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Opinion Poll Experiment Reveals
CONSERVATIVE OPINIONS NOT UNDERESTIMATED,
BUT RACIAL HOSTILITY MISSED

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Opinion Poll Experiment Reveals
CONSERVATIVE OPINIONS NOT UNDERESTIMATED,
BUT RACIAL HOSTILITY MISSED

A unique survey research experiment finds that public opinion polls, as they are typically conducted, do not understate conservative opinions or support for the Republican Party. Conservative critics of the polls have charged that these surveys are politically biased. A methodological study by the Pew Research Center finds little evidence of this, but the study does suggest that white hostility toward blacks and other minorities may be understated in surveys which are conducted in just a few days — as most opinion polls are.

In recent presidential election campaigns, poll critics have charged that media-sponsored public opinion surveys produce biased and inaccurate results. These polls, critics claim, are based on skewed samples that do not fully represent certain kinds of people or points of view. They say it is increasingly difficult for pollsters to get people to participate in telephone surveys with the American public beset by telemarketers and harried by time pressures. As a result, national opinion polls are less reliable than they once were, critics charge.

Most recently, for example, critics argued that polls taken during the last presidential campaign regularly overstated President Clinton's lead over Republican challenger Bob Dole. Political analyst Michael Barone wrote that one theory explaining this bias is that "conservatives are more likely than others to refuse to respond to polls, particularly those polls taken by media outlets that conservatives consider biased." (*The Weekly Standard*, March 10, 1997.)

New York Times columnist William Safire added that most media polls were "grievously misleading," not only exaggerating President Clinton's lead in 1996 but reducing turnout among dispirited Republicans. (*The New York Times*, December 17, 1997.)

Criticism of the national polls comes from other quarters, as well. Scholars argue that the national polls cut too many corners by producing surveys in a short time period — often in a few days — in order to get immediate results, compared to the more rigorous and exhaustive surveys fielded by university research centers.

Few pollsters would dispute that it is increasingly difficult to conduct public opinion surveys, and most would readily admit that time pressures and reduced news media budgets compel them to make a number of methodological compromises. But, they would also argue that their time-tested methods produce stable and reliable measures of public opinion and that their record in forecasting elections, including the last one, is pretty good.

Designed to shed light on the debate, the Pew Research Center conducted two surveys that asked exactly the same questions. The first — the “standard survey” — used typical polling techniques, contacting 1,000 adults by phone in a five-day period beginning June 18. The second — the “rigorous survey” — was conducted over eight weeks beginning June 18. The longer time frame allowed for an exhaustive effort to interview highly mobile people and to gain the cooperation of people who were initially reluctant to participate in the survey.

In addition, many of the respondents in the rigorous survey received an advance letter announcing that an interviewer would be calling and offering a small monetary gift as a token of appreciation. The rigorous survey also used a strictly random method for selecting the person in each household to be interviewed, while the standard survey used a systematic, but non-random technique.

The Findings

A leading criticism of media polls is that they miss some people. If a survey fails to interview some segments of society, then those people's opinions may not be fully reflected in the poll results. Today, most major survey organizations use a statistical procedure known as weighting to mathematically correct their poll results by compensating for those segments of society that they know to be underrepresented.

These adjustments are typically designed to bring a survey sample in line with national figures on the basis of *demographic* measures. Much of the criticism of media polls suggests they are not representative of the nation in their measuring of *political* attitudes. The Pew Research Center experiment was designed to see who gets left out in a standard poll — and more importantly, whether the excluded segment of the population is any different politically from those people who are included in a more rigorous survey.

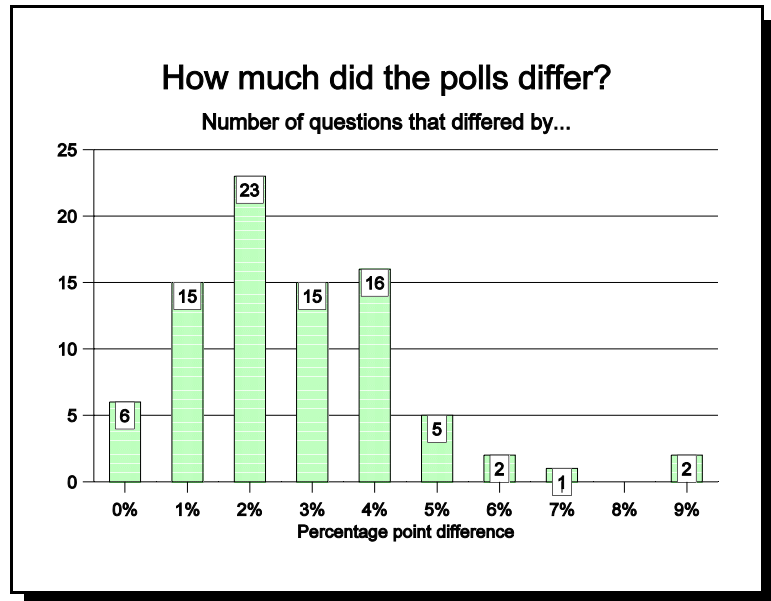
The rigorous survey did a better job than the standard five-day poll in two ways: by reaching *more* households and by getting people in those households to *participate* in the survey. The rigorous survey was successful in making contact with 92% of the working telephone numbers in its sample. In contrast, the standard survey only reached 67%. The rigorous survey also completed more interviews among the people it reached, in many cases because people who initially refused to take part in the poll were called again and persuaded to participate. The rigorous survey achieved a cooperation rate of 79%, compared to a 65% cooperation rate in the standard survey. (Still, while the rigorous survey represented a substantial improvement, neither survey was successful in reaching everyone, since some people repeatedly refused and others were not available

Response Rates for Standard and Rigorous Surveys		
	<u>Standard</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>
	%	%
Percent of working phone numbers contacted	67	92
Percent of contacted numbers that cooperated	65	79
Overall Response Rate	42	71

or did not answer the telephone.)

But as it turned out, the standard and rigorous surveys produced strikingly similar results. Despite the differences in the way the surveys were administered, the findings of the two polls barely differed. The surveys included more than 85 questions concerning media use, lifestyle and a range of political and social issues. Excluding several time-sensitive measures, just five questions showed statistically significant differences between the two surveys.¹

On the *majority* of questions, the responses given by each sample differed by only 3 percentage points or less (see chart). The average difference was just 2.7 percentage points. To put this in perspective, the margin of error for each of the surveys — the amount of error that is likely to occur simply by chance — is 4 percentage points. This means the average difference between the two surveys on a typical question was actually *less* than the margin of error for *either* survey.²



Other differences between the two surveys were equally slight:

- The rigorous sample was slightly more affluent, somewhat better educated and included slightly more whites than the standard sample. But in most respects the two groups were the same — and, more importantly, basically representative of the U.S. population as a whole.
- Politically, there were few significant differences between the two groups. Those in the rigorous sample had slightly higher opinions of the Republican Party and were less

¹The results of any two surveys of about 1,000 people may differ by as much as 5 percentage points just by chance, even when the surveys ask exactly the same question. A difference is described as "statistically significant" when it is larger than what would normally be expected by chance.

²The margin of error for a *difference* between two separate surveys is not, as many people believe, the sum of the margins of error for each survey. It is, however, larger than the margin of error for each survey alone — in this case, it is about 5 percentage points. The standard sample was based on interviews with 1,000 respondents. The rigorous sample was based on interviews with 1,201 respondents.

sympathetic to racial minorities. But on a number of other questions — including party identification and vote in the 1996 presidential election — the rigorous sample was no more conservative than the standard sample.

- The people included in the rigorous and standard samples did not differ in their media use, daily activities and feelings toward others.

In a few instances, significant differences between the two samples seem to reflect actual changes in public opinion between June, when both surveys began, and August, when the rigorous survey was completed. These differences underscore one of the main advantages of the standard five-day survey: shorter-term surveys are able to take a relatively quick snapshot of American opinion that is not affected by changes in public attitudes over time.

For example, 34% of those in the standard sample said Republicans and Democrats have been working together more to solve problems, rather than "bickering and opposing one another." In contrast, significantly more — 40% — in the rigorous sample said Republicans and Democrats have been working together to solve problems. But this difference may reflect an actual change in public attitudes over the course of the summer, following the passage of a balanced budget bill in July. A separate Pew Research Center survey conducted in August found fully 43% saying the two parties have been working together more.

Overall, however, the two surveys consistently offer the same picture of American public opinion in the summer of 1997. The numbers may differ by two or three percentage points, but the basic story is the same. According to the rigorous survey, for example, 57% held a favorable opinion of Congress; according to the standard survey, 52%. Fully 58% said government is "wasteful and inefficient" in the rigorous survey; 59% agreed in the standard survey.

Race and Reluctant Respondents

These findings suggest that for *most* topics, the typical media polls do a good job gauging public opinion. But results based on questions about *racial* issues may be more problematic. In fact, the Pew experiment suggests that accurately measuring racial antagonisms may be a problem in all survey research. This may help explain why pre-election polls have overestimated white support for black candidates in biracial elections.

On two of four questions involving racial issues, white respondents in the rigorous sample were noticeably less sympathetic toward blacks. For example, 64% of whites in the rigorous sample said blacks who can't get ahead are responsible for their own condition, while just 26% blamed racial discrimination. This compares with a narrower 56% to 31% division on the question among whites in the standard sample.

These differences offer a clue into what may be the biggest challenge facing pollsters who seek to accurately measure public opinion on racial issues. People who are reluctant to participate in telephone surveys seem to be somewhat less sympathetic to blacks and other minorities than those willing to respond to poll questions. This suggests that to increase the accuracy of surveys that focus extensively on racial issues, pollsters need to make an extra effort to obtain interviews with people who initially refuse to participate.

On race-related issues, the differences between white respondents who agreed to be interviewed when they were first called and those who first refused are striking. Some 22% of those who initially cooperated held a "very favorable" opinion of blacks, compared to just 15% of those who initially refused. The pattern is similar for other minority group as well.

The remainder of this report outlines the findings of the Pew Research Center experiment. The next four sections provide a detailed comparison of the standard and rigorous surveys, focusing on demographic differences, political attitudes, lifestyles and attitudes toward public opinion surveys. The report concludes with a more extensive analysis focusing on the structure of opinion within the two samples.

Race and Reluctant Respondents*		
	<u>Agreed On</u> <u>First Call</u> %	<u>Agreed Only</u> <u>After Call-Back</u> %
"Very favorable" opinion of...		
Blacks	22	15
Hispanics	18	12
Asians	19	14
Reason why many Blacks can't get ahead these days...		
Racial discrimination	29	21
Blacks are responsible	60	71
National apology for Slavery...		
Favor	34	25
Oppose	58	72
	(N=1519)	(N=249)

* Based on whites only; analysis combines both surveys.

A number of survey researchers contributed to the planning and design of this experiment. We are particularly grateful to Scott Keeter, Robert Groves, Stanley Presser, Mark Schulman, Carolyn Miller and Mary McIntosh for their assistance.

Demographics³

On the whole, both samples (even unweighted) fairly closely reflected the American public. In most demographic categories, both samples differed from U.S. Census figures by 4 percentage points — the statistical margin of error — or less (see Table, p. 12).

While both samples closely approximated the U.S. population across various age groups, they both included a slightly above-average percentage of women and below-average percentage of men than in the United States as a whole. The standard sample also slightly underrepresented whites.

The rigorous sample was slightly more affluent than the standard sample. Some 35% of the rigorous sample had family incomes of \$50,000 or higher, for example, compared with 28% of the standard sample. Consequently, the more affluent rigorous sample provided a more accurate reflection of the public in higher income groups but underrepresented those earning \$20,000 or less. In contrast, the standard sample overrepresented those in the middle-income range (\$30,000 to under \$50,000).

Both samples included above-average percentages of highly-educated Americans. The standard sample exceeded U.S. Census figures for the number of college graduates by 6 percentage points, while the rigorous sample was over by 11 percentage points. Similarly, the standard and rigorous samples underrepresented those with less than a high school education by 7 and 9 percentage points, respectively.

Political Attitudes⁴

There were no significant differences in the way respondents in the standard and rigorous samples described themselves politically, in their views about human nature, or in how well-informed they were about current events. The distribution of Democrats, Republicans and Independents was nearly identical in both samples. Both samples also included similar proportions of self-described liberals and conservatives.

³All demographic comparisons presented in this section are based on *unweighted* data. Most surveys use mathematical weighting procedures, which bring the demographics of a sample in line with the actual demographics of the United States. Since these weighting procedures are specifically designed to compensate for demographic biases that affect nearly all surveys, comparisons based on weighted data would reveal even fewer demographic differences between the two samples than the unweighted comparisons do.

⁴All comparisons on substantive issues presented in the remainder of the report are based on weighted data.

The Pew Research Center experiment provides little evidence that standard survey methods fail to represent the opinions of a more conservative segment of the population. Across eight questions on a range of political attitudes, none revealed a statistically significant difference between the two samples. Further, there is no consistent pattern of those in the rigorous sample holding more conservative opinions than those in the standard sample. For example, the rigorous sample included slightly more Clinton voters (37% vs. 33%) and larger percentages who blamed the Republican-controlled Congress for "things not getting done in Washington" (45% vs. 41%).

Both groups were equally well-informed about current events. Equal numbers in each sample could correctly identify Microsoft CEO Bill Gates, knew which party has a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives and knew that Bob Dole had recently loaned Newt Gingrich money to help pay off the House Speaker's ethics fine.

Political Attitudes		
	Standard Survey %	Rigorous Survey %
Republicans	28	29
Democrats	32	34
Independents	35	32
Conservatives	37	35
Moderates	40	41
Liberals	19	20
Republican Party		
Favorable	52	57
Unfavorable	41	38
Democratic Party		
Favorable	60	62
Unfavorable	34	32
Vote in 1996		
Clinton	33	37
Dole	22	21
Perot	4	3

As noted above, the two samples revealed the sharpest differences on several questions concerning racial issues. Slightly more people in the standard sample described their opinion of blacks as "very favorable" than in the rigorous sample. Those in the standard sample were also less likely than those in the rigorous sample to say blacks who can't get ahead are "mostly responsible for their own condition." On this question, the difference was a full 7 percentage points. In addition, a significantly larger majority of the rigorous sample (59% compared to 50%) oppose a national apology for slavery.

Comparisons based only on white respondents underscore these differences. In the rigorous sample, for example, 64% of white respondents said blacks are responsible for their own situation, while 26% agreed that racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people cannot get ahead. This compares with a narrower 56%-31% split on the question in the standard sample.

These findings suggest that the racial attitudes of white Americans may be among the most difficult to measure in telephone surveys. This is especially true in polls conducted over just a few days because the views of people who are reluctant to participate in surveys differ noticeably on questions concerning racial minorities.

Compared to whites who agreed to be interviewed when first called, those who initially refused to be interviewed — and agreed only when they were called back again — were:

- Less favorable toward minority groups. Only 15% held a "very favorable" opinion of blacks (compared to 22%), and just 12% held a "very favorable" opinion of Hispanics (compared to 18%).
- Substantially more willing to blame blacks rather than racial discrimination as the reason more black people can't get ahead these days. Fully 71% of the initial refusers blamed blacks and only 21% blamed discrimination. This compares with a 60% to 29% split among those who initially agreed to participate in the survey.

Notably, this gap between respondents who initially agreed to be interviewed and those who at first refused is *not* apparent on other types of issues. Opinions concerning poor people, elected officials, business corporations and government waste are similar among both cooperators and refusers. Those who are reluctant to participate in surveys differ from others primarily in their attitudes toward racial minorities.

Political Values		
	Standard <u>Survey</u> %	Rigorous <u>Survey</u> %
Government...		
Wasteful	59	58
Does better job	36	38
Poor people..		
Have it easy	45	49
Have hard lives	42	41
Immigrants...		
Strengthen country	41	40
Burden on country	48	52
Business corporations...		
Make too much profit	51	53
Fair amount of profit	43	42
Elected officials...		
Care what I think	28	
	31	
Don't care what I think	67	66
Homosexuality...		
Should be accepted	45	48
Should be discouraged	50	46
School libraries should...		
Ban "dangerous" books	46	51
Carry books they want	50	46

Lifestyles

The people in the standard and rigorous sample are nearly the same in their patterns of media use, daily activities and feelings about other people. Essentially equal numbers of each sample said they watched television news (64% in the rigorous, 65% in the standard), read a newspaper (45%, 47%) or listened to news on the radio (46%, 49%) "yesterday." The two samples also included similar percentages of people who listen to radio shows, watch daytime talk shows on television, and use a computer at home or work.

A Day in the Life Of...		
	<u>Standard</u> Survey %	<u>Rigorous</u> Survey %
Asked about "yesterday,"		
percent who...		
Visited family/friends	74	73
Called someone to talk	65	65
Watched tv news	65	64
Heard radio news	49	46
Read a newspaper	47	45
Exercised	37	41
Went shopping	30	30

The two groups are also similar in how they view others. Some 58% of the rigorous sample and 55% of the standard sample said "most of the time people try to be helpful," while 38% and 37%, respectively, said people are "mostly looking out for themselves." Other questions concerning trust in others revealed even smaller differences between the two samples.

Those in the rigorous sample seemed slightly more secure in their ability to call on others. Nearly half (47%) of the rigorous sample said they can turn to "many" people when they need help, compared to 41% of the standard sample. But there were no discernible differences between the two groups in terms of time spent doing volunteer work or church attendance. Equal numbers said they feel safe when walking in their neighborhood after dark, as well.

Attitudes toward Surveys

The people in the rigorous sample were no more suspicious of public opinion polls than those in the standard sample — nor were there any differences between those who agreed to be interviewed the first time they were asked and those who initially refused and only agreed when called back again. Majorities of both samples (68% in the rigorous, 66% in the standard) said most opinion polls work "for the best interest" of the public, although similar majorities (65%, 67%) doubted that a random sample of 1,500 to 2,000 people can "accurately reflect the views" of the nation. Finally, majorities in both surveys (78% in the rigorous, 75% in the standard) said they would participate in a survey again.

Structure of Opinion

Not only were there few differences between the standard and rigorous surveys in the aggregate, but there was also no evidence of deeper, underlying differences in the structure of public opinion between the two samples. By examining the extent to which people gave similar responses to questions raising similar issues, this section provides additional evidence that the standard and rigorous samples are not substantially different from one another.

On several topics the survey included two or three questions that each addressed the same general issue. When people are asked two questions concerning the same general issue, most people would be expected to give similar answers to both questions. Respondents who identify themselves as Republicans, for example, would be expected to reflect their partisan leanings when asked to rate the parties. Presumably, they would give relatively high ratings to the Republican Party and low ratings to the Democratic Party.

The design of the survey made it possible to compare people's responses to a set of two or three related questions on four different topics: government and politics, the political parties, race relations and human nature. Not surprisingly, people's answers to four questions concerning the political parties were strongly associated with one another. Most respondents identified more closely with one party or the other, held a higher opinion of that party and blamed the *other* party for things "not getting done" in Washington. Similarly, people's answers to three questions about human nature were consistent. Those who describe others as trustworthy are the same people who view others as "fair" and "helpful."

More importantly, however, the extent to which people's answers are consistent across questions is the same in both the standard and rigorous samples. In the standard sample, 61% of Republicans blamed the Clinton administration more for not getting things done in Washington, while just 27% blamed the Republican-controlled Congress. In the rigorous sample, 66% of Republicans blamed the administration and 26% blamed Congress. The responses among Democrats, not surprisingly, were nearly the reverse — but the same in both the standard and rigorous samples.

Consistent Attitudes toward the Parties					
	Standard Survey		Rigorous Survey		
	<u>Reps</u> %	<u>Dems</u> %	<u>Reps</u> %	<u>Dems</u> %	
Opinion of Rep Party...					
Favorable	86	29	89	37	
Unfavorable	14	71	11	63	
Opinion of Dem Party...					
Favorable	34	91	40	88	
Unfavorable	66	9	60	12	
Blame for more not getting done...					
GOP Congress	27	69	26	71	
Clinton	61	20	66	20	
Both (Vol)	12	11	8	10	
		(N=380)	(N=431)	(N=432)	(N=530)

This provides additional evidence that the two surveys produced few differences. People in the standard and rigorous samples not only held similar views across individual items, but the underlying structure of their political and social attitudes was also remarkably similar.⁵

⁵The bivariate correlations between responses to sets of related questions in these four areas further support this conclusion. There were 15 questions in the four areas — five on race and minorities, four on the political parties, three on government and politics, and three on human nature. In all, comparisons of responses to these questions within each of the topic areas produced 22 correlations. In only four instances were these correlations substantially different between the standard and rigorous samples, and three of the four differences involved responses to the question concerning a proposed national apology for slavery. As noted, this question — as with several other race-related questions — drew noticeably different responses from people in the rigorous sample.

STANDARD vs RIGOROUS SURVEYS — DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE
(Based on Unweighted Data)

	U.S. Census <u>(CPS)</u> %	Standard <u>Survey*</u> %	(N)	Rigorous <u>Survey*</u> %	(N)
<i>Sex</i>					
Male	48	44	(445)	42	(502)
Female	52	56	(555)	58	(699)
<i>Race</i>					
White	85	79	(780)	83	(988)
Black	11	13	(124)	8	(101)
Other	4	8	(83)	8	(101)
Hispanic	9	7	(73)	6	(71)
Non-Hispanic	91	93	(919)	94	(1121)
<i>Age</i>					
18-24	12	12	(120)	9	(111)
25-34	21	20	(195)	19	(222)
35-44	22	24	(235)	23	(275)
45-54	17	15	(147)	18	(213)
55-64	11	12	(114)	11	(135)
65 +	17	17	(167)	19	(220)
<i>Education</i>					
College Grad	22	28	(277)	33	(395)
Some College	23	23	(232)	24	(286)
High School Grad	37	38	(375)	34	(407)
< H.S. Grad	18	11	(109)	9	(109)
<i>Family Income</i>					
\$75,000 +	16	12	(104)	16	(174)
\$50,000-\$74,999	18	16	(139)	19	(200)
\$30,000-\$49,999	24	30	(261)	27	(292)
\$20,000-\$29,999	15	17	(150)	17	(182)
< \$20,000	27	26	(228)	21	(224)
<i>Employment Status</i>					
Full-time	54	55	(545)	56	(660)
Part-time	12	11	(110)	12	(141)
Not employed	34	33	(329)	32	(387)
<i>Marital Status</i>					
Married	59	54	(539)	56	(670)
Not Married	41	46	(453)	44	(525)
<i>Homeownership</i>					
Own	68	67	(652)	72	(854)
Rent	31	30	(294)	24	(284)
Other	1	3	(34)	4	(47)

* *Note:* Percentages from Standard and Rigorous surveys are based on only those respondents giving a valid answer ("Don't know" and "No answer" excluded).

SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The surveys are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among nationwide samples. The samples for these surveys are random digit samples 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 numbers in the U.S. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. For the Standard sample, a working bank was defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings. For the Rigorous sample, a working bank was defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing one or more residential listings.

The samples were 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.

There were several differences in the way the Standard and the Rigorous surveys were administered:

The Standard survey was conducted June 18-22, 1997. At least five 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. Quotas of approximately 50 percent male respondents and 50 percent female respondents were imposed for the sample.

The Rigorous survey was conducted June 18 through August 12, 1997. Households in the Rigorous sample with listed telephone numbers — for whom a mailing address could be obtained — were sent an advance letter asking for their participation in the survey. A \$2 bill was enclosed with this letter as an additional incentive. There was no limit on the number of attempts to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number — numbers were called throughout the survey period until an interview was completed. 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. A random selection procedure was used to select the respondent to be interviewed in each household. In addition, all interview breakoffs and refusals were contacted up to two additional times in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. For households with a known mailing address, respondents who refused to be interviewed after two calls were sent a conversion letter by priority mail before they were called a third time.

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 1996). 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. In addition to the demographic weighting parameters, the weighting for the Rigorous sample is also adjusted for the number of adults and number of telephone lines in each household. The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

Response Rates

The following table presents the full disposition of sampled telephone numbers for the Standard and Rigorous surveys:

	<u>Standard</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>
Non-sample numbers:		
Telephone number not in service/ not working/business number/fax number	1315	1054
Households never screened:		
No answer/busy/answering machine		
Not available/callback	938	159
Households that refused	678	388
Households with no eligible person:		
Language barrier/health problem/ No person 18 or older	221	227
Households with eligible person:		
Incomplete interviews	42	33
Completed interviews	1000	1201
TOTAL TELEPHONE NUMBERS	4194	3062

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
RESPONSE RATE PROJECT
FINAL TOPLINE**

**Standard Survey N=1,000 (June 18-22, 1997)
Rigorous Survey N=1,201 (June 18 - August 12, 1997)**

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.

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. 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 DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
June, 1997			
Standard	54	34	12=100
Rigorous	57	32	11=100
May, 1997	57	34	9=100
April, 1997	55	34	11=100
February, 1997	60	32	8=100
Early February, 1997	57	30	13=100
January, 1997	59	31	10=100
November, 1996	57	34	9=100
July, 1996	54	38	8=100
June, 1996	54	38	8=100
April, 1996	53	39	8=100
March, 1996	55	38	7=100
February, 1996	51	39	10=100
January, 1996	50	43	7=100
October, 1995	48	42	10=100
September, 1995	45	42	13=100
August, 1995	44	44	12=100
June, 1995	50	40	10=100
April, 1995	47	43	10=100
March, 1995	44	44	12=100
February, 1995	44	44	12=100
December, 1994	41	47	12=100
November, 1994	48	40	12=100
October, 1994	41	47	12=100
Early October, 1994	38	47	15=100
September, 1994	41	52	7=100
July, 1994	45	46	9=100
June, 1994	42	44	14=100
May, 1994	46	42	12=100
March, 1994	45	42	13=100

Q.1 con't ...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
January, 1994	51	35	14=100
Early January, 1994	48	35	17=100
December, 1993	48	36	16=100
October, 1993	44	42	14=100
September, 1993	49	35	16=100
Early September, 1993	43	43	14=100
August, 1993	39	46	15=100
May, 1993	39	43	18=100
Early May, 1993	45	37	18=100
April, 1993	49	29	22=100
February, 1993	56	25	19=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>
June, 1997			
Standard	34	49	17=100
Rigorous	40	45	15=100
May, 1997	40	44	16=100
April, 1997	40	44	16=100
February, 1997	44	42	14=100
January, 1997	38	47	15=100
November, 1996	40	43	17=100
July, 1996	38	48	14=100
June, 1996	36	50	14=100
April, 1996	39	46	15=100
March, 1996	35	51	14=100
February, 1996	33	53	14=100
January, 1996	36	54	10=100
October, 1995	36	51	13=100
September, 1995	36	50	14=100
August, 1995	38	45	17=100
June, 1995	41	45	14=100
April, 1995	44	43	13=100
March 1995	43	39	18=100
December, 1994	52	28	20=100

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.4 I am going to read some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is...(READ AND ROTATE) AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE: Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?

			Oct 1996	Oct 1995	April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994		
a.	<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>							
	59	58	Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient	56	63	63	64	66	
	49	47	Strongly	48	53	51	54	54	
	10	11	Not Strongly	8	10	12	10	12	
	36	38	Government often does a better job than people give it credit for	39	34	34	32	31	
	23	23	Strongly	25	20	19	19	17	
	13	15	Not Strongly	14	14	15	13	14	
	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	
	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	
	b.	45	49	Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return	46	54	52	48	53
33		34	Strongly	35	36	37	35	37	
12		15	Not Strongly	11	18	15	13	16	
42		41	Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently	40	36	39	41	39	
31		29	Strongly	28	25	28	31	27	
11		12	Not Strongly	12	11	11	10	12	
<u>13</u>		<u>10</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	
100		100		100	100	100	100	100	
c.		73	74	The position of blacks in American society has improved in recent years	73	69	70	67	72
		55	57	Strongly	57	52	52	50	52
	18	17	Not Strongly	16	17	18	17	20	
	22	22	There hasn't been much real progress for blacks in recent years	21	27	26	27	25	
	16	15	Strongly	16	20	19	20	18	
	6	7	Not Strongly	5	7	7	7	7	
	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	
	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	
	d.	33	29	Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days	28	37	34	34	32
		22	18	Strongly	19	25	21	24	20
11		11	Not Strongly	9	12	13	10	12	
54		61	Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition	58	53	56	54	59	
41		45	Strongly	45	38	40	40	43	
13		16	Not Strongly	13	15	16	14	16	
<u>13</u>		<u>10</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	
100		100		100	100	100	100	100	

Q.4 con't...

			<u>Oct</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
			<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
	<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>						
e.		Immigrants today strengthen our country because						
	41	40	N/A	37	N/A	N/A	N/A	31
	26	25	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	17
	15	15	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	14
		Immigrants today are a burden to our country						
	48	52	N/A	54	N/A	N/A	N/A	63
	37	39	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	49
	11	13	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	14
	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	N/A	<u>9</u>	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>6</u>
	100	100	N/A	100	N/A	N/A	N/A	100
f.		Business corporations make too much profit	51	N/A	53	51	50	52
	43	43	43	N/A	44	42	40	43
	8	10	8	N/A	9	9	10	9
		Most corporations make a fair and reasonable						
	43	42	42	N/A	43	44	44	43
	28	26	27	N/A	27	26	28	27
	15	16	15	N/A	16	18	16	16
	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	N/A	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	N/A	100	100	100	100
g.		Most elected officials care what people						
	28	31	38	N/A	33	32	29	34
	17	18	23	N/A	18	18	17	18
	11	13	15	N/A	15	14	12	16
		Most elected officials don't care what people like						
	67	66	58	N/A	64	64	68	64
	55	53	48	N/A	53	53	56	51
	12	13	10	N/A	11	11	12	13
	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	N/A	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	N/A	100	100	100	100

Q.5 Which comes closer to your view?... Abortion should be generally available to those who want it; Abortion should be available but under stricter limits than it is now; Abortion should be against the law except in cases of rape, incest, and to save the woman's life; Abortion should not be permitted at all.

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>June</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>--- CBS/NYT ---</u> <u>Feb 1996</u>
30	30	Generally available	32	36
21	24	Available, but under stricter limits	24	22
36	32	Against law except rape/incest/save life	33	34
12	13	Abortion should not be permitted at all	9	7
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100		100	100

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about taxes...

Q.6 Thinking ahead to the year 2000, as I read the following pair of statements, please tell me which is more likely to happen. Do you think... **(READ)?**

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>Nov.</u> <u>1996</u>
90	93	The average American will pay MORE in taxes OR	82
7	6	The average American will pay LESS in taxes	14
1	*	Neither/no change (VOL)	2
<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	DK/Refused	<u>2</u>
100	100		100

Q.7 On the issue of cutting taxes for the middle class, who has the best ideas — Republican Congressional leaders, Democratic Congressional leaders, or Bill Clinton?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>Feb.</u> <u>1995</u>
30	30	Republican Congressional leaders	30
23	20	Democratic Congressional leaders	15
18	21	Clinton	30
10	9	None of the above (VOL)	8
<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	DK/Refused	<u>17</u>
100	100		100

ASK Q.8 OF FORM 1 ONLY

Q.8F1 What should be given a higher priority, cutting taxes for the middle class or taking steps to reduce the budget deficit?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>Feb.</u> <u>1995</u>
37	38	Cutting taxes for the middle class	37
53	56	Taking steps to reduce the budget deficit	56
5	4	Both equally (VOL)	4
<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	DK/Refused	<u>3</u>
100	100		100

(n=500) (n=584)

ASK Q.8a OF FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.8aF2 Do you think the government can reduce the federal budget deficit and cut taxes for the middle class at the same time, or not?

			--- CBS ---
<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>Aug. 1996</u>
47	47	Yes	42
48	48	No	51
<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	DK/Refused	<u>7</u>
100	100		100
(n=500)	(n=617)		

M.1 ONLY ASKED OF RESPONDENTS THURSDAY THROUGH SUNDAY: [Standard N=769; Rigorous N=990]

ON A DIFFERENT TOPIC . . .

M.1 There has been discussion in Washington about how to keep the Medicare program financially sound for future generations. Congress is now considering several proposals to reduce the costs of the program. As I read each, tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose it. First, **(READ AND ROTATE)**.

		<u>Strongly Favor</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Strongly Oppose</u>	<u>DK Ref.</u>
a.	Gradually raise the age at which one is eligible for Medicare from 65 to 67					
	June, 1997					
	Standard	13	20	34	31	2=100
	Rigorous	9	19	40	30	2=100
b.	Require individual seniors who make more than \$50,000 a year and couples who make more than \$75,000 a year to pay a larger share of their doctors' bills.					
	June, 1997					
	Standard	26	34	25	12	3=100
	Rigorous	22	37	25	12	4=100

INTERVIEWER NOTE: FOR QUESTIONS Q.9, Q.10 and Q.11, PLEASE DETERMINE WHAT DAY OF THE WEEK IT IS. IF THE DAY OF THE WEEK IS SUNDAY, PLEASE READ "FRIDAY". IF THE DAY OF THE WEEK IS NOT SUNDAY, READ "YESTERDAY".

**ASK ALL:
NOW, ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...**

Q.9 Did you get a chance to read a daily newspaper yesterday, or not?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>April 1996</u>	<u>June 1995</u>	<u>March 1995</u>	<u>Feb 1994</u>	<u>Jan 1994</u>	<u>March 1991</u>	<u>Gallup 1965</u>
47	45	Yes	50	52	45	58	49	56	71
53	55	No	50	48	55	42	50	44	29
<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	Don't Know	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.10 Did you watch the news or a news program on television yesterday, or not?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>1965</u>
65	64	Yes	59	64	61	74	72	68	55
35	35	No	40	35	38	26	27	32	45
*	<u>1</u>	Don't Know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	*	<u>0</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.11 Did you listen to any news on the radio yesterday, or not?⁶

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>1965</u>
49	46	Yes	44	42	47	47	47	44	58
50	53	No	55	56	52	52	52	56	42
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*	<u>0</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.12 I'd like to know how often you watch or listen to certain TV and radio programs. For each that I read, tell me if you watch or listen to it regularly, sometimes, hardly ever, or never. (First) how often do you ... **(READ AND ROTATE)**

		<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Some- times</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	Listen to Rush Limbaugh's radio show					
	June, 1997					
	Standard		5	11	12	71
	Rigorous		4	11	14	71
	April, 1996		7	11	11	70
	July, 1994		6	20	13	61
						*=100
b.	Listen to religious radio shows such as "Focus on the Family"					
	June, 1997					
	Standard		11	17	15	57
	Rigorous		11	18	17	54
	April, 1996		11	14	13	62
						*=100
c.	Watch the daytime talk shows Ricki Lake, Jerry Springer, or Jenny Jones					
	June, 1997					
	Standard		8	13	20	59
	Rigorous		7	15	20	58
	April, 1996		10	14	17	59
						*=100

⁶ From March 1991 to October 1996 respondents were asked, "How much time, if any, did you spend listening to any news on the radio yesterday, or didn't you happen to listen to the radio yesterday?"

Q.13 Do you use a computer at your workplace, at school or at home on at least an occasional basis?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>Late Sept 96⁷</u>	<u>Early Sept 96</u>	<u>July 1996</u>	<u>April 1996</u>	<u>March 1996</u>	<u>Feb 1996</u>	<u>Jan 1996</u>
60	62	Yes	59	56	56	58	61	60	59
40	38	No	41	44	44	42	39	40	41
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	DK/Refused	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

IF YES:

Q.13a Do you ever use a computer at work, school or home to connect with computer bulletin boards, information services such as America Online or Prodigy, or other computers over the Internet?

BASED ON TOTAL RESPONDENTS:

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>Late Sept 96⁸</u>	<u>Early Sept 96</u>	<u>July 1996</u>	<u>April 1996</u>	<u>March 1996</u>	<u>Feb 1996</u>	<u>Jan 1996</u>
29	32	Goes on-line	23	22	23	21	22	21	21
31	30	Does not go on-line	36	34	33	37	39	39	38
0	0	Don't know/Refused	0	0	0	*	0	*	0
<u>40</u>	<u>38</u>	Not a computer user	<u>41</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>41</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Now thinking GENERALLY, not just about the area where you live. . .

14. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>Feb. 1997</u>
42	43	Most people can be trusted	45
54	54	Can't be too careful	52
3	2	Other/Depends (VOL)	2
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>
100	100		100

15. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>Feb 1997</u>
39	38	Would take advantage of you	37
56	57	Would try to be fair	58
4	3	Depends (VOL)	4
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>
100	100		100

⁷ Based on registered voters only.

⁸ Based on registered voters only.

16. Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>Feb</u> <u>1997</u>
55	58	Try to be helpful	56
37	38	Just looking out for themselves	39
6	3	Depends (VOL)	4
<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>
100	100		100

INTERVIEWER NOTE: FOR SUNDAY RESPONDENTS, OMIT THE WORD 'AGAIN'.

- Q.17 Thinking again about what you did YESTERDAY, as I read from a list tell me if you did this yesterday or not...
(READ)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/NA</u>
<u>Yesterday did you:</u>			
a. Visit with family or friends			
June, 1997			
Standard	74	26	*=100
Rigorous	73	27	0=100
June, 1995	69	31	*=100
February, 1994	57	43	*=100
b. Get some kind of vigorous exercise such as jogging, working out at a gym, or playing a racquet sport			
June, 1997			
Standard	37	63	*=100
Rigorous	41	59	*=100
February, 1994	26	74	*=100
c. Call a friend or relative just to talk			
June, 1997			
Standard	65	35	*=100
Rigorous	65	35	*=100
June, 1995	56	44	*=100
February, 1994	63	37	*=100
d. Go shopping for something other than food or medicine			
June, 1997			
Standard	30	70	*=100
Rigorous	30	70	*1=00

Now I'd like to ask you about some things that have been in the news recently. Not everyone will have heard about them...

- Q.18 Do you happen to know which political party has a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1995</u>
50	48	Republicans	70	73
6	6	Democrats	8	5
<u>44</u>	<u>46</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>22</u>	<u>22</u>
100	100		100	100

Q.19 Do you happen to know who lent Newt Gingrich some of the money he needed to pay off his ethics fine?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
36	34	Bob Dole
5	5	Anyone else
<u>59</u>	<u>61</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	

Q.20 Do you happen to know who Bill Gates is? (IF "YES," ASK:) Who is he?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
46	47	CEO/head of Microsoft/computer company; Maker of Windows programs; computer guy
7	7	Some other answer
<u>47</u>	<u>46</u>	No/DK/Refused
100	100	

Q.21 I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. (First,) would you describe your opinion of (INSERT ITEM: ROTATE ITEMS) as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? (INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")

	Very Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Never Heard <u>of</u>	Can't <u>Rate</u>
a. Congress						
June, 1997						
Standard	4	48	34	8	0	6=100
Rigorous	5	52	31	7	*	5=100
May, 1997	5	44	32	10	*	9=100
February, 1997	6	46	31	9	*	8=100
January, 1997	6	50	32	8	*	4=100
June, 1996	6	39	38	12	*	5=100
April, 1996	6	39	37	13	0	5=100
January, 1996	4	38	38	16	*	4=100
October, 1995	4	38	42	13	0	3=100
August, 1995	5	40	34	13	*	7=100
June, 1995	8	45	31	11	*	5=100
February, 1995	10	44	27	10	0	9=100
July, 1994	7	46	34	9	*	4=100
May, 1993	8	35	35	13	0	9=100
November, 1991	7	44	34	9	0	6=100
May, 1990	6	53	25	9	1	6=100
May, 1988	8	56	23	5	0	8=100
January, 1988	6	58	25	4	0	7=100
May, 1987	10	64	16	4	*	6=100
January, 1987	7	52	23	8	0	10=100
June, 1985	9	58	21	5	*	7=100

Q.21 con't...

		<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never Heard of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>
b.	Labor unions						
	June, 1997						
	Standard	15	43	25	10	*	7=100
	Rigorous	12	42	27	12	*	7=100
	May, 1997	15	34	26	13	*	12=100
	April, 1996	10	37	28	17	*	8=100
	February, 1996	17	37	27	14	*	5=100
	July, 1994	14	43	28	10	*	5=100
	June, 1985	9	37	30	17	*	7=100
c.	Business corporations						
	June, 1997						
	Standard	8	60	18	7	*	7=100
	Rigorous	7	63	19	6	*	5=100
	May, 1997	9	50	21	7	1	12=100
	June, 1996	10	52	25	6	*	7=100
	February, 1996	9	50	24	10	1	6=100
	October, 1995	6	54	29	7	-	4=100
	July, 1994	8	62	19	5	*	6=100
	November, 1991	8	57	22	6	0	7=100
	January, 1988	6	53	27	5	*	9=100
	June, 1985	8	50	24	7	1	10=100
d.	Militia Groups						
	June, 1997						
	Standard	2	7	26	54	4	7=100
	Rigorous	3	6	28	55	2	6=100
e.	Jews						
	June, 1997						
	Standard	26	56	7	2	1	8=100
	Rigorous	25	59	5	2	*	9=100
f.	Blacks						
	June, 1997						
	Standard	25	62	5	2	0	6=100
	Rigorous	21	65	8	1	0	5=100
g.	Hispanics						
	June, 1997						
	Standard	19	59	9	4	*	9=100
	Rigorous	18	56	13	4	1	8=100
h.	Asians						
	June, 1997						
	Standard	20	56	9	4	*	11=100
	Rigorous	17	59	10	4	*	10=100

Q21. con't...

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
i.	The Democratic Party						
	June, 1997						
	Standard	10	50	26	8	*	6=100
	Rigorous	12	50	24	8	*	6=100
	January, 1997	13	47	28	7	*	5=100
	October, 1995	9	40	37	11	-	3=100
	July, 1994	13	49	27	7	*	4=100
	May, 1993	14	43	25	9	0	9=100
	July, 1992	17	44	24	9	*	6=100
j.	The Republican Party						
	June, 1997						
	Standard	9	44	30	11	*	6=100
	Rigorous	7	50	27	11	*	5=100
	January, 1997	8	44	33	10	*	5=100
	October, 1995	10	42	28	16	*	4=100
	July, 1994	12	51	25	8	*	4=100
	May, 1993	12	42	25	10	0	11=100
	July, 1992	9	37	31	17	*	6=100

Q.22 In general, would you describe your political views as ... (READ)

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>June 1996</u>	<u>April 1996</u>	<u>July 1994</u>
7	5	Very conservative	7	7	7
30	30	Conservative	32	31	32
40	41	Moderate	38	39	39
14	15	Liberal, OR	14	14	15
5	5	Very liberal?	6	5	4
<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	DK/Refused (DO NOT READ)	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100	100		100	100	100

Q.23 Thinking about the Democratic and Republican Parties, would you say there is a great deal of difference in what they stand for, a fair amount of difference, or hardly any difference at all?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>Oct 1995</u>	<u>July 1994</u>	<u>May 1990</u>	<u>May 1987</u>
25	20	A great deal	34	23	24	25
48	51	A fair amount	46	51	45	45
25	26	Hardly any	18	24	27	25
<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	DK/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100

Q.24 This year, have Republicans and Democrats in Washington been working together more to solve problems, OR have they been bickering and opposing one another more than usual?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		Oct <u>1995</u>	Aug <u>1993</u>
34	40	Working together more	21	20
49	48	Opposing each other more	72	57
6	5	Same as in past (VOL)	3	13
<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>	DK/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>
100	100		100	100

Q.25 Who would you say is more responsible for things not getting done in Washington, the Republican-controlled Congress or the Clinton Administration?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		Sept 1992 ⁹	
41	45	Congress	46	- Democratically controlled Congress
34	34	Clinton Administration	40	- Bush Administration
12	9	Both equally (VOL)	--	
<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	DK/Refused	<u>14</u>	
100	100		100	

Now thinking about your personal life. . .

26. When you need help, would you say that you can you turn to many people for support, just a few people, or hardly any people for support?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		Feb. <u>1997</u>
41	47	Many people	39
45	40	Just a few people	51
12	13	Hardly any people	8
1	*	No one/None (VOL)	1
<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>
100	100		100

Q.27 Aside from weddings and funerals how often do you attend religious services... more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
12	11	More than once a week
26	26	Once a week
17	17	Once or twice a month
20	22	A few times a year
15	15	Seldom
10	9	Never
<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	

⁹ In 1992 the question was worded "... the Democratically controlled Congress or the Bush Administration?"

Q.28 In the last year or so, have you done any volunteer work for any church, charity or community group?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
58	57	Yes
42	43	No --GO TO Q.29
*	*	Don't know/Refused -- GO TO Q.29
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

Q.28a Was that a one-time thing, or do you do volunteer work on an occasional basis, or on a regular basis?
(INTERVIEWER, IF RESPONDENT HAS TROUBLE UNDERSTANDING THE QUESTION, ADD: the volunteer work you did in the last year or so for any church, charity, or community group)

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
10	8	One-time
44	53	Occasional
46	39	Regular
*	*	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	
(n=597)	(n=720)	

ASK ALL:

Q.29 Have there been times during the last year when you did not have enough money to buy food your family needed?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
19	17	Yes
81	83	No
*	*	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

Q.30 Have there been times during the last year when you did not have enough money to buy clothing your family needed?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
20	16	Yes
80	84	No
*	*	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

Q.31 Have there been times during the last year when you did not have enough money to pay for medical or health care?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
23	21	Yes
76	79	No
<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

Q.32 In general, how safe would you say you are from crime when walking in your neighborhood after dark... would you say you are very safe, somewhat safe, not too safe, or not at all safe?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
46	46	Very safe
37	39	Somewhat safe
11	10	Not too safe
4	4	Not at all safe
<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know/refused
100	100	

Q.33 In the past 12 months, have you or your family, or has someone else in your neighborhood... **(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ORDER.)?**

		<u>Yes,</u> <u>Self or</u> <u>Family</u>	<u>Yes, someone</u> <u>Else in</u> <u>Neighborhood</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>Know</u>
a.	Had money or property stolen June, 1997				
	Standard	14	20	64	2=100
	Rigorous	15	17	66	2=100
b.	Been physically assaulted or mugged June, 1997				
	Standard	4	8	87	1=100
	Rigorous	3	7	89	1=100

Q.34 Do you happen to have any guns or revolvers in your home?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
40	41	Yes
57	56	No
<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	

Q.35 Now I'm going to read you some more PAIRS of statements. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is... **(READ AND ROTATE) (AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE: Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?)**

	<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>		<u>Oct</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
a.			Homosexuality is a way of life						
	45	48	that should be accepted by society	44	44	45	47	46	46
	32	34	Strongly	32	29	29	30	33	26
	13	14	Not Strongly	12	15	16	17	13	20
			Homosexuality is a way of life						
	50	46	that should be discouraged by society	49	49	50	48	48	49
	43	40	Strongly	42	42	41	40	41	41
	7	6	Not Strongly	7	7	9	8	7	8
	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
				<u>Oct</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	
b.			Books that contain dangerous						
	46	51	ideas should be banned from	44	46	45	42	46	
	39	45	public school libraries	39	37	40	36	37	
	7	6	Strongly	5	9	5	6	9	
			Not Strongly						
			Public school libraries should						
	50	46	be allowed to carry any books	51	52	52	53	55	
	40	37	they want	43	41	44	47	39	
	10	9	Strongly	9	11	9	8	12	
	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	Not Strongly	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	
	100	100	Neither/Don't know	100	100	100	100	100	
				<u>Oct</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	
c.			We will all be called before God on						
	82	79	Judgment Day to answer for our sins	80	81	83	81	80	
	77	72	Strongly	74	76	75	74	71	
	5	7	Not Strongly	7	7	6	6	9	
			I don't believe we will have to answer						
	13	15	for our sins on Judgment Day	13	13	14	14	16	
	9	10	Strongly	9	9	9	10	9	
	4	5	Not Strongly	4	4	5	4	7	
	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	
	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	
				<u>Oct</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	
d.			There is simply no excuse for the						
	87	88	Oklahoma City bombing, period						
	84	86	Strongly						
	3	2	Not Strongly						
			There is no excuse for the bombing,						
			But one can understand the frustrations and anger						
	12	10	that may have led people to carry it out						
	8	7	Strongly						
	4	3	Somewhat						
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	Neither/Don't Know						
	100	100							

ASKED ONLY OF THURSDAY-SUNDAY RESPONDENTS [N=769]

R.1 President Clinton is considering asking the country to apologize to African Americans for slavery. Do you favor or oppose this?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
42	34	Favor
50	59	Oppose
<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	

Before we finish up, I'd like to ask you a few questions about polls in general, based on what you know or have heard about them, and not just your experience from this interview...

Q.36 Do you think most opinion polls work for or against the best interests of the general public?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
66	68	Work for the best interests of the general public
20	19	Work against the best interests of the general public
<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	

Q.37 Do you think that a random sample of 1,500 or 2,000 people can accurately reflect the views of the nation's population, or not?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
28	30	Can accurately reflect views
67	65	Cannot
<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	

Q.38 Have you, yourself, ever been questioned in a public opinion poll such as this before today's interview?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
45	44	Yes
54	55	No
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	

FINALLY I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY.

D.1 Sex

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
48	47	Male
<u>52</u>	<u>53</u>	Female
100	100	

D.2 What is your age?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
21	20	18-29
44	44	30-49
17	18	50-64
16	17	65+
<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	DK/Refused
100	100	

D.3 What was the last grade or class that you completed in school?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
17	17	Less than high school
37	37	High School Graduate
23	23	Some College
22	22	College Graduate
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	DK/Refused
100	100	

D.4 Are you, yourself, of Hispanic origin or descent, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other spanish background?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
6	5	Yes
93	94	No
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	DK/Refused
100	100	

D.5 What is your race? Are you white, black or some other?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
84	84	White
11	11	Black
1	1	Asian
3	3	Other or mixed race
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	DK/Refused
100	100	

D.6 Were you, either of your parents, or any of your grandparents born in a country other than the United States or Canada? **(IF YES, PROBE FOR WHOM; CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY)**

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
4	3	Yes, respondent
12	12	Yes, parents
27	28	Yes, grandparents
63	65	No
2	1	DK/Refused

D.7 Are you married, divorced, separated, widowed, or never been married?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
54	60	Married
13	11	Divorced
3	2	Separated
7	7	Widowed
23	20	Never been married
*	*	DK/Refused
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

D.8 Are you the parent or guardian of any children under 18 now living in your household?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
35	36	Yes
65	64	No
*	*	DK/Refused
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

D.9 What is your religious preference - Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Mormon, or an orthodox church such as the Greek or Russian Orthodox Church?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
55	56	Protestant (Baptist, Christian, Episcopal, Jehovah's Witness, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, etc.)
27	26	Roman Catholic
2	2	Jewish -- GO TO D.10
3	2	Mormon (include Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints)
1	*	Orthodox Church (Greek or Russian)
*	1	Islam/Muslim -- GO TO D.10
3	3	Other religion (SPECIFY)
7	9	No religion, atheist -- GO TO D.10
<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

D.9a Would you describe yourself as a "born again" or evangelical Christian, or not?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
40	39	Yes, would
56	58	No, would not
<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

ASK ALL:

D.10 Last year, that is in 1996, what was your total family income from all sources, before taxes? Just stop me when I get to the right category. **(READ)**

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
24	21	Less than \$20,000
15	14	\$20,000-29,999
26	25	\$30,000-49,999
24	30	Total \$50,000 +
14	17	\$50,000-74,999
10	13	\$75,000 +
<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	DK/Refused
100	100	

D.11 These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register... Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district, or haven't you been able to register so far?

D.11a Are you absolutely certain you are registered to vote, or is there a chance your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
74	72	Registered
25	26	Not registered
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	DK/Refused
100	100	

ASK ALL:

D.12 How often would you say you vote...**(READ)**

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
42	40	Always
25	27	Nearly always
12	13	Part of the time
13	13	Seldom
1	*	(DO NOT READ) Other
6	6	(DO NOT READ) Never vote
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	

D.13 In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
28	29	Republican -- GO TO D.15
32	34	Democrat -- GO TO D.15
35	32	Independent
3	3	No Preference
*	*	Other
<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	Don't know
100	100	

IF ANSWERED 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN D.13, ASK:

D.14 As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
34	31	Republican
37	40	Democrat
<u>29</u>	<u>29</u>	Other/Don't know/Refused
100	100	

(n=409) (n=438)

ASK ALL:

D.15 In the 1996 Presidential election, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

D.15a Are you absolutely certain you voted, or is there a chance you may not have?

D.16 In the presidential election, who did you happen to vote for?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
33	37	Clinton
22	21	Dole
4	3	Perot
3	2	Voted, don't remember for whom
30	30	Didn't vote
<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	DK/Refused
100	100	

BASED ON THOSE WHO SAID THEY VOTED IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION:

D.17 And in the 1996 elections for CONGRESS, did you happen to vote for a Republican candidate or a Democratic candidate in your district, or didn't you vote in the Congressional elections?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
39	38	Republican
37	36	Democrat
2	2	Other/Independent Candidate
9	10	Didn't vote for Congress
<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	

(n=714) (n=878)

ASK ALL:

D.18 Do you own or rent your own home?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
64	70	Own
30	24	Rent
4	5	(DO NOT READ) Other arrangement
<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	(DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused
100	100	

D.19 Are you now employed full-time, part-time, or not employed?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
54	54	Full-time
11	12	Part-time
34	33	Not employed
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	

D.20 Which of the following BEST describes the place where you now live?...**(READ)**

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
20	20	A large city
22	22	A suburb near a large city
37	36	A small city or town
19	21	OR a rural area
<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	(DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused
100	100	

D.21 Have you lived in this community all of your life?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
33	33	Yes -- GO TO D.23
66	66	No
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused -- GO TO D.23
100	100	

D.22 In what year did you move here?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
3	4	Within last year
33	29	Within last 2-5 years
19	18	Within last 6-10 years
43	46	More than 10 years ago
<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	Don't know /Refused
100	100	

(n=676) (n=840)

ASK ALL:

D.23 How many people, including yourself, live in your household?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
19	11	One -- GO TO D.24
32	34	Two
43	49	3-5
4	5	6 +
<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	DK/Refused
100	100	

BASED ON THOSE WITH MORE THAN ONE PERSON IN HOUSEHOLD:

D.23a How many of these, including yourself, are adults 18 years of age or older?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
13	4	One
65	66	Two
20	26	3-4
2	4	5 or more
<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	DK/Refused
100	100	
(n=786)	(n=959)	

ASK ALL:

D.24 How many different telephone numbers will reach this household, including those that are attached to faxes or computers?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
77	82	One
14	13	Two
4	2	Three
1	1	Four or more
<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	DK/Refused
100	100	

BASED ON THOSE WITH TWO OR MORE TELEPHONE LINES:

D.24a Are any of the telephone numbers used exclusively for a computer line or a fax? (IF YES, ASK: How many?)

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
41	60	Yes
37	57	One
4	3	Two
*	0	Three or more
59	40	No
<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	DK/Refused
100	100	
(n=201)	(n=254)	

ASK ALL:

D.25 Is your telephone number currently listed in the telephone directory? (IF NO, ASK: Is that because it's new or because your household does not want to be listed?)

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
71	76	Yes, listed
6	4	Not listed, new listing
20	17	Not listed by choice
<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	Don't Know/Refused
100	100	

NO QUESTION D.26

D.27 If you had it to do over again, would you have agreed to do this interview, or would you have refused?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
75	78	Would participate
20	17	Would refuse
<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	Don't Know/Refused
100	100	

THE FOLLOWING ITEMS ARE TO BE COMPLETED BY THE INTERVIEWER AFTER THE INTERVIEW

D.28 Respondent's cooperation was...

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
61	54	Very Good
28	32	Good
10	12	Fair
1	1	Poor
<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	Very Poor
100	100	

D.29 Overall, how great was Respondent's interest in the interview?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
34	23	Very High
27	30	Above Average
33	39	Average
5	7	Below Average
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Very Low
100	100	

D.30 Please rate the respondent's facility with English.

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
97	96	Respondent was fully conversant in English
3	4	Respondent had occasional difficulty with language
<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	Respondent had considerable difficulty with language
100	100	

D.31 Did respondent appear to have any degree of hearing loss?

<u>Stand.</u>	<u>Rigorous</u>	
93	95	No
6	5	Appeared to have some difficulty hearing
<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	Appeared to have a great deal of difficulty
100	100	