

Appendix 1: Sources and Data Collection

Collection of Survey Data

The analysis presented in this report is the result of a review of published and fugitive public opinion literature addressing the provision of public benefits in the United States. We searched widely for materials in research reports, survey instruments, data archives, and scholarly books and journals. Research focused on contemporary findings that helped describe the existing relationship between the governed and the government and the public's views on social programs and views of entitlements in the post-“Big Government” era following the systematic retrenchment of New Deal programs in the 1980s and the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. While the report concentrates on this contemporary period, the research was expansive, taking a look back at the development of public opinion and the political culture surrounding the social contract within the last 50 years.

Researchers identified a broad range of public opinion sources from academia, public interest and advocacy groups, foundations and mass media. Our review focused on how public opinion shapes national values and informs policies governing employment, health, education, family, security, opportunity, the environment and immigration, among other areas.

For each policy area, sources were identified based on the presence of data that described public opinion on the roles and responsibilities of government, the private sector, individuals and civil society in the provision of various social services in the interest of identifying common and consensual values among the American people. In order to represent the full range of research on myriad issues affecting social policy formation, the work required a comprehensive review of opinion literature from each type of field research.

The collection of academic public opinion material focused on the General Social Survey (GSS) series, which have been conducted biennially by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, and the American National Election Study conducted by the

University of Michigan since 1948. Main areas covered in the GSS include socioeconomic status, social mobility, social control, the family, race relations, sex relations, civil liberties, and morality. GSS reports concerning education, employment, family, immigration and security were assimilated for this project. In addition, supplementary research was culled from academic journals including *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Social Forces*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Environment and Behavior*, the journal *Science*, *Human Ecology Review*, *The Journal of Ethnic Migration* and *International Migration Review*.

A review of foundation research on health and healthcare included searches on publications by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, the Kaiser Family Foundation, the New America Foundation and American Health Care Reform. “Immigration in America,” a study conducted by Kaiser with National Public Radio and Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government was included in this project’s review of public opinion literature on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. “Public Opinion about Gun Policies, Children, Youth and Gun Violence,” based on a national gun policy study conducted by the Brookings Institute and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University was reviewed to assess public attitudes on public and personal safety.

The Rutgers team also reviewed relevant articles and reports generated by public interest groups, research organizations and think tanks. This search included the collection of data from the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press. The Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Organization’s polls of the public’s attitudes toward the public schools served as an important resource for opinion data on education from 1969 to the present. A review of research on employment and work by interest groups and think tanks was limited to resources by the American Enterprise Institute and the Employee Benefits Research Institute. AEI’s recent review of public opinion on the environment, “Polls on the Environment and Global Warming” (2007) was examined to gauge views on the preservation of natural resources and the public interest.

The committee identified sources on Social Security including studies by the Cato Institute, AEI and AARP.

Public opinion data in each policy area was collected as part of a review of media polling that included searches of survey instruments and individuals questions by the Gallup Organization, the ABC News/Washington Post Poll, CBS/New York Times Poll and CNN/Gallup Poll. Media poll data was collected using the iPoll Databank, the online database of the Roper Center Public Opinion Archives at the University of Connecticut and the Gallup Poll Archives. In general the studies conducted by media organizations were of limited utility because of their keen focus on “the moment” of any policy debate. And, we often found the academic articles to be, well too academic to offer great insight. The most useful work has been produced by foundations and think tanks, but even here there are large gaps between what we would like to know about how Americans view the social contract and what we currently do now. It is important to note that we surveyed only existing literature. We gathered no data sets and performed no secondary analysis to probe more deeply into the possibilities of existing studies.

The sources searched and used in the preparation of this document are as follows:

- Bibliographic databases
- JSTOR
- iPoll Databank
- Additional poll archives
- General Social Surveys (GSS)

Journals:

- Public Opinion Quarterly
- Political Research Quarterly
- Social Forces
- Environment and Behavior
- Science
- Human Ecology Review
- Journal of Ethnic Migration
- International Migration Review
- Future of Children

Foundation Publications:

- W.K. Kellogg Foundation
- Kaiser Family Foundation
- New America Foundation
- American Health Care Reform

Public Interest Group and Think Tank Publications:

- Brookings Institute
- Phi Delta Kappa
- Pew Research Center for the People and the Press
- Employee Benefits Research Institute
- AARP

Media:

- ABC News/Washington Post Poll
- CBS/New York Times Poll
- CNN/Gallup Poll
- Gallup Organization
- NPR/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University Poll

Other Sources:

- Survey Research Center at the Institute for Social Research (University of Michigan)
- Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs (Princeton University)

Next Social Contract (Topic Files)

Studies consulted	Full Name of Source	Year
COMBINATION		
American Enterprise Institute (AEI)		
Welfare Reform	Attitudes about Welfare Reform	2003
Attitudes towards the Government	Attitudes towards the Government	2003
Economic Insecurity	Economic Insecurity	2007
AARP		
Budget	Opinions on the Federal Budget	2006
Gallup		
GVT	Fixing Government	2006
Institutions	Confidence in Institutions	2006
GVT II	Trust in Government	2007
GSS		
General Trends 1990s	Capturing Attitude Change	1940s-
Counting Your Change for a Ten 82	Counting Your Change for a Ten	1972-
Social Change	What the GSS Tells us about Social Change	1986
Generation Gap 1998	Generation Gap	1972-
Attitudes/Government/Confidence 1996	Confidence in Government	1974-
Attitudes/Government/Spending 2007	Trends in National Spending Priorities	1979-
ISR		
Attitudes/Government/Spending	Attitudes towards Government Spending	1984
Kaiser		
Trust in Government	Why don't Americans Trust the Gov. 1996	
Consumer Protection	Americans Views on Consumer Protection	1998
GOV	Attitudes towards Government	2000
Values	National Survey of American Values	2000
Poverty	National Survey on Poverty in America	2001
Taxes	National Survey on Taxes	
Kellogg		
Civic Engagement/Welfare/Healthcare	National Poll on Health Care & Welfare	1999
Mutual Life		
Values	American Values in the 1980s	1981
Times Mirror/Pew		
Political Landscape	The New Political Landscape	1994
The People and their Leaders	The People and their Leaders	1995
Deconstructing Distrust	Deconstructing Distrust	1997
Trust and Engagement in Philadelphia	Trust and Engagement in Philadelphia	1997
American Electorate	A Study of the American Electorate	1998
Civic Engagement	The Civic & Political health of the Nation	2002
Political Landscape	Political Landscape 2004	2004

Political Typology	The 2005 Political Typology	2005
Trends 2005	Trends 2005	2005
Social Issues	Americans Liberal & Conservative	2006
Generation Next	Generation next	2007
Political Values & Core Attitudes	Political Values & Core Attitudes	2007
People for the American Way		
Values	American Values Survey	2006

EDUCATION

ABC		
ABC Education 1980-2003	ABC Education	1980-2003
CBS		
CBS Education 1978-2004	CBS News	1978-2004
CNN		
CNN Education 1991-2006	CNN	1991-2006
Gallup		
Education	Education	
PDK 1969-1973	PDK 1969-1973	1969-1973
PDK 1974-78	PDK 1974-78	1974-78
PDK 1979-1983	PDK 1979-1983	1979-1983
PDK 1984-88	PDK 1984-88	1984-88
PDK 1989-1994	PDK 1989-1994	1989-1994
PDK 200-2006	PDK 2000-2006	2000-2006

EMPLOYMENT

ABC		
ABC Employment 1981-2006	ABC Employment	1981-2006
AEI		
Worker (2)	State of the American Worker	2006
Worker (2)	Taking Stock of Business	2006
CBS		
CBS Employment 1978-2007	CBS News	1978-2007
CNN		
CNN Employment 1991-2005	CNN	1991-2005
Gallup		
Business and Industry	Business and Industry Sector Rating	2007
Work and Workplace	Work and Workplace	2007
John J. Heldrich Center		
Work Trends I	Attitudes: Work, Employers and the GVT	1998
Work Trends II	Work and Family	1999
Work Trends III	Working Hard But Staying Poor	1999
Work Trends IV	Who Will Let the Good Times Roll	1999
Work Trends V	Nothing But Net	2000
Work Trends VI	Making the Grade	2000

Work Trends VII	Second Wind	2000
Work Trends VIII	Holding On	2001
Work Trends IX	A Workplace Divided	2002
Work Trends X	Standing on Shaky Ground	2002
Work Trends XI	Taking Stock of Retirement	2002
Work Trends XII	Restricted Access	2003
Work Trends XIII	The Disposable Worker	2003
Work Trends XIV	Laid Off	2004
Work Trends XV	At a Crossroads	2004
National Opinion Research Center		
The Polls	The Polls: A Report – Employment and Social	
Welfare		

ENVIRONMENT

ABC		
ABC Environment 1981-2006 2006	ABC Environment	1981-
AEI		
Environment	Polls on the Environment & Global Warm	2007
CBS		
CBS Environment 1976-2007 2007	CBS News	1976-
CNN		
CNN Environment 1989-2007 2007	CNN	1989-
Gallup		
Environment	Environment	2007
Energy	Energy	2007
Washington State University		
Poll Trends	Poll Trends	1991

FAMILY

ABC		
ABC Family 1981-2006 2006	ABC Family	1981-
CBS		
CBS Family 1977-1996 1996	CBS News	1977-
CNN		
CNN Family 1992-2006 2006	CNN	1992-
GSS		
Family Values 1970-80 80	Trends in Attitudes on Sexual & Report.	1970-
ISR		

Family Values 1960-1991	Trends in Attitudes toward Family Issues	1960-1991
Youth/Family/Work Values 1970-1990	Trends in Attitudes Regarding Work, Family	1970-1990
Pew		
Motherhood Today	Motherhood Today	2006

HEALTH

ABC		
ABC Health 1981-2006	ABC Health	1981-2006
CBS		
CBS Health 1976-2007	CBS Health	1976-2007
CNN		
CNN Health 1991-2007	CNN Health	1991-2007
Employee Benefits Research Institute (EBRI)		
EBRI	Health Confidence Surveys	2000-2006
Future of Children		
Health Care	Public Opinion & Health Care Reform	1993
Gallup		
Health Care	Health Care	2007
Health Care II	Health Care (Book)	2007
Kaiser Family Foundation		
Health Policy	Survey of Americans on Health Care Policy	1996
Kaiser		
Uninsured	Public Opinion Update on the Uninsured	2000
Insurance Policy	The Public and Insurance Policy	2004
Health Care Costs	The Public on Health Care Costs	2005
Uninsured	Public Opinion on the Uninsured	2006
Kellogg Foundation		
Food Safety	Food Safety Survey	2005

IMMIGRATION

ABC		
ABC Immigration 1979-2006	ABC News	1979-2006
Arizona State University		
Against the Tide	Against the Tide?	1996
CBS		
CBS Immigration 1983-2007	CBS News	1983-2007

CNN		
CNN Immigration 1993-2000 2007	CNN News	1993-
FAIR		
FAIR	Public Opinion Polls	2007
Gallup		
Immigration	Immigration	2007
Immigration II	Immigration (Book)	2007
GSS		
Immigration Attitudes	Attitudes towards Immigration	2004
Kaiser		
Immigration Study	Immigration Study	2004
National Immigration Forum (NIF)		
NIF	Public Opinion Poll I	2006
NIF	Public Opinion Poll II	2007
Princeton		
Attitudes towards US Immigration	American Attitudes towards Immigration	1993

OTHER

American Enterprise Institute		
Taxes	Public Opinion on Taxes	2006
Future of Children		
Guns	Public Opinion about Gun Policies	2002
Gallup		
Economics	Consumer Views on the Economy	2007
Finances	Personal Financial Situation Index	2007
Race	Race Relations	2007
News in the Next Century		
News in the Next Century	News in the Next Century	1996

SECURITY (TERROR & CRIME)

ABC		
ABC Security 1982-2007 2007	ABC News	1982-
ACLU		
Presidential Powers	Presidential Powers	2006
AEI		
War on Terror	America and the War on Terror	2007
CBS		
CBS Security 1987-2006 2006	CBS News	1987-
CNN		

CNN Security 1994-2003 2003	CNN News	1994-
Chicago Council on Foreign Relations (CCFR)		
Promoting Democracy	Promoting Democracy	2006
Council of Foreign Relations (CFR) / Pew		
Americas Place in the World	Americas Place in the World	2005
Gallup		
Crime	Crime	2007
War on Terror	War on Terror	2007
Page, Benjamin		
Foreign Policy Disconnect	Foreign Policy Disconnect	2007

SECURITY (SOCIAL)

AARP		
SS	Social Security 70 th Anniversary Report	2005
SS II	Retirement Security Report	2007
ABC		
ABC Social Security 1980-2005	ABC News	1980-2005
AEI		
SS	Public Opinion on Social Security	1999
SS II	Attitudes about Social Security	2005
Cato		
SS	Social Security Privatization	1996
SS II	Public Opinion and Private Accounts	2003
CBS		
CBS Social Security 1976-2007	CBS News	1976-2007
CNN		
CNN Social Security 1994-2005	CNN News	1994-2005
Kaiser		
SS	Americans on Social Security	1999
SS II	Surveys on Social Security	2005
Gallup		
Medicare	Medicare	2007
SS	Social Security	2007
National Opinion Research Center		
The Polls: SS	The Polls: Social Security	1985
Pew		
Surge in Support for Social Safety Net	Surge in Support for Social Safety Net	2007