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Dole Approved By Economy Watchers
**PUBLIC OPINION IN GRIDLOCK OVER CLINTON
ECONOMIC PACKAGE**

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PUBLIC OPINION IN GRIDLOCK OVER CLINTON ECONOMIC PACKAGE

In just two months, the wide margin of public support for the Clinton economic package has narrowed dramatically, and Americans are now closely divided over whether Clintonomics will pay dividends in the long run.

The public is further split on whether President Clinton can get his package passed in Congress, and most Americans say they will hold the Republican party responsible if the Clinton plan fails there. Republican opposition leader, Bob Dole, is given an approval rating comparable to Clinton's among those who can evaluate him, but he is held in wide esteem by the growing number of Americans who say they oppose the Clinton plan.

The latest *Times Mirror* survey finds support for the Clinton economic plan has shrunk to a 10-point margin (46% favor, 36% oppose). In contrast, in late February, the plan was favored by a 31-point margin (58% to 27%). Even more significantly, the poll finds that public optimism about the long term benefits of the Clinton approach has eroded over the past two months.

As they did in February, most Americans think they and their families will be worse off in the short run if the Clinton economic package is enacted. However, unlike in the earlier survey, the current poll finds the public divided over the personal impact of the plan three years down the road. Now, 39% think they will be better off financially, while 37% think they will be worse off. The same question yielded an optimistic 50% to 32% division of opinion in Times Mirror's February sampling.

Optimism Ebbs

The decline in longer term optimism about Bill Clinton's plan is evident among all demographic and political groups. Curiously, however, the poll finds a larger decline in optimism among Democrats and Clinton voters than among elements of the population less favorable to the President. (See Table on p.5). But in absolute terms, Bush voters are most likely to think they will be worse off as a result of Clinton's plans (68%), followed by Perot voters (52%).

Despite the trend and evident partisanship in responses, the survey continues to find some degree of support for Clinton's policies among upper and middle income groups, who would bear the brunt of the proposed tax increases. Among people earning \$50,000 or more the percentage expecting to be better off under the Clinton plan in the long run is still almost as large as those expecting to be worse off (38% to 42%, respectively). And a 47% to 38% plurality of this group continues to support the plan despite anticipated hardships.

Stimulus Defeat Noted

There is wide public recognition (68%) that President Clinton's economic stimulus program did not get through the Senate. Nonetheless, the public continues to give higher

priority to stimulating the economy to improve economic conditions immediately (52%) rather than to reducing the budget deficit to improve the country's long-term outlook (41%). Opinion has not changed since the beginning of the year on this fundamental policy choice. But then as now, a majority of Bush and Perot voters would give higher priority to reducing the budget deficit. These majorities are offset, however, by the even larger majority of Clinton voters and non-voters who attach more importance to boosting the economy.

The popularity of the stimulus approach and general awareness that Clinton did not succeed on this issue may well account for the lack of confidence the public shows in the Administration's ability to get its broader economic program enacted. Forty-five percent think Clinton will be unsuccessful and 41% successful in this regard. While there is an obvious Republican/Democrat split on this question, majorities of Independents and Perot voters see the Administration failing in this area.

But if that turns out to be the case the GOP is likely to be blamed by the public, especially by those who now favor the Clinton plan. Forty-eight percent would hold the Republicans in Congress accountable if Clinton's plan is not enacted, 18% would blame the Administration itself and 14% the Democrats in Congress. Among those who favor the plan, 64% would hold the Republicans responsible, should the plan not pass.

Dole Approved

Bob Dole's prominence as the opposition leader is reflected in the public's evaluation of him: 37% of the public say they approve of the job he is doing as Senate minority leader, 24% disapproved and 39% expressed no opinion. Dole's approval to disapproval ratio is about the same as Clinton's who in this survey was given a 45% approve, 37% disapprove evaluation. Dole's approval rating is as high as 55% among opponents of the Clinton economic plan, but this is a heavily Republican slice of the population. However, Dole also gets better ratings than Clinton from the informed elements of the public who have been closely following the debate about the stimulus package and news about the national economy more generally.

| | <i>Followed "Very Closely" News about:</i> | | |
|-----------------------|--|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | <i>All Stories</i> | <i>Economic Conditions</i> | <i>Opposition to Stimulus</i> |
| <i>Dole</i> | | | |
| Approve | 37 | 43 | 49 |
| Disapprove | 24 | 33 | 38 |
| DK | <u>39</u> | <u>24</u> | <u>13</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <i>Clinton</i> | | | |
| Approve | 45 | 45 | 43 |
| Disapprove | 37 | 42 | 44 |
| Dk | <u>18</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>13</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Bill Clinton's approval slide since early April is most pronounced among men, political independents, Perot voters, and among whites. (See Table on p.4).

No GOP Gains

Although Bob Dole appears to be benefitting from his role as opposition leader, there is little indication that the Republican party has improved its image of late. The public continues to see the Democrats rather than the GOP as the party that can best bring about change by a wide 49% to 30% margin. However, the GOP has made some inroads over the Democrats on the competency dimension. Last July, a slight 36% to 30% plurality had more confidence in the Democratic party to manage the federal government well. The latest Times Mirror survey finds the GOP once again inspiring more confidence in this area by a slim 36% to 32% margin.

President Clinton's Job Approval Rating

(February, April, May)

| | <i>Feb. 1993</i> | <i>April 1993</i> | <u><i>May 1993</i></u> | |
|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| | % Approve | % Approve | % Approve | % Disapprove |
| <i>Total</i> | 56 | 49 | 45 | 37 |
| <i>Sex</i> | | | | |
| Male | 55 | 49 | 42 | 45 |
| Female | 57 | 49 | 48 | 30 |
| <i>Race</i> | | | | |
| White | 53 | 47 | 41 | 40 |
| Non-white | 77 | 60 | 67 | 15 |
| <i>Age</i> | | | | |
| Under 30 | 59 | 52 | 47 | 36 |
| 30-49 | 56 | 48 | 46 | 36 |
| 50 + | 54 | 47 | 43 | 38 |
| <i>Education</i> | | | | |
| College Grad. | 57 | 48 | 52 | 37 |
| Other College | 51 | 49 | 35 | 39 |
| H.S. Grad. | 59 | 51 | 45 | 35 |
| < H.S. grad. | 55 | 46 | 49 | 39 |
| <i>Family Income</i> | | | | |
| \$50,000 + | 58 | 51 | 45 | 39 |
| \$30,000-\$49,999 | 54 | 46 | 42 | 40 |
| \$20,000-\$29,999 | 61 | 53 | 46 | 36 |
| < \$20,000 | 60 | 49 | 45 | 36 |
| <i>Region</i> | | | | |
| East | 60 | 46 | 56 | 28 |
| Midwest | 57 | 49 | 41 | 40 |
| South | 54 | 49 | 42 | 42 |
| West | 54 | 51 | 44 | 33 |
| <i>Party ID</i> | | | | |
| Republican | 29 | 26 | 21 | 61 |
| Democrat | 82 | 71 | 71 | 14 |
| Independent | 52 | 47 | 39 | 41 |
| <i>Presidential Vote</i> | | | | |
| Bush | 25 | 17 | 12 | 71 |
| Clinton | 88 | 72 | 77 | 11 |
| Perot | 45 | 38 | 29 | 52 |

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

Personal Financial Future

(If Clinton's Economic Program Is Enacted)

In Three Years

| | <i>Better Off</i> | | <i>Worse Off</i> | | <i>No Difference</i> | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------|
| | <u>Feb. 93</u> | <u>May 93</u> | <u>Feb. 93</u> | <u>May 93</u> | <u>Feb. 93</u> | <u>May 93</u> |
| Total | 50 | 39 | 32 | 37 | 5 | 6 |
| Sex | | | | | | |
| Male | 51 | 38 | 35 | 44 | 6 | 4 |
| Female | 49 | 41 | 30 | 30 | 5 | 7 |
| Race | | | | | | |
| White | 48 | 36 | 35 | 40 | 5 | 6 |
| Non-white | 70 | 59 | 14 | 15 | 5 | 4 |
| Age | | | | | | |
| Under 30 | 60 | 50 | 29 | 31 | 4 | 4 |
| 30-49 | 52 | 41 | 34 | 40 | 4 | 5 |
| 50+ | 42 | 30 | 32 | 37 | 7 | 7 |
| Education | | | | | | |
| College Grad. | 50 | 44 | 35 | 38 | 5 | 7 |
| Other College | 50 | 38 | 34 | 41 | 5 | 4 |
| H.S. Grad. | 54 | 37 | 30 | 37 | 6 | 8 |
| < H.S. Grad. | 46 | 41 | 30 | 30 | 5 | 4 |
| Family Income | | | | | | |
| \$50,000+ | 49 | 38 | 37 | 42 | 3 | 7 |
| \$30,000-\$49,999 | 52 | 39 | 37 | 42 | 3 | 6 |
| \$20,000-\$29,999 | 55 | 37 | 25 | 40 | 8 | 4 |
| < \$20,000 | 54 | 43 | 28 | 27 | 8 | 7 |
| Region | | | | | | |
| East | 58 | 44 | 24 | 28 | 6 | 8 |
| Midwest | 49 | 36 | 37 | 37 | 4 | 7 |
| South | 49 | 37 | 33 | 41 | 6 | 4 |
| West | 47 | 42 | 33 | 39 | 7 | 4 |
| Party ID | | | | | | |
| Republican | 25 | 19 | 59 | 59 | 5 | 4 |
| Democrat | 74 | 61 | 10 | 17 | 4 | 8 |
| Independent | 48 | 36 | 34 | 38 | 7 | 5 |
| Presidential Vote | | | | | | |
| Bush | 21 | 14 | 66 | 68 | 2 | 4 |
| Clinton | 78 | 66 | 9 | 13 | 4 | 6 |
| Perot | 38 | 31 | 39 | 52 | 8 | 5 |

Question: What about three years from now ... If Bill Clinton's economic program is enacted, do you think that you and your family will be better off financially or worse off financially three years from now?

Enactment Of Clinton's Economic Plan Will Be:

| | <i>SUCCESSFUL</i> | <i>UNSUCCESSFUL</i> | <i>PARTIALLY SUCCESSFUL</i> | <i>DK</i> | <i>N</i> |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|-----------|----------|
| <i>Total</i> | 41 | 45 | 3 | 11 | (1009) |
| <i>Sex</i> | | | | | |
| Male | 42 | 49 | 3 | 6 | (501) |
| Female | 42 | 41 | 3 | 15 | (508) |
| <i>Race</i> | | | | | |
| White | 38 | 48 | 3 | 12 | (846) |
| Non-white | 65 | 26 | 3 | 6 | (159) |
| <i>Age</i> | | | | | |
| Under 30 | 43 | 46 | 4 | 7 | (236) |
| 30-49 | 43 | 45 | 4 | 9 | (419) |
| 50 + | 39 | 45 | 1 | 15 | (340) |
| <i>Education</i> | | | | | |
| College Grad. | 42 | 44 | 6 | 9 | (292) |
| Other College | 37 | 48 | 5 | 11 | (257) |
| H.S. Grad. | 39 | 49 | 1 | 10 | (349) |
| < H.S. grad. | 52 | 34 | 0 | 14 | (107) |
| <i>Family Income</i> | | | | | |
| \$50,000 + | 37 | 55 | 4 | 4 | (235) |
| \$30,000-\$49,999 | 38 | 50 | 2 | 10 | (238) |
| \$20,000-\$29,999 | 41 | 43 | 3 | 14 | (186) |
| < \$20,000 | 51 | 36 | 2 | 11 | (245) |
| <i>Region</i> | | | | | |
| East | 49 | 38 | * | 12 | (205) |
| Midwest | 33 | 52 | 4 | 11 | (273) |
| South | 43 | 44 | 2 | 10 | (360) |
| West | 41 | 43 | 6 | 11 | (171) |
| <i>Party ID</i> | | | | | |
| Republican | 28 | 60 | 3 | 10 | (286) |
| Democrat | 59 | 27 | 4 | 11 | (322) |
| Independent | 37 | 50 | 2 | 11 | (344) |
| <i>Presidential Vote</i> | | | | | |
| Bush | 19 | 71 | 2 | 9 | (247) |
| Clinton | 62 | 24 | 5 | 10 | (331) |
| Perot | 34 | 61 | 2 | 2 | (127) |

Question: Generally, do you think Bill Clinton will be successful or unsuccessful in getting his economic program enacted by Congress?

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,009 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period April 29 - May 2, 1993. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

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.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone households in the U.S. Estimates of the number of telephone households within each county are derived from 1990 Census data on residential telephone incidence that have been updated with state-level information on new telephone installations and county-level projections of the number of households. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample.

At least three attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home". If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who lives in the household". This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1992). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters. After an optimum sample balancing solution is reached, the weights were constrained to fall within the range of 1 to 5. This constraint is useful to ensure that individual respondents do not exert an inordinate effect on the survey's overall results.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
 NATIONAL OPINION SURVEY
 April 29 - May 2, 1993
 N=1,009

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am _____ calling from the Princeton Survey Research Associates from 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?)

My first question is...

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?

| | | April <u>1993</u> | Feb <u>1993</u> |
|------------------|------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| 45 | Approve | <u>49</u> | <u>56</u> |
| 37 | Disapprove | 29 | 25 |
| <u>18</u> 100 | Don't know | <u>22</u> 100 | <u>19</u> 100 |

Q.1a Do you approve or disapprove of the job Bob Dole of Kansas is doing as a Republican minority leader of the Senate?

| | |
|------------------|------------|
| 37 | Approve |
| 24 | Disapprove |
| <u>39</u> 100 | Don't know |

Q.2 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. (READ AND ROTATE LIST) How closely did you follow news stories about ... (READ SCALE IF NECESSARY)?

| | <u>Very Closely</u> | <u>Fairly Closely</u> | <u>Not Too Closely</u> | <u>Not at All Closely</u> | <u>DK</u> |
|--|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| b. Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy | | | | | |
| February, 1993 | 37 | 38 | 18 | 6 | 1=100 |
| January, 1993 | 49 | 36 | 10 | 5 | *=100 |
| September, 1992 | 42 | 39 | 12 | 7 | *=100 |
| May, 1992 | 43 | 37 | 13 | 6 | 1=100 |
| March, 1992 | 39 | 39 | 15 | 6 | 1=100 |
| February, 1992 | 47 | 38 | 11 | 4 | *=100 |
| January, 1992 | 47 | 37 | 10 | 6 | *=100 |
| October, 1991 | 44 | 40 | 11 | 5 | *=100 |
| | 36 | 38 | 16 | 9 | 1=100 |
| g. Republican opposition to Bill Clinton's economic stimulus package | | | | | |
| | 27 | 32 | 21 | 19 | 1=100 |

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.6 Overall, do you support or oppose Bill Clinton's economic plan?

| | Feb <u>1993</u> |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 46 Support | 58 |
| 36 Oppose | 27 |
| <u>18</u> Don't know/Refused | <u>15</u> |
| 100 | 100 |

Q.6a If Bill Clinton's economic program is enacted, do you think that a year from now you and your family will be better off financially or worse off financially?

| | Feb <u>1993</u> |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 29 Better off | 33 |
| 46 Worse off | 42 |
| 13 No difference (VOL) | 14 |
| <u>12</u> Don't know/Refused | <u>11</u> |
| 100 | 100 |

Q.7 What about three years from now ... If Bill Clinton's economic program is enacted, do you think that you and your family will be better off financially or worse off financially three years from now?

| | Feb <u>1993</u> |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 39 Better off | 50 |
| 37 Worse off | 32 |
| 6 No difference (VOL) | 5 |
| <u>18</u> Don't know/Refused | <u>13</u> |
| 100 | 100 |

Q.7a What do you think Bill Clinton should give higher priority to this year: reducing the budget deficit to improve the country's long term outlook or stimulating the economy to improve economic conditions right away?

| | Jan ¹ <u>1993</u> |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 41 The budget deficit | <u>38</u> |
| 52 Stimulate the economy | 54 |
| <u>7</u> Don't know/Refused | <u>8</u> |
| <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |

Q.7b Generally, do you think Bill Clinton will be successful or unsuccessful in getting his economic program enacted by Congress?

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 41 Successful | |
| 45 Unsuccessful | |
| 3 (DO NOT READ) Will get some | |
| <u>11</u> Don't know/Refused | |
| <u>100</u> | |

¹ In January, 1993 the question was asked: "What do you think Bill Clinton should give higher priority to when he takes office, reducing the budget deficit to improve the country's long term outlook or stimulating the economy to improve economic conditions right away?"

Q.8 To the best of your knowledge, has Bill Clinton been able or unable to get his economic stimulus program through the Congress?

14 Able

68 Unable

18 Don't know/Refused
100

Q.8b If Bill Clinton's economic program is NOT enacted by Congress, who do you think will be most responsible for this, the Clinton Administration itself, the Republicans in Congress or the Democrats in Congress?

18 Clinton administration

48 Republicans

14 Democrats

8 (DO NOT READ) All/Combination

12 Don't know/Refused
100

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.16 Now I am going to read a few phrases about the political parties. For each tell me whether you think the phrase better describes the Republican party or the Democratic party. (READ PHRASE) Does that more accurately describe the Republican party and its leaders or does it more accurately describe the Democratic party and its leaders? ROTATE

| <u>Party</u> | <u>Party</u> | <u>Both</u> | <u>Neither</u> | Republican <u>DK</u> | Democratic | (VOL) | (VOL) | |
|---|--------------|-------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------|-------|-------|--------|
| a. Well organized | | | | 42 | 34 | 6 | 10 | 8=100 |
| July, 1992 | | | | 47 | 24 | 6 | 14 | 9=100 |
| May, 1990 | | | | 40 | 16 | 22 | 13 | 9=100 |
| May, 1988 | | | | 39 | 23 | 15 | 14 | 9=100 |
| January, 1988 | | | | 38 | 20 | 19 | 14 | 9=100 |
| May, 1987 | | | | 34 | 19 | 25 | 13 | 9=100 |
| b. Selects good candidates for office | | | | 36 | 38 | 5 | 9 | 12=100 |
| July, 1992 | | | | 34 | 34 | 4 | 15 | 13=100 |
| May, 1990 | | | | 32 | 22 | 21 | 17 | 8=100 |
| May, 1988 | | | | 28 | 30 | 13 | 19 | 10=100 |
| January, 1988 | | | | 31 | 24 | 18 | 18 | 9=100 |
| May, 1987 | | | | 27 | 26 | 25 | 13 | 9=100 |
| c. Able to manage the federal government well | | | | 36 | 32 | 2 | 17 | 13=100 |
| July, 1992 | | | | 30 | 36 | 1 | 23 | 10=100 |
| May, 1990 | | | | 28 | 20 | 12 | 31 | 9=100 |
| May, 1988 | | | | 33 | 30 | 10 | 17 | 10=100 |
| January, 1988 | | | | 30 | 28 | 12 | 20 | 10=100 |
| May, 1987 | | | | 24 | 25 | 13 | 28 | 10=100 |
| d. Can bring about the kind of changes the country needs | | | | 30 | 49 | 2 | 10 | 9=100 |
| July, 1992 | | | | 24 | 47 | 2 | 16 | 11=100 |
| May, 1990 | | | | 27 | 31 | 13 | 18 | 11=100 |
| May, 1988 | | | | 27 | 43 | 9 | 11 | 10=100 |
| January, 1988 | | | | 28 | 37 | 14 | 11 | 10=100 |
| May, 1987 | | | | 26 | 36 | 14 | 14 | 10=100 |

Q.20 In the Presidential election this past November, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? (IF VOTED: Who did you vote for?)

24 Bush

33 Clinton

12 Perot

1 Voted, don't remember for whom

24 Did not vote

$\frac{6}{100}$ No answer/Refused