

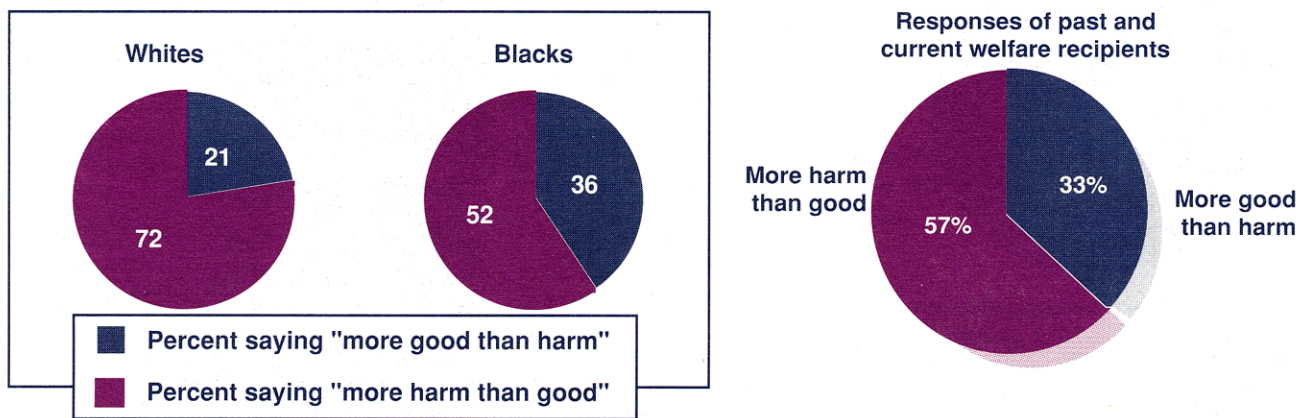
Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual

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?

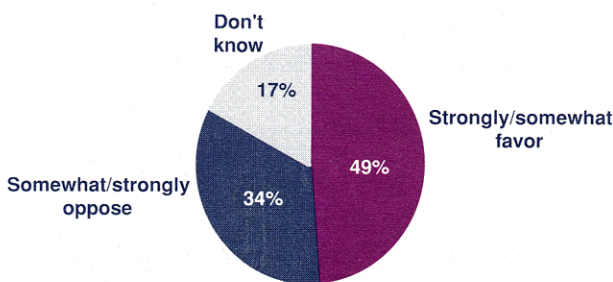
NBC/WSJ [April 21-24, 1995]



Growing Opposition to Affirmative Action

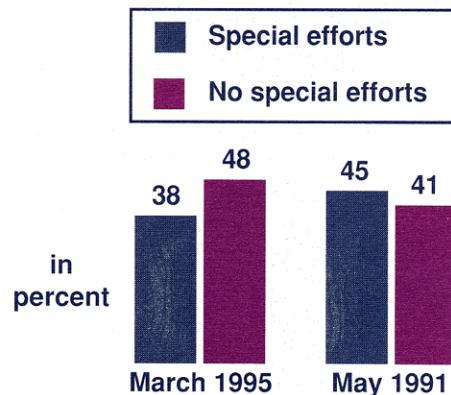
Question: There is a proposal to end the use of affirmative action considerations—such as race or gender—in deciding admissions to state universities, hiring for government jobs and awarding of government contracts. Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose this proposal?

NBC/WSJ [April 3-4, 1995]



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]



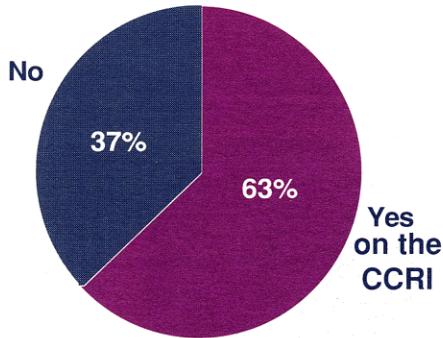
Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual In California, Early On An Emphatic "Yes" to an Initiative...

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...

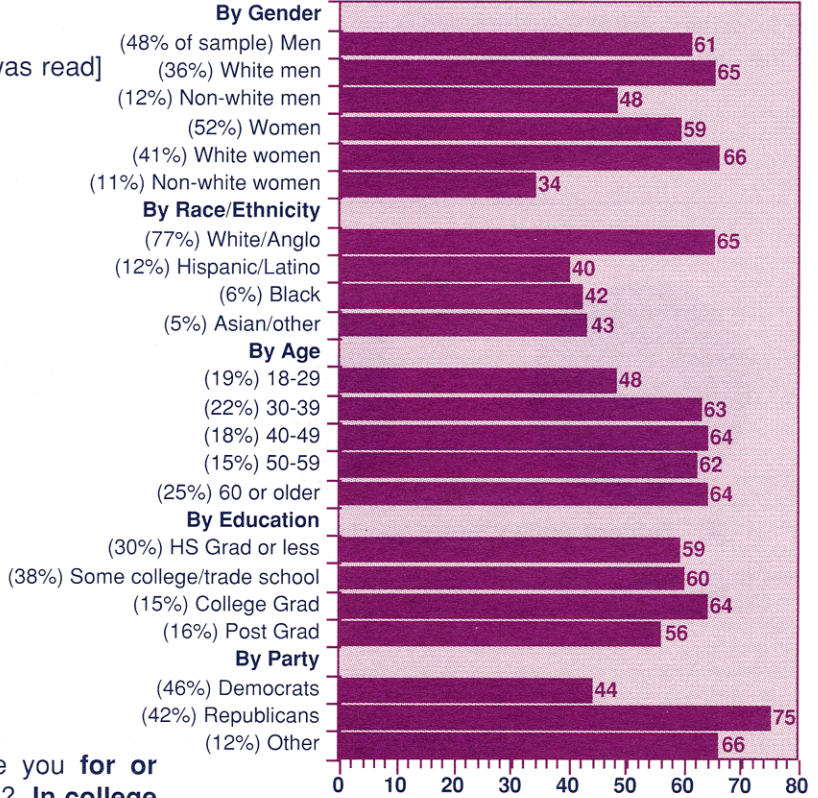
FIELD
March 7, 1995

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



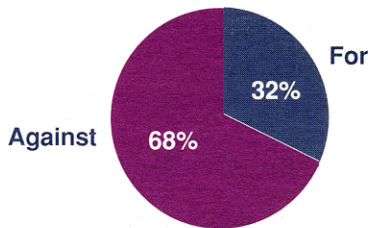
Note: Throughout the POP, "don't know" responses are calculated out of the pies for display purposes. Where group responses are shown, the actual percent is used.

percent would vote "yes", by groups

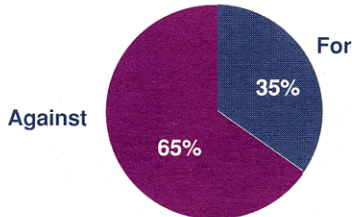


Questions: In hiring and promotion, are you for or against granting preferences to each group? In college and university admissions, are you for or against reserving openings for each group?

Granting preferences to women in college/university admissions



Granting preferences to blacks in college/university admissions



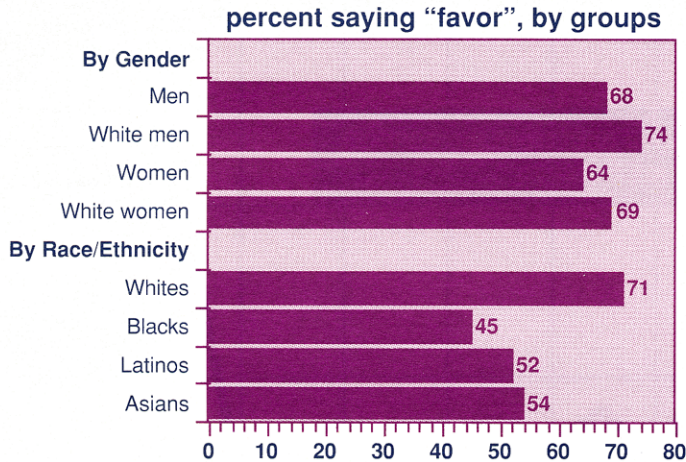
	In hiring and promotion		In college/university admissions	
	For	Against	For	Against
Granting preferences to women				
(48% of sample) Men	33	62	29	67
(36%) White men	26	69	23	73
(12%) Non-white men	55	39	47	48
(52%) Women	32	64	33	64
(41%) White women	25	71	25	71
(11%) Non-white	55	40	58	38
Granting preferences to blacks				
(6%) Black	81	17	73	27
Granting preferences to Hispanics				
Everyone	27	67	32	64
(12%) Hispanic	46	43	51	40
Granting preferences to Asians				
Everyone	22	71	27	68
(5%) Asian/other	37	57	45	55

FIELD
March 7, 1995

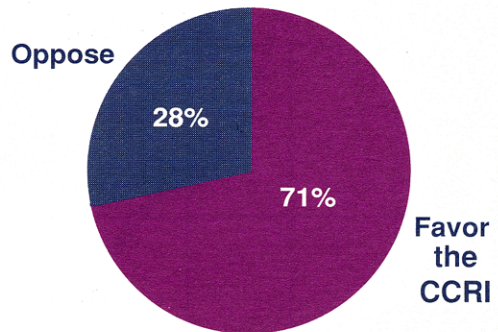
Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual ...That Would Repeal All State Affirmative Action Laws

...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....

LAT
March 4-9, 1995

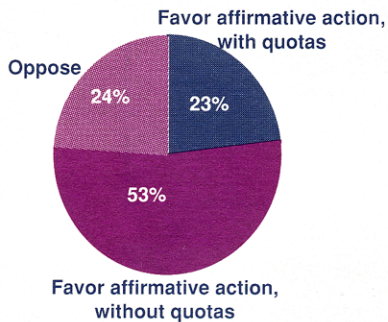


Question: ...[A]n initiative has been proposed for the 1996 California ballot that would prohibit the state or localities from using race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin as a criterion for either discriminating against or granting preferential treatment to any individual or group in public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

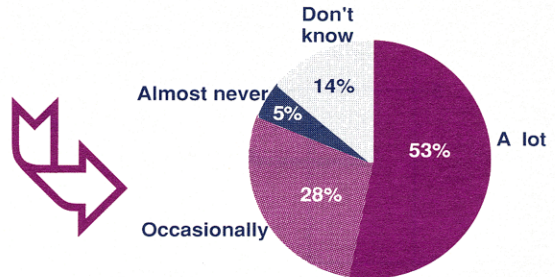


Question: ...Do you favor the kind of affirmative action programs that use quotas to help women and minorities get jobs and education or do you favor affirmative action programs only if there are no quotas involved or do you oppose all affirmative action programs.

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

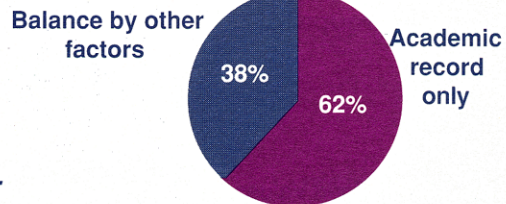
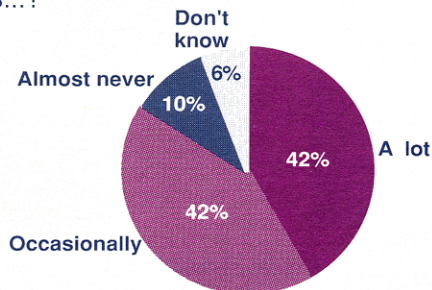


Affirmative action without quotas has lots of support, but the California public sees quotas the *de facto* practice.



Question: ...[H]ow often do you think affirmative action programs...end up depriving someone else of their rights...?

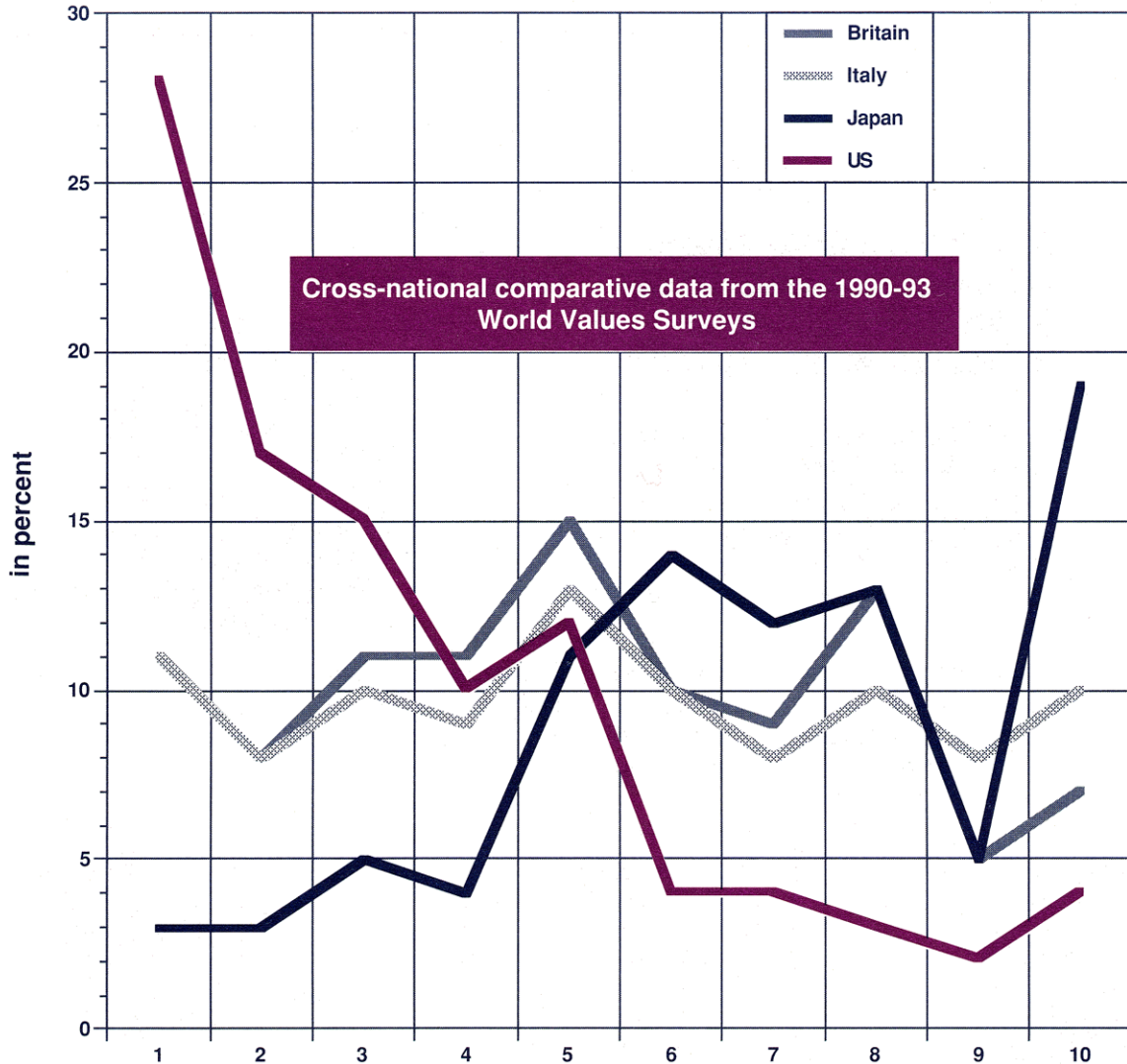
Question: When deciding who will be admitted, should California's public universities consider only a student's academic record or should some students be admitted in an attempt to balance the student body by looking at geographic location, ethnicity, or gender as well as academic record?



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.



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

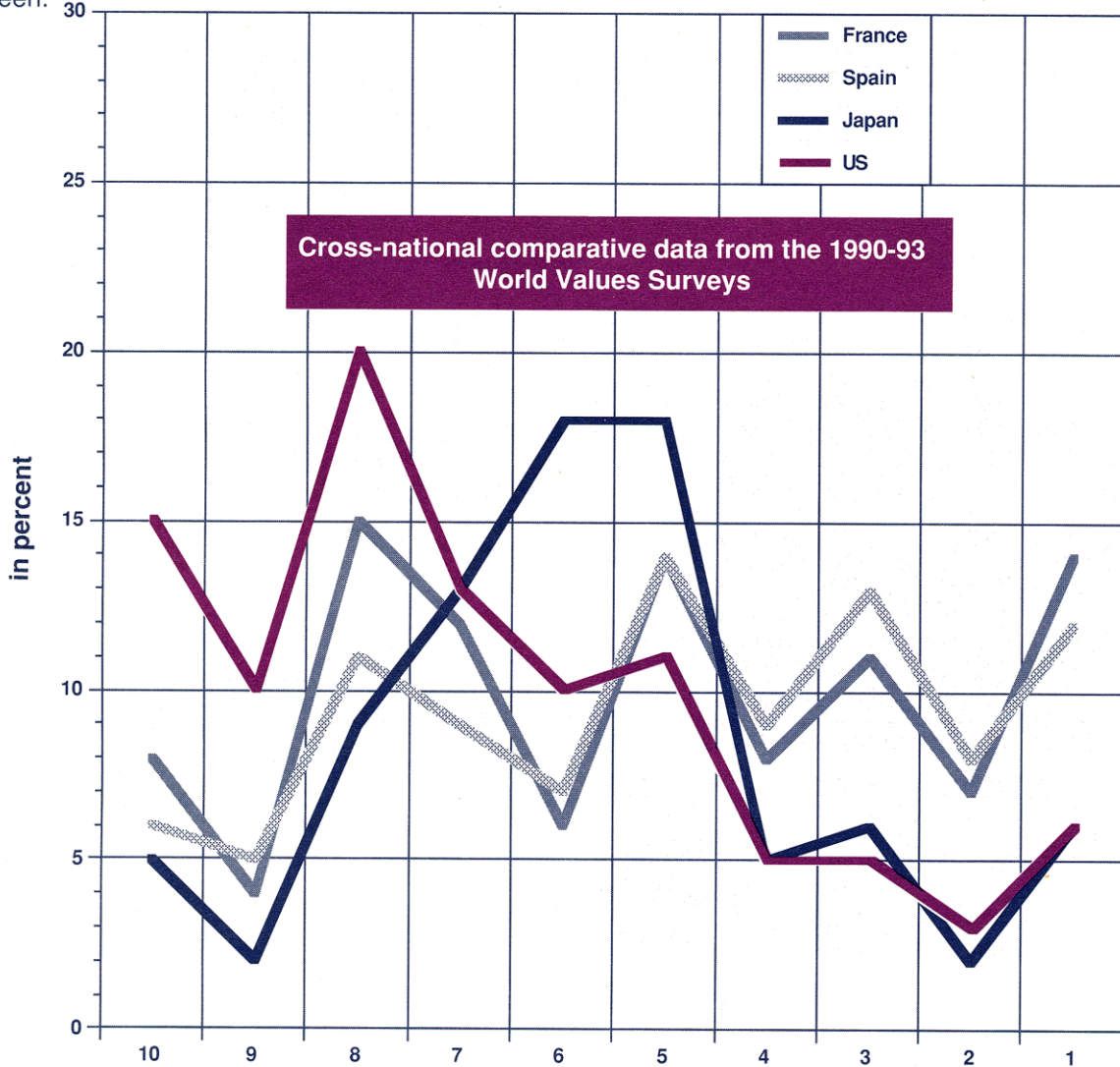
	1-3	8-10
Women	57	9
Blacks	50	15
Less than \$15,000	51	19
\$40,000+	57	9
18-29 yrs. old	55	10
70+	61	10

Source for pp. 24-25: World Values Survey, 1990-1993, done by the World Values Study Group. The samples consist of adults age 18 and over, in 45 countries.

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.



There should be greater incentives for individual effort.

Incomes should be made more equal.

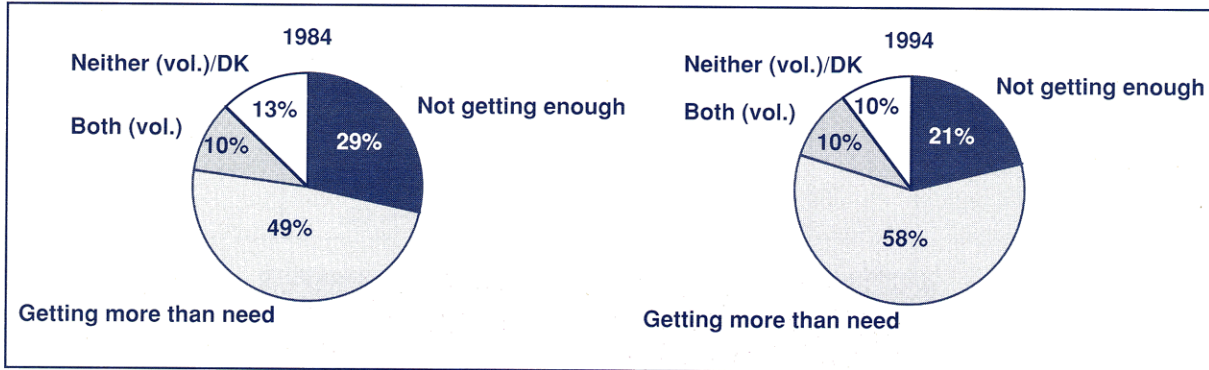
US percent, by social groups

	8-10	1-3
Women	41	15
Blacks	39	21
Less than \$15,000	38	17
\$40,000+	55	12
18-29 yrs. old	42	12
70+	40	14

Source for pp. 24-25 cont.: The in-person interviews were conducted by local survey organizations.

Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual A More Critical Public Stance...

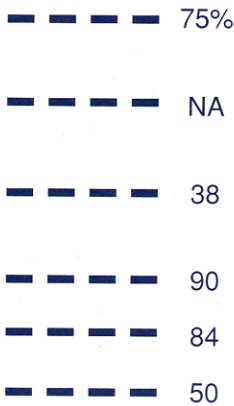
Question: What do you consider a more serious problem in America today—families who are **not getting enough welfare benefits** to get by, or families **getting more welfare benefits than they need**?



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)
Requiring recipients to work for benefits	84	4
Transfer responsibility for welfare programs from the federal government to state governments	45	21
Make unmarried mothers under 18 ineligible	42	35
Provide job training for recipients	84	4
Provide subsidized child care for poor	77	7
Allow recipients who leave welfare for work to keep getting government health benefits	43	27

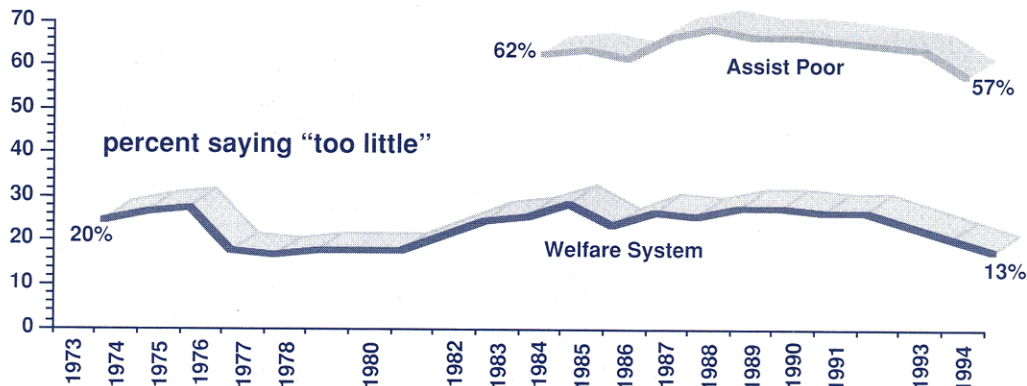
Responses of past and current welfare recipients
Very Effective (5 + 4)



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]

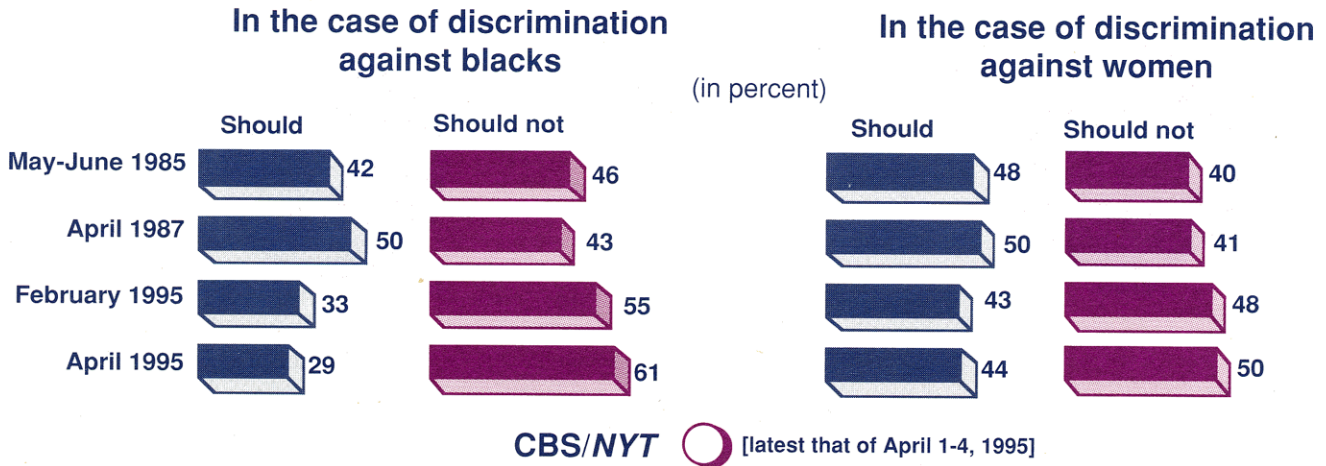
Question: We are faced with many problems in this country.... Are we **spending too much, too little or the right amount on ... welfare/... assistance to the poor?**



NORC

Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual ...But Still Support For Many Dimensions

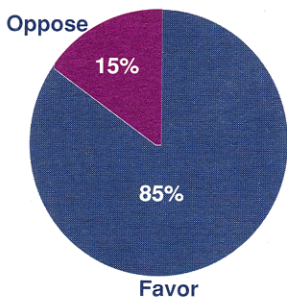
Question: Do you believe that where there has been job discrimination against (blacks/women) in the past, preference in hiring or promotion should be given today?



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.

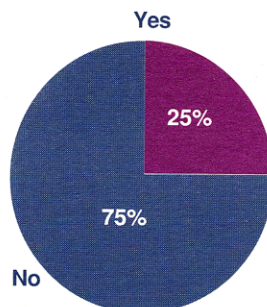
Question: Would you favor or oppose **government funding for job training programs for low-income people** to help them get ahead?

CBS/NYT [April 1-4, 1995]



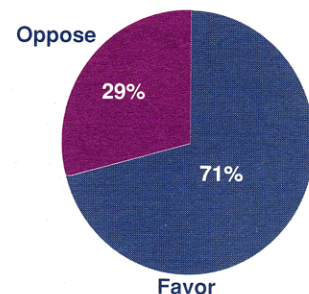
Question: In order to fill the hiring goals of an affirmative action program **suppose a company were to give a job to a well qualified black applicant rather than to an equally well qualified white applicant.** Would you view this as discrimination against the white job applicant, or would you not consider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

GALLUP [March 17-19, 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?

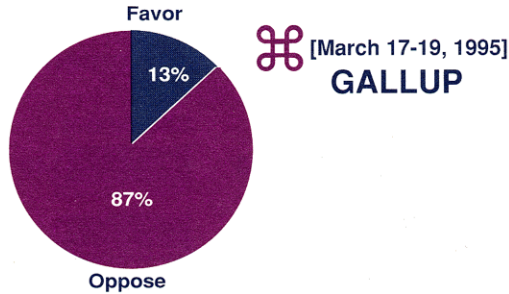
CBS/NYT [April 1-4, 1995]



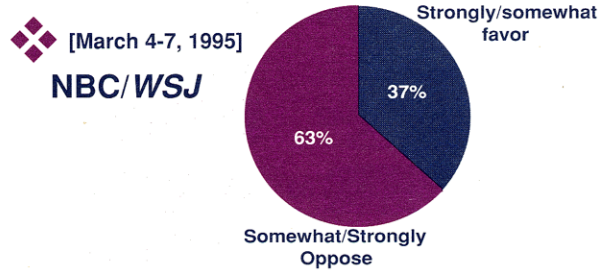
Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual

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?

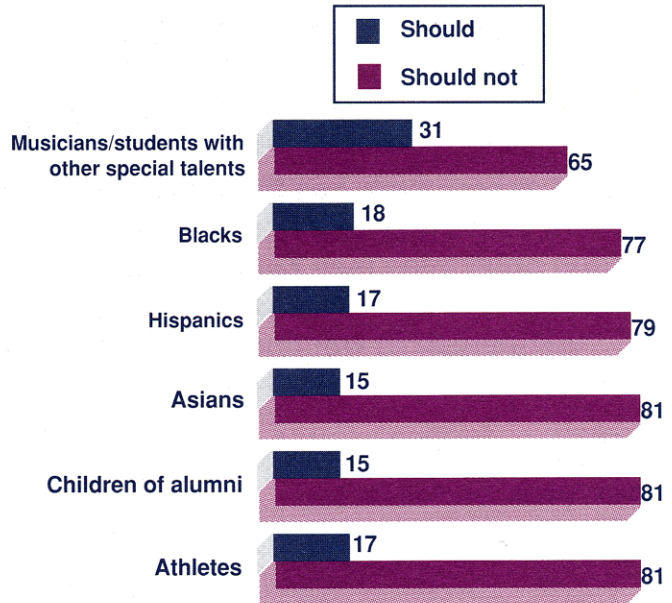


Question: ...[P]lease tell me if you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose...set[ting] aside programs that guarantee a certain percentage of government contracts to minority-owned firms?



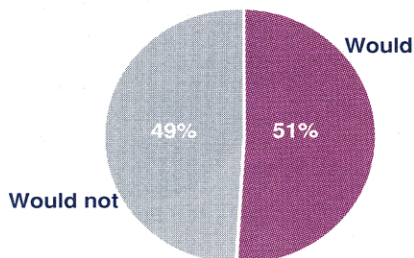
Question: ...[Do] you think colleges and universities should or should not give preferences in admissions for each of the following groups....Should there be preferences for...?

PSRA [March 23-24, 1995]



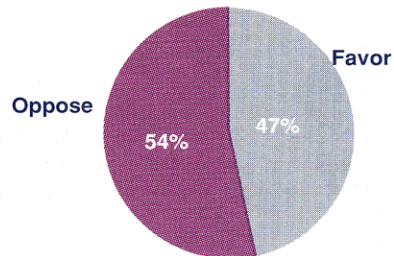
But Many Still Think Extending Opportunity Requires Some Government Prodding

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 [March 17-19, 1995]

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



NBC/WSJ [March 4-7, 1995]

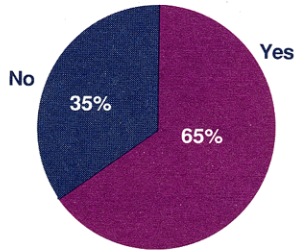
Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual

The Racial Factor:

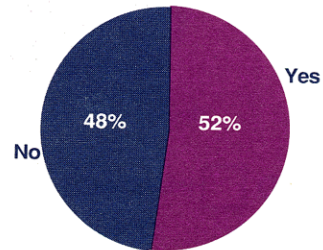
Polls Often Find More Resistance to Affirmative Action for Blacks Than for Women

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

Preference to Blacks



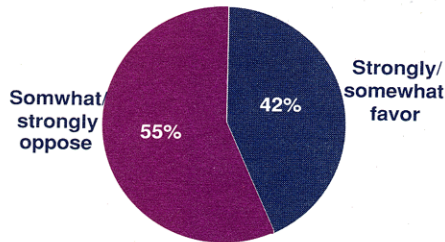
Preference to Women



CBS/NYT
[April 1-4, 1995]

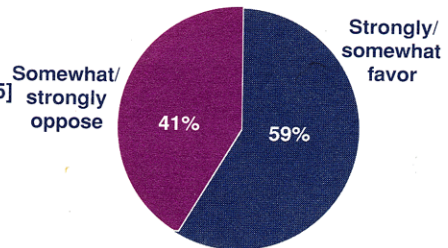
Question: ...[Do] you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose...giving preference to minority/female job applicants when they are equally as qualified as white/male applicants...?

Preference to Minority Job Applicants



Preference to Female Job Applicants

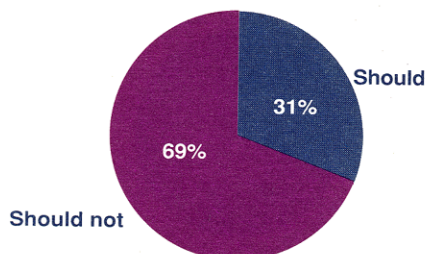
NBC/WSJ
[March 4-7, 1995]



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

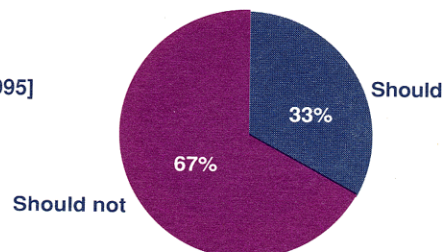
Question: ...[Do] you think there should be special consideration... to increase...opportunities in such areas as getting into college and getting jobs or promotions...[for] blacks/women, or not...?

Special Consideration for Blacks



Special Consideration for Women

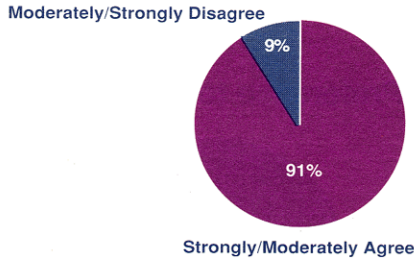
PSRA
[February 1-3, 1995]



Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual Affirmative Action and Women:

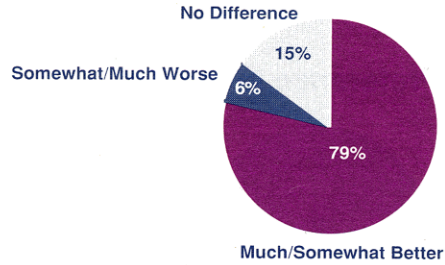
A Sense of Big Gains and, Thus, Diminished Need for Special Remedies

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?)



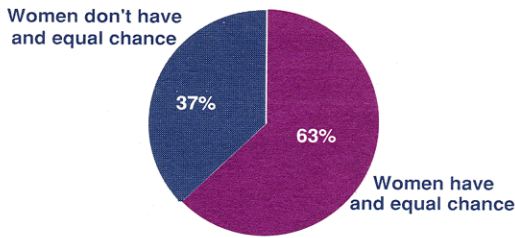
REID [March 1992]

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?



GREENBERG LAKE [May 26-June 8, 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?



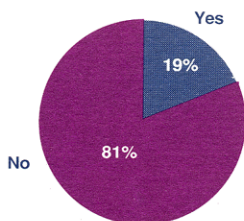
	Women have an equal chance	Women don't have an equal chance
By Gender		
Men	64	34
Women	59	38
By Income		
Less than \$20K	58	40
\$20K-\$40K	64	35
\$40K-\$50K	59	39
\$50K+	64	34
By Party		
Republican	68	29
Democrat	57	41
Independent	61	37

RC [August 22-29, 1994]

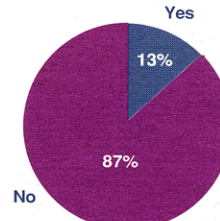
Responses of Women Only

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?



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

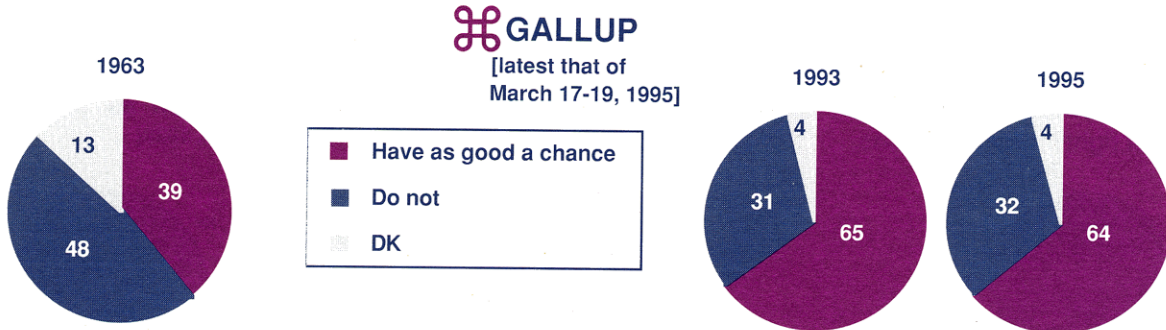


GALLUP [March 17-19, 1995]

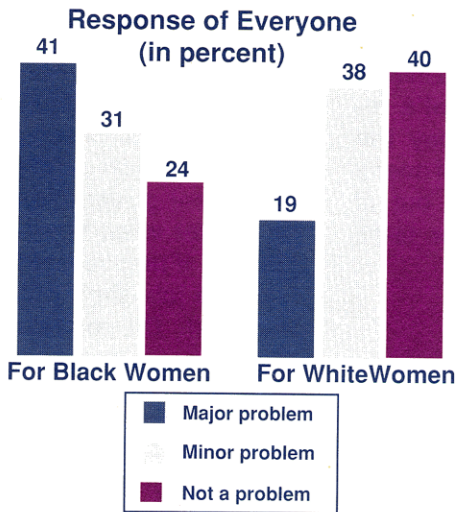
Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual Affirmative Action and Blacks:

A Sense That Here, Too, There Have Been Gains, But That the Problem is Greater Than in the Case of Women

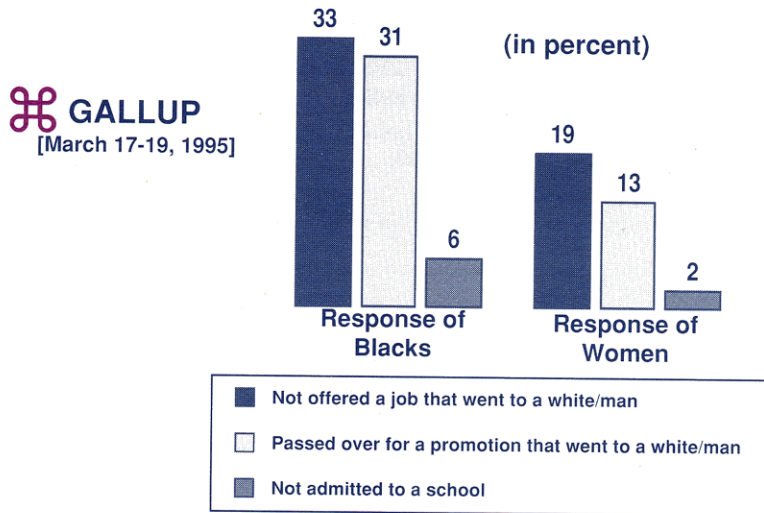
Question: ...[D]o you think blacks have as good a chance as white people in your community to get any kind of job for which they are qualified, or don't you think they have as good a chance?



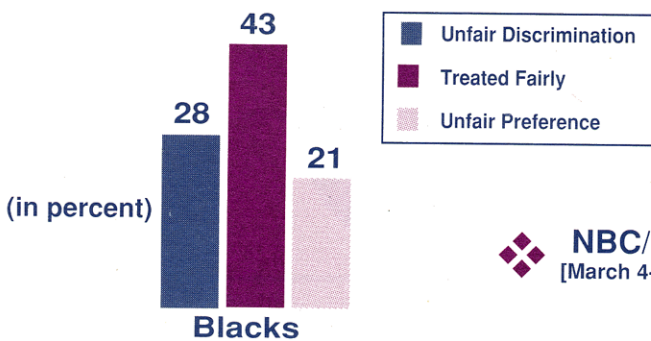
Question: How much of a problem do you think job discrimination is for the following groups?



Question: Do you believe that any of the following things have ever happened to you... because of racial discrimination/because of discrimination against 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		
	Unfair Discrimination	Treated Fairly	Unfair Preference
White men	18%	62%	15%
Hispanics	38	36	12
Asian-Americans	19	52	10

Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual

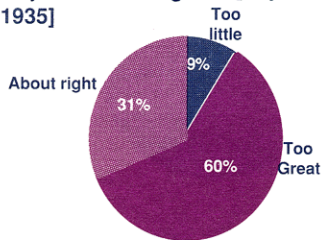
Looking Backward: Even During the Depression, Americans Displayed...

GALLUP 

Welfare: Frugality is the Best Policy

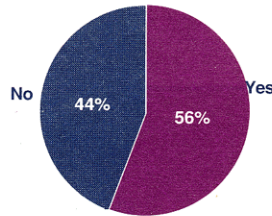
1935

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]



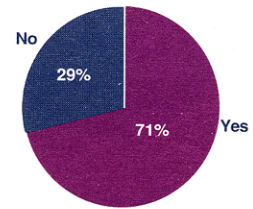
1937

Question: Do you believe that the federal government should further reduce relief expenditures at this time? [April 1-6, 1937]



1938

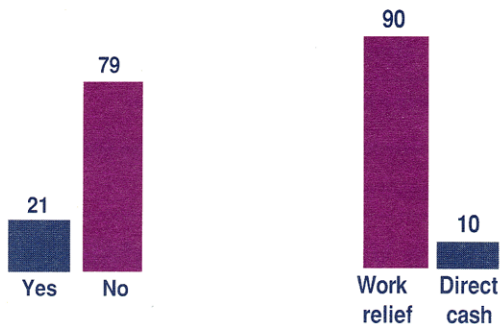
Question: Do you think people on relief in your community are getting as much as they should? [March 25-30, 1938]



“Workfare” Yes, Cash Benefits, No

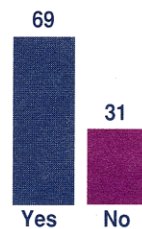
1937

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



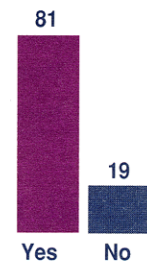
Question: Do you think relief should be given as work relief or as direct cash relief? [December 15-20, 1937]

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]



1939

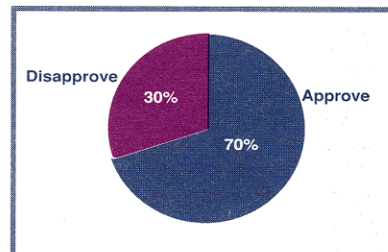
Question: Pennsylvania has a law requiring all able-bodied people on relief...to accept any job offered by a local government, no matter what kind of job it is. If they refuse to take the job, their relief is cut off. Do you favor this law? [July 28-August 2, 1939]



1939

Yes to Food Stamps

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]



GALLUP 

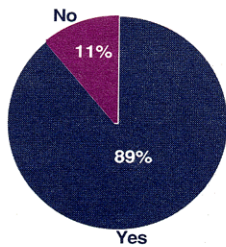
Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual ...the Same Individualist Approach We See Today on Welfare and Affirmative Action



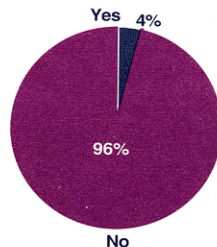
Help the Needy—But Not Too Much

1935

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

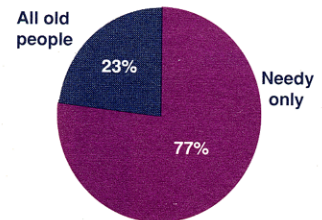


Question: Do you favor the Townsend Plan—that is paying \$200 a month to each aged husband and wife? [December 16-21, 1935]



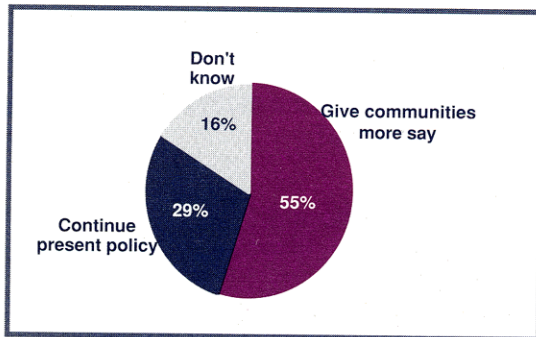
1939

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?"]



1961

More Control Closer to Home

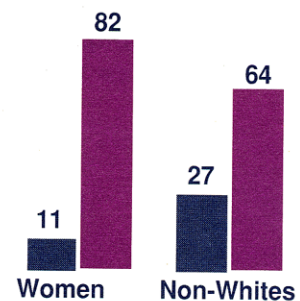
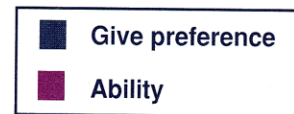
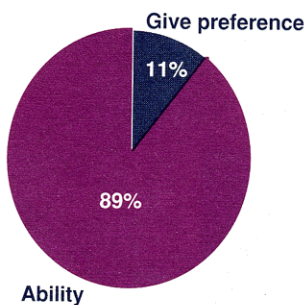


Question: At present, most of the regulations dealing with persons on relief come from the state government or Washington. **Would you like to have this policy continued, or would you give local communities more say as to which persons should get relief, and how much?** [July 27-August 1, 1961]

Individual Merit Has Always Been the Ideal

1977

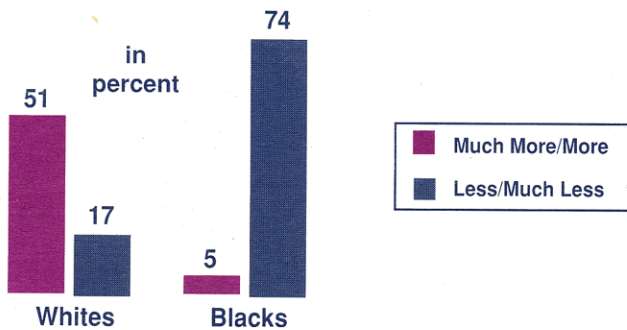
Question: Some people say that to make up for past discrimination, women and **members of minority groups should be given preferential treatment** in getting jobs and places in college. Others say that **ability, as determined by test scores, should be the main consideration.** Which point comes closest to how you feel on this matter? [March 25-28, 1977]



Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual Differences: Blacks vs. Whites

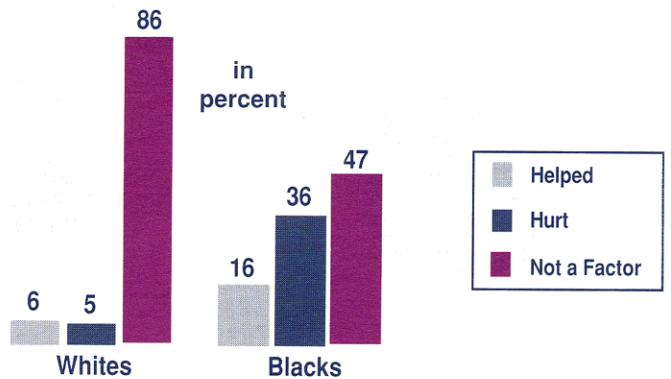
Attention often focuses on racial differences in thinking about welfare and affirmative action. As the data below indicate, such differences are sometimes large, especially on how responsibility for past injustice should be affixed and where present responsibility for correction lies.

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?



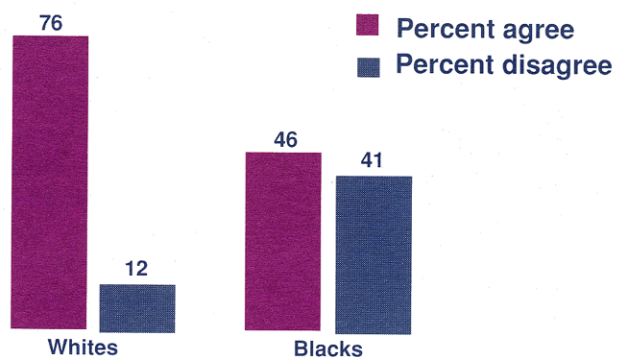
CBS/NYT [April 1-4, 1995]

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?

	Responses of:				in percent
	Everyone	Whites	Blacks	Others	
Personal Responsibility	48	53	26	37	
Racism/Economic Injustice	33	30	47	12	
Both Equally (vol.)	14	11	26	51	

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?

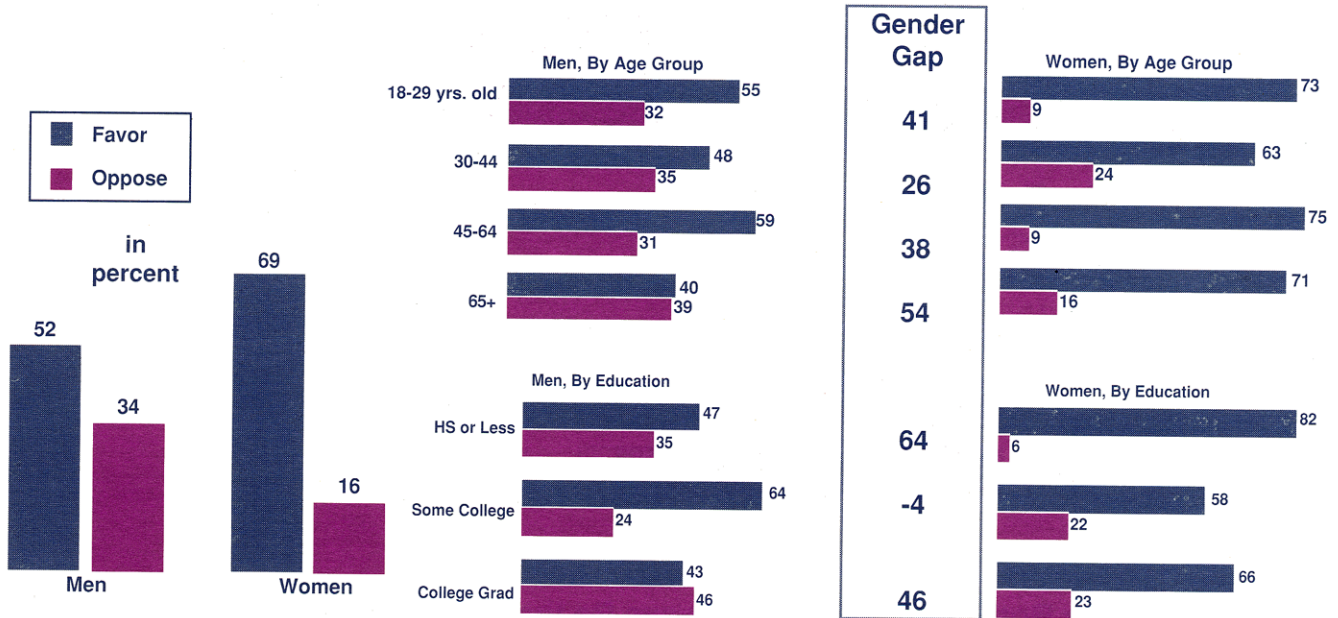


NORC [1994]

Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual Differences: Women vs. Men

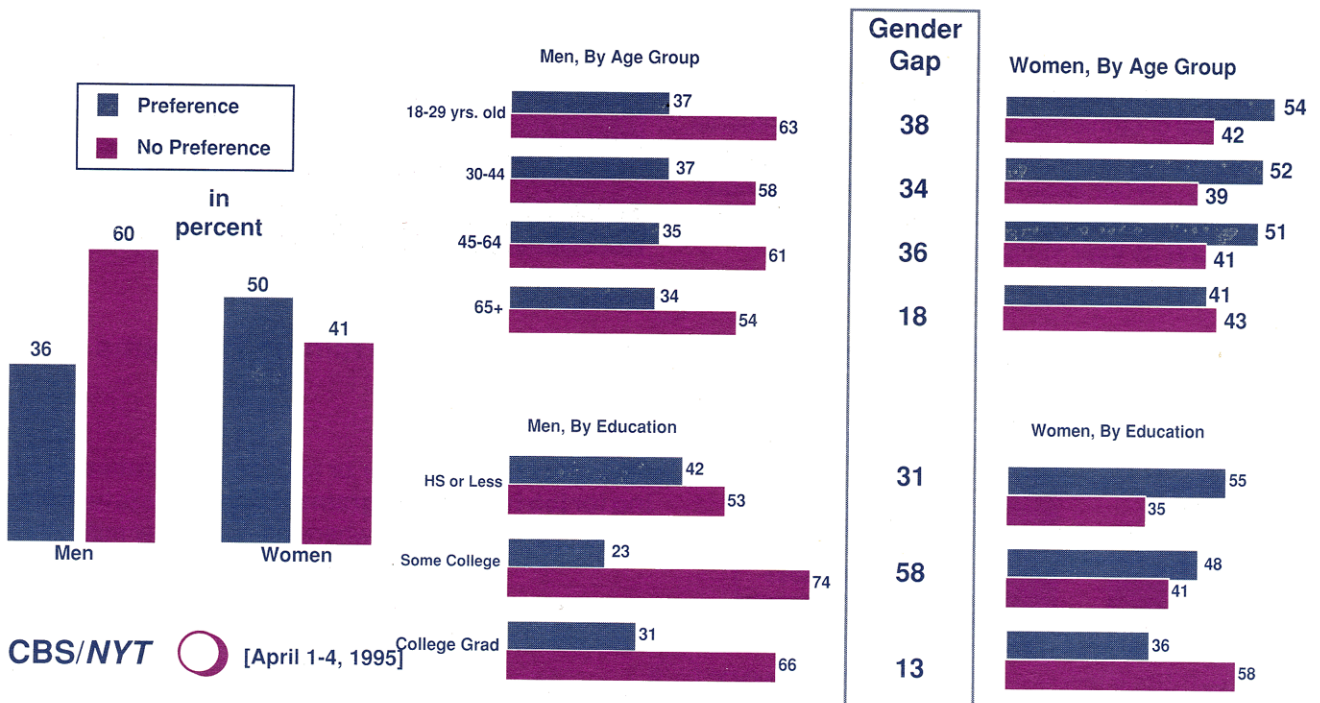
Group interests and differences in perception again come into play, but not so sharply here. College men and women seem to differ less on these questions than do their high school-trained counterparts.

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?

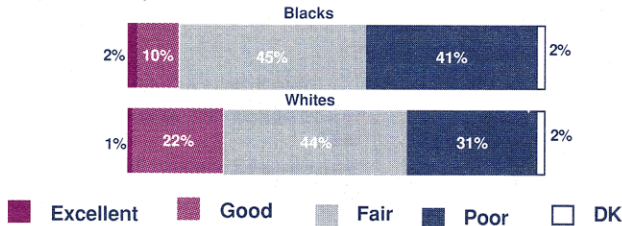


CBS/NYT [April 1-4, 1995]

Affirmative Action, Welfare, and the Individual Agreement: Blacks and Whites

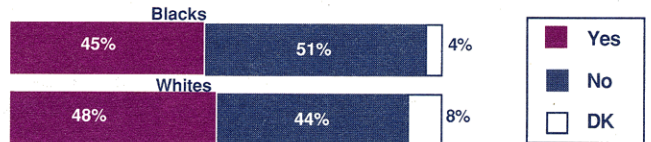
For Both Groups, Race Relations Are Seen As at Best Only Fair, But Significant Improvement Has Been Made

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



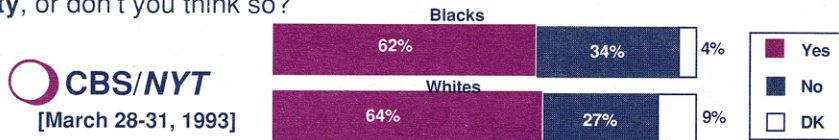
PSRA [February 1-3, 1995]

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



CBS/NYT [March 28-31, 1993]

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



CBS/NYT [March 28-31, 1993]

For Both, Ability Should Always Be the Preferred Criteria

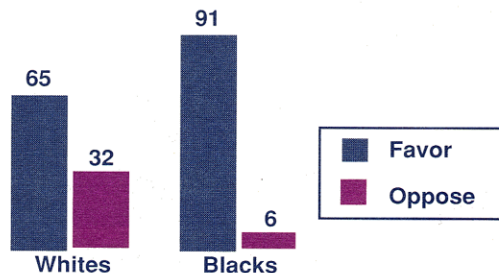
Question: Some people say that it is only fair that in a society like ours, people holding public office should have roughly the same racial or ethnic background as the population as a whole. So...if 30% of the people were Hispanic, then 30% of the public officials should be Hispanic as well. Others 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...?

Responses of	Members of Congress	Teachers
	Considered Purely on Ability	Considered Purely on Ability
Whites	91	92
Blacks	71	80

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?

CBS/NYT [April 1-4, 1995]

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?

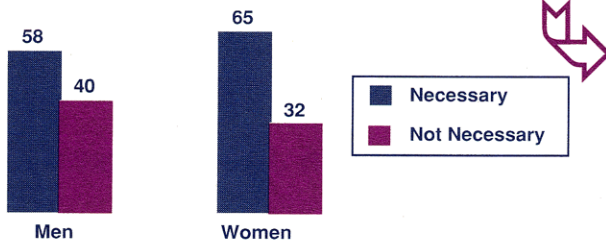
Responses of	in percent		
	Minor Changes	Fundamental Changes	Completely Rebuild
Whites	2	43	54
Blacks	7	41	52

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?**

Responses of	Get Off Eventually	Never Get Off
	Whites	14
Blacks	27	64

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?



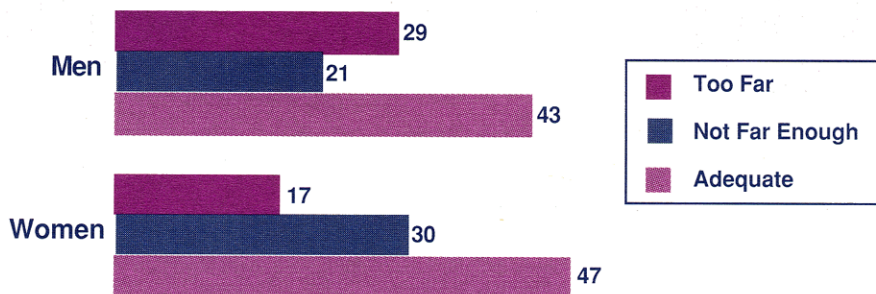
Question: Do you think it **was necessary 30 years ago to have laws to protect women from discrimination** in hiring and promotion, or do you think these laws were not necessary 30 years ago?

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*.

	Men	Women
Necessary	30%	24%
Not necessary	10%	7%

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?



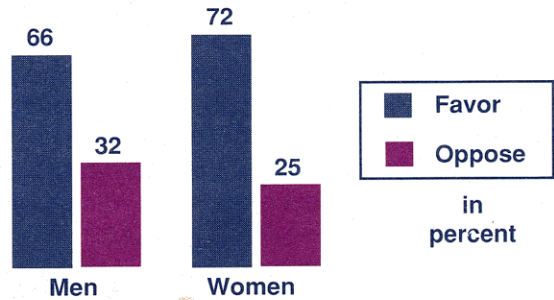
LAT [March 15-19, 1995]

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?

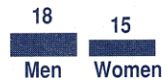
CBS/NYT [April 1-4, 1995]



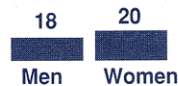
For Both, Job Discrimination is Not a Major Factor

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...?

Percent saying job discrimination is a major problem for white men, by gender



Percent saying job discrimination is a major problem for white women, by gender

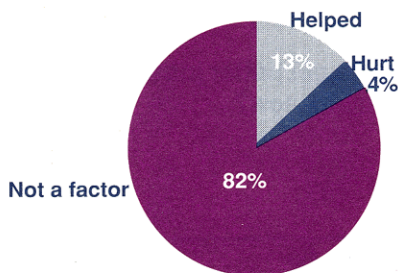


GALLUP [March 1995]

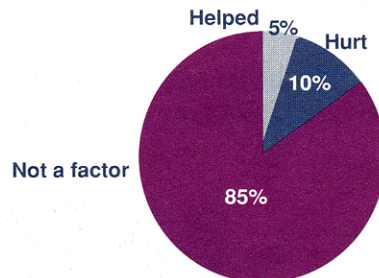
For Both, Gender Has Not Been a Factor in One's Own Job or Promotion

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



Responses of Women



CBS/NYT [April 1-4, 1995]