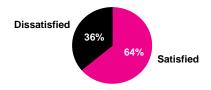
## **America's Views and Mood 1998**

Question: In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the United States at this time?

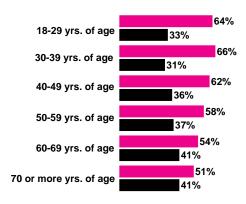
#### More Than Three-Fifths Said "Satisfied"



## More People of High Socioeconomic Status Than of Low Said "Satisfied"



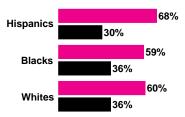
### More of the Young Than of the Old



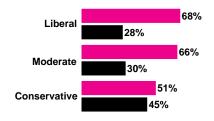
#### Men More Than Women



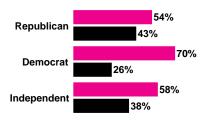
## Blacks and Hispanics As Much or More Than Whites



#### **Liberals More Than Conservatives**



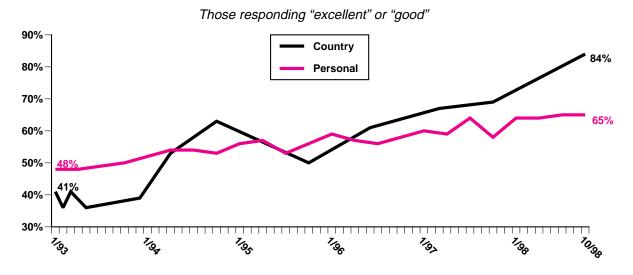
### **Democrats More Than Republicans**



**Note:** For all the combined Gallup surveys in this volume, the total unweighted n=21,889. For this one page, the n=6,361. **Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization, 21 combined from January 1998 through November 1998.

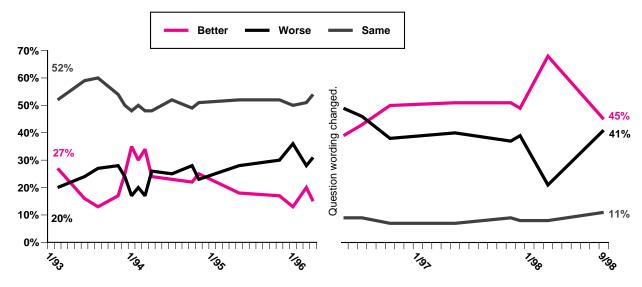
# The Public's Satisfaction With the National Economy Rose Sharply Between 1993 and 1998

**Questions**: How would you describe economic conditions in the country today—as being very good, fairly good, poor or very poor? Would you describe the state of your own personal finances these days as excellent, good, not so good or poor?



**Note**: The first asking in each month is shown here, when the question was asked more than once a month. **Source**: [Country question] Survey by Yankelovich Partners, Inc., for *Time*/CNN, latest that of October 14-15, 1998. [Personal finances question] Survey by ABC News, latest that of October 18-21, 1998.

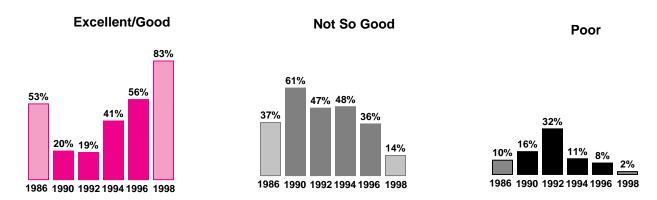
**Questions**: [1/93-4/96] Right now, do you think that economic conditions in the country as a whole are getting better, getting worse, or staying about the same? [5/96-9/98] Right now, do you think that economic conditions in the country as a whole are getting better or getting worse? ["Same" was a volunteered response.]



**Note**: The first asking in each month is shown here, when the question was asked more than once a month. **Source**: Surveys by the Gallup Organization for CNN/*USA Today*, latest that of September 1, 1998.

# Voters in 1998 Were Far More Positive About the Nation's Economy Than Were Voters in Preceding Elections

Question: Do you think the condition of the nation's economy is excellent, good, not so good, or poor?\*

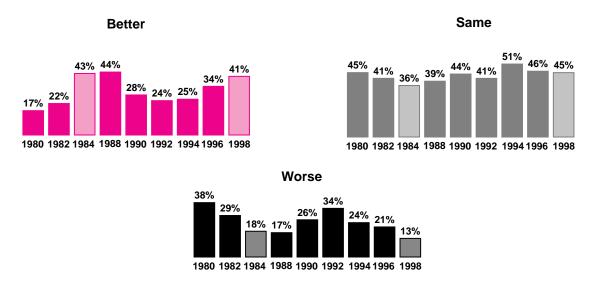


<sup>\*</sup>The 1986 asking by the ABC News exit poll, and the 1990 asking by VRS, introduced the question slightly differently.

**Source**: Surveys by ABC News, November 4, 1986; Voter Research and Surveys, November 6, 1990, November 3, 1992; and by Voters News Service, November 8, 1994, November 5, 1996 and November 3, 1998.

# Voters in 1998 Were Positive About Their Families' Financial Situation, Rivaling the Responses in 1984 and 1988

**Question**: Compared to a year [two years/four years] ago, is your family's financial situation better today, worse today, or about the same?\*



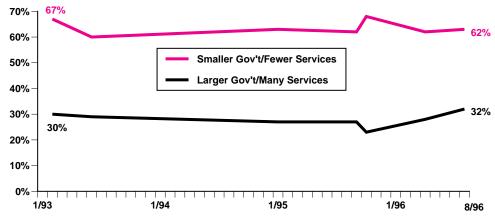
\*In 1980, the question introduction was "Compared to a year ago..."; thereafter, depending on whether it was a presidential year or an off-year election, the question introduction was phrased either "compared to four years ago..." or "compared to two years ago..."

**Source**: Surveys by CBS News/*New York Times*, November 4, 1980, November 2, 1982; NBC News, November 6, 1984; *Los Angeles Times*, November 8, 1988; Voter Research and Surveys, November 6, 1990, November 3, 1992; and Voter News Service, November 8, 1994, November 5, 1996, and November 3, 1998.

### Chapter 3

### **How Much Government? Still Yes to Less**

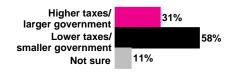
Question: Would you say you favor smaller government with fewer services, or larger government with many services?



Source: Surveys by ABC News/Washington Post, February 25-28, 1993; Los Angeles Times, June 12-14, 1993, January 19-22, 1995, September 16-18, 1995, October 27-30, 1995, April 13-16, 1996, ABC News/Washington Post, August 1-5, 1996.

**Question**: Which of the following statements do you agree with more: I'd rather pay higher taxes to support a larger government that provides more services, or I'd rather pay lower taxes and have a smaller government that provides fewer services?

**Question**: When it comes to the current size of the federal government, which statement comes closer to your view—the federal government is too big, the federal government is about the right size, or the federal government has been cut too much?



Too big

About the right size

Has been cut too much

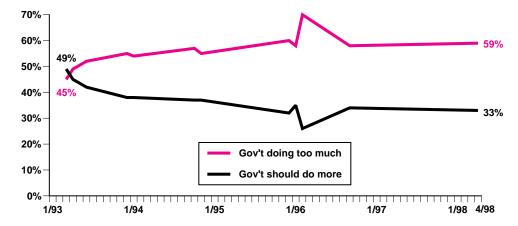
6%

58%

**Source**: Survey by Opinion Dynamics for Fox News, June 11-12, 1997.

**Source**: Survey by the Gallup Organization for CNN/USA Today, January 6-7, 1998.

**Question**: Some people think the government is trying to do too many things that should be left to individuals and businesses. Others think that government should do more to solve our country's problems. Which comes closer to your own view?



**Source**: Surveys by Gallup/CNN/*USA Today*, March 22-24, 1993, April 22-24, 1993, April 17-19, 1998; Yankelovich Partners/*Time*/CNN, June 17-21, 1993, February 24-27, 1996, September 12-17, 1996; Gallup/CNN/*USA Today*, December 17-19, 1993, January 15-17, 1994, October 22-25, 1994, November 2-26, 1994, December 15-18, 1995, January 12-15, 1996.

# Which Word in Each Pair Best Describes the Federal Government?

It's Certainly Not "Dumb" Or "Evil," But Too Often It's "Wasteful" and "Dishonest"

Question: For each pair of words, which word in the pair describes the federal government best?

#### (Ranked on Net Positive)

	Positiv	Positive Term Does		Negative Term Does		Total		
	Very well	Somewhat well	Neither/ No opinion	Somewhat well	Very well	Positive Term	Negative Term	Net Positive
Perceived motivations of								
the government								
Good or Evil	16 %	47 %	14 %	14 %	9%	63%	23 %	40 %
Democratic or Dictatorial	24	39	8	18	11	62	29	33
Kind or Cruel	15	44	14	18	11	59	29	30
Safe or Dangerous	18	37	8	22	15	55	37	18
Moral or Immoral	12	34	9	26	19	46	45	1
Helpful or Intrusive	9	35	8	27	21	44	48	-4
Ethical or Unethical	11	31	7	27	24	42	51	-9
Honest or Dishonest	6	33	12	28	21	39	49	-10
Perceived abilities of the								
government								
Intelligent or Dumb	29 %	41 %	8 %	13 %	9 %	71 %	22%	49%
Professional or Amateurish	26	38	7	18	11	64	29	35
Strong or Weak	29	33	8	19	11	62	30	32
Modern or Out-dated	21	35	7	23	14	56	37	19
Hard-working or Lazy	19	34	11	21	15	53	36	17
Other characteristics of the government								
Competent or Inept	16 %	38 %	9 %	23 %	14 %	53 %	37%	16%
Predictable or Unpredictable	27	28	2	21	21	55	42	13
Competent or Incompetent	16	37	6	25	17	53	41	12
Flexible or Rigid	13	34	3	29	18	47	47	0
Tough or Weak	14	29	10	30	17	43	47	-4
Efficient or Wasteful	6	15	5	28	46	21	74	-53

Source: Excerpted, with permission, from "The Federal Government: Able, But Immoral," a report of Market Strategies, Inc., 1998.

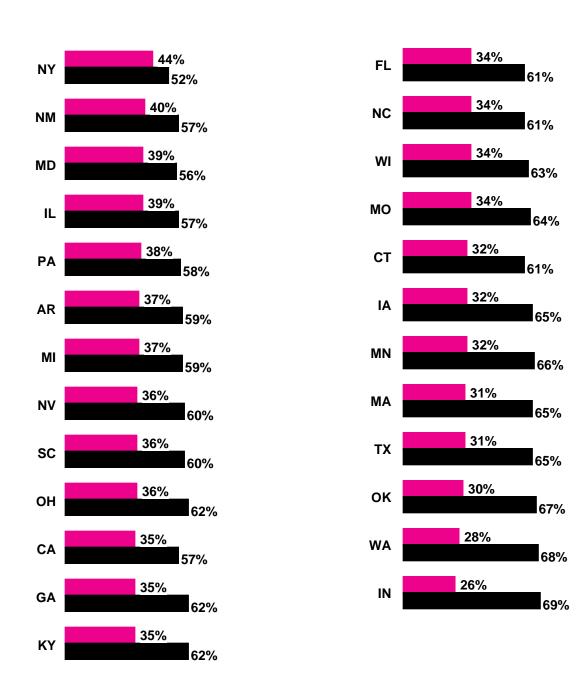
# A Rising Tide: Over the Course of 1998, Both President and Congress Got Relatively High Proportions Approving Their Job Performance

	Approve	
	President	Congress
By Gender		
Men	61%	54%
Women	65	51
By Race		
White	59%	53%
Black	88	49
Hispanic	73	49
By Age		
18-29	64%	57%
30-39	63	53
40-49	63	53
50-59	62	52
60-69	62	48
70+	62	45
By Education		
Less than HS	65%	46%
HS Grad	64	51
Some College	62	55
College Grad	60	58
Post Grad	62	54
By Region		
East	70%	56%
Midwest	62	51
South	60	53
West	61	50
By Party ID		
Democrat	87%	52%
Republican	35	58
Independent	63	49
By Ideology		
Liberal	80%	55%
Moderate	69	58
Conservative	46	56

**Question**: Do you approve or disapprove of the way... [President Clinton/Congress] is handling... [his/its] job? **Source**: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, 21 combined from January through November 1998.

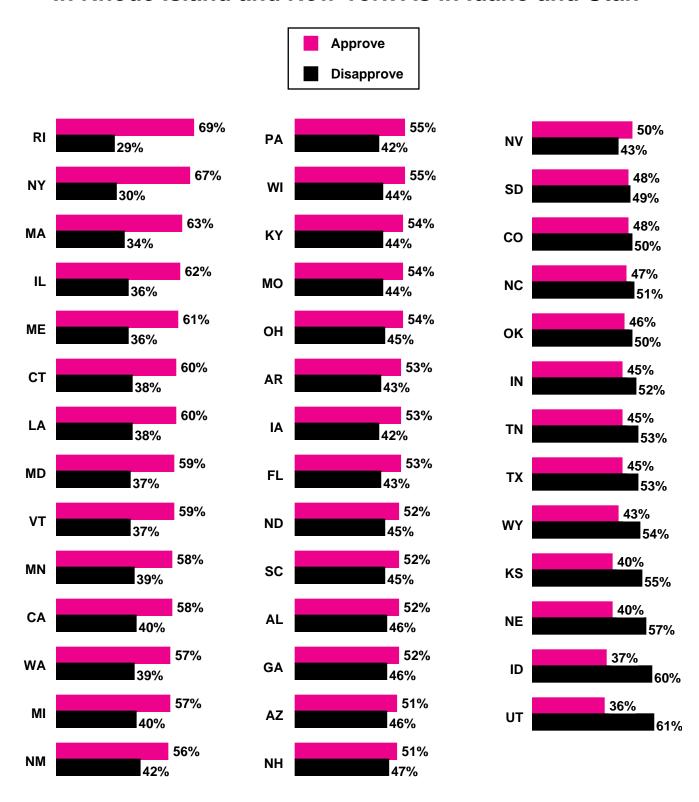
# Favorable to Clinton As a Person? "No" By Voters All Across the Country



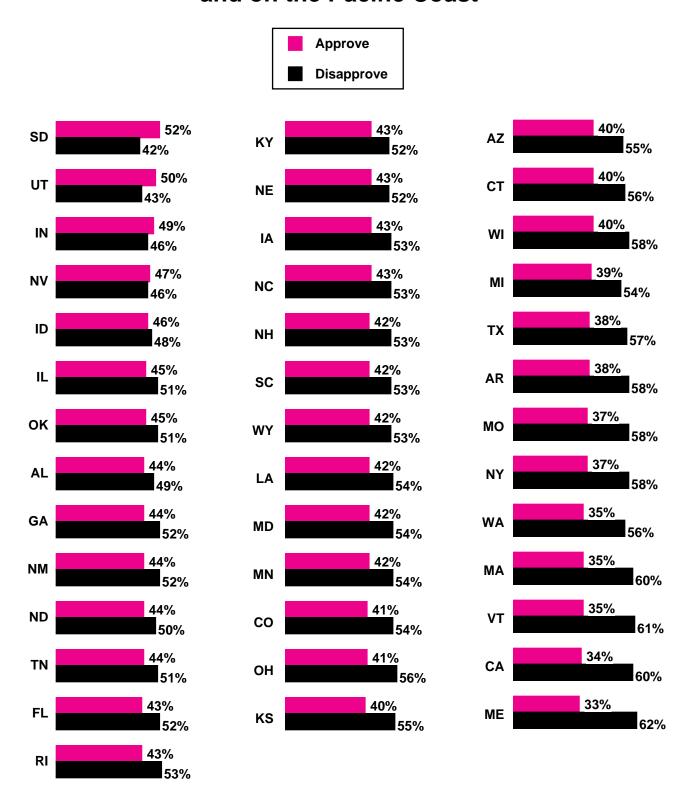


### Chapter 3

## Clinton's Job Performance: Percentages of 1998 Voters Saying They Approved Were Twice As High In Rhode Island and New York As in Idaho and Utah



# Congress's Job Performance: Percentages of 1998 Voters Disapproving Were Highest in the Northeast and on the Pacific Coast



# Rating Clinton: Way Up As "Effective Manager" and As One Who "Can Get Things Done;" Way Down on "Honest and Trustworthy"

**Question**: I'm going to read off some personal characteristics and qualities. As I read each one, please tell me whether you think it applies or doesn't apply to Bill Clinton....

Survey Date	Applies	Doesn't apply
Shares your values		
Aug. 21-23, 1998	36%	61%
Aug. 10-11, 1998	43%	54%
Aug. 5-7, 1996	51%	45%
June 18-19, 1996	53%	43%
March 15-17, 1996	47%	51%
Jan. 12-15, 1996	44%	53%
Feb. 3-5, 1995	45%	50%
Dec. 2-5, 1994	41%	56%
July 15-17, 1994	40%	56%
April 22-24, 1994	44%	50%
March 7-8, 1994	49%	47%
Jan. 28-30, 1994	53%	42%
Jan. 15-17, 1994	44%	52%
Nov. 2-4, 1993	49%	48%
Aug. 8-10, 1993	46%	51%
April 22-24, 1993	53%	42%

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Survey Date	Applies	Doesn't apply
Can get things done		
Aug. 21-23, 1998	76%	22%
Aug. 10-11, 1998	76%	22%
Aug. 7-8, 1998	76%	22%
March 20-22, 1998	77%	21%
Feb. 24-26, 1997	60%	34%
Oct. 26-29, 1996	65%	31%
Aug. 5-7, 1996	55%	41%
March 15-17, 1996	48%	50%
Jan. 12-15, 1996	41%	56%
Feb. 3-5, 1995	45%	51%
Dec. 2-5, 1994	45%	53%
Sept. 6-7, 1994	42%	54%
July 15-17, 1994	43%	54%
April 22-24, 1994	52%	44%
March 7-8, 1994	57%	39%
Jan. 28-30, 1994	64%	31%
Jan. 15-17, 1994	62%	33%
Jan. 6-8, 1994	63%	35%
Nov. 19-21, 1993	66%	30%
Nov. 2-4, 1993	49%	46%
Oct. 8-10, 1993	56%	38%
Aug. 8-10, 1993	46%	49%
June 29-30, 1993	46%	49%

Survey Date	Applies	Doesn't apply
Cares about the needs of people like you		
Aug. 21-23, 1998	62%	36%
Aug. 10-11, 1998	65%	33%
Aug. 5-7, 1996	62%	36%
June 18-19, 1996	64%	32%
March 15-17, 1996	57%	41%
Jan. 12-15, 1996	56%	42%
Dec. 2-5, 1994	54%	44%
Jan. 28-30, 1994	65%	32%
July 15-17, 1994	51%	47%
April 22-24, 1994	55%	41%
March 7-8, 1994	60%	38%
Jan. 15-17, 1994	53%	43%
June 5-6, 1993	56%	41%
April 22-24, 1993	64%	33%

Survey Date	Applies	Doesn't apply
Honest and trustworthy		
Aug. 21-23, 1998	31%	67%
Aug. 10-11, 1998	34%	62%
Oct. 26-29, 1996	45%	50%
Aug. 5-7, 1996	45%	51%
June 18-19, 1996	46%	49%
March 15-17, 1996	45%	52%
Jan. 12-15, 1996	40%	55%
Feb. 3-5, 1995	46%	49%
Dec. 2-5, 1994	44%	53%
July 15-17, 1994	39%	56%
April 22-24, 1994	46%	49%
March 7-8, 1994	48%	47%
Jan. 15-17, 1994	53%	41%
Jan. 6-8, 1994	49%	46%
Nov. 19-21, 1993	54%	41%
Nov. 2-4, 1993	56%	39%
Oct. 8-10, 1993	59%	35%
Aug. 8-10, 1993	51%	43%
June 5-6, 1993	56%	38%
April 22-24, 1993	61%	35%

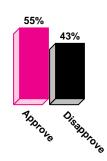
Survey Date	Applies	Doesn't apply	
Keeps his promises	s		
Feb. 24-26, 1997	43%	49%	
Jan. 12-15, 1996	33%	61%	
July 15-17, 1994	30%	67%	
April 22-24, 1994	37%	57%	
March 7-8, 1994	40%	54%	
Jan. 28-30, 1994	45%	48%	
Jan. 15-17, 1994	35%	60%	
Nov. 2-4, 1993	38%	57%	
Aug. 8-10, 1993	33%	63%	
April 22-24, 1993	44%	51%	

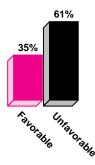
Survey Date	Applies	Doesn't apply
Effective manager		
March 20-22, 1998	72%	23%
Jan. 12-15, 1996	42%	55%
March 7-8, 1994	49%	46%
Jan. 15-17, 1994	58%	37%
Nov. 19-21, 1993	55%	40%
Nov. 2-4, 1993	50%	45%
Aug. 8-10, 1993	45%	50%

# What 1998 Voters Said About Bill Clinton and Congress's Investigation of His Conduct

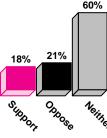
**Question**: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?

**Question**: Is your opinion of Bill Clinton as a person favorable or unfavorable?





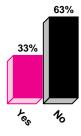
**Question**: Was one reason for your vote for Congress today to express support for Bill Clinton, to express opposition to Bill Clinton, or was Clinton not a factor?

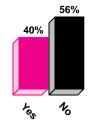


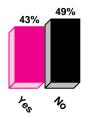
**Question**: Should Congress impeach Bill Clinton and remove him from office?

**Question**: Should Bill Clinton resign from office?

**Question**: Should Congress censure Bill Clinton?

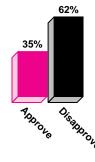


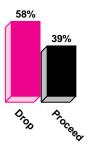




**Question**: Do you approve or disapprove of the way the Republicans in Congress have handled the Clinton/Lewinsky matter?

**Question**: Do you think Congress should proceed with impeachment hearings or drop the whole matter?





### Chapter 3

# One-Third of Election '98 Voters Who Had Backed Clinton in '96 Said They Now Had an Unfavorable View of Him "As a Person"

	Voted for Clinton in 1996/ Favorable to him as person	Voted for Clinton in 1996/ Unfavorable to him as person	Voted for Dole, Perot, or another in 1996/ Favorable to him as person	Voted for Dole, Perot, or another in 1996/ Unfavorable to him as person
Everyone	33%	18%	4%	45%
By Party ID Democrat Republican Independent	64% 6 25	26% 7 21	2% 4 8	8% 83 47
By Ideology Liberal Moderate Conservative	55% 36 12	29% 21 7	3% 6 3	13% 37 78
By Race/Ethnicity White Black Hispanic	26% 80 39	18% 11 21	4% 4 5	52% 5 35
Whites by Region East Midwest South West	32% 25 20 27	20% 19 14 20	5% 4 4 5	44% 52 62 49
<b>By Gender</b> Men Women	30% 36	14% 21	5% 4	51% 40
By Education Less than HS HS Grad Some College College Grad Post Grad	44% 40 31 26 32	13% 14 18 19 21	5% 5 5 4 2	37% 41 46 50 45
By Age 18-29 30-44 45-59 60+	31% 32 33 34	22% 18 18 15	3% 5 5 3	44% 45 43 48

**Questions**: Respondents were asked how they had voted for president in 1996; and "Is your opinion of Bill Clinton as a person favorable or unfavorable?"

# More Than One-Third of Election '98 Voters Who Said They Approved Clinton's Job Performance Disapproved of Him "As a Person"

	Approve job/ Favorable to him as person	Approve job/ Unfavorable to him as person	Disapprove job/ Favorable to him as person	Disapprove job/ Unfavorable to him as person
Everyone	35%	21%	2%	42%
By Party ID				
Democrat	63%	25%	2%	10%
Republican	9	15	1	75
Independent	31	25	2	43
By Ideology				
Liberal	56%	29%	2%	13%
Moderate	40	24	2	35
Conservative	13	12	2	73
By Race/Ethnicity				
White	28%	22%	2%	48%
Black	80	11	3	6
Hispanic	43	19	3	35
Whites by Region				
East	34%	23%	2%	41%
Midwest	27	22	2	49
South	22	19	1	58
West	30	26	1	43
By Gender				
Men	33%	19%	2%	46%
Women	37	23	2	38
By Education				
Less than HS	45%	20%	3%	31%
HS Grad	41	19	3	37
Some College	33	21	2	44
College Grad	30	22	1	47
Post Grad	34	24	1	41
By Age				
18-29	32%	25%	2%	41%
30-44	35	20	2	43
45-59	37	22	2	39
60+	35	19	1	45

**Questions:** Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?; Is your opinion of Bill Clinton as a person favorable or unfavorable?

### Clinton's Conduct: What Should Be Done?

### **Pre-election Gallup Polls**

What should the consequences for President Clinton be: (a) impeached and removed from office, (b) resignation, and/or (c) formal censure; or (d) none of these?

Everyone	Do Something <sup>1</sup>	Do Nothing <sup>2</sup>	Remove Him From Office <sup>3</sup>	Don't Remove Him From Office <sup>4</sup> 62%	Censure Only⁵
By Party ID					
Democrat	51%	49%	16%	85%	35%
Republican Independent	87 68	13 32	68 38	32 62	19 30
шаерепаетт	00	32	30	02	30
By Ideology					
Liberal	55%	45%	18%	82%	37%
Moderate	77	23	37	63	39
Conservative	73	27	50	50	23
Dy Dood/Ethnicity					
By Race/Ethnicity White	72%	28%	43%	57%	28%
Black	41	59	8	92	32
Hispanic	56	44	26	74	31
Поратно	30	77	20	7 -	31
Whites by Region					
East	69%	31%	35%	65%	35%
Midwest	70	30	42	58	27
South	75	25	51	49	23
West	72	28	43	57	29
By Gender					
Men	69%	31%	41%	59%	28%
Women	65	35	35	65	30
***************************************		00	00	00	-
By Education					
Less than HS	49%	51%	27%	73%	22%
HS Grad	64	36	37	63	28
Some College	68	32	39	61	29
College Grad	74	26	45	55	28
Post Grad	76	24	41	59	35
By Age					
18-29	65%	35%	38%	62%	27%
30-39	68	32	40	60	28
40-49	66	34	37	63	28
50-59	69	31	39	61	30
60-69	68	32	38	62	30
70+	66	34	34	66	32

**Questions:** (a) Based on what you know at this point, do you think that Bill Clinton should or should not be impeached and removed from office?; (b) Do you think Bill Clinton should or should not resign now and turn the presidency over to Al Gore?; (c) Rather than removing President Clinton from office, do you think Congress should or should not resolve this matter by voting to censure Clinton—that is, pass a formal resolution expressing disapproval of his actions?

Notes: ¹Yes to at least one of (a), (b), and (c); ²No to (a), (b), and (c); ³Yes to (a) and/or (b); ⁴No to (a) and (b); ⁵Yes to (c) and no to (a) and (b). Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, January-November 1998 combined.

### Clinton's Conduct: What Should Be Done?

### 1998 Voters' Responses

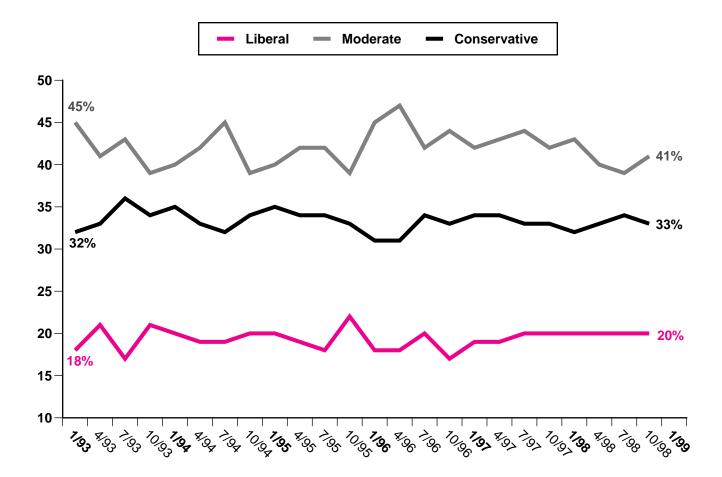
What should the consequences for President Clinton be: (a) impeached and removed from office, (b) resignation, and/or (c) formal censure; or (d) none of these?

Remove Him Don't Remove							
	Do Something <sup>1</sup>	Do Nothing <sup>2</sup>		Him From Office⁴	Censure Only <sup>5</sup>		
Everyone	63%	38%	42%	58%	20%		
By Party ID							
Democrat	39%	61%	14%	86%	25%		
Republican	86	14	73	27	13		
Independent	66	34	45	55	22		
пасрепасті	00	<b>5</b> 4	40	55	22		
By Ideology							
Liberal	40%	60%	18%	82%	22%		
Moderate	59	41	33	67	26		
Conservative	83	17	74	26	10		
By Race/Ethnicity							
White	68%	33%	47%	53%	21%		
Black	28	72	12	88	16		
Hispanic	59	41	40	60	20		
Military Law Booking							
Whites by Region	000/	200/	200/	040/	000/		
East	62%	38%	39%	61%	23%		
Midwest	67 75	33	50 50	51	18		
South		25	58	42	17		
West	66	34	40	60	26		
By Gender							
Men	66%	34%	46%	54%	21%		
Women	59	42	39	61	20		
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By Education							
Less than HS	50%	50%	33%	67%	17%		
HS Grad	55	45	41	59	14		
Some College	62	38	42	59	21		
College Grad	68	33	46	54	21		
Post Grad	68	32	41	59	27		
By Age							
18-29	61%	39%	47%	53%	14%		
30-44	62	38	45	56	18		
45-59	62	39	40	60	22		
60+	65	35	40	60	25		

**Questions:** (a) Should Congress impeach Bill Clinton and remove him from office?; (b) Should Bill Clinton resign from office?; (c) Should Congress censure Bill Clinton?

Notes: ¹Yes to at least one of (a), (b), and (c); ²No to (a), (b), and (c); ³Yes to (a) and/or (b); ⁴No to (a) and (b); ⁵Yes to (c) and no to (a) and (b) Source: Surveys by Voter News Service exit poll, 1998.

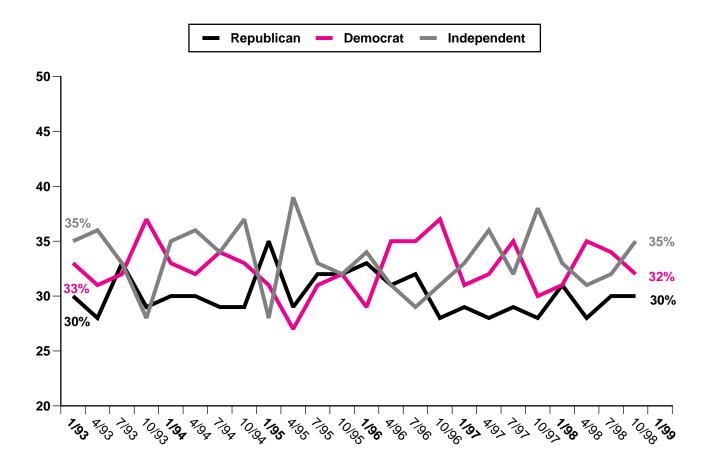
## The Numbers Describing Themselves As Liberal, Moderate, or Conservative Have Remained Constant in the 1990s



Note: The first asking in each quarter is shown here.

Source: Surveys by CBS News and CBS News/New York Times, latest that of June 7-9, 1998.

## The Numbers Describing Themselves as Democrats, Republicans, or Independents Have Fluctuated Within a Very Narrow Range



Note: The first asking in each quarter is shown here.

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization for CNN/USA Today, latest that of October 23-25, 1998.

## **Party Identification By Social Group**

	Republican	Democrat	Independent
By Gender	-		-
Men	32%	29%	39%
Women	29	40	31
By Gender and Education			
Men			
Less than HS	25	38	37
HS Grad	28	32	40
Some College	35	26	40
College Grad	42	24	34
Post Grad	35	27	38
Women			
Less than HS	21	51	28
HS Grad	29	39	32
Some College	31	38	31
College Grad	32	39	29
Post Grad	28	41	32
By Race			
Whites	34	31	35
Blacks	7	66	26
Hispanics	19	43	38
By Race and Age			
Whites			
18-29	31	24	44
30-49	36	28	36
50+	34	36	30
Blacks			
18-29	10	51	39
30-49	8	65	27
50+	4	82	14
Hispanics			
18-29	15	35	49
30-49	23	45	32
50+	17	62	21
By Age			
18-29	26	29	44
30-39	33	32	35
40-49	30	35	35
50-59	30	36	35
60-69	32	41	27
70+	33	46	21
By Education			
Less than HS	23	45	33
HS Grad	28	36	36
Some College	33	32	35
College Grad	37	31	32
Post Grad	32	33	35
i ost Grau	32	33	30

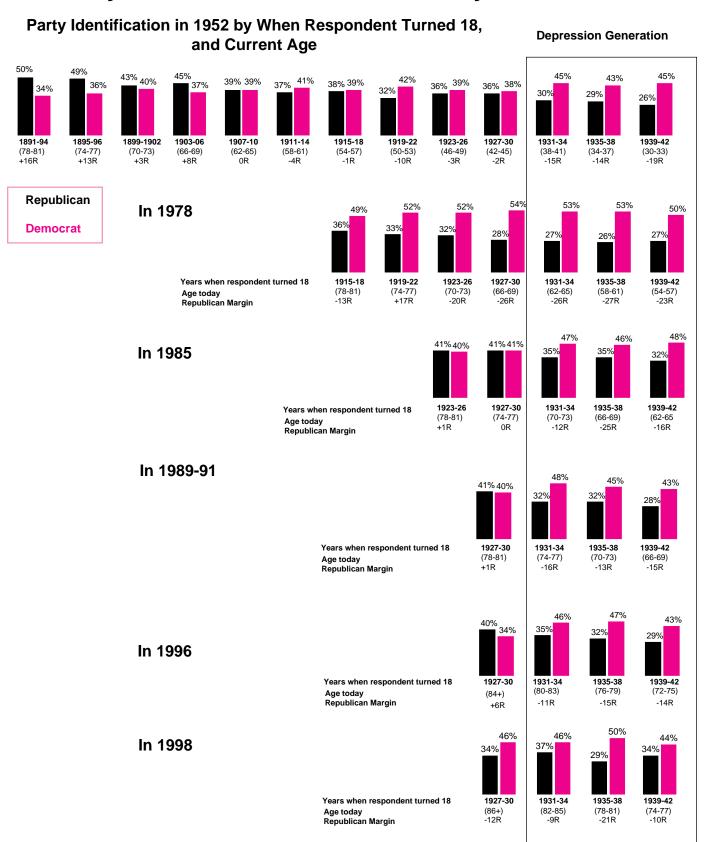
**Source**: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, 21 combined January through November 1998.

## The Gender Gap in Party Identification Persists— Differences By Income Are Substantial

	Republican	Democrat	Independent
By Income			
Less than \$20,000	21%	44%	35%
\$20,000-\$29,999	26	40	35
\$30,000-\$49,999	31	34	35
\$50,000-\$74,999	35	30	35
\$75,000+	44	25	32
By Region			
East	27	37	36
Midwest	29	34	37
South	32	35	33
West	33	34	34
Whites, By Region			
East	30	33	37
Midwest	32	30	38
South	37	29	33
West	38	30	33
By Region and Age			
East			
18-29	20	33	47
30-39	30	34	36
40-49	27	38	36
50-59	26	37	37
60-69	31	40	29
70+	30	50	20
Midwest			
18-29	25	28	47
30-39	32	30	39
40-49	29	33	38
50-59	25	36	39
60-69	28	42	30
70+	35	42	23
South			
18-29	31	28	41
30-39	34	33	33
40-49	32	35	33
50-59	32	35	32
60-69	32	45	23
70+	31	47	22
West			
18-29	27	29	44
30-39	35	32	34
40-49	32	35	34
50-59	34	34	32
60-69	36	35	29
70+	37	43	20

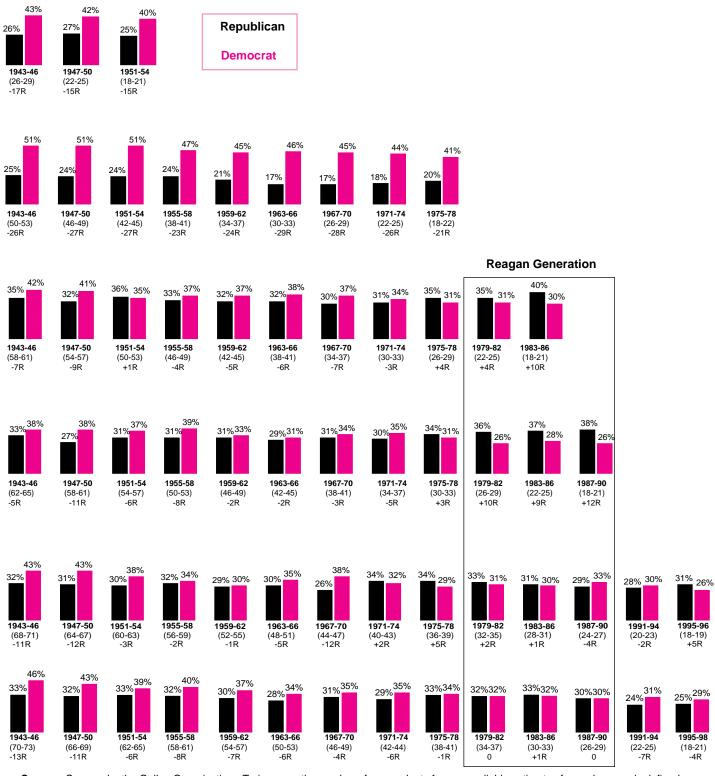
**Source**: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, 21 combined January through November, 1998.

# Partisan Commitment... At Every Point Since the New Deal, Party Identification...



# ... As Electoral Backdrop ... Reflects Time When Voters Entered the Electorate

The Depression Generation is Still the Democrats' Best, the Reagan Generation the Republicans' Best



**Source**: Surveys by the Gallup Organization. To increase the number of respondents for more reliable estimates for each narrowly defined age group, a number of surveys were combined in each of the six years shown.