

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS
WELFARE POLICY AND U.S. ECONOMIC DOWNTURN, ECONOMIC
ASCENT, AND ECONOMIC COMPLIANCY**

An Undergraduate Research Scholars Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

The Relationship between Public Attitudes of Welfare Policy and U.S. Economic Downturn,
Economic Ascent, and Economic Compliancy

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My research explores the relationship between public attitudes towards welfare policy and the condition of the U.S. economy. Specifically, I was interested in whether attitudes regarding public welfare policy would improve during an economic crisis or deteriorate. I have also found several relationships that predict the support or opposition of welfare spending for particular groups. To determine these relationships, I analyzed survey data from the General Social Survey (GSS) to determine the relationships between public opinion towards welfare policy. I analyzed data of self-reported information from 1974 to 2014, and this data set included approximately 60,000 respondents. The variables I tested included: respondent gender, respondent age, respondent race, respondent party affiliation, and respondent education level. Additionally, to determine the relationships between public attitudes, welfare policy, and the state of the U.S. economy, I included three hypotheses: a) Hypothesis 1: There is a relationship between public attitudes of welfare and economic hardship, b) Hypothesis 2: Public policy, like welfare, is influenced by public opinion, and vice versa, c) Hypothesis 3: Economic events and respondent variables influence welfare policy and public opinions. Overall, I found that economic events do slightly influence public opinion towards welfare spending. For example, support for welfare

spending slightly increased during the Great Recession. Furthermore, a spike in welfare opposition was recorded in 1994. This may be explained by the political discourse of welfare policy at that time because soon after the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 was passed. This would suggest that public policy change is influenced by public opinion. Finally, respondent variables of age, race, education level, and political party affiliation influence welfare attitudes.

DEDICATION

I began this research after noticing how many people know very little about the welfare system in the country and in my home state of Texas. This disturbed me because so many people depend on welfare services and welfare services depend on the voting support of the general public.

While I dug deeper into this topic as a possible area of research, the main political topic of the time was the United States economy and the federal debt and deficit. As a result, many publically funded originations, departments, and programs found themselves on the chopping block or their funding slashed and many public services were no longer available. However, in some states these actions came about through voting decisions while at the same time other states increased funding to these institutions through the same medium. This is when my hypothesis was developed.

This research could not have been accomplished without the Undergraduate Research Scholars Program and without my research mentor Dr. Gatson from the sociology department of Texas A&M University. I am very thankful to them both for their opportunities, guidance, and support throughout this process. I've been challenged through every rewrite and revision I am so thankful for the detailed comments and advice because it has truly made me a better writer and researcher.

I am also grateful to the Sociology Research Fellows Program because this program accepted me early enough in my undergraduate career to plant the seed of research within my academic goals so I could pursue my own sociological interests. Therefore, I must thank Dr. Gatson again for heading this program and my very first research mentor Dr. Campbell. I'm still using the tools

and advice I learned through the Fellows program, and specifically, I want to thank Dr. Campbell for showing me how to use Stata and Microsoft Excel to run statistical analysis. I will never look at Excel the same way again. Also, I want to give a special thank you to Dr. Poston for his help regarding his demography expertise and point of view. Overall, the sociological department of Texas A&M has been incredibly supportive of undergraduate research as a whole. As a result, I have finished my second research paper and I have gained a passion for research.

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

In regards to my hypothesis, my goals to be achieved while completing this research included: a) Find a relationship between public attitudes of welfare and economic hardship, b) understand how public policy, like welfare, is influenced by public opinion, or vice versa, c) find patterns in welfare policy changes and public opinions. In order to adequately examine and complete these goals, I broke my main thesis into three working hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: There is a relationship between public attitudes of welfare and economic hardship.

Hypothesis 2: Public policy, like welfare, is influenced by public opinion, and vice versa.

Hypothesis 3: Economic events and respondent variables influence welfare policy and public opinions

The definition of “welfare” for this article

The relationship between public attitudes and welfare is highlighted by trends influenced by general societal attitudes and public policy. However, this also brings forth a limitation when comparing previous studies on this topic from the literature. The term ‘welfare’ acts as an ambiguous umbrella term, and it refers to several different U.S. federal and state assistance programs over time. The data from GSS does not specify the type of welfare it is referring too in the question, but instead, allows the respondent to define the term welfare. Therefore, respondent impressions and assumptions about welfare as a whole are recorded. It is also important to

understand federal welfare policy between 1974 and 2014 because it is most likely to be the type of policy that most respondents are familiar. Before 1997, federal welfare policy consisted of many different policy changes to the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program established in 1935. Major federal welfare legislation arose when, according to the Congressional Research Service, the welfare program TANF (Temporary Assistance to Needy Families) was enacted by the Clinton Administration under the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act in 1996. TANF officially became effective on July 1, 1997. Overall, the goal of this piece of legislation is to be a temporary source of financial assistance from the federal government. Under this act, it only provides a maximum of 60 months of financial benefits within one's lifetime, depending on state provisions. Also, TANF benefits will stop if beneficiaries do not find a job within 24 months of beginning the program.

How the data set influences the resulting relationship

Sundberg explains “that different researchers pursue... attitudinal studies from different perspectives and in order to answer different questions” (2013:429). Therefore, selecting a particular data set over another may produce different results and it would be impossible to compare the results between different data sets. Overall, the literature provides mixed data on patterns of the public’s attitudes of welfare and how public opinion relates to policy change. One reason for this may relate to the term welfare as an umbrella term. The research method of the study combined with how the study defines welfare can determine the results of the study. Also, there is little research directly comparing economic circumstances to public approval of welfare. Overall, there may be benefit to board term welfare used in the GSS survey questions because it does not limit responses to one particular from of welfare policy.

SECTION II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The nature of this topic maintains many different possibilities for variables because of the many different types of welfare programs under this umbrella term, and welfare programs range from state to state. Furthermore, the time period of the study can also influence results depending on the era of welfare reform. Therefore, the literature ranges widely on this topic and results tend to contradict one another. However, demographic data is generally consistent and reveal the characteristics of groups in support or in opposition of the welfare state. For example, the group most “critical” of welfare includes “those with the lowest levels of education” (Achterberg). Additionally, several studies found that the approval or disapproval of welfare policies depended on respondent “perceptions of recipient deservingness” (Petersen). Regardless of demographic data, the relationship of political discourse and policy to the current economic status remains constant. Another factor influencing these varied results is the varied history of welfare and welfare reform over the last one hundred plus years. Inclusion of welfare policies in U.S. legislation began in the early 20th century at the state level with the passage of worker’s compensation policy. Each political movement brought forth its own reincarnation of welfare legislation from The Progression Movement, The New Deal, The Great Society, and The War on Poverty. As public support waxed and waned for welfare policy eventually in the 1990s, “Popular support for American welfare policies dipped sharply” during the Clinton administration (Schneider). Thus, this time period brought forth modern welfare policy as we know it today.

SECTION III

RESEARCH METHOD

The welfare infrastructure in the United States is a patchwork of different laws and policies, and its implementation depends on further policies set at the state level. Therefore, I chose a data set that employed the most general use of the term welfare in order to understand overall public sentiment towards the topic. The General Social Survey (GSS) is a collection of survey-based data of public attitudes regarding a variety of topics, and this data can be tracked beginning in 1972 to 2014. With this data, I was able to compare mean respondent scores toward welfare over time, contextualized within an economic timeline.

I analyzed variables from the General Social Survey (GSS) from 1974 to 2014. The survey for each year contained a sample size of approximately 1500 respondents for an overall total of about 60,000 respondents. I compared variables to respondent scores to the survey questions: 1.) Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on welfare?; 2.) Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on assistance to the poor? Additionally, respondent scores for both welfare questions were coded as 1 for too little, 2 for about right, and 3 for too much. Then, I analyzed mean respondent scores of the two welfare survey questions within several categories:

Does gender influence welfare attitudes?

Does age influence welfare attitudes?

Does race influence welfare attitudes?

Does party affiliation influence welfare attitudes?

Does education level influence welfare attitudes?

Analysis

The GSS data set does not begin collecting data for every variable at the same time. Nor do all variables follow a specific pattern of data collection. For example, respondent data for welfare spending begins in 1973 while respondent data for assistance to the poor begins in 1984. All respondent data is self-reported, and each year includes approximately 1500 respondents.

Finally, GSS framed the question in terms of welfare spending and not welfare attitudes specifically. However, I have reasoned, for example, that a respondent would only support welfare spending if they obtained a positive view on welfare as well.

SECTION IV

RESULTS

With the exception of the years 1998 and 2002, respondents over the age of 51 are more to oppose welfare reform, and white respondents are more likely to oppose welfare spending. According to Figure 10, respondents affiliated with the Democratic Party were more likely to support welfare spending. Respondent education level also followed the overall trend within 1974 to 2014. Respondents with higher degrees were less likely to support welfare spending, while respondents with less than a high school education were more likely to support welfare spending.

Hypotheses

Support for welfare slightly increased during Great Recession between 2007 and 2010. This would support the existence of a relationship between public attitudes of welfare and economic hardship. The spike in opposition to welfare spending in 1994 could be explained by the political discourse of welfare policy change at that time. In 1996, the Clinton Administration passed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act. This would suggest that public policy change is influenced by public opinion. We can also conclude that economic events impact welfare attitudes. Overall, respondent variables of age, race, education level, and political party affiliation influence welfare attitudes. After analyzing the survey results, I found a sharp difference in responses between the survey questions relating to assistance to the poor and welfare spending. Respondents are more likely to support spending to assist the poor if the term welfare is not mentioned.

SECTION IV

CONCLUSION

This study illustrates key relationships that predict the support or opposition of welfare spending for particular groups. However, this study cannot determine the factors or motivations behind these relationships. There is support for the hypothesis that there is a relationship between public attitudes towards welfare policy and the condition of the U.S. economy. In Figure 12, we can see changes in support and opposition for welfare spending in connection to economic upturn and downturn. During the Great Recession period between 2007 and 2010, there was a slight increase for welfare spending. However, other economic turmoil resulted as the backdrop for a decrease in support for welfare spending. For example, high rates of inflation in the 1970's may be the influence for this decrease in public support. Therefore, there is also support for the hypothesis stating a relationship exists between public attitudes of welfare and economic hardship.

My second hypothesis related public policy to public opinion, and vice versa. Support for this can be found with the spike in opposition for welfare spending in 1994 in Figure 12. This could be explained by the political discourse of welfare policy change at that time. Moreover, two years later, the Clinton Administration passed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. This would suggest that public policy change is influenced by public opinion. Additionally, economic events and respondent variables influence welfare policy and public opinions. Respondent gender related to welfare attitudes provided mixed results and followed the overall trend overtime. Overall, respondent variables of age, race, education level, and political party affiliation influence welfare attitudes.

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APPENDIX A

TIMELINE OF U.S. FEDERAL WELFARE REFORM FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY TO TODAY

January 17, 1935

During the Great Depression, the Roosevelt administration passes the Social Security Bill. This legislation outlines “Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and other relief programs such as old age benefits, unemployment insurance, and aid to the blind”.

December 1940

An estimated 360,000 families are receiving AFDC payments through the Social Security Bill.

1950’s

There is an addition of 110,000 families receiving AFDC payments.

1960’s

AFDC recipients grows by another 800,000 families.

1962

President John F. Kennedy signs The Public Welfare Amendments of 1962. This legislation was designed to “encourage states to provide social services leading self-care and self-support”.

1964

As a part of President Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty", the Economic Opportunity Act is passed. This legislation is included within many social programs that were associated with the "Great Society".

1972

The Nixon Administration passed the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program aimed to aid those "aged (65 or older), blind, or disabled", and thus gave welfare implementation to the Social Security Administration on the federal level.

1988

In order to provide support to those transitioning from government assistance to work, Congress passes the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS). 1996 During the Clinton administration, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 is passed. As a result, the AFDC expires and "is replaced with block grants for Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF)".

August 5, 1997

Two important pieces of legislation are passed including The Balanced Budget Act of 1997 and The Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997. The Balanced Budget Act of 1997 includes "three billion-dollar welfare to work grant" and The Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997 "expands the Work Opportunity Tax Credit Program and creates the welfare to work Tax Credit". Additionally, the new tax credits are only "available to employers who hire certain recipients of public assistance".

October 8, 1997

An estimated 105 million Americans are on welfare during this time. With several forms of new legislation regarding welfare in place, President Bill Clinton declares an “unprecedented decline” of those receiving government payments. A decrease of 3.6 million Americans recipients is recorded from the beginning of the Clinton administration.

1999

Of the total U.S. population of 279 million in 1999, about 6,676,000 families are record as living at or below the poverty line, and a “family of three with a net income under \$12,228 is considered to be living below the poverty line”.

2001-2002

Congress debates the issue of the “reauthorization of TANF block grants to states”. Congress has the power to cancel programs, resulting in the cut of billions of dollars if they decide “that the funds were unspent or poorly handled”.

APPENDIX B

TIMELINE OF THE U.S. ECONOMY FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY TO TODAY

- 1914–1918: World War I
- 1920–1929: Roaring Twenties
- 1929–1941: The Great Depression
- 1939–1945: World War II
- 1945–1973: Postwar prosperity
- 1970s: Inflation
- 1976–1992: Deregulation and Reaganomics
- 1990s – late 2000s: The Rise of Globalization
- Great Recession/Global Financial Crisis
 - 2007–08: U.S. Housing Financial Crisis
 - 2008–10: U.S. Automotive Industry Crisis

APPENDIX C

FIGURES AND TABLES OF WELFARE ATTITUDES

Tables

Table 1

Welfare spending	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1995	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
Too little 1	297.00	320.00	347.00	396.00	380.00	398.00	396.00	496.00	341.00	316.00	338.00	362.00	356.00	362.00	374.00	348.00	366.00	330.00	388.00	217.00	221.00	282.00	279.00	331.00	380.00	351.00	234.00	397.00	350.00
About right 2	365.00	471.00	423.00	335.00	351.00	382.00	378.00	491.00	446.00	362.00	246.00	244.00	176.00	226.00	228.00	232.00	261.00	198.00	339.00	379.00	498.00	531.00	502.00	475.00	515.00	348.00	338.00	333.00	372.00
Too much 3	770.00	623.00	635.00	885.00	910.00	892.00	827.00	779.00	743.00	393.00	334.00	294.00	236.00	297.00	318.00	255.00	280.00	428.00	900.00	884.00	598.00	518.00	533.00	554.00	539.00	355.00	408.00	427.00	602.00
Don't know 8	65.00	59.00	79.00	64.00	75.00	56.00	62.00	91.00	64.00	13.00	30.00	26.00	30.00	24.00	42.00	35.00	39.00	40.00	54.00	45.00	62.00	72.00	41.00	40.00	48.00	48.00	33.00	38.00	49.00
No answer 9	7.00	3.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	2.00	4.00	5.00	9.00	6.00	4.00	10.00	3.00	6.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	1.00
Not applicable 0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	983.00	783.00	740.00	1216.00	763.00	789.00	698.00	761.00	807.00	1484.00	1463.00	1451.00	1488.00	1487.00	1411.00	3025.00	1019.00	1030.00	976.00	1264.00
Total	1504.00	1484.00	1480.00	1499.00	1530.00	1572.00	1468.00	1868.00	1598.00	1473.00	1534.00	1470.00	1819.00	1481.00	1597.00	1372.00	1517.00	1686.00	2992.00	2944.00	2832.00	2817.00	2765.00	2812.00	4510.00	2023.00	2044.00	1974.00	2538.00
Mean	2.33	2.22	2.20	2.46	2.30	2.49	2.45	2.17	2.26	2.19	2.28	2.19	2.11	2.28	2.19	2.15	2.17	2.41	2.51	2.42	2.28	2.18	2.19	2.16	2.11	2.11	2.18	2.24	2.29

Table 2

Assistance to the poor	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
Too little 1	302.00	489.00	450.00	835.00	510.00	502.00	451.00	484.00	497.00	831.00	768.00	866.00	872.00	922.00	968.00	1034.00	685.00	676.00	587.00	787.00
About right 2	118.00	194.00	200.00	248.00	172.00	173.00	166.00	167.00	177.00	361.00	352.00	364.00	340.00	344.00	324.00	314.00	217.00	223.00	248.00	301.00
Too much 3	52.00	75.00	67.00	96.00	52.00	66.00	48.00	69.00	95.00	211.00	246.00	160.00	151.00	109.00	97.00	124.00	86.00	97.00	100.00	145.00
Don't know 8	13.00	19.00	17.00	26.00	18.00	20.00	16.00	27.00	25.00	45.00	37.00	53.00	41.00	30.00	19.00	36.00	20.00	34.00	40.00	31.00
No answer 9	14.00	2.00	6.00	11.00	11.00	8.00	16.00	14.00	13.00	36.00	60.00	8.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Not applicable 0	974.00	751.00	730.00	683.00	718.00	768.00	674.00	756.00	799.00	1508.00	1441.00	1381.00	1409.00	1358.00	1401.00	3002.00	1004.00	1014.00	998.00	1274.00
Total	1473.00	1534.00	1470.00	1819.00	1481.00	1537.00	1372.00	1517.00	1696.00	2992.00	2944.00	2832.00	2817.00	2765.00	2812.00	4510.00	2023.00	2044.00	1974.00	2538.00
Mean	1.48	1.45	1.48	1.33	1.41	1.38	1.39	1.42	1.45	1.56	1.62	1.49	1.47	1.41	1.37	1.38	1.39	1.42	1.48	1.48

Think of self as liberal or conservative	Table 3																											
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
Extremely liberal 1	22.00	46.00	31.00	37.00	22.00	36.00	48.00	16.00	29.00	35.00	25.00	47.00	34.00	40.00	36.00	37.00	30.00	71.00	59.00	64.00	107.00	47.00	46.00	139.00	69.00	76.00	61.00	94.00
Liberal 2	201.00	179.00	187.00	169.00	142.00	121.00	199.00	67.00	133.00	165.00	132.00	234.00	176.00	178.00	141.00	154.00	180.00	320.00	363.00	357.00	308.00	143.00	120.00	324.00	240.00	259.00	244.00	304.00
Slightly liberal 3	207.00	196.00	186.00	214.00	241.00	208.00	267.00	98.00	177.00	171.00	176.00	226.00	189.00	191.00	179.00	214.00	203.00	378.00	334.00	351.00	285.00	159.00	153.00	517.00	221.00	232.00	200.00	263.00
Moderate 4	564.00	539.00	539.00	564.00	549.00	502.00	694.00	319.00	568.00	566.00	579.00	641.00	514.00	566.00	476.00	584.00	575.00	1049.00	1045.00	986.00	1054.00	522.00	497.00	1493.00	740.00	746.00	713.00	989.00
Slightly conservative 5	221.00	232.00	221.00	251.00	263.00	290.00	235.00	142.00	276.00	271.00	242.00	278.00	246.00	246.00	240.00	218.00	264.00	472.00	451.00	432.00	390.00	289.00	214.00	618.00	268.00	265.00	268.00	334.00
Conservative 6	160.00	150.00	190.00	179.00	188.00	180.00	229.00	108.00	186.00	214.00	289.00	208.00	225.00	194.00	191.00	212.00	264.00	478.00	458.00	415.00	411.00	210.00	223.00	685.00	327.00	315.00	292.00	358.00
Extremely conservative 7	35.00	35.00	27.00	39.00	30.00	44.00	67.00	20.00	41.00	42.00	38.00	45.00	32.00	27.00	51.00	40.00	42.00	183.00	93.00	86.00	89.00	41.00	56.00	167.00	68.00	80.00	68.00	107.00
Don't know 8	70.00	81.00	93.00	71.00	70.00	22.00	104.00	31.00	52.00	63.00	67.00	90.00	56.00	88.00	53.00	54.00	49.00	101.00	155.00	133.00	149.00	36.00	26.00	154.00	77.00	61.00	87.00	65.00
No answer 9	4.00	12.00	5.00	6.00	27.00	17.00	17.00	3.00	11.00	9.00	2.00	42.00	9.00	7.00	4.00	4.00	9.00	12.00	6.00	8.00	24.00	5.00	5.00	23.00	13.00	10.00	13.00	24.00
Not applicable 0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	795.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1395.00	1472.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	1494.00	1490.00	1495.00	1530.00	1532.00	1468.00	1660.00	1599.00	1473.00	1534.00	1470.00	1819.00	1481.00	1537.00	1372.00	1517.00	1666.00	2992.00	2944.00	2832.00	2817.00	2765.00	2812.00	4510.00	2023.00	2044.00	1974.00	2538.00
Mean	4.19	4.17	4.27	4.25	4.26	4.16	4.29	4.30	4.32	4.33	4.31	4.15	4.30	4.29	4.24	4.26	4.28	4.30	4.41	4.27	4.31	4.23	4.30	4.25	4.26	4.20	4.24	4.19

Political party affiliation	Table 4																													
	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
Strong democrat 0	226.00	231.00	246.00	251.00	225.00	275.00	216.00	388.00	382.00	246.00	265.00	244.00	245.00	422.00	236.00	234.00	178.00	224.00	227.00	423.00	408.00	370.00	414.00	488.00	451.00	708.00	390.00	348.00	356.00	428.00
Not str democrat 1	426.00	383.00	373.00	349.00	483.00	400.00	389.00	374.00	484.00	382.00	280.00	351.00	336.00	395.00	323.00	335.00	215.00	319.00	311.00	644.00	577.00	397.00	307.00	515.00	584.00	736.00	331.00	348.00	340.00	406.00
Independent 2	160.00	192.00	207.00	211.00	207.00	208.00	199.00	191.00	243.00	218.00	209.00	159.00	158.00	211.00	180.00	134.00	133.00	131.00	190.00	341.00	356.00	349.00	325.00	267.00	281.00	527.00	262.00	265.00	295.00	337.00
Independent 3	199.00	143.00	144.00	211.00	241.00	175.00	221.00	246.00	226.00	191.00	163.00	146.00	187.00	199.00	186.00	192.00	155.00	188.00	205.00	369.00	457.00	477.00	566.00	528.00	471.00	997.00	322.00	360.00	379.00	502.00
Independent 4	100.00	141.00	106.00	122.00	105.00	138.00	135.00	123.00	152.00	141.00	156.00	157.00	150.00	148.00	140.00	119.00	149.00	169.00	158.00	382.00	258.00	244.00	261.00	199.00	238.00	327.00	162.00	197.00	157.00	249.00
Not str republican 5	231.00	218.00	216.00	236.00	214.00	226.00	246.00	218.00	214.00	256.00	245.00	266.00	241.00	266.00	275.00	300.00	280.00	285.00	299.00	519.00	500.00	484.00	399.00	449.00	425.00	637.00	303.00	277.00	290.00	291.00
Strong republican 6	126.00	123.00	118.00	93.00	96.00	107.00	111.00	114.00	137.00	145.00	125.00	189.00	141.00	151.00	146.00	175.00	160.00	181.00	180.00	321.00	307.00	239.00	285.00	315.00	396.00	495.00	282.00	194.00	192.00	245.00
Other party 7	69.00	62.00	59.00	12.00	4.00	5.00	10.00	9.00	13.00	13.00	22.00	17.00	9.00	15.00	5.00	13.00	12.00	14.00	17.00	44.00	43.00	63.00	48.00	48.00	29.00	65.00	38.00	49.00	54.00	62.00
Don't know 8	0.00	0.00	18.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
No answer 9	6.00	11.00	13.00	5.00	4.00	12.00	5.00	3.00	9.00	6.00	8.00	5.00	3.00	10.00	0.00	5.00	4.00	6.00	9.00	49.00	6.00	9.00	12.00	36.00	12.00	26.00	13.00	16.00	14.00	25.00
Total	1613.00	1594.00	1494.00	1490.00	1499.00	1530.00	1532.00	1468.00	1660.00	1599.00	1473.00	1534.00	1470.00	1819.00	1481.00	1537.00	1372.00	1517.00	1666.00	2992.00	2944.00	2832.00	2817.00	2765.00	2812.00	4510.00	2023.00	2044.00	1974.00	2538.00
Mean	2.52	2.69	2.65	2.48	2.46	2.57	2.70	2.48	2.26	2.66	2.70	2.84	2.70	2.33	2.71	2.85	2.55	2.96	2.94	2.87	2.87	2.81	2.83	2.89	2.91	2.83	2.71	2.75	2.72	2.77

Table 5

Race of respondent	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1993	1994	1995	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
White 1	1348.00	1386.00	1394.00	1323.00	1361.00	1329.00	1338.00	1318.00	1323.00	1416.00	1251.00	1338.00	1349.00	1222.00	1234.00	1215.00	1150.00	1264.00	1247.00	1245.00	1249.00	1241.00	1223.00	1188.00	1234.00	1394.00	1559.00	1550.00	1477.00	1390.00	
Black 2	251.00	283.00	175.00	167.00	129.00	176.00	158.00	140.00	510.00	165.00	170.00	152.00	184.00	544.00	186.00	157.00	159.00	284.00	179.00	388.00	402.00	400.00	429.00	410.00	377.00	634.00	281.00	311.00	301.00	336.00	
Other 3	4.00	13.00	7.00	4.00	9.00	15.00	16.00	10.00	27.00	18.00	52.00	44.00	37.00	53.00	61.00	61.00	61.00	49.00	80.00	121.00	153.00	191.00	175.00	157.00	281.00	190.00	183.00	183.00	196.00	162.00	
Total	1613.00	1594.00	1494.00	1490.00	1499.00	1520.00	1522.00	1468.00	1860.00	1593.00	1473.00	1534.00	1470.00	1813.00	1481.00	1527.00	1372.00	1517.00	1686.00	2950.00	2944.00	2822.00	2817.00	2765.00	2822.00	4510.00	2023.00	2844.00	1974.00	2526.00	

Table 6

Respondent sex	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1993	1994	1995	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
Male 1	807.00	701.00	691.00	670.00	669.00	695.00	643.00	641.00	779.00	690.00	590.00	688.00	621.00	778.00	638.00	660.00	684.00	656.00	663.00	1290.00	1265.00	1232.00	1229.00	1228.00	1380.00	2063.00	930.00	891.00	865.00	1141.00	
Female 2	806.00	893.00	793.00	820.00	830.00	827.00	889.00	827.00	1081.00	903.00	875.00	846.00	849.00	1041.00	845.00	877.00	788.00	861.00	911.00	1702.00	1679.00	1690.00	1588.00	1537.00	1532.00	1507.00	1093.00	1153.00	1089.00	1397.00	
Total	1613.00	1594.00	1484.00	1490.00	1499.00	1520.00	1522.00	1468.00	1860.00	1593.00	1473.00	9	1534.00	1470.00	1813.00	1481.00	1527.00	1372.00	1517.00	1686.00	2950.00	2944.00	2822.00	2817.00	2765.00	2822.00	4510.00	2023.00	2844.00	1974.00	2526.00

Table 7

Age	1970	1971	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
Minimum	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00
1st Quartile	30.00	29.00	29.00	29.00	29.00	30.00	29.00	30.00	29.00	29.00	29.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	31.00	31.75	32.00	32.00	32.25	32.00	32.00	32.00	33.00	34.00	34.00	33.00	33.00	34.00	34.00
Median	45.00	43.00	42.50	42.00	42.00	43.00	40.00	42.00	41.00	40.00	40.00	42.00	41.00	41.00	41.00	42.00	42.00	41.00	43.00	43.00	42.00	42.00	43.00	44.00	44.00	45.00	47.00	47.00	47.00	48.00
Mean	44.95	44.10	44.33	44.21	45.29	44.66	44.01	44.97	44.66	44.30	44.00	45.71	45.43	44.92	45.27	45.44	45.90	45.63	46.05	45.97	44.78	45.56	46.02	46.78	45.96	47.14	47.21	47.97	48.23	49.01
3rd Quartile	58.00	58.00	58.00	58.00	60.00	58.00	58.00	59.00	59.00	58.00	58.00	60.00	60.00	59.00	61.00	60.00	61.00	60.00	60.00	61.00	61.00	62.00	63.00	64.00	64.00	65.00	66.00	66.00	67.00	68.00
Maximum	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00	89.00
Standard deviation	17.10	16.75	17.41	17.67	18.31	17.00	17.81	17.65	18.55	17.51	17.81	17.91	17.80	17.71	18.32	17.81	18.07	17.81	17.36	17.65	16.67	17.10	17.37	17.37	16.80	16.80	17.35	17.68	17.69	17.41
No answer	5.00	4.00	6.00	5.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	5.00	15.00	7.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	12.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	6.00	6.00	4.00	0.00	14.00	9.00	18.00	10.00	3.00	5.00	9.00
Don't know	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Table 8

Number of hours usually work a week	1970	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	
Minimum	10.00	5.00	20.00	4.00	5.00	6.00	10.00	11.00	16.00	7.00	20.00	4.00	25.00	4.00	10.00	20.00	1.00	10.00	5.00	2.00	0.00	12.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	1.00	1.00	12.00	15.00	
1st Quartile	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	24.75	40.00	38.50	40.00	40.00	35.00	38.50	27.50	36.50	30.00	30.00	40.00	40.00	32.50	40.00	35.00	36.50	32.75	24.25	30.00	35.00	35.00	32.75	30.00	31.50	31.50
Median	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00
Mean	40.77	38.96	42.40	39.89	35.44	42.97	39.53	42.40	45.81	37.26	43.82	34.13	41.50	37.95	41.62	42.17	37.79	37.90	41.05	38.00	36.81	38.65	34.00	38.89	39.04	39.30	36.90	35.60	38.70	38.70
3rd Quartile	46.00	40.00	45.00	40.00	40.00	48.50	44.75	45.00	55.00	45.75	49.00	40.00	40.00	42.50	49.00	49.00	40.50	43.00	50.00	44.25	40.00	40.00	42.75	50.00	45.00	45.00	43.00	40.00	45.00	
Maximum	70.00	70.00	75.00	89.00	70.00	80.00	80.00	80.00	75.00	66.00	89.00	60.00	80.00	65.00	84.00	70.00	60.00	60.00	70.00	89.00	60.00	72.00	60.00	80.00	70.00	70.00	70.00	60.00	70.00	
Standard deviation	13.63	9.62	10.37	15.63	15.41	14.12	14.00	10.40	13.25	12.29	16.03	13.57	12.37	14.95	14.69	13.63	13.49	10.62	12.80	15.80	12.49	11.96	15.56	16.63	11.50	14.26	14.60	11.02	12.42	
No answer	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	7.00	3.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	6.00	2.00	16.00	5.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00
Don't know	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Not applicable	1473.00	1430.00	1464.00	1471.00	1491.00	1493.00	1493.00	1823.00	1565.00	1493.00	1495.00	1493.00	1800.00	1460.00	1496.00	1346.00	1489.00	1573.00	2990.00	2844.00	2765.00	2757.00	2713.00	2791.00	4422.00	1960.00	2011.00	1930.00	2496.00	

Table 9

Respondent degree	1970	1975	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
1+ high school 0	695.00	532.00	524.00	534.00	526.00	536.00	470.00	445.00	590.00	419.00	400.00	414.00	399.00	473.00	362.00	336.00	282.00	385.00	294.00	307.00	440.00	430.00	439.00	400.00	364.00	693.00	297.00	305.00	288.00	338.00
High school 1	762.00	720.00	722.00	732.00	728.00	741.00	864.00	745.00	930.00	695.00	764.00	795.00	750.00	934.00	785.00	814.00	726.00	825.00	840.00	1306.00	1507.00	1500.00	1501.00	1485.00	1455.00	2273.00	1062.00	1001.00	976.00	1020.00
Junior college 2	17.00	20.00	25.00	30.00	24.00	34.00	42.00	45.00	74.00	61.00	54.00	60.00	48.00	77.00	65.00	96.00	75.00	73.00	97.00	176.00	187.00	209.00	206.00	202.00	224.00	377.00	175.00	145.00	151.00	186.00
Bachelor 3	124.00	132.00	139.00	140.00	152.00	139.00	151.00	150.00	165.00	202.00	175.00	175.00	192.00	238.00	179.00	189.00	197.00	224.00	259.00	497.00	471.00	478.00	495.00	449.00	507.00	763.00	355.00	375.00	354.00	472.00
Graduate 4	52.00	65.00	73.00	50.00	61.00	74.00	62.00	71.00	84.00	80.00	77.00	90.00	80.00	87.00	89.00	95.00	87.00	81.00	110.00	216.00	224.00	205.00	218.00	230.00	281.00	483.00	194.00	218.00	265.00	282.00
Don't know 8	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	4.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	0.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
No answer 9	23.00	15.00	1.00	1.00	6.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	8.00	1.00	5.00	5.00	9.00	2.00	7.00	5.00	10.00	16.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	1913.00	1594.00	1484.00	1490.00	1499.00	1590.00	1592.00	1480.00	1860.00	1399.00	1473.00	1574.00	1470.00	1815.00	1481.00	1537.00	1371.00	1527.00	1686.00	2992.00	2904.00	2832.00	2817.00	2765.00	2812.00	4510.00	2022.00	2044.00	1974.00	2538.00
Mean	0.63	0.95	1.01	0.95	1.01	1.00	1.05	1.07	1.05	1.21	1.15	1.16	1.17	1.15	1.16	1.26	1.32	1.26	1.42	1.43	1.46	1.48	1.46	1.50	1.61	1.54	1.58	1.61	1.60	1.65

Figures

Figure 10

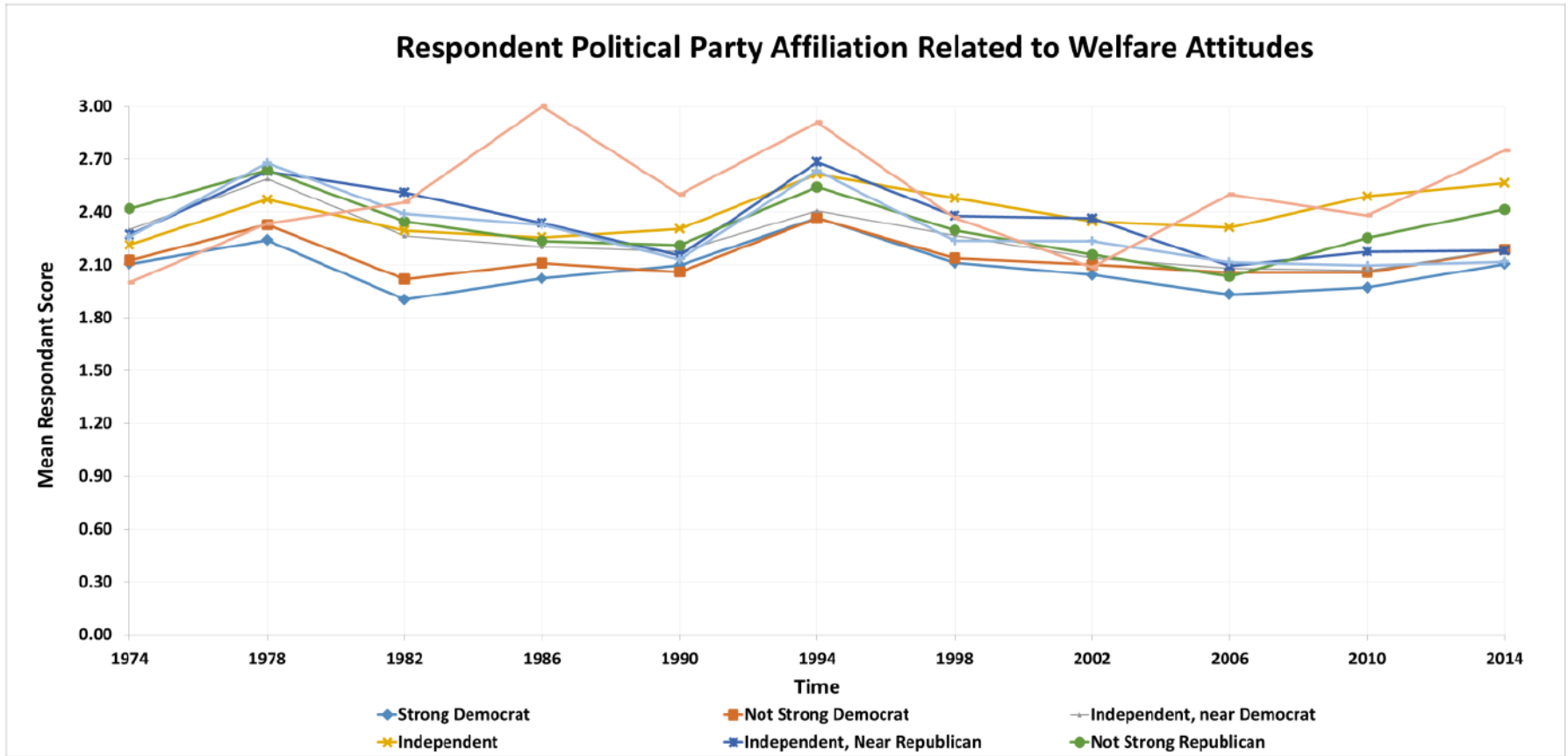


Figure 11

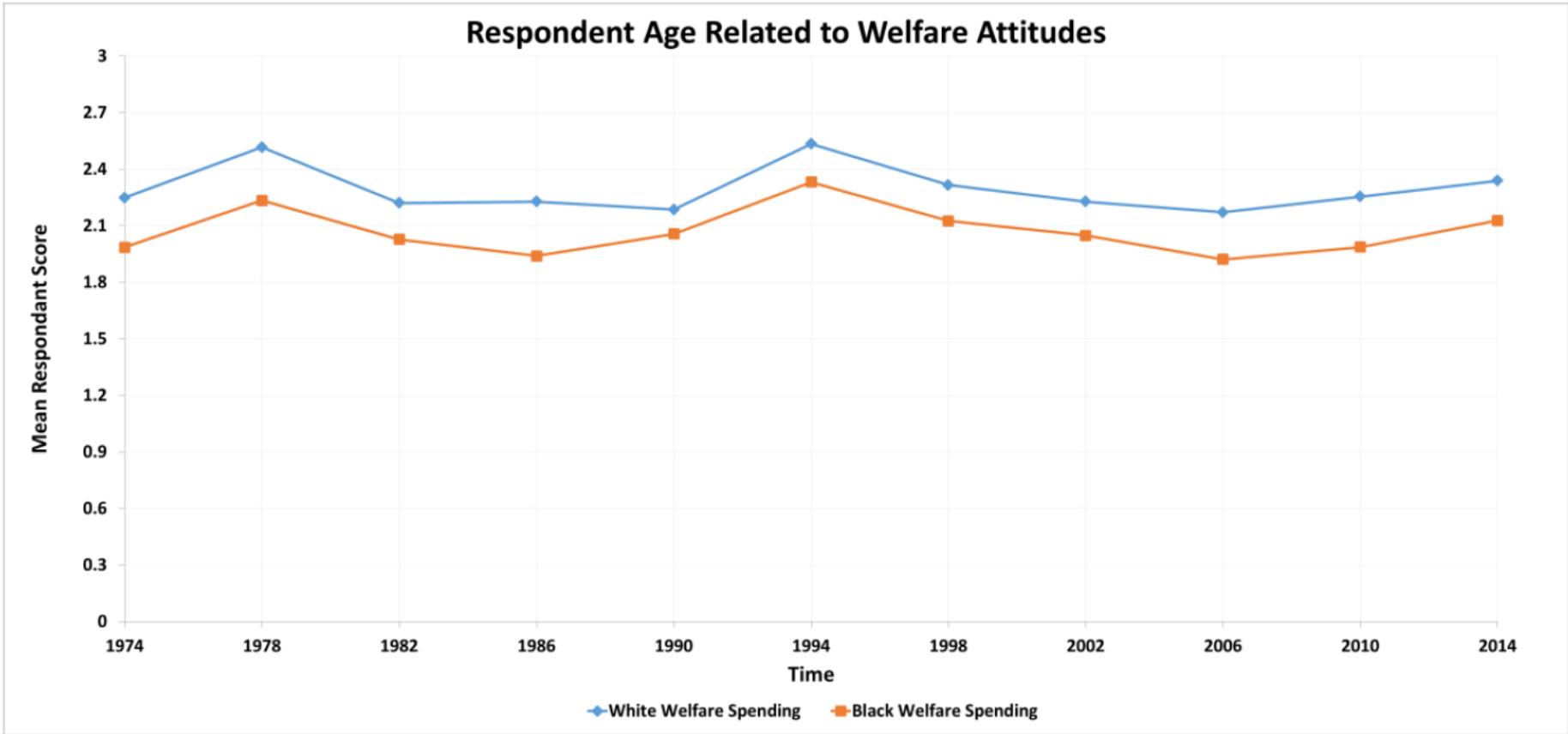


Figure 12

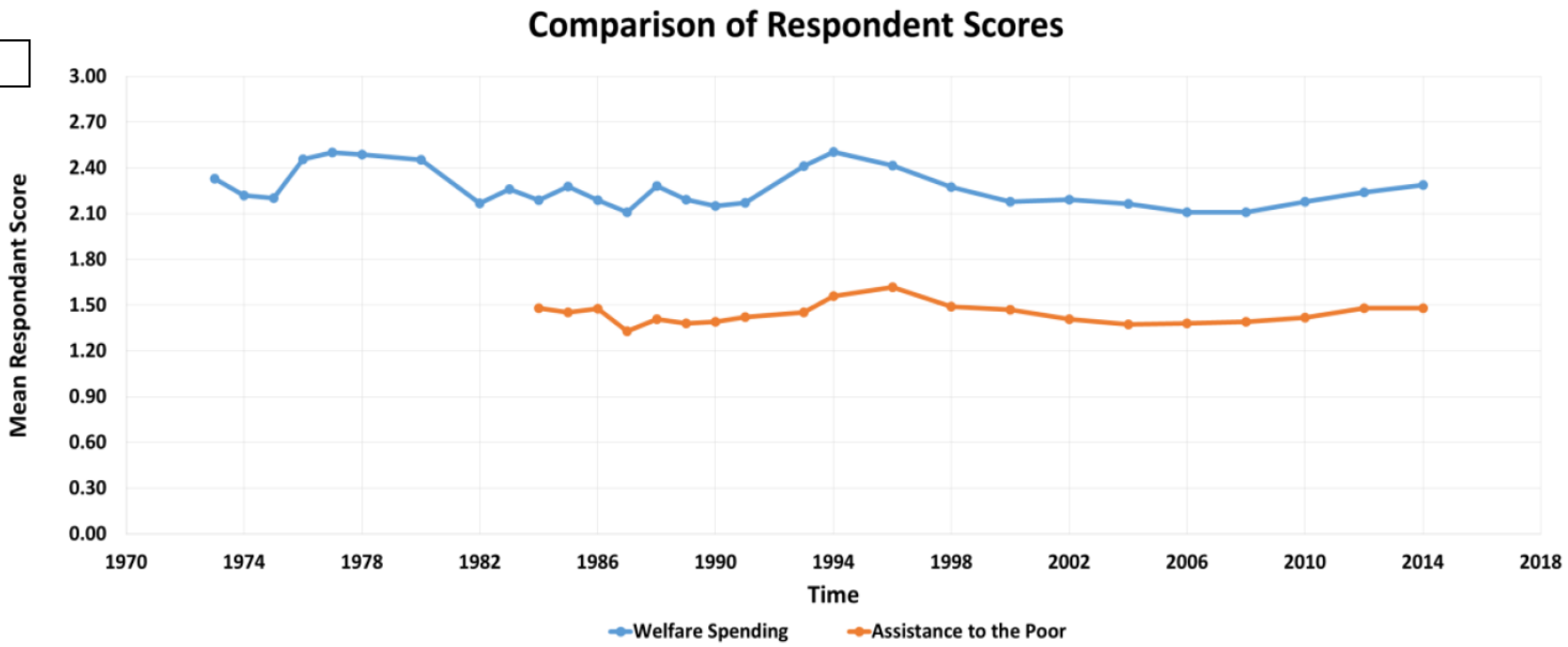


Figure 13

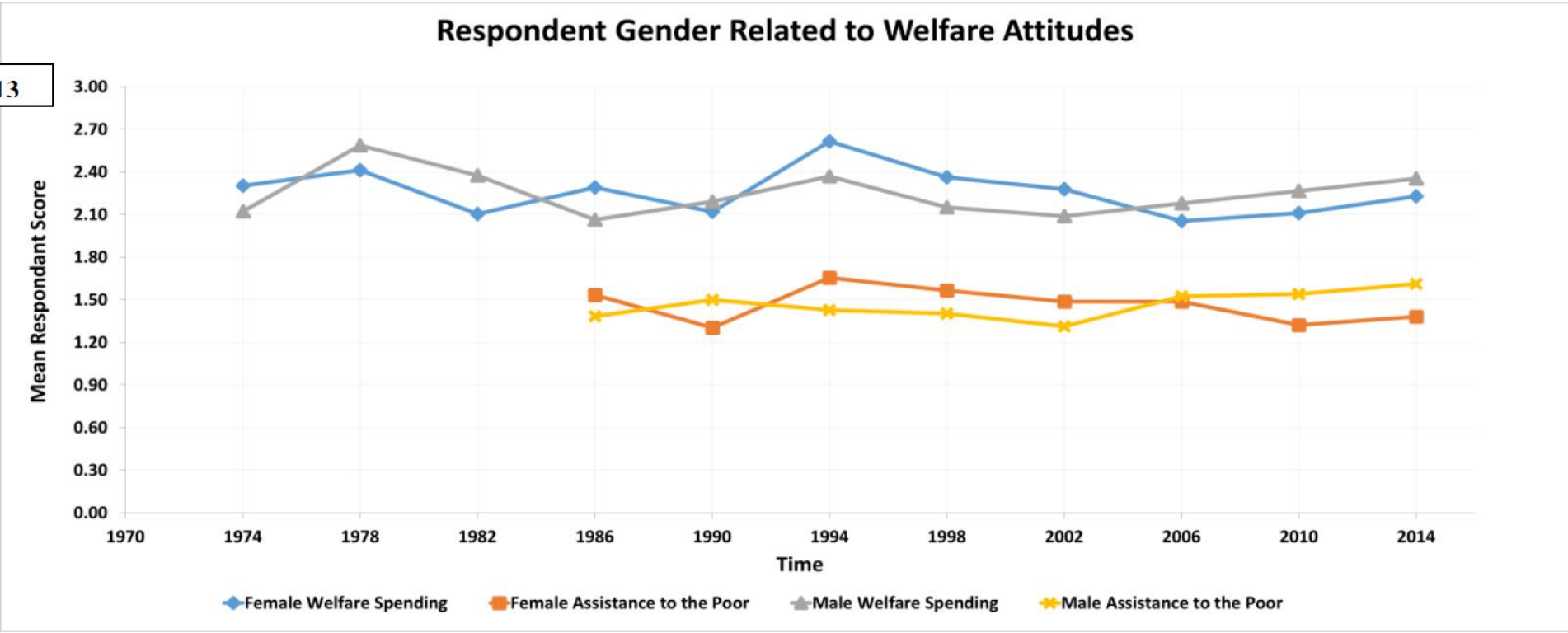


Figure 14

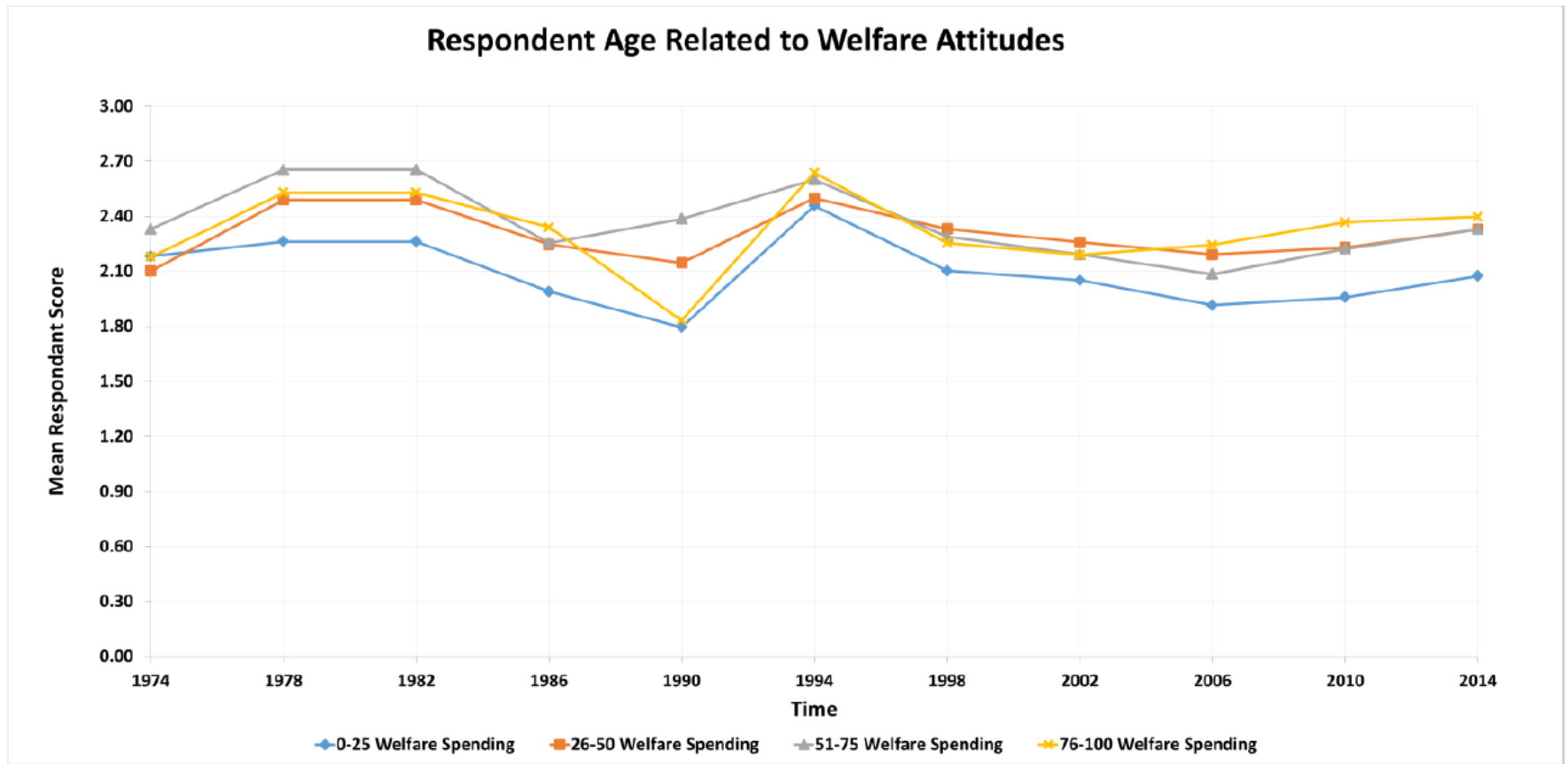


Figure 15

