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But Negative Reaction to Testimony
Backlash Softens Clinton Slide

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Televised release of President Clinton’s grand jury testimony is stemming a decline in his public support. Strong opposition to the release of the grand jury videotape and increased disapproval of Republican congressional leadership accompany the reversal of the trend against Clinton. However, on balance, those who viewed the testimony have a negative opinion of his performance.

A Pew Research Center survey this weekend found a decline in Clinton’s job approval rating and an increase in the percentage of Americans saying he should resign or be impeached and removed from office if he lied. But a parallel follow-up survey conducted Monday and Tuesday finds these trends abating as the public expresses nearly two-to-one opposition to the airing of Clinton’s videotaped testimony.

The President’s rebound in public support coincides with increased disapproval of GOP leaders on Capitol Hill. An early September survey found 44% of the public approving and 37% disapproving of them. The survey conducted after the video was aired finds the public equally divided between those approving and disapproving of the Republican leadership. (See box.)

Nonetheless, the feeling that the President should resign or be removed from office is somewhat more prevalent in the post-video survey than it was in early September. The fall-off in support for Clinton over the weekend suggests that the negative impact of the release of the Starr report took some time to manifest itself.

Trends In Clinton Support			
	Aug 27 - <u>Sept 8</u>	9/19-22/98 Sat - Mon - <u>Sun</u> <u>Tues</u>	
	%	%	%
<i>Presidential Approval</i>			
Approve	61	55	62
Disapprove	33	36	33
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100
<i>GOP Leadership Approval</i>			
Approve	44	46	44
Disapprove	37	41	44
Don't know	<u>19</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Better For The Country If Clinton Were To</i>			
Resign	20	34	26
Remain in office	76	60	69
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100
<i>If Clinton Lied He Should</i>			
Be Impeached	31	42	37
Remain in office	65	53	61
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100
<i>If Clinton Asked Monica Lewinsky to Lie He Should</i>			
Be Impeached	42	48	43
Remain in office	53	47	52
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100

Even though the President is benefiting from a backlash to the release of his testimony, he does not come out well in the eyes of Americans who saw it. By a 50%-38% margin, those who watched do not think he made a good case for himself. Similarly, his testimony lost rather than won him personal sympathy (43%-32%). More viewers saw the prosecutors as fair in their questioning of him than unfair (54%-36%). People who watched all or most of the testimony (21% of the public) are more of the view that the President made a good case for himself than those who watched only part of the proceedings (48% of the public).

	How The Video Played		
	<i>Saw ...</i>		
	<u>All/Most</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>None</u>
<i>Clinton Made A ...</i>			
Good case	45	34	16
Did not	48	51	36
Didn't see/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>48</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Prosecutors Were ...</i>			
Fair	57	53	29
Unfair	38	35	26
Didn't see/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>45</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Sympathize with Clinton ...</i>			
More	32	32	17
Less	47	41	30
No effect	15	19	18
Didn't see/Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>35</u>
	100	100	100

Other Findings:

- ◆ Opposition to the airing of Clinton's videotaped testimony is greatest among women, non-whites and Democrats.
- ◆ By a margin of 56%-37%, Americans also think that the news media made a bad decision in airing reports about Republican Congressman Henry Hyde's extramarital affair of 30 years ago.
- ◆ The survey conducted after Clinton's testimony aired finds a 44% plurality favoring a censure or reprimand, compared to 26% favoring impeachment, and 26% no formal action. Even Republicans are divided on whether it would better to impeach (46%) or censure Clinton (41%).
- ◆ Similarly, the surveys find 56% of Americans continuing to say they would have an unfavorable opinion of members of Congress who voted for beginning hearings.

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 1,206 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period September 19 - 22, 1998. The interviewing was conducted in two waves: 500 interviews were conducted Saturday, September 19 and Sunday, September 20, the weekend preceding the release of Bill Clinton's videotaped grand jury testimony; 706 interviews were conducted Monday, September 21 and Tuesday September 22, following the release of the videotape. For results based the pre-videotape wave, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 5%. For results based the post-videotape wave, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 4.5%.

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.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
 VIDEOTAPE TESTIMONY RELEASE POLL
 FINAL TOPLINE**

**Pre-Video Wave (Sept 19-20, 1998) N=500
 Post-Video Wave (Sept 21-22, 1998) N=706**

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

Q.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
September 21-22, 1998	44	44	12=100
September 19-20, 1998	46	41	13=100
Early September, 1998	44	37	19=100
Late August, 1998	48	36	16=100
Early August, 1998	43	37	20=100
June, 1998	42	38	20=100
May, 1998	40	41	19=100
April, 1998	41	40	19=100
March, 1998	43	39	18=100
January, 1998	43	41	16=100

Q.3 Which of these best describes you... (READ)

Sept <u>21-22</u>	Sept <u>19-20</u>		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Late Aug <u>1998</u>	Early Feb <u>1998</u>
33	27	I like Bill Clinton personally and I like his policies, OR	31	33	39
34	34	I don't like Bill Clinton personally but I like his policies, OR	39	35	30
26	28	I don't like Bill Clinton personally and I don't like his policies	25	27	23
1	3	(DO NOT READ) I like Bill Clinton personally but I don't like his policies	2	2	3
<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	Don't Know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
100	100		100	100	100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.4F1 How closely have you followed news about Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr's report regarding President Clinton — very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	(VOL) <u>DK</u>
September 21-22, 1998	22	42	24	11	1=100 (N=354)
September 19-20, 1998	19	46	21	13	1=100 (N=244)

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.5F2 How closely have you followed news about the investigation into allegations of sexual misconduct against Bill Clinton — very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	(VOL) <u>DK</u>
September 21-22, 1998	28	40	23	9	*=100 (N=352)
September 19-20, 1998	33	37	22	7	1=100 (N=256)
Early September, 1998	36	36	17	10	1=100
Late August, 1998	33	39	19	8	1=100
Mid-August, 1998	26	30	20	24	*=100
Early August, 1998	29	34	22	14	1=100
June, 1998 ¹	28	32	24	15	1=100
April, 1998	27	39	20	14	*=100
March, 1998	30	35	25	9	1=100
February, 1998 ²	21	44	25	10	*=100
Early February, 1998	34	42	17	7	0=100
<i>Gallup</i> : 1/27/98	37	43	15	4	1=100
<i>CBS</i> : 1/26/98	38	41	15	5	1=100

¹ In June, April and March 1998, story was listed as "Allegations of sexual misconduct against Bill Clinton."

² In February 1998, story was listed as "Allegations that President Clinton had an affair with former White House intern, Monica Lewinsky."

ASK ALL:

Q.6 Now, a few questions about the allegation that President Clinton lied under oath about a sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky. Thinking specifically about this allegation, how important an issue do you think this whole situation is to the nation — of great importance, of some importance, or of very little importance?

Sept <u>21-22</u>	Sept <u>19-20</u>		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Late Sept <u>1998</u>	Early Aug <u>1998</u>	Aug <u>1998</u>
37	42	Great importance	37	34	33	27
19	23	Some importance	22	20	23	21
42	33	Very little importance	38	42	42	46
--	--	None (VOL)	1	3	2	3
<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>3</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100

ASK QUESTION 7 AFTER SEPTEMBER 20 ONLY [N=706]:

Q.7 Have you seen all or almost all, part, or none of the videotape of President Clinton's grand jury testimony, or haven't you seen it?

Sept <u>21-22</u>	
21	Yes, seen all/almost all
48	Yes, seen part
31	No, seen none
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.8 Do you think it was a good idea or a bad idea for Congress to release the videotape?

Sept <u>21-22</u>	Sept <u>19-20</u>	
33	32	Good idea
59	59	Bad idea
<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	

ASK Q. 9 THROUGH Q.10b AFTER SEPTEMBER 20 ONLY [N=706]:

Q.9 In your opinion, in this testimony did Bill Clinton make a good case for himself, or didn't he?

Sept <u>21-22</u>	
31	Good case
46	Did not make good case
12	Didn't see video (VOL)
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.10 In your opinion, were the prosecutors fair or unfair in their questioning of Bill Clinton?

Sept	
<u>21-22</u>	
47	Fair
33	Unfair
12	Didn't see video (VOL)
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.10a Did the testimony make you more or less sympathetic to Bill Clinton as a person?

Sept	
<u>21-22</u>	
27	More
39	Less
18	No effect (VOL)
10	Didn't see video (VOL)
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.10b Did the testimony make you feel that these allegations against President Clinton are MORE serious than you thought, LESS serious than you thought, or didn't it affect your thinking on this matter?

Sept	
<u>21-22</u>	
23	More serious
13	Less serious
54	Hasn't affected thinking
7	Didn't see testimony (VOL)
<u>3</u>	Don't Know/Refused
100	

H.1 Have you heard reports that Congressman Henry Hyde, the Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, had an extramarital affair 30 years ago, or haven't you heard anything about this?

Sept	Sept	
<u>21-22</u>	<u>19-20</u>	
62	64	Have heard about
37	35	Have not heard
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't Know/Refused
100	100	

BASED ON THOSE WHO HEARD:

H.2 Do you think it was a good decision or a bad decision for news organizations to report this story?

Sept <u>21-22</u>	Sept <u>19-20</u>	
37	32	Good decision
56	60	Bad decision
<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	
(N=463)	(N=342)	

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.11a If you had to choose, which do you think would be better for the country — if Clinton were to remain in office until the end of his term, OR if Clinton were to resign now, and turn the presidency over to Al Gore?

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.11b If you had to choose, which do you think would be better for the country — if Clinton were to resign now, and turn the presidency over to Al Gore, OR if Clinton were to remain in office until the end of his term?

Sept <u>21-22</u>	Sept <u>19-20</u>		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Late Aug <u>1998</u>	----- Gallup -----			
69	60	Remain in office	76	75	Aug 17 <u>1998</u>	Jan 25-26 <u>1998</u>	Jan 24-25 <u>1998</u>	Jan 23-24 <u>1998</u>
26	34	Resign	20	21	72	68	67	71
<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	23	26	25	23
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.12 If Congress decided to begin impeachment hearings against President Clinton, how would you feel about the members who voted in FAVOR of beginning these hearings? Would your opinion of them be very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?

Sept <u>21-22</u>	Sept <u>19-20</u>		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Late Aug <u>1998</u>	Early Aug <u>1998</u>
14	15	Very favorable	14	12	12
22	28	Mostly favorable	22	24	22
24	23	Mostly unfavorable	26	25	25
32	28	Very unfavorable	31	32	32
1	1	Depends/Depends on what's in the report	2	--	--
<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>
100	100		100	100	100

Q.13 If it turns out that President Clinton lied under oath about having a sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky, do you think that he should be impeached and removed from office, or not?

Sept <u>21-22</u>	Sept <u>19-20</u>		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Late Aug <u>1998</u>	Mid- Aug <u>1998</u>	Early Aug <u>1998</u>	March <u>1998</u>	Early Feb <u>1998</u>
37	42	Yes, should be impeached	31	30	29	31	40	50
61	53	No, should not	65	66	65	63	55	46
<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.14 If it turns out that President Clinton encouraged Monica Lewinsky to lie under oath about the nature of their relationship, do you think that he should be impeached and removed from office, or not?

Sept <u>21-2</u>	Sept <u>19-20</u>		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Late Aug <u>1998</u>	Mid- Aug <u>1998</u>	Early Aug <u>1998</u>	March <u>1998</u>	Early Feb <u>1998</u>
43	48	Yes, should be impeached	42	41	39	41	48	48
52	47	No, should not	53	55	55	53	47	47
<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.15 Some people think that because of this scandal, President Clinton does not have the moral standing to lead the country. Other people think President Clinton still has the moral standing to lead. Which comes closer to your own view?

Sept <u>21-22</u>	Sept <u>19-20</u>		Mid- Sept <u>1998</u>	Late Aug <u>1998</u>
41	48	Does not have moral standing	43	37
50	46	Still has moral standing	48	57
3	1	He never had moral standing (VOL)	2	2
2	1	Not important for President to have (VOL)	2	1
<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
100	100		100	100

IF VERY OR MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE IN Q.12, ASK Q.16; OTHERWISE GO TO Q.17

Q.16 Earlier you said you would have an unfavorable opinion of most members of Congress who voted in favor of impeachment hearings. Do you feel this way more because you don't want to see the country go through an impeachment process, OR more because you don't think Clinton's actions are serious enough for impeachment?

Sept <u>21-22</u>	Sept <u>19-20</u>		Early Sept <u>1998</u>
26	26	Don't want to see country go through impeachment	27
60	60	Clinton's actions not serious enough	62
1	3	Neither (VOL)	2
8	8	Both (VOL)	7
1	*	Other (SPECIFY)	1
<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>
100	100		100
(N=393)	(N=252)		

ASK ALL OF FORM 1:

Q.17a

F1 If the investigations into the Clinton-Lewinsky matter continue, what position would you prefer the U.S. representative from your congressional district take — favor impeaching and removing Clinton from office, favor a formal reprimand or censure of Clinton, but not removing him from office, OR favor taking no formal action against Clinton?

ASK ALL OF FORM 2:

Q.17b

F2 If the investigations into the Clinton-Lewinsky matter continue, what position would you prefer the U.S. representative from your congressional district take — favor taking no formal action against Clinton, favor a formal reprimand or censure of Clinton, but not removing him from office, OR favor impeaching and removing Clinton from office?

Sept <u>21-22</u>	Sept <u>19-20</u>		--Gallup-- <u>Sept 14-15, 1998</u>
26	32	Impeach	27
44	43	Reprimand/Censure	45
26	19	No formal action	24
<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>
100	100		100

ASKED OF RESPONDENTS INTERVIEWED AFTER SEPTEMBER 20 WHO ANSWERED "1" IN Q.11a OR "2" IN Q.11b (SHOULD REMAIN IN OFFICE) [N=476]:

Q.17c Do you sometimes think it would be better for President Clinton to resign in order to end the controversy, or don't you ever feel that way?

ASKED OF RESPONDENTS INTERVIEWED AFTER SEPTEMBER 20 WHO ANSWERED "2" IN Q.11a OR "1" IN Q.11b (SHOULD RESIGN) [N=196]:

Q.17d Do you sometimes think it would be better for Congress to drop the whole Lewinsky matter in order to end the controversy, or don't you ever feel that way?

BASED ON TOTAL

Sept <u>21-22</u>	
69	Remain in office
13	Yes, sometimes think it would be better for Clinton to resign
55	No, don't ever feel that way
1	Don't know/Refused
26	Resign
7	Yes, sometimes think it would be better for Congress to drop the matter
19	No, don't ever think that way
*	Don't know/Refused
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	