**People, Opinions, & Polls**

**Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual**

**On Two Big “Equality” Programs**

**A Sense of Change**

An Indictment of the Welfare System Extends Across Group Lines

**Question:** Do you think the welfare system does more good than harm, because it provides assistance and training for those who are without jobs and live in poverty, or does more harm than good because it encourages the breakup of the family and discourages the work ethic?

**NBC/WSJ** [April 21-24, 1995]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Percent saying "more good than harm"
- Percent saying "more harm than good"

**Responses of past and current welfare recipients**

- More harm than good: 57%
- More good than harm: 33%

**Growing Opposition to Affirmative Action**

**Question:** There is a proposal to end the use of affirmative action considerations—such as race or gender—in deciding admissions to state universities, hiring for government jobs and awarding of government contracts. Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose this proposal?

**NBC/WSJ** [April 3-4, 1995]

- Don't know: 17%
- Somewhat/strongly oppose: 34%
- Strongly/somewhat favor: 49%

**Question:** Which...statement...comes closer to your point of view: The federal government should make special efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups to correct past discrimination. The federal government should not make any special efforts...because they should help themselves?

**NBC/WSJ** [latest that of March 4-7, 1995]

- Special efforts: 38%
- No special efforts: 48%

- March 1995: 45%
- May 1991: 41%
People, Opinions, & Polls

Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual
In California, Early On An Emphatic “Yes” to an Initiative...

The California Civil Rights Initiative
The proposed amendment has seven sections, easily the most important of which is the first:
Neither the state of California nor any of its political subdivisions or agents
shall use race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin as a criterion for either...

FIELD
March 7, 1995

Question: [Asked after the proposed CCRI was read]
Would you vote yes or no to the CCRI?

Note: Throughout the POP, “don’t know” responses are calculated out of the pies for display purposes. Where group responses are shown, the actual percent is used.

Questions: In hiring and promotion, are you for or against granting preferences to each group? In college and university admissions, are you for or against reserving openings for each group?

Granting preferences to women in college/university admissions
For 32%
Against 68%

Granting preferences to blacks in college/university admissions
For 35%
Against 65%

In hiring and promotion
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>For</th>
<th>Against</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(48% of sample) Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(36%) White men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12%) Non-white men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(52%) Women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(41%) White women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11%) Non-white women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In college/university admissions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>For</th>
<th>Against</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(30%) HS Grad or less</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(22%) Some college/trade school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15%) College Grad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16%) Post Grad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By Gender
(48% of sample) Men
(36%) White men
(12%) Non-white men
(52%) Women
(41%) White women
(11%) Non-white women

By Race/Ethnicity
(77%) White/Anglo
(12%) Hispanic/Latino
(6%) Black
(5%) Asian/other

By Age
(19%) 18-29
(22%) 30-39
(18%) 40-49
(15%) 50-59
(25%) 60 or older

By Education
(30%) HS Grad or less
(22%) Some college/trade school
(15%) College Grad
(16%) Post Grad

By Party
(48%) Democrats
(42%) Republicans
(12%) Other
**Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual**

That Would Repeal All State Affirmative Action Laws

...discriminating against, or granting preferential treatment to, any individual or group in the operation of the state's system of public employment, public education or public contracting....

**Question:** ...[A]n initiative has been proposed for the 1996 California ballot that would prohibit the state or localities from using race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin as a criterion for either discriminating against or granting preferential treatment to any individual or group in public employment, public education, or public contracting. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?...

**Question:** How often do you think affirmative action programs designed to help women and minorities get better jobs or education end up using quotas?...

**Question:** When deciding who will be admitted, should California's public universities consider only a student's academic record or should some students be admitted in an attempt to balance the student body by looking at geographic location, ethnicity, or gender as well as academic record?

---

### Affirmative action without quotas has lots of support, but the California public sees quotas the de facto practice.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By Gender</th>
<th>Favor affirmative action, with quotas</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
<th>Favor affirmative action, without quotas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White men</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White women</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Race/Ethnicity</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latinos</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**LAT**

March 4-9, 1995
Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual
Backdrop: The Distinctiveness of American Values on "Individualism,"...

Question: How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left, 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right, or you can choose any number in-between.

Cross-national comparative data from the 1990-93 World Values Surveys

Individuals should take more responsibility for themselves.

The state should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for.

US percent, by social groups

**People, Opinions, & Polls**

**Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual**
... which Shape Response To Social Welfare Programs, Has been Well Established

**Question:** ...How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the...[right], 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the...[left], or you can choose any number in-between.

![Graph showing cross-national comparative data from the 1990-93 World Values Surveys.]

**Cross-national comparative data from the 1990-93 World Values Surveys**

There should be greater incentives for individual effort.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Level</th>
<th>8-10</th>
<th>13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than $15,000</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40,000+</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-29 yrs. old</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70+</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**US percent, by social groups**

Incomes should be made more equal.

**Source for pp. 24-25 cont.:** The in-person interviews were conducted by local survey organizations.
**People, Opinions, & Polls**

**Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual**

**A More Critical Public Stance...**

**Question:** What do you consider a more serious problem in America today—families who are **not getting enough welfare benefits** to get by, or families **getting more welfare benefits than they need**?

### CBS/NYT [latest that of September 12-16, 1994]

**Question:** Which proposals do you think would be effective in improving the welfare system:

- **Very Effective (5 + 4)**
- **Not Effective (2 + 1)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposal</th>
<th>Very Effective</th>
<th>Not Effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Requiring recipients to work for benefits</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer responsibility for welfare programs from the federal government to state governments</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make unmarried mothers under 18 ineligible</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide job training for recipients</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide subsidized child care for poor</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allow recipients who leave welfare for work to keep getting government health benefits</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Responses of past and current welfare recipients

**Very Effective (5 + 4)**

- **Provide job training for recipients**: 84%
- **Transfer responsibility for welfare programs**: 45%
- **Make unmarried mothers under 18 ineligible**: 42%
- **Provide job training for recipients**: 84%
- **Provide subsidized child care for poor**: 77%
- **Allow recipients who leave welfare for work to keep getting government health benefits**: 43%

**Note:** Respondents were asked to rate each proposal on a scale of 1-5, with 5 equal to "very effective" and 1 equal to "not effective." Responses 5 + 4 and 2 + 1 are combined here.

### NBC/WSJ [April 21-24, 1995]

**Question:** We are faced with many problems in this country... Are we **spending too much, too little or the right amount on... welfare/... assistance to the poor**?

![Graph showing percent saying "too little" over time](image)

- **62%**
- **57%**
- **13%**

**Welfare System**

**Assist Poor**

- **20%**
- **57%**
- **13%**

**NORC**

---

30 *The Public Perspective, June/July 1995*
**Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual**

**People, Opinions, & Polls**

...But Still Support For Many Dimensions

**Question:** Do you believe that where there has been job discrimination against (blacks/women) in the past, preference in hiring or promotion should be given today?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>In the case of discrimination against blacks</th>
<th>In the case of discrimination against women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May-June 1985</td>
<td>Should 42% Should not 46%</td>
<td>Should 48% Should not 40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1987</td>
<td>Should 50% Should not 43%</td>
<td>Should 50% Should not 41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1995</td>
<td>Should 33% Should not 55%</td>
<td>Should 43% Should not 48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1995</td>
<td>Should 29% Should not 61%</td>
<td>Should 44% Should not 50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*CBS/NYT* [latest that of April 1-4, 1995]

Overall assessment has tipped against prevailing affirmative action programs in recent years (see above), but there is still an affirmation of certain affirmative action objectives (see below). Similarly, there seems to be some hardening of assessments of welfare programs (see top, previous page), but Americans are unchanged in wanting to extend opportunity and assist those in need.

**Question:** Would you favor or oppose government funding for job training programs for low-income people to help them get ahead?

*CBS/NYT* [April 1-4, 1995]

**Question:** In order to fill the hiring goals of an affirmative action program suppose a company were to give a job to a well qualified black applicant rather than to an equally well qualified white applicant. Would you view this as discrimination against the white job applicant, or would you not consider this discrimination?

**CBS/NYT** [April 1-4, 1995]

**Question:** Do you favor or oppose government funding for job training programs for women to help them get ahead in industries where there are few women?

*CBS/NYT* [April 1-4, 1995]

**GALLUP** [March 17-19, 1995]

- **Oppose:** 15%
  - **Favor:** 85%
- **Yes:** 25%
  - **No:** 75%
- **Oppose:** 29%
  - **Favor:** 71%
**People, Opinions, & Polls**

**Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual**

**Americans Strongly Affirm the Merit Principle and Oppose Quotas**

*Question:* Do you approve or disapprove of favoring a minority applicant who is less qualified than a white applicant, when filling a job in a business that has few minority workers?

![Gallup Poll](March 17-19, 1995)

- Favor: 13%
- Oppose: 87%

*Question:* Please tell me if you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose setting aside programs that guarantee a certain percentage of government contracts to minority-owned firms?

![NBC/WSJ Poll](March 4-7, 1995)

- Strongly/somewhat favor: 63%
- Somewhat/stronlgy oppose: 37%

**PSRA**

- [March 23-24, 1995]

**But Many Still Think Extending Opportunity Requires Some Government Prodding**

*Question:* Do you think schools and businesses would or would not provide blacks and other racial minorities with equal opportunities if the government dropped all affirmative action programs?

![Gallup Poll](March 17-19, 1995)

- Would: 49%
- Would not: 51%

*Question:* Do you favor or oppose requiring employers to actively seek out qualified minority and women applicants for jobs?

![NBC/WSJ Poll](March 4-7, 1995)

- Favor: 54%
- Oppose: 47%
People, Opinions, & Polls

Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual

The Racial Factor:
Polls Often Find More Resistance to Affirmative Action for Blacks Than for Women

Question: Do you think giving preference (in hiring or promotion) to blacks/women results in discrimination against whites/men, or not?

Preference to Blacks

No 35%
Yes 65%

Preference to Women

CBS/NYT
[April 1-4, 1995]

No 48%
Yes 52%

Question: ...[Do] you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose...giving preference to minority/female job applicants when they are equally as qualified as white/male applicants...?

Preference to Minority Job Applicants

Somewhat/ strongly oppose 56%
Strongly/ somewhat favor 42%

Preference to Female Job Applicants

NBC/WSJ
[March 4-7, 1995]

Somewhat/ strongly oppose 41%
Strongly/ somewhat favor 59%

But on Certain Questions, Especially Where Admission to Schools and Colleges is Involved, the Public’s Resistance to Preference is Equally Strong for Both Groups

Question: ...[Do] you think there should be special consideration... to increase...opportunities in such areas as getting into college and getting jobs or promotions...[for] blacks/women, or not...?

Special Consideration for Blacks

Should 69%
Should not 31%

Special Consideration for Women

PSRA
[February 1-3, 1995]

Should 67%
Should not 33%
Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual
Affirmative Action and Women:
A Sense of Big Gains and, Thus, Diminished Need for Special Remedies

Question: "...The opportunities for women in this society have improved a great deal over the past 20 years. Do you agree or disagree? (...strongly or moderately?)"

Moderately/Strongly Disagree 9%
Strongly/Moderately Agree 91%

Question: "Thinking about the last 25 years or so, do you think things are much better for women, somewhat better, somewhat worse for women, much worse, or aren't things much different?"

No Difference 15%
Somewhat/Much Worse 6%
Much/Somewhat Better 79%

REID [March 1992]

Question: "How about women—regardless of what they have faced in the past, do you think they have an equal chance to succeed or not?"

Women don't have and equal chance 37%
Women have and equal chance 63%

Women have an equal chance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women have an equal chance</th>
<th>Women don't have an equal chance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than $20K</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20K-$40K</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40K-$50K</td>
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<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50K+</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GREENBERG LAKE [May 26-June 8, 1992]

Responses of Women Only

Question: "Please tell me if you believe that any of the following things have happened to you because of discrimination against women.

...you were not offered a job which went to a man?

Yes 19%
No 81%

...you were passed over for a promotion which went to a man?

Yes 13%
No 87%

RC [August 22-29, 1994]

GALLUP [March 17-19, 1995]
People, Opinions, & Polls

Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual
Affirmative Action and Blacks:
A Sense That Here, Too, There Have Been Gains, But That the Problem is Greater Than in the Case of Women

Question: ...[D]o you think blacks have as good a chance as white people in your community to get any kind of job for which they are qualified, or don't you think they have as good a chance?

GALLUP
[latest that of March 17-19, 1995]

Have as good a chance
Do not
DK

Question: How much of a problem do you think job discrimination is for the following groups?

Response of Everyone (in percent)

For Black Women For White Women

Major problem
Minor problem
Not a problem

GALLUP
[March 17-19, 1995]

Response of Blacks Response of Women

Still, Little More Than a Quarter See Blacks Victims of “Unfair Discrimination,” and Nearly As Many Say They Have Received “Unfair Preference”

NBC/WSJ
[March 4-7, 1995]

Responses with reference to other groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unfair Discrimination</th>
<th>Treated Fairly</th>
<th>Unfair Preference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White men</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian-Americans</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
People, Opinions, & Polls

Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual
Looking Backward: Even During the Depression, Americans Displayed...

GALLUP

**Welfare: Frugality is the Best Policy**

- **1935**
  - Question: Do you think expenditures by the government for relief and recovery are too little, too great, or just about right? [September 10-15, 1935]
  - About right: 31%
  - Too little: 9%
  - Too great: 60%

- **1937**
  - Question: Do you believe that the federal government should further reduce relief expenditures at this time? [April 1-6, 1937]
  - No: 44%
  - Yes: 56%

- **1938**
  - Question: Do you think people on relief in your community are getting as much as they should? [March 25-30, 1938]
  - No: 29%
  - Yes: 71%

---

**“Workfare” Yes, Cash Benefits, No**

- **1937**
  - Question: Should the government do away with the WPA [Works Projects Administration] and give only cash, or direct, relief? [April 14-19, 1937]
  - Work relief: 21%
  - Direct cash: 79%

- **1938**
  - Question: Do you think relief should be given as work relief or as direct cash relief? [December 15-20, 1937]
  - Work relief: 90
  - Direct cash: 10

- **1939**
  - Question: Do you think it is the government’s responsibility to pay the living expenses of needy people who are out of work? [December 15-20, 1937]
  - Yes: 69
  - No: 31

---

**Yes to Food Stamps**

- **1939**
  - Question: The government has tried out a food stamp plan which lets people on relief buy certain surplus farm products below their regular selling price. The government makes up the difference to the merchant. Do you approve or disapprove of this plan? [November 24, 1939]
  - Approve: 70%
  - Disapprove: 30%
Help the Needy—But Not Too Much

**1935**

**Question:** Are you in favor of government old age pensions for needy persons? [December 16-21, 1935]

- Yes: 89%
- No: 11%

**1939**

**Question:** Do you favor the Townsend Plan—that is paying $200 a month to each aged husband and wife? [December 16-21, 1935]

- Yes: 96%
- No: 4%

**Question:** Do you think pensions should be given to old people who are in need, or to all old people? [November 10-15, 1939] [Asked of the 90% who responded "yes" to the question: "Do you believe in government old-age pensions?"]

- All old people: 77%
- Needy only: 23%

**1961**

**More Control Closer to Home**

**Question:** At present, most of the regulations dealing with persons on relief come from the state government or Washington. Would you like to have this policy continued, or would you give local communities more say as to which persons should get relief, and how much? [July 27-August 1, 1961]

- Give communities more say: 55%
- Continue present policy: 29%
- Don't know: 16%

Individual Merit Has Always Been the Ideal

**1977**

**Question:** Some people say that to make up for past discrimination, women and members of minority groups should be given preferential treatment in getting jobs and places in college. Others say that ability, as determined by test scores, should be the main consideration. Which point comes closest to how you feel on this matter? [March 25-26, 1977]

- Give preference: 64%
- Ability: 82%

- Women: 11%
- Non-Whites: 27%
People, Opinions, & Polls

Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual

Differences: Blacks vs. Whites

Attention often focuses on racial differences in thinking about welfare and affirmative action. As the data below indicate, such differences are sometimes large, especially on how responsibility for past injustice should be affixed and where present responsibility for correction lies.

**Question:** Do you think that blacks get more attention from government than they deserve? ...much more attention...more attention...about the right amount...less attention...or much less attention...?

**NORC** [1994]

**Question:** In getting a job or promotion, has your race ever helped you, ever hurt you, or hasn’t your race ever been much of a factor?

**CBS/NYT** [April 1-4, 1995]

**Question:** Do you think the problems facing minority groups in America’s inner cities are more problems of personal responsibility or are they more problems of racism and economic injustice?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Everyone</th>
<th>Responses of:</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>Blacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Responsibility</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racism/Economic Injustice</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Equally (vol.)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LAT** [July 23-26, 1994]

**Question:** Do you agree...or disagree...with the following statement: Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without special favors?

**NORC** [1994]

Group interests and differences in perception again come into play, but not so sharply here. College men and women seem to differ less on these questions than do their high school-trained counterparts.

Question: Are you in favor of affirmative action programs designed to help women get better jobs and education, or are you opposed to them—or haven’t you heard enough to say?...

LAT [March 15-19, 1995]

Question: Do you believe that where there has been job discrimination against women in the past, preference in hiring or promotion should be given to women today?

CBS/NYT [April 1-4, 1995]
**Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual Agreement: Blacks and Whites**

**For Both Groups, Race Relations Are Seen As at Best Only Fair, But Significant Improvement Has Been Made**

**Question:** In general, would you describe race relations in the United States today as excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

- **Blacks**
  - Excellent: 41%
  - Good: 48%
  - Only Fair: 10%
  - Poor: 2%

- **Whites**
  - Excellent: 31%
  - Good: 44%
  - Only Fair: 22%
  - Poor: 1%

**Question:** Do you expect to see full equality for blacks attained in your lifetime?

- **Blacks**
  - Yes: 45%
  - No: 51%
  - DK: 4%

- **Whites**
  - Yes: 48%
  - No: 44%
  - DK: 8%

**PSRA [February 1-3, 1995]**

**Question:** Do you think there has been significant progress toward Martin Luther King's dream of racial equality, or don't you think so?

- **Blacks**
  - Yes: 62%
  - No: 34%
  - DK: 4%

- **Whites**
  - Yes: 64%
  - No: 27%
  - DK: 9%

**CBS/NYT [March 28-31, 1993]**

**For Both, Ability Should Always Be the Preferred Criteria**

**Question:** Some people say that it is only fair that in a society like ours, people holding public office should have roughly the same racial or ethnic background as the population as a whole. So, if 30% of the people were Hispanic, then 30% of the public officials should be Hispanic as well. Others say that in choosing people for public office they should be considered purely on the basis of ability without regard to their ethnic or racial background....

...What about people in Congress? Should they have the same racial or ethnic background as their constituents, or should they be considered purely on the basis of their ability...? ...What about teachers in public schools or universities? Should they have the same racial or ethnic background as their students...?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Members of Congress</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Considered Purely on Ability</td>
<td>Considered Purely on Ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Whites</strong></td>
<td><strong>Blacks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NORC [1994]**

**For Both, Government Should Fund Minority-Assistance Training Programs**

**Question:** Do you favor or oppose government funding for job training programs for minorities to help them get ahead in industries where there are few minorities?

- **Whites**
  - Favor: 65
  - Oppose: 32
  - DK: 6

- **Blacks**
  - Favor: 91
  - Oppose: 6

**CBS/NYT [April 1-4, 1995]**
People, Opinions, & Polls

Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual Agreement: Blacks and Whites Assess Key Elements of the Welfare Program Much the Same

Question: Which of the following three statements comes closest to expressing your overall view of the welfare system in the United States: On the whole, the welfare system works pretty well and only minor changes are necessary to make it work better; there are some good things in our welfare system, but fundamental changes are needed; or Our welfare system has so much wrong with it that we need to completely rebuild it?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Minor Changes</th>
<th>Fundamental Changes</th>
<th>Completely Rebuild</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Agreement: Women and Men Alike Think Some Affirmative Action is Needed, But Many Want It Limited

Question: These days, do you think it is necessary to have laws to protect women from discrimination in hiring and promotion, or don’t you think it’s necessary?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Necessary</th>
<th>Not Necessary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question: Do you think that most people on welfare are using welfare for a short period of time and will get off it eventually, or do you think that most people on welfare are so dependent on welfare that they will never get off it?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Get Off Eventually</th>
<th>Never Get Off</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 40% of men who say it's not necessary now overwhelmingly say it was necessary then; The 32% of women who say it's not necessary now overwhelmingly say it was necessary then.

Question: Do you think it was necessary 30 years ago to have laws to protect women from discrimination in hiring and promotion, or do you think these laws were not necessary 30 years ago?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Necessary</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not necessary</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CBS/NYT [April 1-4, 1995]

Question: Do you think affirmative action programs designed to help women get better jobs and education go too far these days, or don’t they go far enough or are they just about adequate now?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Too Far</th>
<th>Not Far Enough</th>
<th>Adequate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LAT [March 15-19, 1995]
People, Opinions, & Polls

Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual

Agreement: Women and Men
For Both, Yes to Government-Funded Training

Question: Do you favor or oppose government funding for job training programs for women to help them get ahead in industries where there are few women?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Favor</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CBS/NYT [April 1-4, 1995]

For Both, Job Discrimination is Not a Major Factor

Question: For each of the following groups, please tell me whether you think job discrimination is a major problem for them or not a major problem...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percent saying job discrimination is a major problem for white men, by gender</th>
<th>Percent saying job discrimination is a major problem for white women, by gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent saying job</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discrimination is a major</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>problem for white men, by</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GALLUP [March 1995]

For Both, Gender Has Not Been a Factor in One's Own Job or Promotion

Question: In getting a job or promotion, has your SEX ever helped you, ever hurt you, or hasn't your sex ever been much of a factor?

Responses of Men

- 13% Helped
- 4% Hurt
- 82% Not a factor

Responses of Women

- 5% Helped
- 10% Hurt
- 85% Not a factor

CBS/NYT [April 1-4, 1995]