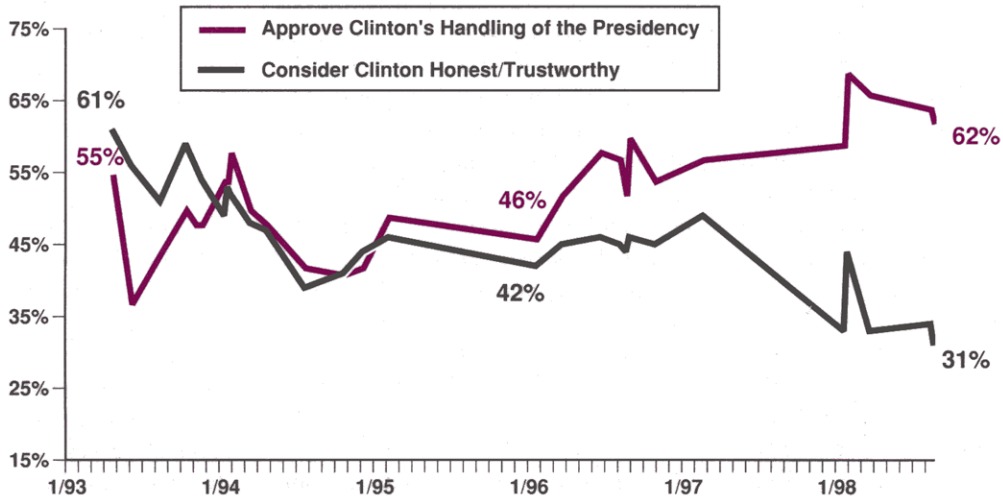


As the Scandals Have Persisted, Clinton's Standing On Matters of Integrity Has Plunged

Question 1: Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Clinton is handling his job as president?

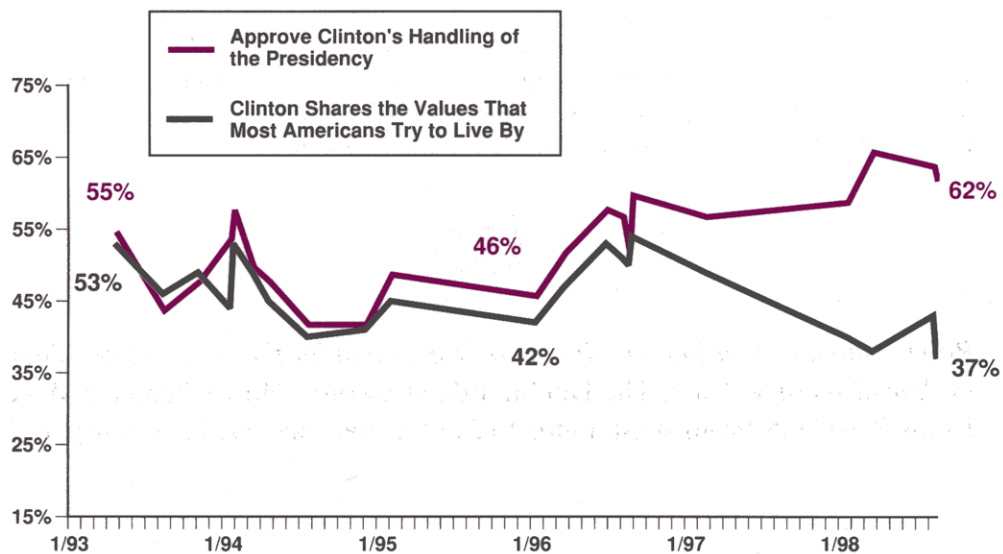
Question 2: ...I'm going to read off some personal characteristics and qualities. ...[P]lease tell me whether you think it applies or doesn't apply to Bill Clinton... "honest and trustworthy"... "shares your values"?

...Honest and Trustworthy?



Note: The "honest and trustworthy" and "shares your values" questions were sometimes asked in different polls; hence, the dates for the datapoints in the two graphs are not the same.

...Shares Your Values?



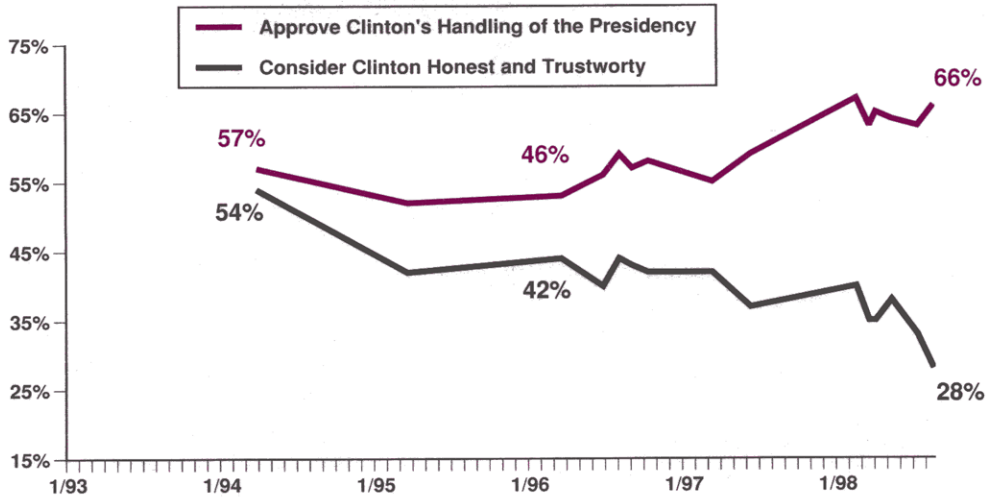
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of August 21-23, 1998.

A Growing "Character Gap"

Question 1: Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Clinton is handling his job as president?

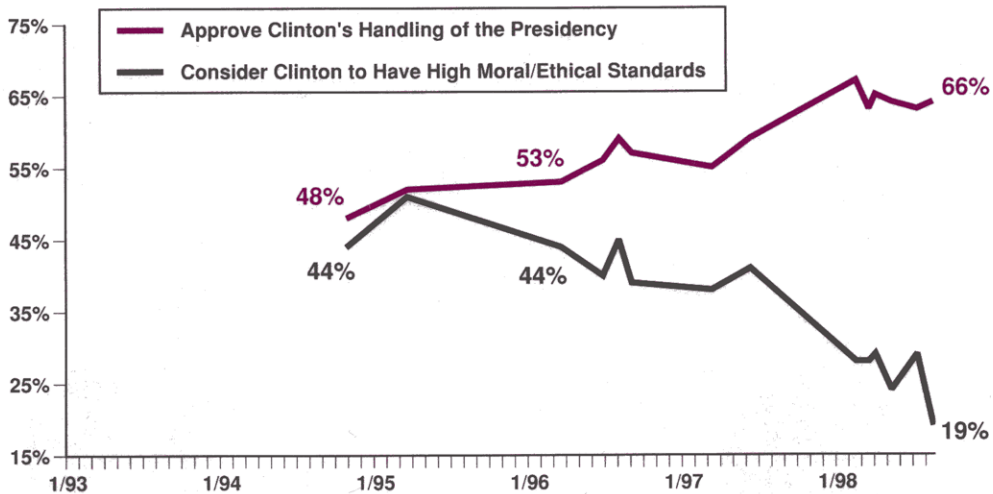
Question 2: I'm going to read you some statements. ...[P]lease tell me whether or not each applies to Clinton... "He is honest and trustworthy"... "He has high personal moral and ethical standards."

...Honest and Trustworthy?



Note: The "honest and trustworthy" and "high personal moral and ethical standards" questions were sometimes asked in different polls; hence, the dates for the datapoints in the two graphs are not the same.

...High Personal Moral and Ethical Standards?



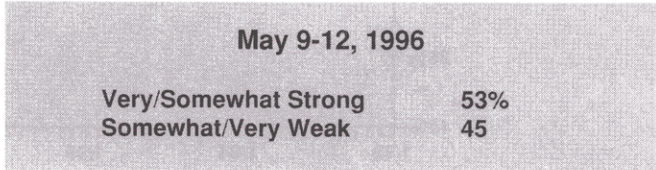
Source: Surveys by ABC News/Washington Post, latest that of August 21, 1998.

The President is Supposed to Provide Moral Leadership

Question: How important do you think it is for the president to provide moral leadership for the country...?



Question: Overall, what kind of moral leadership do you think Bill Clinton provides as President...?

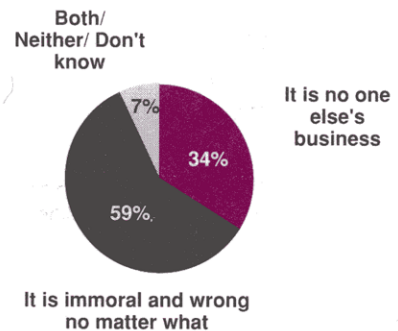
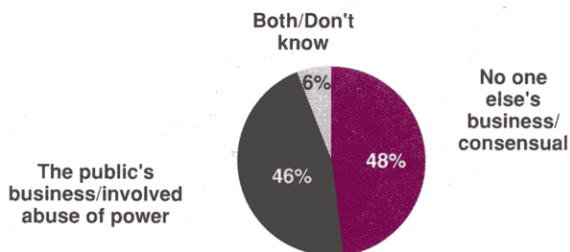


Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, September 14-15, 1998.

Casting Doubts on the Distinction Between Public and Private Conduct

Question: ...[W]hich statement would you say best describes your views on the President's relationship with Monica Lewinsky: The relationship is no one else's business because it was consensual or the relationship is the public's business because it involved an abuse of power by the president?

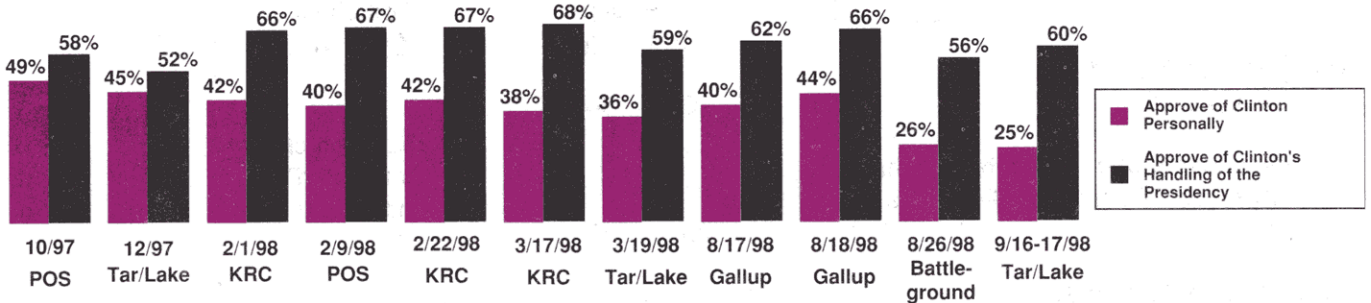
Question: ...Please tell me which...[statement] comes closest to your own view: The President's relationship with Monica Lewinsky is an issue between Hillary Clinton and her husband. As long as she is okay, it is no one else's business; the president's relationship with Monica Lewinsky is immoral and wrong no matter what Hillary Clinton says publicly?



Source: Survey by Lake Snell Perry & Associates/The Tarrance Group for *US News and World Report*, September 16-17, 1998.

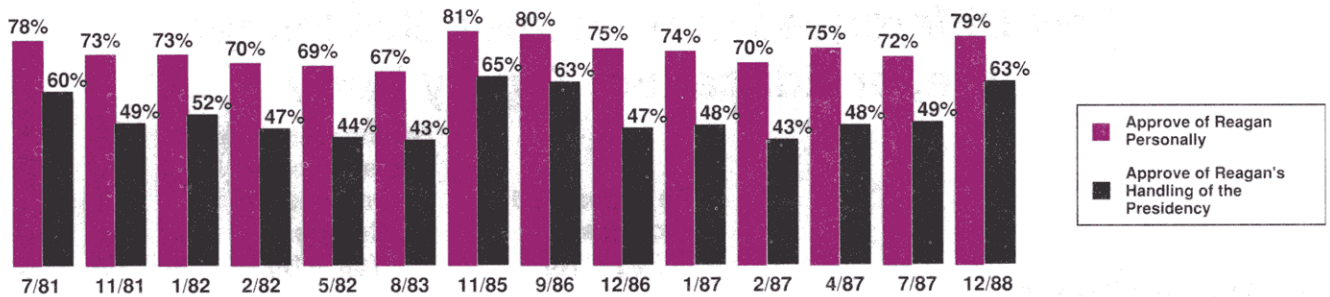
The Public's Assessments of Clinton Personally Have Consistently Lagged Far Behind His "Job Ratings,"

Question 1: Apart from whether you approve or disapprove of the way [Reagan/Clinton] is handling his job as President, what do you think of [Reagan/Clinton] as a person?... **Question 2:** Do you approve or disapprove of the way [Reagan/Clinton] is handling his job as president?



Note: Questions vary slightly for each organization. The question shown above is the standard wording posed by the Gallup Organization. **Source:** Surveys by Public Opinion Strategies (POS), The Tarrance Group/Lake, Sosin, Snell (Tar/Lake), KRC Research (KRC), the Gallup Organization, and the Battleground Poll.

The Precise Opposite Was True in Reagan's Presidency



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, except for 1/82, which was by ABC News/Washington Post.

Question: Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion of...[Ronald Reagan/George Bush/Bill Clinton]? (A) I like...personally, and I approve of most of his policies. (B) I like...personally, but I disapprove of many of his policies. (C) I don't like...personally, but I do approve of most of his policies. (D) I don't like...personally, and I disapprove of many of his policies.

	Reagan						Bush	Clinton							
	4/82	8/83	1/84	5/84	9/86	6/88	10/91	10/94	4/95	6/96	2/98	3/98	4/98	8/98	
	ABC/ WP	ABC/ WP	ABC/ WP	ABC/ WP	ABC/ WP	WP	NCB/ WSJ	NBC/ WSJ	NBC/ WSJ	NBC/ WSJ	Pew* News	US	NBC/ WSJ	Pew*	
Like/Approve	41%	38%	40%	39%	53%	38%	43%	31%	33%	36%	39%	36%	33%	33%	
Like/Disapprove	28	30	25	28	21	29	35	26	27	19	3	4	2	2	
Don't Like/Approve	9	9	13	11	9	10	7	9	12	14	30	22	45	35	
Don't Like/Disapprove	20	21	18	18	14	21	12	31	25	27	23	30	19	27	

*Question wording varied slightly: "Which of these best describes you...?"

**The question wording for NBC News/Wall Street Journal was: "I am going to read you four statements about Bill Clinton and the job he is doing as president. Please tell me which one of these statements best describes how you feel about Bill Clinton. (A) He is doing a good job as president, and I respect him personally; (B) He is doing a good job as president, but I do not respect him personally; (C) He is not doing a good job as president, but I respect him personally; or (D) He is not doing a good job as president, and I do not respect him personally."

The Public Says That Clinton's Conduct Merits Strong Congressional Action: Impeachment/Resignation, or Formal Censure

	Be Impeached or Resign		Be Impeached or Resign, or Be Censured by Congress	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Gallup Poll of 9/20-21/98				
All Respondents	46%	54%		
Respondents who said in the poll that they approved Clinton's handling of his job as President	23	77		
			Question on "censured" not asked.	
Gallup Poll of 9/23-24/98				
All Respondents	38	62	72%	28%
Respondents who said in the poll that they approved Clinton's handling of his job as President	14	86	57	43

Few Differences in Response By Gender, Age, or Education; Big By Party

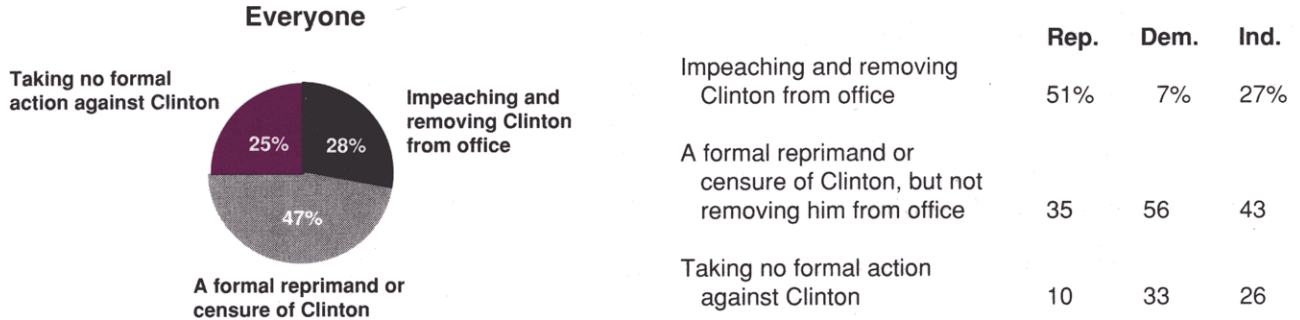
	Be Impeached or Resign		Be Impeached or Resign, or Be Censured by Congress	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Gallup Poll of 9/23-24/98				
By Gender				
Male	41%	59%	70%	30%
Female	35	65	73	27
By Age				
18-34	35%	65%	68%	32%
35-59	42	58	75	25
60+	33	67	70	30
By Education				
Less than High School	25%	75%	60%	40%
HS Grad	38	62	75	25
Some College+	45	55	73	27
By Party ID				
Republican	67%	33%	90%	10%
Democrat	13	87	57	43
Independent	39	61	67	33

Questions: Gallup asked three questions reported on here: (1) Based on what you know at this point, do you think that Bill Clinton should or should not be impeached and removed from office?; (2) Do you think Bill Clinton should or should not resign now and turn the presidency over to Al Gore?; and (3) 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, as well as require him to admit to perjury and pay a heavy fine for the costs of the investigation?

Note: Respondents are shown favoring action against the President if they responded affirmatively to one or more of the questions shown: That is, if they say they want impeachment and/or resignation (top half of chart); or favor impeachment, resignation, or severe censure (lower half of chart).

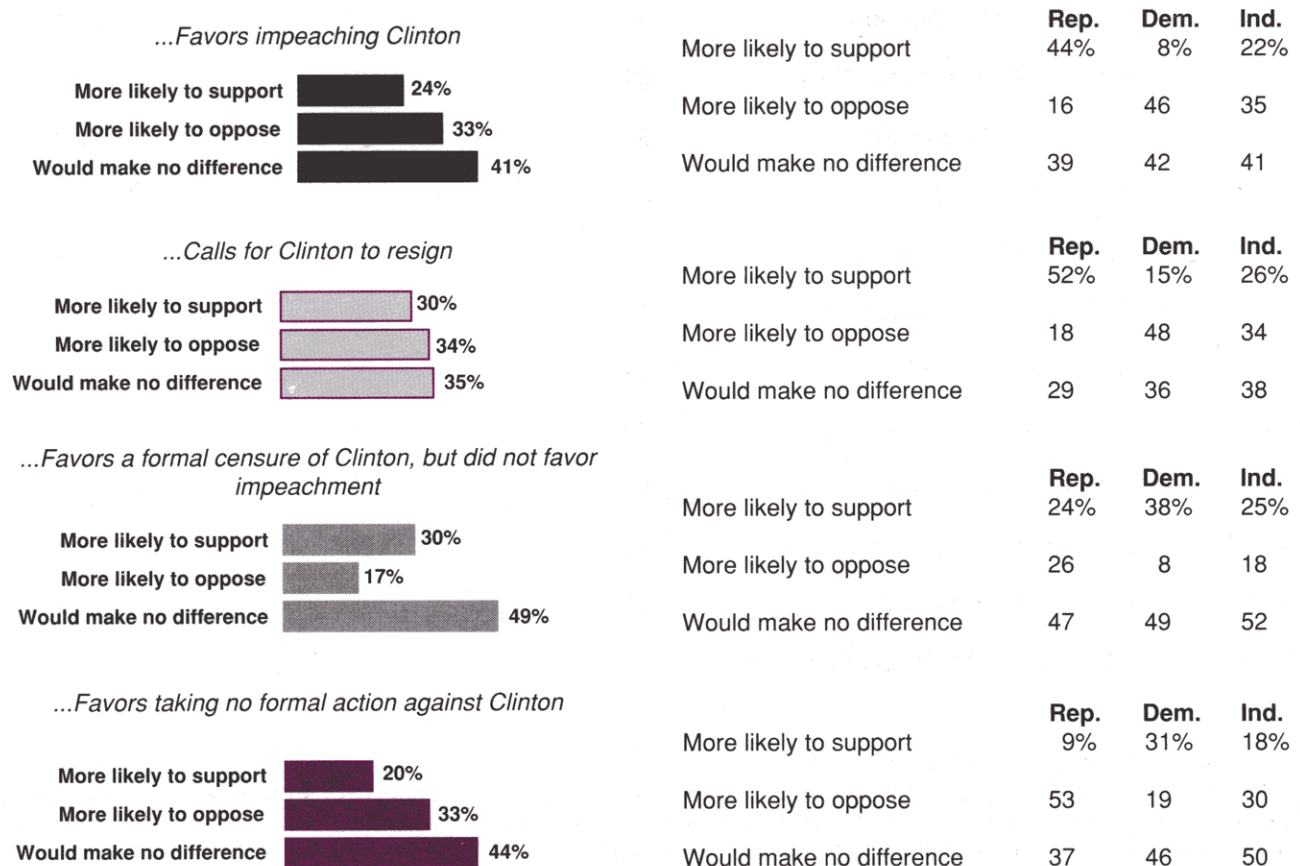
In September, Impeachment on the One Hand, and Taking No Action on the Other, Were Each Endorsed By Only 25-30% of the Public

Question: If the investigations into the Clinton-Lewinsky matter continue, what position would you prefer the US representative from your congressional district to take: (1) Favor impeaching and removing Clinton from office, (2) Favor a formal reprimand or censure of Clinton but not removing him from office, or (3) Favor taking no formal action against Clinton?



Big Partisan Differences

Question: Thinking about the elections in November, if your member of Congress..., would that make you more likely to support or to oppose your member of Congress in the November election, or would that make no difference to your vote?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, September 14-15, 1998.

Should Clinton Be Impeached and Compelled to Leave Office?

Date	Organization	Yes	No	Don't Know
2/4-5	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	19%	73%	8%
3/18-19	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	21	71	8
4/8-9	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	18	76	6
6/5-7	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	19	77	4
7/30	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	22	70	8
8/7-8	The Gallup Organization	23	75	2
8/10-11	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	23	75	2
8/17	The Gallup Organization	25	69	6
8/17	ABC News/Washington Post*	25	69	6
8/18	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	26	68	6
8/19	ABC News/Washington Post*	30	65	5
8/21-23	The Gallup Organization	30	67	3
8/23	ABC News/Washington Post	24	70	6
9/11-12	The Gallup Organization	30	64	6
9/11-13	Washington Post**	30	64	6
9/13	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	31	66	3
9/14	ABC News/Washington Post	38	59	3
9/16-17	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	29	67	4
9/20-21	The Gallup Organization	32	66	2
9/21	ABC News/Washington Post	41	57	2
9/23-24	The Gallup Organization	29	68	3
9/23-24	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	29	67	4
9/25-28	ABC News/Washington Post	31	66	3

*Question was prefaced with "If he does not resign..."

**The Washington Post posed the question as follows: "As you may know, the Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr has delivered a report to Congress summarizing his investigation of the Lewinsky matter. Based on what you know or have heard, do you think Congress should or should not impeach Clinton and remove him from office?"

Note: All other questions reported on here ask variants of the Gallup wording shown on the next page.

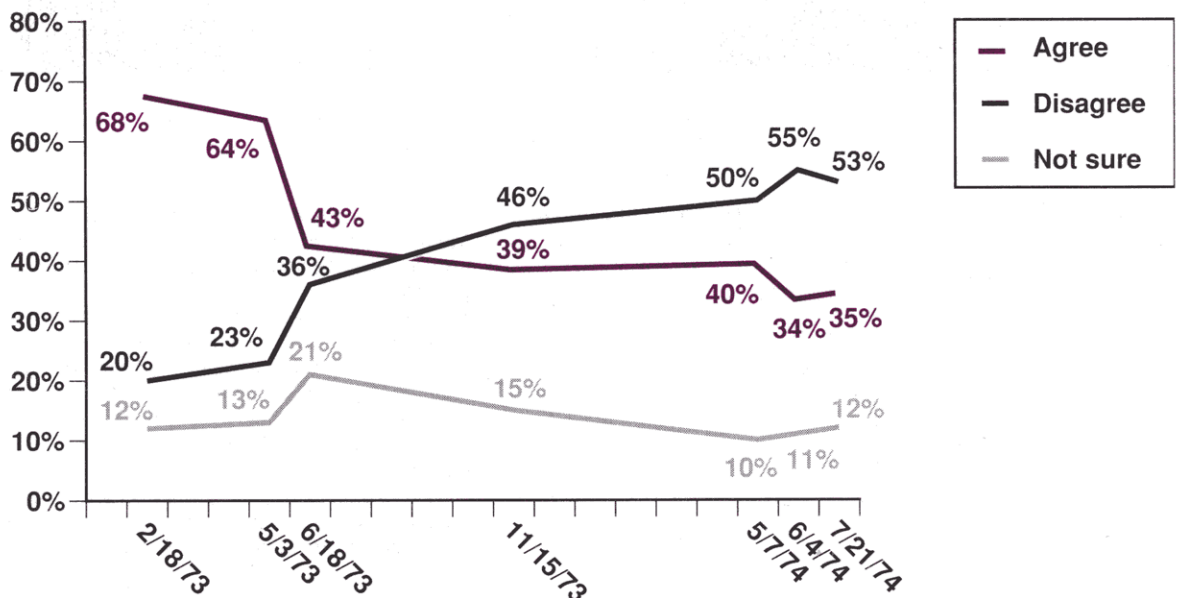
Watergate Revisited: Should Nixon Be Impeached and Compelled to Leave Office?

Date	Organization	Yes, should	No, should not	No opinion
1973				
6/22-25	Gallup	19%	70%	12%
7/6-9	Gallup	24	62	14
8/3-6	Gallup	26	60	13
8/17-20	Gallup	23	69	8
10/19-22	Gallup	33	52	15
10/26	Gallup	28	55	17
11/2-5	Gallup	38	53	9
11/30-12/3	Gallup	35	54	11
1974				
1/4-7	Gallup	37%	53%	10%
2/1-4	Gallup	38	51	11
3/24-29	Gallup	43	41	16
4/12-15	Gallup	46	42	13
5/2	Gallup	38	49	13
5/4-7	Louis Harris	49	41	10
6/1-4	Louis Harris	52	35	13

Questions: The Gallup Organization and Louis Harris & Associates asked the question in near-identical terms: "Do you think President Nixon should be impeached and compelled to leave the presidency..." (Gallup); and "Do you think President Nixon should or should not be impeached by Congress and removed from office?" (Harris).

On "Honesty and Integrity," Even at the End of His Presidency, Nixon's Standing Held Up Better Than Clinton's Has

Question: Do you tend to agree or disagree that President Nixon is a man of high integrity?



Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates, latest that of July 21, 1974.

There Were Big Differences in the Public's Response to the Nixon, As to the Clinton Scandals

Republicans Stayed With Nixon on Watergate

	Yes	No	No opinion
7/6-9/73	Question text below.		
Everyone	24%	62%	14%
Republicans	7%	84%	10%
Democrats	34%	50%	16%
Independents	29%	33%	29%
1/4-7/74	Question text below.		
Everyone	32%	46%	22%
Republicans	11%	68%	21%
Democrats	48%	32%	19%
Independents	30%	44%	26%
5/31-6/3/74	Question text below.		
Everyone	44%	42%	14%
Republicans	19%	70%	11%
Democrats	58%	27%	14%
Independents	43%	42%	15%
8/2-5/74	Question text below.		
Everyone	57%	31%	11%
Republicans	31%	59%	10%
Democrats	71%	19%	10%
Independents	55%	31%	14%

Democrats Have Stayed With Clinton During His Scandals

	Yes	No	No opinion
2/4-5/98	Question text in note 1.		
Everyone	19%	73%	8%
Republicans	31%	55%	14%
Democrats	9%	88%	3%
Independents	20%	68%	12%
6/5-7/98	Question text in note 2.		
Everyone	19%	77%	4%
Republicans	36%	59%	5%
Democrats	5%	94%	1%
Independents	20%	77%	3%
7/30/98	Question text in note 3.		
Everyone			
Republicans	45%	44%	11%
Democrats	12%	85%	3%
Independents	18%	75%	7%
8/21-23/98	Question text in note 4.		
Everyone			
Republicans	53%	42%	5%
Democrats	8%	90%	1%
Independents	31%	65%	4%

Question: Do you think President Nixon should be impeached and compelled to leave the presidency, or not?

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization.

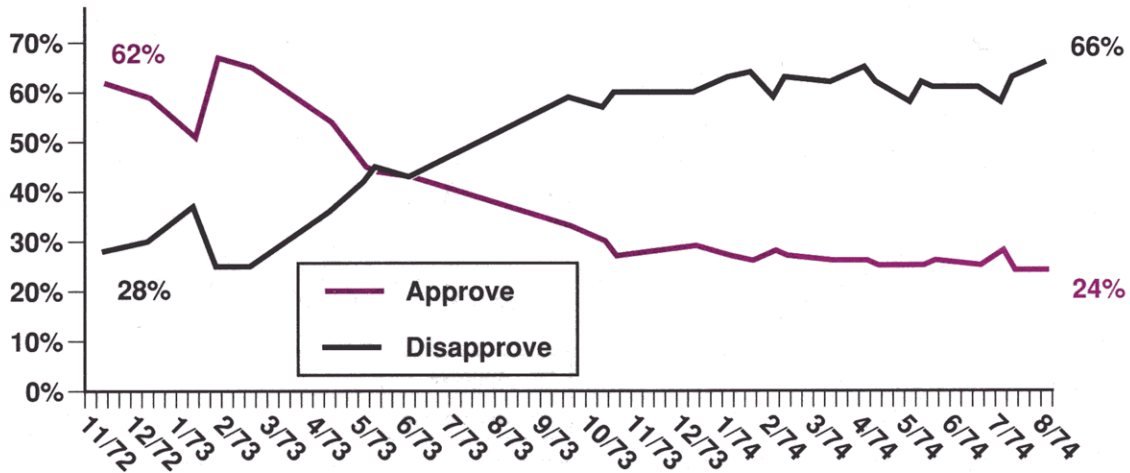
¹ Survey by Yankelovich Partners, Inc., for *Time/CNN*. **Question:** Based on what you have read or heard, do you believe that President Clinton should be impeached and removed from office, or don't you feel that way?

² Survey by the Gallup Organization for *CNN/USA Today*. **Question:** Based on what you know at this point, do you think that Bill Clinton should or should not be impeached and removed from office?

³ Survey by Yankelovich Partners, Inc., for *Time/CNN*. **Question:** Based on what you have read or heard, do you believe that President Clinton should be impeached and removed from office, or don't you feel that way?

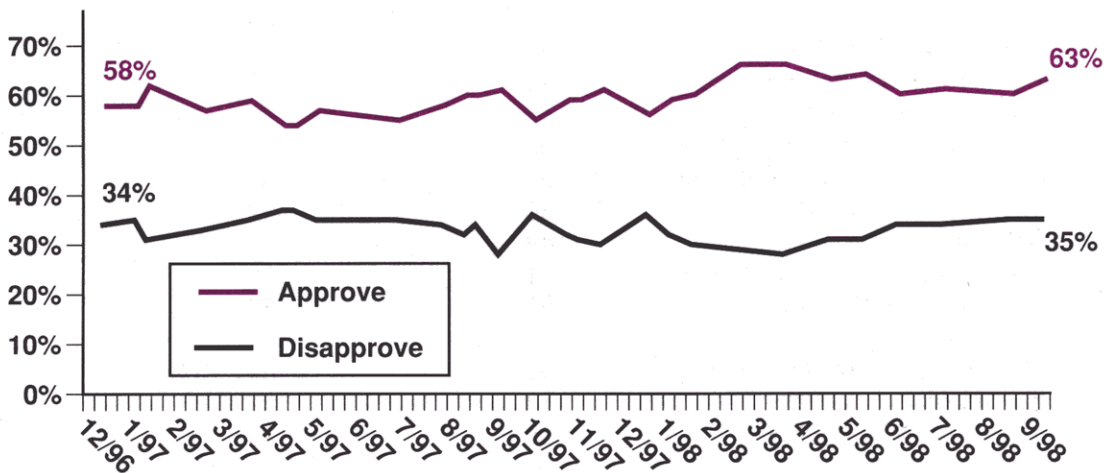
⁴ Survey by the Gallup Organization for *CNN/USA Today*. **Question:** Based on what you know at this point, do you think that Bill Clinton should or should not be impeached and removed from office?

Nixon's Job Approval Scores Fell Sharply During His Second Term...



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of August 2-5, 1974.

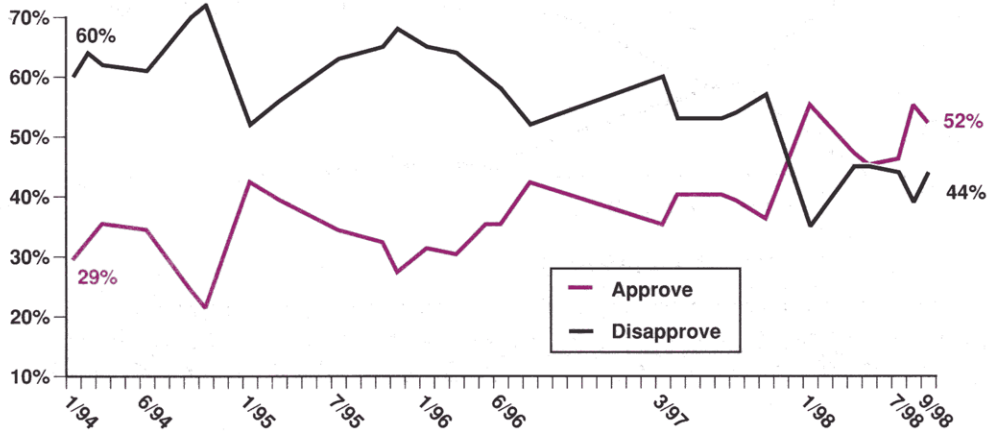
... While Clinton's Approval Ratings Have Held Up Thus Far



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of September 14-15, 1998.

A Rising Tide: Congress's Ratings, Too, Climbed to High Levels Amidst the Recent Economic Boom

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?



Source: Surveys by ABC News/Washington Post, latest that of September 28, 1998.

Other Public Assessments of Congress's Job Performance, June-September 1998

Date	Organization	Approve	Disapprove	Don't Know
6/1-7	American Viewpoint*	48%	39%	13%
6/18-21	Hart/Teeter for NBC News/WSJ**	48	37	15
6/30-7/1	Opinion Dynamics for Fox News*	48	37	15
7/15-19	American Viewpoint*	45	43	12
7/25-27	Hart/Teeter for NBC News/WSJ**	53	31	16
8/12-13	Opinion Dynamics for Fox News*	53	32	15
9/2-9	American Viewpoint***	60	32	8
9/8-10	CBS News**	49	38	13
9/10-13	Hart/Teeter for NBC News/WSJ**	61	28	11
9/11-12	Gallup/CNN/USA Today**	55	37	8
9/12-13	CBS News**	57	32	11
9/16-17	Opinion Dynamics for Fox News*	55	34	11
9/16-17	Yankelovich/Time/CNN**	63	27	10
9/23-24	Yankelovich/Time/CNN**	54	36	10

*Sample of registered voters. **Sample of all adults. ***Sample of likely voters.

Note on question wording: Each survey organization asks the question slightly differently, but all questions shown here ask respondents whether they approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job.