

## A look inside

# PENNSYLVANIA

Harris Wofford's bid for his first full term in the Senate was stopped short on November 8 by the GOP tide that swept the country. While Wofford's seat was just one of eight taken in the Senate by the Republicans this year, he had the dubious honor, along with Jim Sasser of Tennessee, of being one of only two sitting members to fall.

Perhaps better remembered as a 1960s civil rights activist or for his role in the founding of the Peace Corps, Wofford was appointed by Governor Robert Casey in 1990, until a special election could be held to fill the unexpired term of the late Senator John Heinz. Virtually unknown to voters in the state, the 65-year old Wofford ran for political office for the first time in that 1991 election, coming from behind to beat US Attorney General and former Governor Richard Thornburgh by a 55-45% margin. Although Pennsylvania is typically considered a "swing" state in presidential politics, its citizens had not elected a Democratic senator since 1962.

On its face, then, the outcome of the 1994 race marks a return to "politics as usual." But while Republican Rick Santorum will take his place in a long line of GOP senators, Pennsylvanians have broken their tradition of electing moderate Republicans to that office. Santorum, now the youngest member of the Senate at 36 years old, was considered by many to be too conservative to capture the seat held for 14 years by the moderate Republican John Heinz.

Hailed as "a spectacle of ideological conflict, presidential coattails and generational change," the Wofford-Santorum race pitted the aging liberal against the young conservative on such volatile issues as health care and abortion. Indeed, some believe that Wofford's loss resulted from the failure of Clinton's health care plan, an issue brought to the forefront of American politics by Wofford in his 1991 Senate bid. Others believe he suffered as a consequence of his position on the abortion issue. Governor Casey, a pro-life Democrat who originally appointed Wofford to the Senate, refused to campaign for the incumbent due to his pro-choice stance. While these two factors surely figured into the decision of some voters, economic issues, including taxes and jobs, also played a decisive role.

The final vote showed Wofford doing best among less than high school educated voters, union households, blacks, and those making less than \$30,000 a year. Self-described moderates favored Wofford over Santorum by a 15-point margin, and independents were slightly more likely to vote for him as well. Santorum's base came from middle to high income families, whites, Protestants, high school and college graduates.

Geographically, a weak turnout in Philadelphia county, a long-time Democratic stronghold, combined with a high turnout in the predominantly conservative South Central and North Central regions of the state to make the race particularly tough for the incumbent senator. Vital to Wofford's victory in 1991 were the four suburban counties of Philadelphia. Traditionally considered solid Republican territory, Wofford won three of them that year. In 1994, however, these areas returned to the Republican fold.

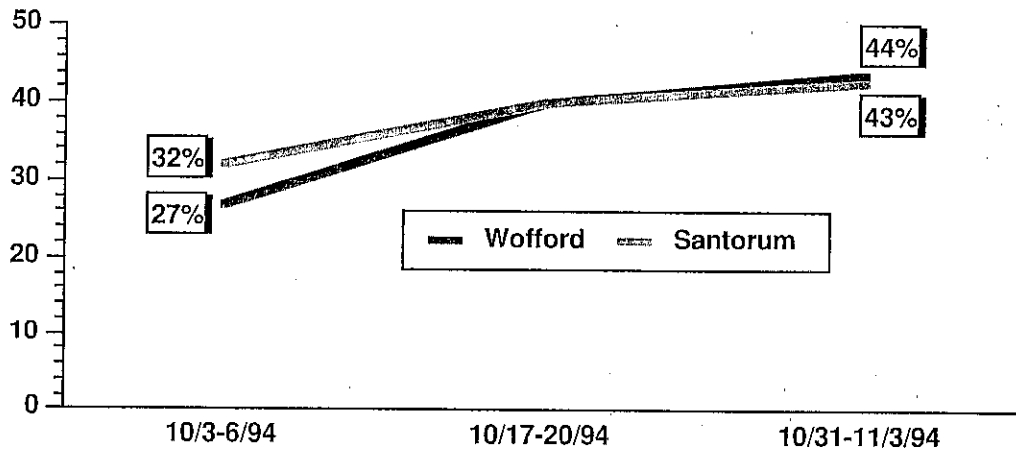
As the Philadelphia suburbs go, so goes the nation.

### Senate Race—1994

|                            | Wofford<br>(D)<br>47% | Santorum<br>(R)<br>49% |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| <b>ALL</b>                 |                       |                        |
| <b>By Gender</b>           |                       |                        |
| Male                       | 45                    | 51                     |
| Female                     | 48                    | 47                     |
| <b>By Age</b>              |                       |                        |
| 18-29                      | 44                    | 51                     |
| 30-44                      | 44                    | 52                     |
| 45-59                      | 53                    | 44                     |
| 60+                        | 45                    | 50                     |
| <b>By Education</b>        |                       |                        |
| Less than HS               | 57                    | 38                     |
| HS Grad                    | 43                    | 52                     |
| Some College               | 47                    | 47                     |
| College Grad               | 44                    | 53                     |
| Post Grad                  | 50                    | 47                     |
| <b>By Race</b>             |                       |                        |
| White                      | 42                    | 54                     |
| Black                      | 91                    | 5                      |
| <b>By Income</b>           |                       |                        |
| Less than \$15,000         | 54                    | 37                     |
| \$15,000-29,999            | 50                    | 46                     |
| \$30,000-49,999            | 41                    | 54                     |
| \$50,000-74,999            | 48                    | 49                     |
| \$75,000-99,999            | 50                    | 50                     |
| \$100,000+                 | 38                    | 60                     |
| <b>By Party ID</b>         |                       |                        |
| Democrat                   | 79                    | 16                     |
| Republican                 | 14                    | 83                     |
| Independent                | 49                    | 45                     |
| <b>By Ideology</b>         |                       |                        |
| Liberal                    | 80                    | 18                     |
| Moderate                   | 55                    | 40                     |
| Conservative               | 19                    | 76                     |
| <b>By Denomination</b>     |                       |                        |
| Protestant                 | 40                    | 56                     |
| Catholic                   | 48                    | 48                     |
| Other Christian            | 46                    | 46                     |
| None                       | 61                    | 37                     |
| <b>By Union Membership</b> |                       |                        |
| Union Household            | 54                    | 44                     |

## How the Race Unfolded: The Pre-Election Story— Close from the Start

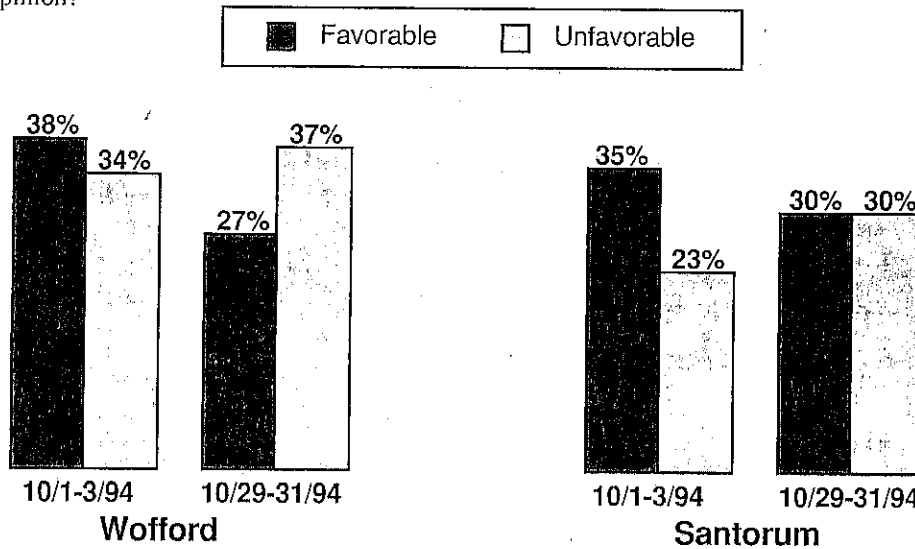
**Question:** In the race for US Senate, who do you plan on voting for... Rick Santorum, Harris Wofford or haven't you made up your mind yet?



Source: Surveys by Carnegie Mellon University for *The Pittsburgh Tribune Review* Publishing Company/Channel 11 News.

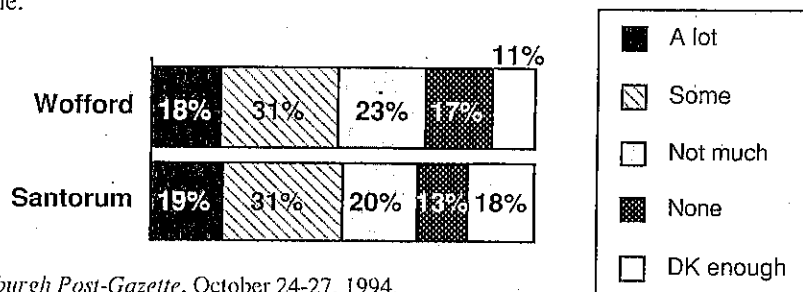
## Neither Candidate Got Great Marks

**Question:** I'd like to ask you a few questions about some people involved in state politics. Is your opinion of (Harris Wofford/Rick Santorum) favorable, not favorable, undecided, or haven't you heard enough about (Harris Wofford/Rick Santorum) yet to have an opinion?



Source: Surveys by The Keystone Poll conducted by the Center for Politics and Public Affairs, Millersville University.

**Question:** Now I'd like to ask you how much trust and confidence you have in some of the candidates for the senate: a lot, some, not much, or none.



Source: Survey by *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, October 24-27, 1994.