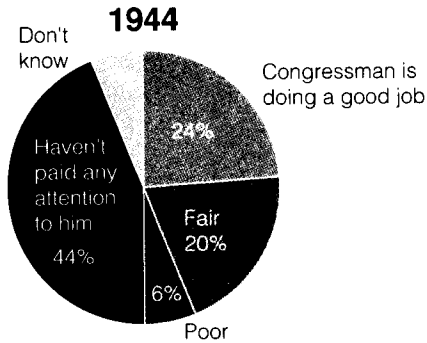


A PUBLIC HEARING ON CONGRESS

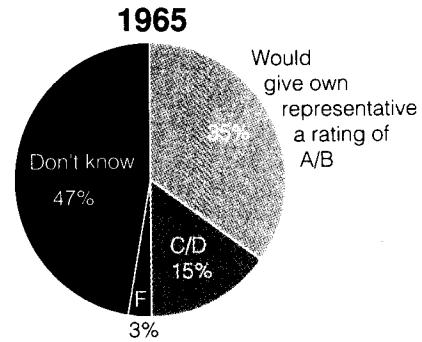
A Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress is now at work on recommendations designed to rebuild public confidence in the institution. The committee is modeled after the reorganization efforts in 1946 and 1970 and must report by December 1993. The data in the next 11 pages show how confidence in Congress has eroded.

Question: **How would you rate the job your congressman is doing—as good, only fair, poor, or haven't you paid any attention to him?**



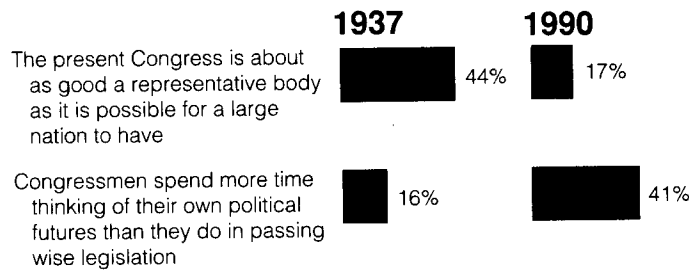
Source: Survey by the Roper Organization for *Fortune*, April 7-15, 1944.

Question: **As officeholders and congressmen go, what kind of rating would you give him (the present representative in Congress from your district)—A, B, C, D, or Flunk?**



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, October 8-13, 1965.

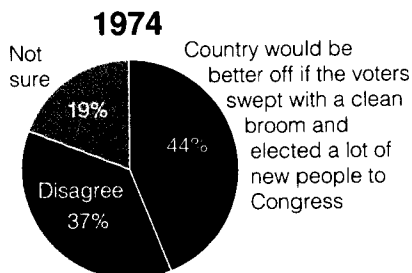
Question: **Which one of these statements best expresses your attitude toward the present U.S. Congress as a whole?**



Note: Not all categories shown.

Source: Surveys by Roper Organization (Roper Reports 91-1), latest that of December 1-8, 1990.

Question: **Now let me ask you about voting for or against a man who has held office and is running again for re-election. For each statement I read you, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree.**

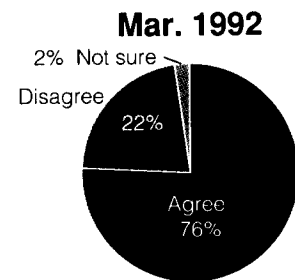
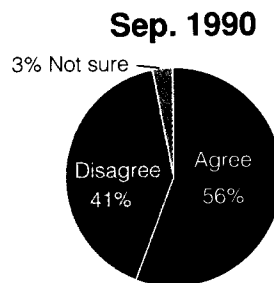


Note: Asked of likely voters.

Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates, January 7-10, 1974.

Question: **Let me read you some statements about November's congressional elections. For each, tell me if you agree or disagree.**

The federal government and the Congress are doing such a poor job that it's time to turn most of the rascals out of office



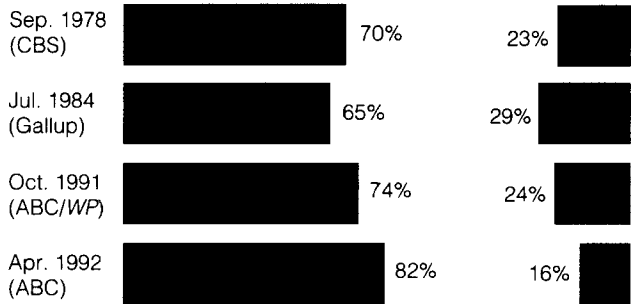
Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates, March 18-24, 1992.

Losing Touch

What is striking about the data from the 1940s is how little attention Americans paid to Congress. Four in ten did not give their members much thought, but those who did were generally favorable. By the mid 1970s, however, four in ten said the country would be better off if we swept the institution clean. Attitudes today are yet more critical (p. 82).

Question: **Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?**

Generally speaking, those we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly



Question: **I'm going to read a few statements. For each, can you please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with it, or if, perhaps, you have no opinion about that statement.**

Agree that...

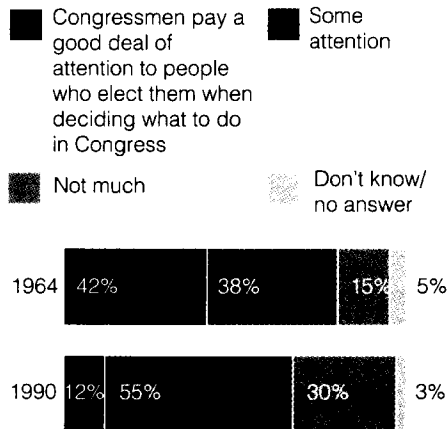
To win elections, most candidates for Congress make promises they have no intention of fulfilling



Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, latest that of May 19-23, 1989.

Special v. General Interests

Question: **How much attention do you think most congressmen pay to the people who elect them when they decide what to do in Congress—a good deal, some, or not much?**

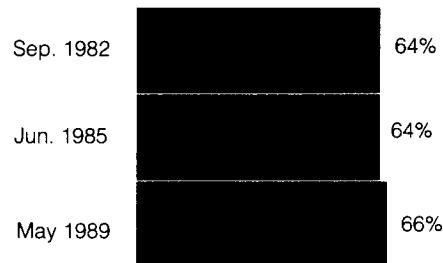


Source: Surveys by University of Michigan Survey Research Center (1964) and CBS News/New York Times, October 8-10, 1990.

Question: **I'm going to read a few statements. For each, can you please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with it, or if, perhaps, you have no opinion about that statement.**

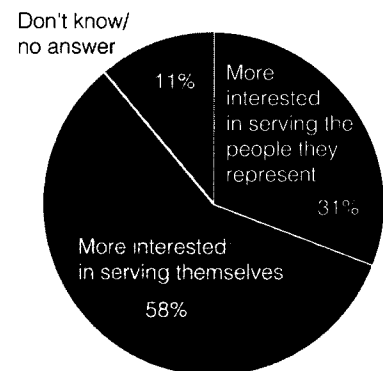
Agree that...

Most members of Congress care more about keeping power than they do about the best interests of the nation



Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, latest that of May 19-23, 1989.

Question: **Do you think most members of Congress are more interested in serving the people they represent, or more interested in serving themselves?**



Source: Survey by CBS News/New York Times, October 8-10, 1990.

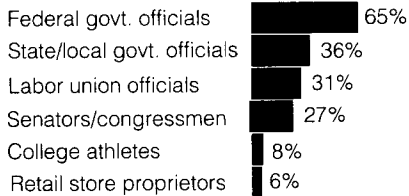
Ethics

What's happened? In question after question, Americans tell the pollsters that those we elect have lost touch with constituents, that personal or special interests now outweigh general ones, and that getting away with dishonest or unethical practices has become the rule (p. 83). Today, half the public says the institution is corrupt.

Question: **Which two of these groups do you think most need to improve in honesty and integrity? Pick two.**

1952

Most need to improve honesty and integrity



Source: Survey by the Opinion Research Corporation, April 15-May 5, 1952.

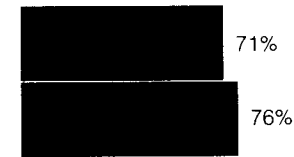
Question: **I'm going to read a few statements. For each, can you please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with it, or if, perhaps, you have no opinion about that statement.**

Agree that...

Most members of Congress make a lot of money by using public office improperly



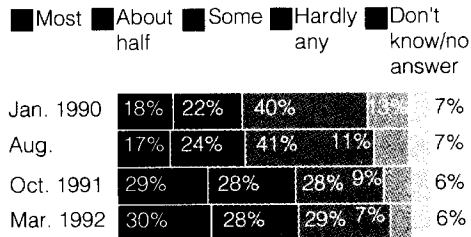
Most members of Congress will tell lies if they feel the truth will hurt them politically



Source: Surveys by ABC News/Washington Post, latest that of May 19-23, 1989.

Question: **Now, think about all the members of the U.S. House and Senate. How many of them do you think are financially corrupt?**

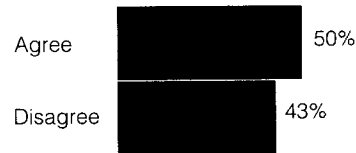
How many members of Congress are financially corrupt



Source: Surveys by CBS News/New York Times, latest that of March 26-29, 1992.

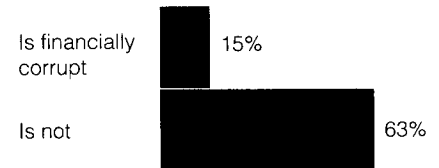
Question: **Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?**

Congress as an institution is corrupt



Question: **Do you think the representative in Congress from your district is financially corrupt, or not?**

Think own representative



Note: Eighteen percent thought that either of the two U.S. senators from their state was financially corrupt; 64% did not think so.
Source: Survey by CBS/New York Times, August 16-19, 1990.

Question: **A number of congressmen have written checks of their House bank account when they did not have enough money to cover them and they did not have to pay a bounced check charge. Do you think those congressmen deliberately did this because they knew they could get away with it or do you think they just made a mistake?**

Congressmen wrote bad checks because

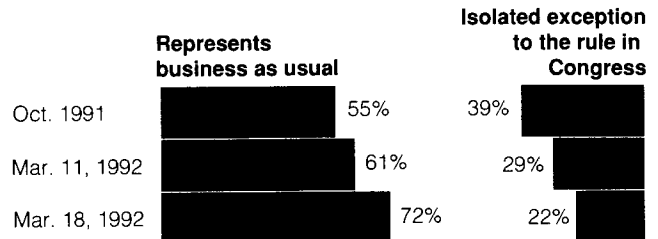
They knew they could get away with it



Source: Survey by CBS/New York Times, March 26-29, 1992.

Question: **Do you think this (some members of Congress writing bad checks that were covered for them by the House of Representatives bank) represents business as usual in Congress, or is this an isolated exception to the rule in Congress?**

Bad check writing by members of Congress



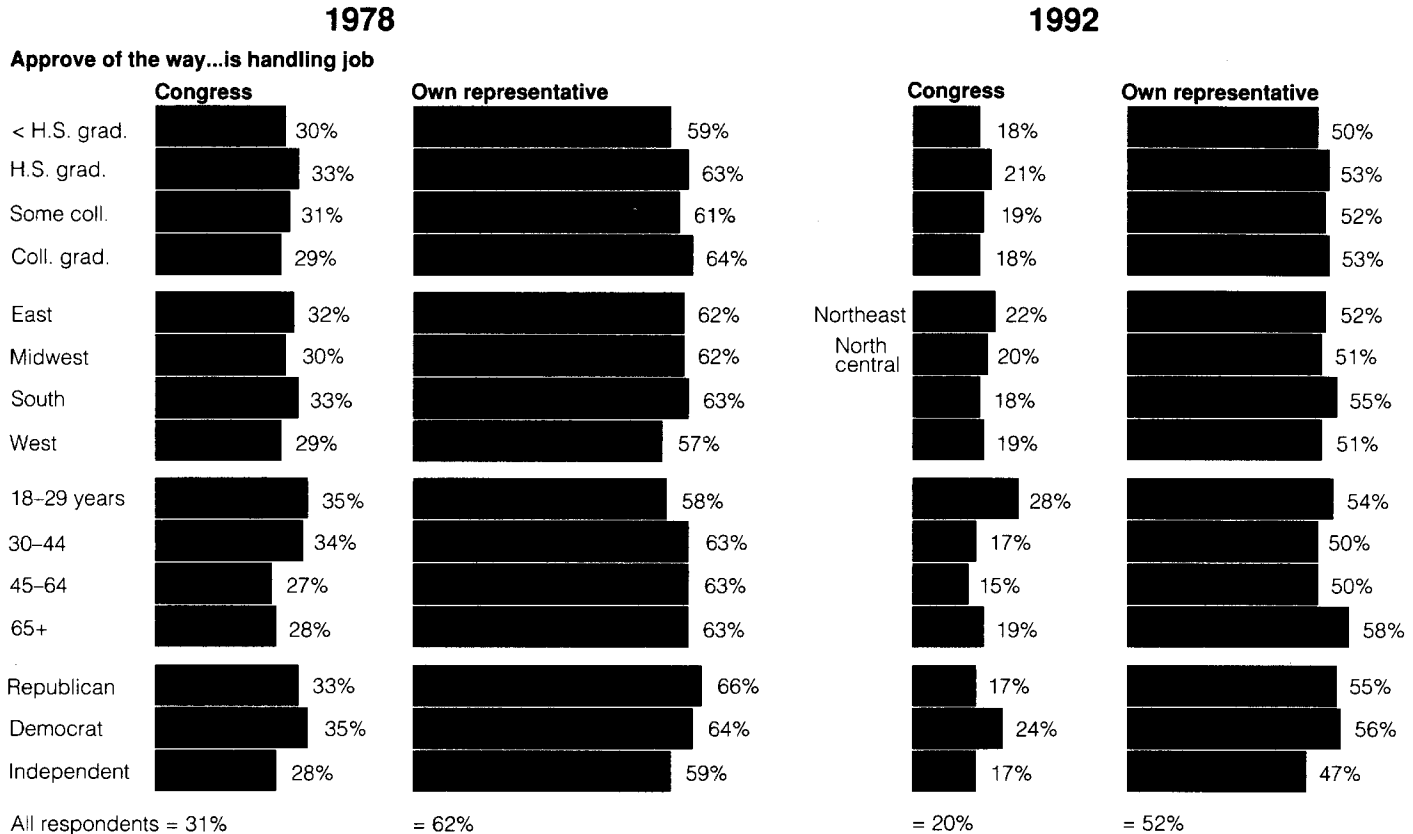
Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, latest that of March 18, 1992.

Confidence

The extent of current dissatisfaction can be seen below. Between 1978 and 1992, approval of Congress dropped 11 percentage points overall, and ratings of one's own representative dropped 10 points. The drop in standing of both occurs across all the groups shown below.

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

Question: **How about the representative in Congress from your district? Do you approve or disapprove of the way your representative is handling his or her job?**



Source: Surveys by CBS News/New York Times, latest that of July 8-11, 1992.

Have a great deal/quite a lot of confidence in...

	Church/ Organiz. religion	Banks/ Banking	Military	Public schools	Supreme Court	Big business	Television	Organiz. labor	Congress	Newspapers
1975	68%	55%*	58%	56%	49%	34	21%*	38%	40%	51%**
1991	56	29	69	35	39	22	24	22	18	32
1975-91	-12	-26	+11	-21	-10	-12	+3	-16	-22	-19

Note: * = 1978; ** = 1979. Question: I am going to read you a list of institutions in American society. Please tell me how much confidence you, yourself, have in each one—a great deal, quite a lot, some, or very little?

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of October 10-13, 1991.

Have a great deal of confidence in...

	Organiz. religion	Banks	Military	Education	Supreme Court	Major companies	Television	Organiz. labor	Congress	Exec. Branch	Press
1975	24%	32%	35%	31%	31%	19%	18%	10%	13%	13%	24%
1991	25	12	60	30	37	20	14	11	18	26	16
1975-91	+1	-20	+25	-1	+6	+1	-4	+1	+5	+13	-8

Note: Question: I am going to name some institutions in this country. As far as the people running these institutions are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them?

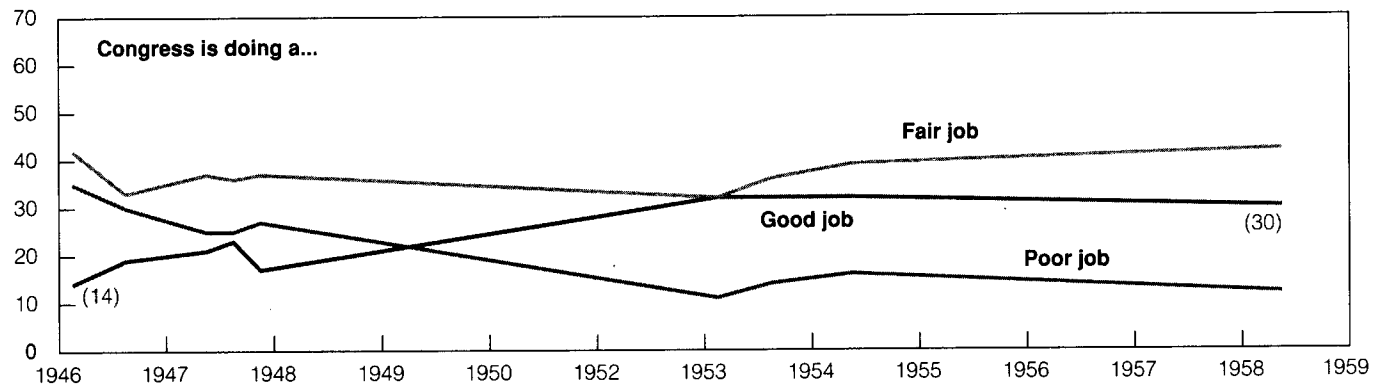
Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, February-April of the years shown.

Congress's Ratings At An All-time Low

Congress's reputation improved over the late 1940s and early 1950s and then stayed level over the rest of the latter decade.

Question: In general, do you think the present Congress has done a good job or a poor job? (1946-1947) In general, do you think that the new Congress that took office in January 1953 has done a good job or a poor job up to now? (May 1953) In general, do you think the present Congress in Washington has done a good job or a poor job to date? (July 1953-58)

Percent



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of August 20-25, 1958.

Rate the job Congress is doing as...

	Apr. 1946	Jul. 1946	Mar. 1947	May 1947	Jul. 1947	May 1953	Jul. 1953	Aug. 1954	Aug. 1958
Gallup									
Good	14%	19%	21%	23%	17%	32%	32%	32%	30%
Fair	42	33	37	36	37	32	36	39	42*
Poor	35	30	25	25	27	11	14	16	12
	May 1946	May 1975	May 1977	May 1979	Apr. 1983				
Roper									
Excellent/good	17%	21%	27%	18%	23%				
Only fair	46	43	49	50	51				
Poor	26	24	16	25	19				

Approve of the way Congress/Congressman is doing job

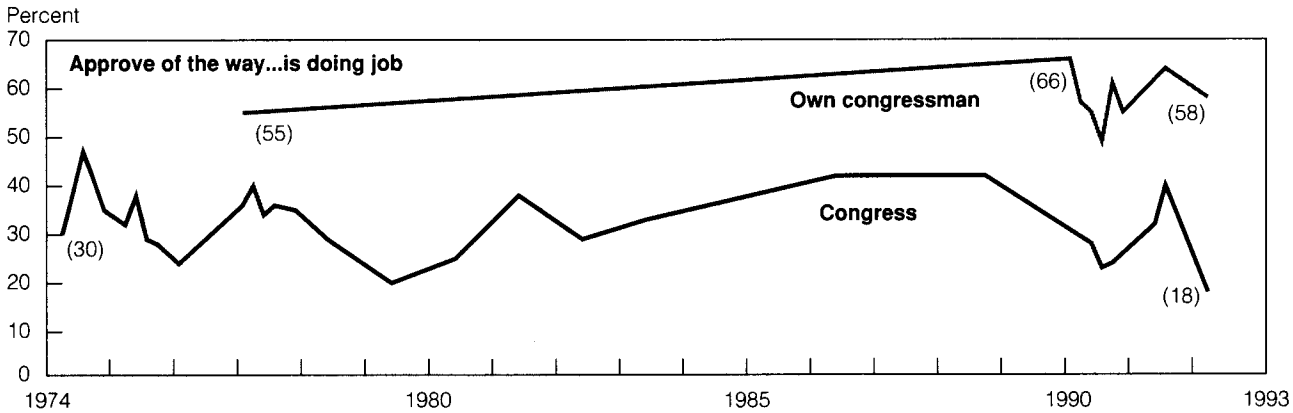
	Apr. 1974	Aug. 1974	Oct. 1974	Mar. 1975	Apr. 1975	Jun. 1975	Nov. 1975	Jan. 1976	Mar. 1977	May 1977	Jun. 1977	Aug. 1977	Sep. 1977	Sep. 1978	Jun. 1979	Jun. 1980	
Gallup																	
Congress	30%	47%	35%	32%	38%	29%	28%	24%	36%	40%	34%	36%	35%	29%	20%	25%	
Congressman	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	55	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Jul. 1977	Oct. 1977	Jan. 1978	Apr. 1978	Jun. 1978	Sep. 1978	Aug. 1980	Oct. 1982*	Jan. 1990	Mar. 1990*	Aug. 1990*	Oct. 10 1990	Oct. 31 1990	Jan. 1991	Mar. 1991	Aug. 1991	Oct. 7 1991
CBS/NYT																	
Congress	31%	31%	29%	31%	30%	29%	32%	33%	42%	38%	27%	23%	49%	39%	30%	27%	
Congressman	—	—	—	62	60	60	61	—	64	60	—	51	—	—	—	56	
	Jun. 1985	Jun. 1987	Jan. 1988	Feb. 1989	May 1989	Jun. 1989	Aug. 1989	Jan. 1990	Feb. 1990	Oct. 1990	Nov. 4* 1990	Nov. 6* 1990	Jun. 1991	Oct. 1991	Dec. 1991	Feb. 1992	
ABC/Wash. Post																	
Congress	54%	56%	43%	53%	54%	37%	42%	39%	41%	34%	24%	23%	49%	45%	35%	32%	
Congressman	—	—	—	—	71	—	—	—	—	64	54	57	61	64	60	56	
	Nov. 1989	Oct. 1990	Jul. 1991	Oct. 15 1991	Oct. 29 1991	Apr. 1992	*Based on registered voters										
NBC/WSJ*																	
Congress	—	22%	28%	34%	26%	15%											
Congressman	68%	57	59	—	61	55											

Congress/Congressman doing excellent/pretty good job

	Dec. 1967	Feb. 1970	Aug. 1970	Jan. 1971	Jan. 1974	Sep. 1974	Mar. 1975	Jul. 1975	Jan. 1978	Jul. 1978	Sep.* 1978	Nov. 1978	Mar.* 1980	Jul.* 1980	Nov. 1981	Oct.* 1982
Harris																
Congress	41%	34%	32%	26%	21%	38%	26%	22%	28%	34%	32%	24%	26%	20%	42%	26%
Congressman	—	—	—	—	—	57	—	—	39	49	57	57	50	53	53	58

After bouncing around at low levels during the 1970s and 1980s, the standing of Congress has plunged in the 1990s. Individual members have always fared better than the institution.

Question: **Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress is handling its job? Do you approve or disapprove of the way the representative from your own congressional district is handling his or her job?**



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of March 13, 1992.

Jun. 1981	Jun. 1982	May 1983	Apr. 1986	Sep. 1987	Sep. 1988	Aug. 1990	Oct. 12 1990	Oct. 14 1990	Oct. 21 1990	Oct. 28 1990	Nov. 1990	Jul. 1991	Oct. 1991	Mar. 1992
38%	29%	33%	42%	42%	42%	—	—	28%	23%	24%	26%	32%	40%	18%
—	—	—	—	—	—	66%	57%	55	49	61	55	—	64	58

Oct. 18 1991	Jan. 1992	Feb. 1992	Mar. 1992	Jul. 1992
29%	17%	21%	17%	20%
—	—	55	54	52

*=Registered voters

Mar. 8 1992	Mar. 18 1992	Apr. 1992	Jun. 1992
22%	19%	17%	16%
—	49	47	52

*=Likely voters

Jun. 1984	Jun. 1985	Jul. 1985	Sep.* 1988	Jun. 1989	Nov. 1989	Dec. 1989	Jun. 1990	Jul. 1990
32%	53%	47%	43%	46%	37%	40%	46%	34%
—	63	59	63	63	—	55	—	52

*=Likely voters

How Different Groups View Congress

Views about how well Congress is doing its job have been generally uniform across groups. Those with more formal education were more supportive in the early years. Gallup shows a sharp drop in approval of Congress in 1992, but the survey sample is too small to permit subgroup analysis.

For 1953-58: ■ Congress has done a good job ■ Fair job ■ Poor job ■ No opinion **For 1977-91:** ■ Approve of job Congress is doing ■ Disapprove ■ No opinion

1953

<H.S. grad.	29%	32%	11%	28%
H.S. grad.	37%	31%	10%	22%
Some coll.	41%	33%	14%	12%
Coll. grad.	30%	38%	14%	18%

1958

<H.S. grad.	26%	41%	12%	21%
H.S. grad.	35%	43%	9%	13%
Some coll.	26%	50%	16%	8%
Coll. grad.	45%	37%	14%	4%

1977

Grade school	32%	34%	34%
H.S.	35%	40%	25%
Coll.	36%	48%	16%

Northeast	33%	30%	11%	26%
Midwest	34%	32%	12%	22%
South	31%	32%	8%	29%
West	26%	39%	13%	22%

Northeast	31%	40%	11%	18%
Midwest	28%	45%	13%	14%
South	32%	38%	10%	20%
West	33%	42%	13%	12%

East	32%	44%	24%
Midwest	37%	42%	21%
South	38%	37%	25%
West	30%	43%	27%

18-29 years	33%	36%	9%	22%
30-44	33%	31%	10%	26%
45-59	30%	34%	12%	24%
60+	32%	27%	13%	28%

18-29 years	31%	46%	11%	12%
30-44	32%	42%	11%	15%
45-59	30%	41%	12%	17%
60+	29%	40%	12%	19%

18-29	39%	38%	23%
30-49	36%	45%	19%
50+	30%	41%	29%

Republican	46%	31%	5%	18%
Democrat	23%	34%	16%	27%
Independent	33%	30%	8%	29%

Republican	35%	44%	6%	15%
Democrat	28%	43%	13%	16%
Independent	30%	37%	17%	16%

Republican	27%	50%	23%
Democrat	39%	35%	26%
Independent	34%	46%	20%

All respondents =32%, 32%, 11%, 25%

=30%, 42%, 12%, 16%

=34%, 42%, 24%

1981

Grade school	34%	33%	33%
H.S.	37%	38%	25%
Coll.	41%	49%	10%

1987

<H.S. gr.	40%	49%	11%
H.S. gr.	40%	51%	9%
Some coll.	46%	44%	10%
Coll. gr.	42%	52%	6%

1991

<H.S. gr.	31%	45%	24%
H.S. gr.	30%	55%	16%
Some coll.	34%	55%	11%
Coll. gr.	35%	56%	9%

East	36%	37%	27%
Midwest	39%	43%	18%
South	37%	41%	22%
West	38%	41%	21%

East	45%	45%	10%
Midwest	45%	46%	9%
South	40%	54%	6%
West	38%	52%	10%

East	34%	52%	14%
Midwest	34%	54%	12%
South	32%	52%	16%
West	29%	55%	16%

18-29 years	38%	40%	22%
30-49	41%	43%	16%
50+	34%	39%	27%

18-29 years	54%	37%	9%
30-49	43%	50%	7%
50+	32%	57%	11%

18-29 years	39%	43%	18%
30-49	34%	52%	14%
50+	26%	60%	14%

Republican	42%	40%	18%
Democrat	40%	38%	22%
Independent	32%	47%	21%

Republican	34%	59%	7%
Democrat	48%	43%	9%
Independent	43%	48%	9%

Republican	35%	54%	11%
Democrat	37%	49%	14%
Independent	25%	58%	17%

All respondents =38%, 40%, 22%

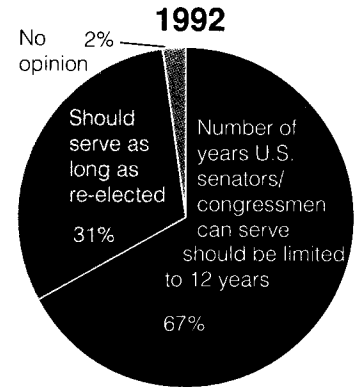
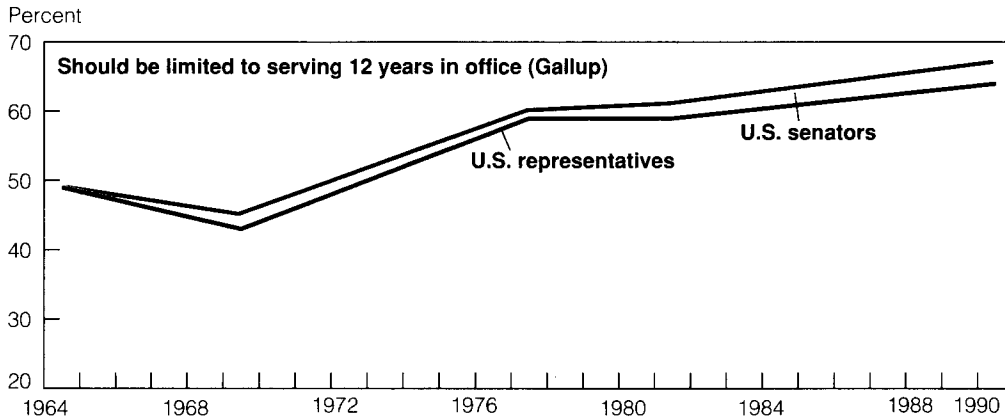
=42%, 49%, 9%

=32%, 53%, 15%

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of July 25-28, 1991.

Term Limits

Limiting terms has long been favored, but today support for the idea is stronger than ever. In 1964, nearly half supported the idea; today nearly seven in ten do.



Note: Question wording below.
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 20-23, 1992.

Terms of U.S. senators

Limit terms to 12 years?

A law has been proposed which would limit a senator to two terms, or a total of 12 years in office. Would you favor or oppose such a law? (Gallup)

	Favor	Oppose
Jan.-Feb. 1964	49%	38%
Jan. 1969	45	45
Nov. 1977	60	30
Apr. 1981	61	32
Nov. 1990	67	30

How would you feel about limiting U.S. senators to two six-year terms? Would you favor or oppose this? (Gallup)

	Favor	Oppose
Dec. 1965	50%	38%
May 1971	49	39

Limit terms?

A U.S. senator now serves six years in one term of office. Do you think there should be a limit on the number of terms a senator could serve? (Gallup)

	Favor	Oppose
Jan. 1947	52%	43%
Feb. 1955	42	43

Terms of U.S. representatives

Limit terms to 12 years?

A law has been proposed which would limit a member of the House of Representatives to three terms of four years apiece, or a total of 12 years. Would you favor or oppose such a law? (1964-81) In 1990: limit a member...to six terms, or a total of twelve years in office. (Gallup)

	Favor	Oppose
Jan.-Feb. 1964	49%	37%
Jan. 1969	43	45
Nov. 1977	59	31
Apr. 1981	59	32
Nov. 1990	64	33

Limit terms?

Do you think there should be a limit to the number of times a member of the House of Representatives can be elected to a two-year term, or not? (CBS/NYT)

	Favor	Oppose
Mar.-Apr. 1990	61%	31%

Do you favor or oppose a limit on the number of years a person could serve as a U.S. representative in Congress? (ABC/WP)

	Favor	Oppose
Oct. 1990	73%	24%
Oct. 1991	74	24
Mar. 11, 1992	74	23
Mar. 18	76	21
Apr.	76	21

Terms of U.S. senators/representatives

Limit terms to 12 years?

Should the terms of members of Congress be limited to a total of twelve years in office, or should they be able to serve as long as they are able to get re-elected? (CBS/NYT)

	Limit terms	Serve as long as re-elected
Oct. 1990	56%	37%
Oct. 1991	68	26
Mar. 1992	68	30

Do you think the number of years a U.S. congressman or senator can serve should be limited to 12 years, or do you think they should serve as long as voters keep re-electing them? (Gallup)

	Limit terms	Serve as long as re-elected
Jan. 1992	61%	36%
Mar. 13	64	34
Mar. 29	61	38
Apr.	67	31

Limit terms?

Do you think there should or should not be a limit to the number of terms to which a senator or member of Congress can be elected? (NBC/W.S.J)*

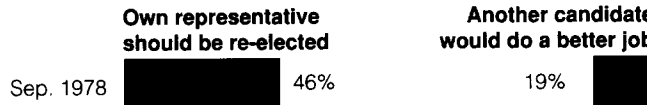
	Favor	Oppose
Jan. 1990	67%	28%
Oct.	72	24
Dec.	74	22
Oct. 1991	75	21
Apr. 1992	80	18
Oct.	79	17

*Based on registered voters.

Re-elect? It's Now A Close Call

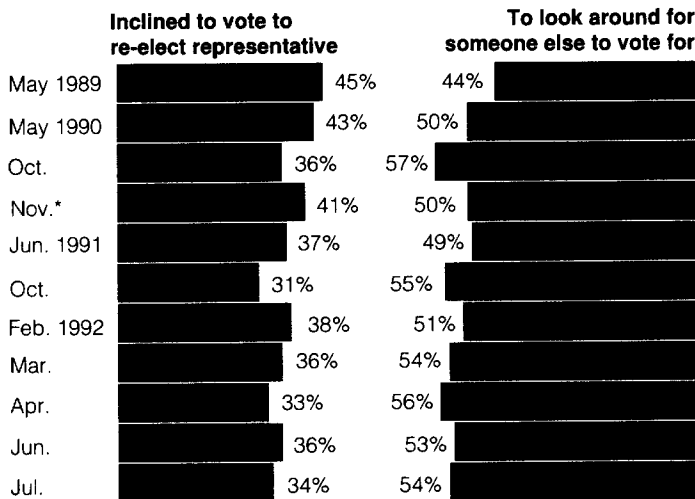
In 1978, only 19% said a candidate other than their own congressman would do a better job. Today, when the question suggests it is time to give someone new a chance, majorities are in support. When asked a blunter question, more respondents say their congressman deserves to be re-elected than not.

Question: **Right now, do you think your representative in Congress should be re-elected, or do you think another candidate would do a better job?**



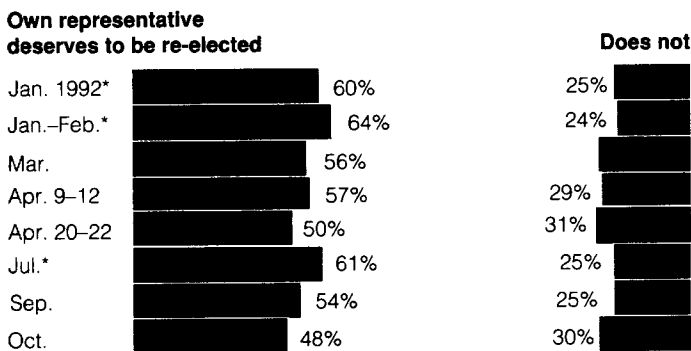
Note: *No opinion*=32%.
Source: Survey by CBS News, September 25-29, 1978.

Question: **Right now are you inclined to vote to re-elect your representative in Congress in the next election or are you inclined to look around for someone else to vote for?**



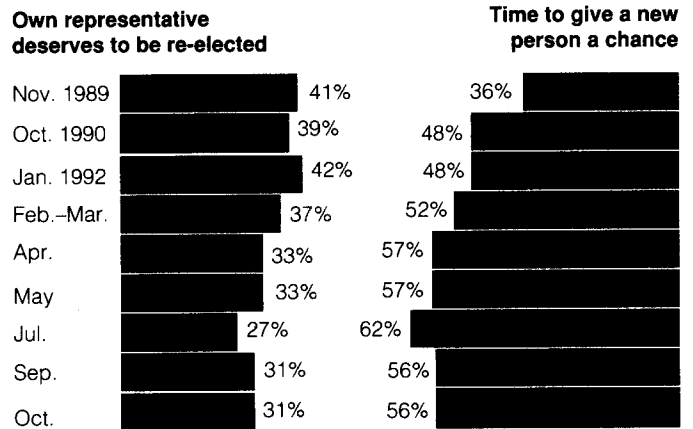
Note: *Sample=likely voters.
Source: Surveys by ABC News/Washington Post, latest that of July 1-3, 6-8, 1992.

Question: **Please tell me whether or not you think each of the following political officeholders deserves to be re-elected.**



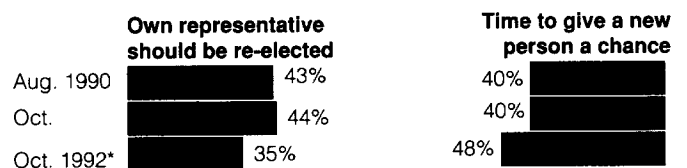
Note: *Sample=registered voters.
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of October 23-25, 1992.

Question: **Looking ahead to the next election for U.S. Congress, do you feel your representative deserves to be re-elected, or do you feel it is time to give a new person a chance?**

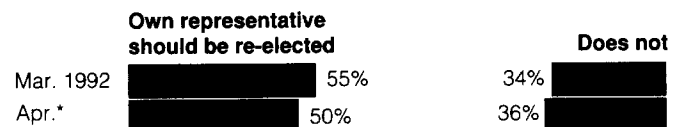


Note: Sample=registered voters.
Source: Surveys by NBC News/Wall Street Journal, latest that of October 20-21, 1992.

Question: **Do you think the representative from your district has performed his or her job well enough to deserve re-election, or do you think it's time to give a new person a chance?**



How about your own representative in Congress? Do you think that your own representative has done a good enough job to deserve re-election, or not?



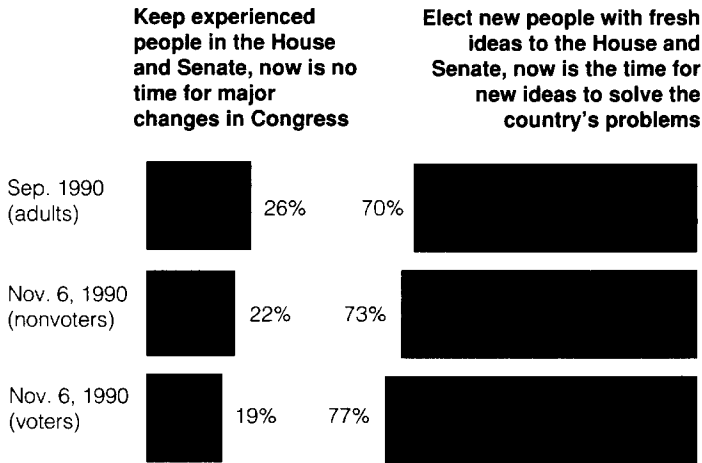
Note: *Sample=registered voters.
Source: Surveys by CBS News/New York Times, latest that of October 20-23, 1992.

Fresh Ideas Trump Experience

Dissatisfactions with Congress make the public unwilling to argue that it's important to keep experienced people there; most say it's time for change. The idea that the incumbent should be re-elected because he knows the needs of the district is also losing favor.

Question: Which of the following two statements comes closest to the way you feel?

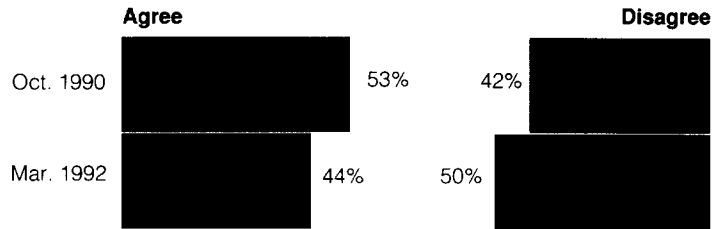
We need to...



Source: Surveys by ABC News/Washington Post, latest that of November 6, 1990.

Question: Let me read you some statements about November's elections. For each, tell me if you agree or disagree.

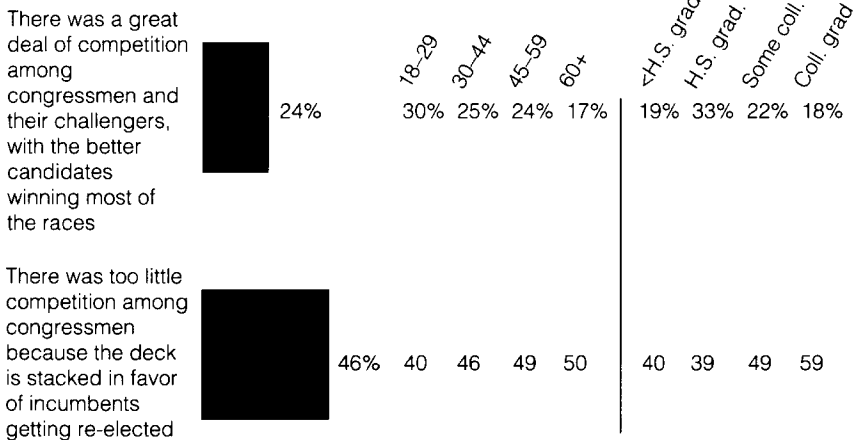
My own member of Congress knows our needs and does a good job of servicing our individual and district needs, so it's a mistake not to vote him or her back to office this fall



Source: Surveys by Louis Harris and Associates, latest that of March 18-24, 1992.

Question: Thinking about the last congressional elections, which of these statements comes closest to your view?

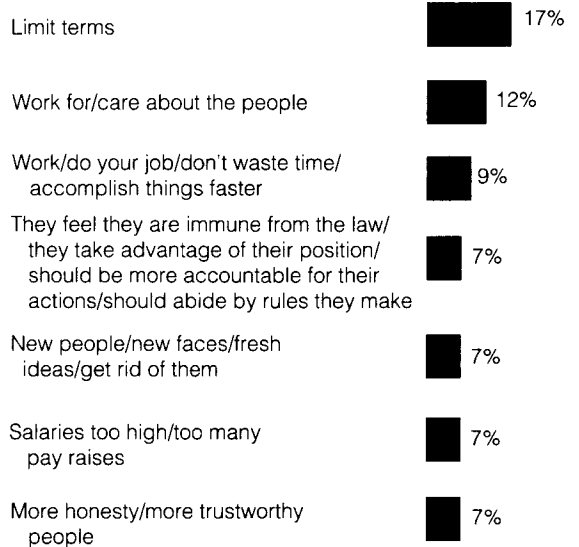
Thinking about the last congressional elections...



Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 91-1), December 1-8, 1990.

Question: How would you like things to change in the U.S. Congress? What would you like to be different about Congress? Anything else?

Would like to see change in Congress



Source: Surveys by NBC News/Wall Street Journal, latest that of October 25-29, 1991.

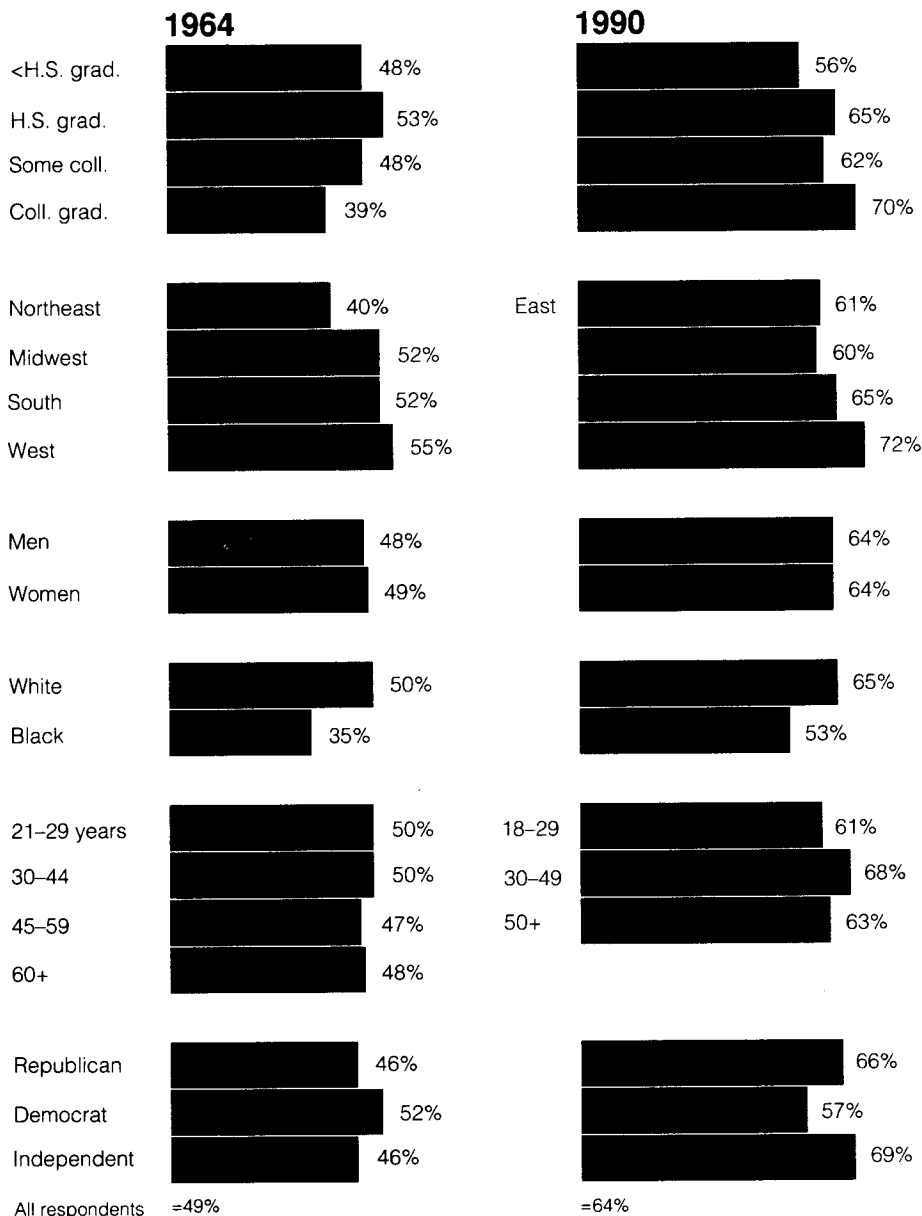
Term Limits Backed In All Sectors

In the sixties the college educated were less likely to favor term limits than other groups. Today, those with high levels of formal education are the most likely to favor term limits.

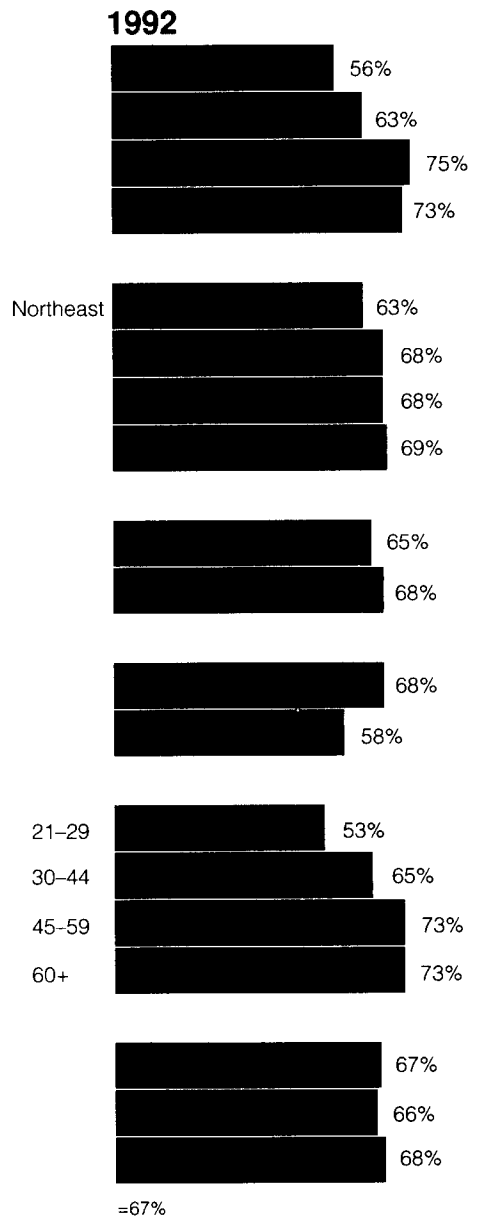
Question: **A law has been proposed which would limit a senator to two terms, or a total of 12 years in office. Would you favor or oppose such a law? (1964-1990)**

Question: **Do you think the number of years a U.S. congressman or senator can serve should be limited to 12 years, or do you think they should serve as long as voters keep re-electing them? (1992)**

Favor limiting terms for U.S. congressmen to 12 years



Favor limiting terms of U.S. senators and congressmen to 12 years



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of April 20-23, 1992.