	48	45	3	59	37	4
Democrat	57	40	3	41	5	49	5	50	45	5
Independent	29	65	6	11	18	64	7	57	39	4
<b>1996 Presidential Vote</b>										
Clinton	49	48	3	32	5	58	4	50	46	4
Dole	55	42	3	3	52	43	2	58	40	2
<b>1996 Congressional Vote</b>										
Republican	49	48	3	5	47	46	2	58	39	3
Democrat	54	43	3	35	6	56	3	48	48	4
<b>Clinton Approval</b>										
Approve	45	50	5	30	6	58	6	55	41	4
Disapprove	52	45	3	2	54	42	2	56	40	4
<b>GOP Congress Approval</b>										
Approve	47	50	3	5	38	52	5	62	34	4
Disapprove	51	45	4	34	11	51	4	49	47	4

# 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 1,532 registered voters, 18 years of age or older, during the period October 14-18, 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 3.5 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=768) or Form 2 (N=764), the sampling error is plus or minus 5 percentage points. For results based on likely voters (N=789), the sampling error is plus or minus 4.5 percentage points. For results based on registered voters in competitive House districts (N=669), the sampling error is plus or minus 5 percentage points.

This survey was designed to purposely oversample telephone numbers in 105 congressional districts in which there are competitive races for U.S. House seats in the 1998 elections. Competitive districts were identified using the rankings of three political publications, *Congressional Quarterly's* "CQ OnPolitics", *Campaigns and Elections* magazine's "The Political Oddsmaker", and *The Cook Political Report*. The remainder of the sample was drawn from telephone numbers in all other congressional districts in the continental United States. However, the final sample was adjusted so that competitive and non-competitive districts are represented in proportion to their actual distribution in the United States.

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 to purposely oversample telephone numbers in 105 congressional districts in which there are competitive races for U.S. House seats in the 1998 elections. Competitive districts were identified using the rankings of three political publications, *Congressional Quarterly's* "CQ OnPolitics", *Campaigns and Elections* magazine's "The Political Oddsmaker", and *The Cook Political Report*. The remainder of the sample was drawn from telephone numbers in all other congressional districts in the continental United States. However, the final sample was adjusted so that competitive and non-competitive districts are represented in proportion to their actual distribution in the United States.

Within each strata, 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 numbers in the U.S. 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. The use of replicates also insures that the regional distribution of numbers called is appropriate. Again, this works to increase the representativeness of the sample.

At least five 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 is at home." 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 1996). 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. In addition, the sample was adjusted to compensate for the oversampling of competitive House districts (see above). 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**  
**OCTOBER 1998 NEWS INTEREST INDEX**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**October 14-18, 1998**  
**N = 1,532 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 the coming November 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>
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: October, 1990</i> <sup>3</sup>	43	7	46	4=100
<i>Gallup: October, 1982</i>	29	22	37	12=100
<i>Gallup: October, 1978</i>	23	22	39	17=100
<i>Gallup: September, 1978</i>	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?

Yes, registered

Yes, absolutely certain

Chance registration may have lapsed — **GO TO D.1**

DK/Refused — **GO TO D.1**

No, not registered — **GO TO D.1**

DK/Refused — **GO TO D.1**

100

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<sup>3</sup>

Gallup trends based on total respondents.

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?

	<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all Closely</u>	<u>DK Refused</u>
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 <sup>4</sup>	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 <sup>5</sup>	44	36	13	7	*=100
October, 1990 <sup>6</sup>	18	32	28	22	*=100

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

		<u>Nov 1996</u>	<u>Sept 1996</u>	<u>Nov 1994</u>
87	Yes	85	85	91
13	No	15	15	9
*	Don't know/Refused	*	*	*
100		100	100	100

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

		<i>-- Gallup --</i>				
		<u>Nov 1996</u>	<u>Oct 1996</u>	<u>Nov 1994</u>	<u>Nov 1988</u>	<u>Oct 1988</u>
87	Yes — gives answer	88	85	93	89	88
13	No/Don't know/Refused/No Answer	12	15	7	11	12
100		100	100	100	100	100

<sup>4</sup> In April 1998, September 1994 and October 1990, story was listed as "Candidates and election campaigns in your state."

<sup>5</sup> In November 1990, story was listed as "Candidates and elections in your state."

<sup>6</sup> October 1990 trend based on total respondents.



Q.5 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 most of the time, some of the time, only now and then or hardly at all?

	<u>Most of The Time</u>	<u>Some of the Time</u>	<u>Only Now and Then</u>	<u>Hardly at All</u>	<u>DK/ Refused</u>
October, 1998	51	33	11	5	*=100
Early September, 1998	52	33	11	4	*=100
June, 1998	42	33	18	7	*=100
November, 1997	47	35	14	4	*=100
November, 1996	52	32	12	4	*=100
October, 1996	43	37	13	6	1=100
October, 1995	52	33	11	4	*=100
April, 1995	49	34	13	4	*=100
November, 1994	57	30	10	3	*=100
October, 1994	52	34	10	4	0=100
July, 1994	51	32	13	4	*=100
May, 1990	43	36	15	6	*=100
October, 1988	52	33	12	3	*=100
May, 1988	42	37	15	4	2=100
January, 1988	42	35	17	5	1=100
May, 1987	47	35	13	4	1=100

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

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Nearly Always</u>	<u>Part of The time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>(VOL) Other</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>DK/ Ref.</u>
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

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?

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

Q.8 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

	Republican/ <u>Lean Rep.</u>	Democrat/ <u>Lean Dem.</u>	Other/ <u>Undecided</u>
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 <sup>7</sup>	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

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<sup>7</sup>

Early November 1996 trend based on likely voters.

**ASK ALL:**

Q.9 Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the election this November?

	Yes, Plan <u>To Vote</u>	No, Don't <u>Plan To</u>	Can't <u>Say/DK</u>
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 <sup>8</sup>	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
<i>Gallup</i> : November, 1988	97	2	1=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 1988	98	1	1=100

† Non-Presidential elections

Q.10 Next, I'd like you to rate your chances of voting in the election this November 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?

	Definitely will vote										Definitely will not vote	<u>DK/Ref</u>	
	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>			
October, 1998	64	9	10	4	2	4	1	2	1	2	1	2	1=100
November, 1996	77	7	7	2	1	2	*	1	*	2	1	2	1=100
October, 1996	77	9	7	2	2	2	*	*	*	1	1	2	*=100
September, 1996	78	10	6	2	1	1	*	*	*	1	1	2	1=100
November, 1994	67	9	8	2	2	4	1	1	1	3	1	2	2=100
October, 1994	66	10	9	4	2	4	1	1	*	2	1	2	1=100
<i>Gallup</i> : September, 1992	77	5	4	3	2	4	*	1	*	4	1	2	*=100
<i>Gallup</i> : November, 1988	77	7	6	2	1	3	*	*	*	2	1	2	2=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 1988	73	8	7	3	2	3	1	*	*	1	1	2	2=100

8

In November 1996 and November 1994 the question was worded: "Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this Tuesday, or not?"

Q.11 Now I will read a list of some other things that have been in the news 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]**

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	(VOL) <u>DK</u>
a. The decision by the House of Representatives to start a formal impeachment inquiry against President Clinton	50	32	11	6	1=100
b. NATO efforts to settle the violence and unrest in the Serbian province of Kosovo March, 1998 <sup>9</sup>	21 6	34 13	26 26	18 53	1=100 2=100
c. Renewed efforts at reaching a peace agreement in the Middle East	21	40	27	12	*=100
d. Financial instability around the world	32	40	19	9	*=100

Now thinking again about the upcoming elections...

Q.12 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>
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
<i>CBS/NYT: 10/24-28, 1986</i>	22	25	6	40	1	1	5=100
<i>CBS/NYT: 9/28-10/1, 1986</i>	20	23	9	41	3	*	4=100

<sup>9</sup>

In March 1998 the question was worded "Ethnic conflict in Kosovo, Serbia."

**ROTATE Q.13 AND Q.14**

Q.13 Thinking about your vote for Congress this fall, will the issue of which party controls Congress, the Republicans or the Democrats, be a factor in your vote, or not?

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

Q.14 Do you think of your vote for Congress this fall as a vote for Bill Clinton, as a vote against Bill Clinton, or isn't Bill Clinton much of a factor in your vote?

	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	Not a <u>Factor</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
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
<i>CBS/NYT (BUSH): 10/28-31, 1990</i>	19	15	61	6=100
<i>CBS/NYT (REAGAN): 10/24-28, 1986</i>	26	12	55	7=100
<i>CBS/NYT (REAGAN): 9/28-10/1, 1986</i>	26	16	51	7=100
<i>CBS/NYT (REAGAN): 10/23-28, 1982</i>	23	21	51	5=100

**NO QUESTION 15**

Q.16 Would you like to see your Representative in Congress be re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?

(VOL)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Congressman is <u>not running</u>	NO <u>Opinion</u>
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: October, 1990</i>	62	22	2	14=100

Q.17 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?

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

Now, on a different subject...

Q.18 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>
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.19 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>
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

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY: [N=768]****Q.20F1 What one issue would you most like to hear the candidates in your state or district talk about this fall? (OPEN-ENDED; ACCEPT UP TO THREE MENTIONS)**

		Early Sept	June
		<u>1998</u>	<u>1998</u>
24	Education issues	20	20
8	Taxation	11	13
8	Health care	6	5
6	Crime/Crime control/All other crime issues	9	14
6	Economy/Economic issues	8	4
6	Social Security	4	9
3	Politicians/Political system	3	--
3	State/local issues	4	--
3	Foreign policy/International relations	4	2
3	Morality/Character issues	4	4
3	Balanced budget	2	3
3	Bill Clinton	--	--
3	Jobs/Employment	4	5
3	Poverty/Homelessness	2	2
2	Abortion	2	4
2	Size/Scope of Government	2	--
2	Environment	2	2
2	Caring for seniors/Elder care	1	--
1	Welfare reform	3	--
1	Wages/salaries	1	--
1	Family/Child care issues	1	3
*	Highway improvement/Road construction	1	1
*	None	*	*
2	No answer/DK/Refused	21	18

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [N=764]**

Q.21F2 What do you think is the most important problem facing the country today? **(PROBE FOR CLARITY. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION) (OPEN-END) ('NONE' AND 'DK/REF' ARE HARD CODED)**

		May <u>1998</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>
17	Economy (general)	4	7
10	Morality/Ethics/Family values	11	9
9	Education	10	2
8	Crime/Gangs/Justice system	11	29
6	Dissatisfaction with government/politics	5	5
6	Scandal/Corruption in government	5	--
5	Other international issues (includes mentions of Iraq/Saddam Hussein)	2	--
5	Unemployment/Lack of jobs	5	9
4	Bill Clinton	--	--
4	Issues related to elderly	3	*
4	Drugs/Alcohol	7	2
3	Health care/Cost, availability of health care	4	11
2	Deficit/National debt/Balanced budget	5	8
2	Poverty	3	2
2	Inflation/Difference between wages/Costs	2	2
2	Too much foreign aid/Spend money at home	2	2
1	Racism	1	*
1	Welfare abuse	3	1
1	Taxes	4	2
1	Other social issues	2	--
1	Environment/Pollution	1	*
1	Other defense issues	1	--
1	Homelessness	2	3
1	Terrorism	*	--
*	Other domestic issues	1	--
--	Other	5	4
*	None	*	--
1	Don't know/No answer	11	4
<b>27</b>	<b>ECONOMIC (NET)</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>DEFENSE/INTERNATIONAL (NET)</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>POVERTY/HOMELESS (NET)</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>

**ASK ALL:**

Q.22 Generally what is more important to you this year... **(READ)?**

		Oct <u>1994</u>
22	Having new faces in office OR Having experienced people who know how the government works	31
66	Don't know/Refused	57
<u>12</u>		<u>12</u>
100		100



Q.23 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")

**ALWAYS ASK PEOPLE (items d - j) SECOND; ROTATE ITEMS WITHIN GROUPS. OBSERVE FORM DIFFERENCES: [FORM 1 N=768; FORM 2 N=764]**

		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.	The Republican Party	9	43	28	14	0	6=100
	Early September, 1998	9	48	27	10	*	6=100
	March, 1998	9	41	33	12	*	5=100
b.	The Democratic Party	11	45	29	9	*	6=100
	Early September, 1998	12	47	26	9	*	6=100
	March, 1998	15	44	25	11	*	5=100
c.	The Congress	7	55	25	8	0	5=100
	Early September, 1998	7	60	24	4	0	5=100
d.	Bill Clinton	15	37	20	24	0	4=100
	Early September, 1998	17	37	19	25	0	2=100
	Late August, 1998	18	34	19	28	0	1=100
	March, 1998	22	38	20	17	0	3=100
e.F1	Hillary Clinton	24	34	18	18	*	6=100
	Early September, 1998	25	38	19	14	0	4=100
	Late August, 1998	25	38	20	14	*	3=100
	March, 1998	27	38	18	14	*	3=100
f.F2	Al Gore	16	37	25	13	1	8=100
	Early September, 1998	12	43	24	14	1	6=100
	Late August, 1998	11	44	24	16	*	5=100
	March, 1998	18	41	19	12	2	8=100
g.F1	Newt Gingrich	8	33	26	23	1	9=100
	Early September, 1998	7	35	28	20	3	7=100
	Late August, 1998	5	38	33	19	2	3=100
	March, 1998	6	31	29	23	3	8=100
h.F2	Trent Lott	6	24	18	9	24	19=100
	Early September, 1998	5	24	18	5	31	17=100
	March, 1998	3	15	12	8	47	15=100

**Q.23 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 <u>Rate</u>
i.F1	Kenneth Starr	13	23	22	34	2	6=100
	Early September, 1998	8	25	25	31	5	6=100
	Late August, 1998	8	25	24	34	3	6=100
	March, 1998	6	18	25	27	14	10=100
	<i>Gallup</i> , January 1998 <sup>10</sup>		24		24	29	23=100

**ONLY ASKED OCT 16-18: [N=479]**

j.F2	Secretary of State Madeleine Albright	21	47	12	5	4	11=100
	January, 1997	14	46	12	3	7	18=100

**Q.24 Which of these best describes you... (READ)**

		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Late Aug <u>1998</u>	Early Feb <u>1998</u>
26	I like Bill Clinton personally and I like his policies, OR	30	32	40
41	I don't like Bill Clinton personally but I like his policies, OR	38	35	30
27	I don't like Bill Clinton personally and I don't like his policies	27	28	24
2	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> I like Bill Clinton personally but I don't like his policies	2	2	3
<u>4</u>	Don't Know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

On another subject...

**Q.25 Compared to recent Congresses, would you say THIS Congress has accomplished more, accomplished less, or accomplished about the same amount?**

		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Early Aug <u>1998</u>	Nov <u>1997</u>
24	More	24	18	25
23	Less	17	15	13
49	Same	55	62	59
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

<sup>10</sup>

Gallup trend based on total respondents.

**IF ANSWERED “LESS” ASK: [N=366]**

Q.26 Who do you think is most to blame for this... Republican leaders in Congress, Democratic leaders in Congress, or President Clinton?

		Early Sept 1998
53	Republican leaders	42
5	Democratic leaders	6
19	President Clinton	18
19	Some combination (VOL)	30
<u>4</u>	Don't Know/Refused	<u>4</u>
100		100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.27 Now I'm going to read some things that have been in news recently. Please tell me how important each item is for the country... very important, fairly important, not too important or not at all important. First, how important for the country is (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE)? Is this very important, fairly important, not too important or not at all important?

**INTERVIEWER: OBSERVE FORM DIFFERENCES: [FORM 1 N=768; FORM 2 N=764]**

		Very <u>Important</u>	Fairly <u>Important</u>	Not too <u>Important</u>	Not at all <u>Important</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
a.F1	Government efforts to regulate the sale of tobacco products	37	21	25	16	1=100
	June, 1998	41	28	18	11	2=100
b.F2	Reforming the campaign finance laws	48	35	12	2	3=100
	June, 1998	51	33	12	3	1=100
c.F1	The debate in Washington about regulating health maintenance organizations (HMOs) and managed health care plans	66	23	6	3	2=100
	June, 1998	69	24	4	3	0=100
d.	The investigation into the relationship between President Clinton and Monica Lewinsky	19	13	22	44	2=100
	June, 1998	18	16	18	47	1=100
e.	The outcome of the 1998 congressional elections and specifically which party controls Congress	55	29	10	3	3=100
	June, 1998	52	32	12	3	1=100
f.F2	The debate in Washington over whether to use the federal budget surplus for tax cuts or to insure the financial stability of the Social Security system	77	19	1	2	1=100
g.F1	Proposals in Congress to cut taxes for middle class Americans	63	27	7	2	1=100
h.F2	U.S. efforts to ease the global economic crisis and keep the U.S. economy strong	74	21	2	2	1=100

**ASK ALL:**

On another subject...

Q.28 Looking ahead, do you expect that at this time next year you will be financially better off than now, or worse off than now?

		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Jan <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1991</u>	May <u>1990</u>
59	Better off	66	56	46	41
17	Worse off	15	21	28	24
17	Same (VOL)	15	18	18	30
<u>7</u>	Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100

Q.29 A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be better than they are at present, or worse, or just about the same as now?

		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	May <u>1990</u>
16	Better	18	17
22	Worse	17	32
57	Same	62	45
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100

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

Q.30 How much confidence do you have in the Congress as a whole to come to the right decision about whether or not to impeach Bill Clinton and remove him from office — a great deal of confidence, a fair amount of confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all?

13	Great deal
35	Fair amount
29	Not too much
19	None at all
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.31 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)?

21	Very favorable
26	Mostly favorable
24	Mostly Unfavorable OR
25	Very unfavorable
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL)
100	

Q.32 Based on what you know at this point, do you think that Bill Clinton should or should not be impeached and removed from office?

32 Should be impeached

62 Should not

6 Don't know/Refused

100

**ROTATE Q.33 AND Q.34**

Thinking again about the Congress...

Q.33 Generally, do you think most Democratic members of Congress have been too loyal to President Clinton, loyal enough, OR do you think they should have shown more loyalty to him?

23 Dems. too loyal

42 Dems. have been loyal enough

27 Dems. should have shown more loyalty

8 Don't know/Refused

100

Q.34 Generally, do you think most Republican members of Congress have pushed too hard for the impeachment of President Clinton, not pushed hard enough, OR do you think they have acted in about the right way?

52 Reps. have pushed too hard

9 Reps. have not pushed hard enough

35 Reps. have acted in the right way

4 Don't know/Refused

100

Now, just one final question about the upcoming elections...

Q.35 Some people who plan to vote can't always get around to it on election day. With your own personal daily schedule in mind, rate the chances that you will vote in the U.S. House of Representatives election this November. Are you absolutely certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances about 50-50, less than 50-50, or don't you think you will vote in the House of Representatives election this November?

		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	June <u>1998</u>	-- ABC/Wash. Post -- <u>July 1990</u> <sup>11</sup>
68	Absolutely certain to vote	70	63	53
19	Will probably vote	19	19	21
7	Chances 50-50	8	14	15
2	Less than 50-50	1	2	4
3	Don't think will vote	2	2	6
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	*	*	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.36 And will the candidate's likely position on impeaching Bill Clinton be a factor in your vote, or won't this be a factor?

40	Yes, will be a factor
55	No, will not be a factor
<u>5</u>	DK/Refused
100	

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<sup>11</sup>

The ABC/Washington Post trend is based on total respondents. The question was worded "Some people have busier schedules than others. Because of this, some people who plan to vote can't always get around to it on election day. With your own personal daily schedule in mind, I'd like to rate the chances that you will vote in the U.S. House of Representatives election in November in the Congressional district where you live: are you absolutely certain to vote ..."