HOUSE EFFECTS: A COMPARISON OF THE 1980 GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY AND THE 1980 AMERICAN NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY

by

Tom W. Smith
National Opinion Research Center

GSS Technical Report No. 23

Revised January, 1981

This research was done for the General Social Survey project directed by James A. Davis. The project is supported by the National Science Foundation, Grant No. SOC77-03279.

The National Data Program for the Social Sciences at the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) and the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan collaborated in the study of house effects by asking several identical questions on NORC's 1980 General Social Survey (GSS) and Michigan's 1980 American National Election Study (Survey Research Center-SRC). Given the internal constraints of the two ongoing surveys, the limited extent of the collaboration, and related factors, it was not possible to rigorously standardize all revelant factors such as instrument content, training, field period, and numerous other variables. We were able, however, to adopt identical wordings and tried to minimize differences in timing and context. Time was controlled for by selecting items for the March GSS which appeared on both the Michigan SRC-P1 survey in January-February and in the SRC-C1 survey in April. This closely boxed in the GSS, both minimizing the interval between surveys and allowing control for any monotonic short term change. Because of fixed schedules Michigan was unfortunately unable to place any GSS questions on before its SRC-P2 survey in June (wave two of the SRC-P1 panel). This longer interval between Michigan and NORC readings naturally increased the possibility of true change occuring.

We tried to reduce context effects by selecting from the Michigan study three basic policy questions that immediately followed a self-ranking liberal/conservative scale. The Michigan questions (See Appendix: Question Wordings) asked about a person's position on an issue, about the position of six or seven political figures, and then about the position of the federal government. Next came questions on the importance of the issue and the importance of the federal government's position.

The GSS version of the questions were placed after a self-ranking liberal/ conservative question similar to the Michigan question and appeared in the same order. The GSS questions excluded the sections on political figures and importance however. This arrangement controlled for the sequence of topics (liberalism/defense spending/ minority assistance/ social spending), but did not standardize the number and focus of questions about each topic. This partial control was unfortunately further disrupted when Michigan at the last minute was forced to drop the minority assistance question from the SRC-P1 survey because of time overruns on the pretest. This prevented us from boxing in the minority assistance question and increased the context differences between SRC-P1 and GSS. It was also not possible to closely duplicate the context for the spending priority items on the GSS and SRC-P2. These were the lead item on the GSS survey. On Michigan they came near the start after a series of questions about what the respondent thought was the most important problem that the government should deal with. It is possible, however, that because the spending item has eleven sub-parts that at least after the initial inquries this creates an internal context that is more relevant than that emanating from prior questions. In brief, while we were unable to establish a rigorous house effects experiment that controlled for all factors except for embedded organizational differences between NORC and SRC, we were able to eliminate differences due to wording and reduce differences due to time and context.

To examine possible house effects we will first compare the distribution of items and then analyze differences in correlations.

Looking at Table 1, we see that on sixteen of seventeen items there are significant differences across houses. A major and systematic cause for these differences are the DK categories (haven't thought about the

don't know). On every item Michigan gets substantially more responses in these categories than GSS does. On the six policy items Michigan averages 5.8 percent points more than the GSS and on the spending priority scale the average difference is 4.2 percent points. This apparently results from house related differences in instructing interviewers how to handle DKs.[1] While both SRC and NORC generally instruct interviewers to probe tentative DKs, on the American National election studies respondents are encouraged to fess up to nonattitudes rather than make-up affects towards the issues. Such differences on DK levels have been detected in other inter-house comparisons and appear to be the most common type of house effect (Schuman and Presser, 1978 and Smith, 1978).

If we exclude the DKs from analysis we find that three of the six policy items do not show significant associations and all differences are substantially reduced. The indexes of dissimilarity average 9.1. On the spending scale four of the eleven differences become nonsignificant and the other differences decrease. The indexes of dissimilarity average 4.3.

On the four policy items which had a SRC point immediately before and after the 1980 GSS we also tested to see if linear true change could account for the differences. Respondent's position on social spending showed no significant between group differences (confirming the results of the chi-square tests in Table 1). On the federal government's position

---

[1] The differences between the spending scales could be related to two other factors. SRC-P2 is a panel of SRC-P1 respondents and studies often find attrition is greater among the disinterested (those with many DKs for example) and Crespi (1948) finds a learning effect that decreases the proportion DK among panel persisters. Both factors would of course argue for even bigger differences in DKs than those observed here.

on social spending we found a significant linear fit and no significant unexplained variance. Respondent's and federal government's position on defense also showed significant linearity but had a highly significant deviation from linearity. Thus monotonic change is a plausible explanation for the differences on the federal government's position on social spending, but not for the defense spending items.

Although numerous small to moderate differences remain on various items there are also several instances of similarity between the houses. The analysis of variance revealed that while the means were significantly different between SRC and GSS the difference in the means between respondent's and government's position were quite similar. On defense spending the federal government was thought to be less in favor of spending than respondents by .933 on SRC-P1, .955 on GSS80, and .961 on SRC-C1 while on social spending the government was thought to be more liberal by -.515, -.469, and -.403 respectively.

The surveys also agreed in finding more DKs on the federal government items than on the respondent items and were close on the magnitude of the increases. Similarly, while seven of the spending priority items showed significant differences the rank orders had a correlation of rho=.955. In brief, even in areas where marginal differences appear there are often notable similarities of one type or another.

Given the pattern of differences that do appear (even after the exclusion of DKs) there are several possible explanations. First, true change could account for all of the observed differences. We feel

that this is unlikely in the case of the two deviant policy items, respondent's and the federal government's defense spending. We see no independent evidence of a spurt for defense spending (and in the public's perception of the federal government's position) during the GSS field period that had largely subsided by the time of the second SRC survey in April. True change is distinctly possible in the case of the spending priority scale. For example, support for defense spending continued to go up sharply, a trend that changes on the GSS between 1978 and 1980 and recent events make rather plausible. It is unfortunately impossible to specify in what instances and to what extent true change did cause differences.

Second, there are some tatters of evidence that context variations might explain some of the difference. Differences on the social spending questions were less between GSS80 and SRC-C1 than between GSS80 and SRC-P1 or SRC-P1 and SRC-C1. This greater similarity could have resulted from their closer topical context since the minority assistance items preceded the social spending items on these surveys. Also the differences between the spending priority items are greater among items that occured early on the list (and thus were most susceptible to influence from the previous questions) than among items that occurred later. However, since the association between house differences and item order is not significant we must not overemphasize this tendency.[2]

Third, it is possible that some of the difference that remains after the DKs are excluded from analysis comes from this source. The

---

[2]The rho between dissimilarity and item order was -.309 (prob.=.178) and -.409 (prob.=.106) between net spending (percent too much - percent too little) and item order. If we exclude defense, for which there is evidence of significant true change, the respective relationships moderately increase to -.442 (.100) and -.503 (.069).

GSS has larger standard deviations than either SRC survey on the six policy items with the DKs excluded. Converse argues that substantive responses are frequently contaminated by nonattitude holders who give random substantive responses rather than admit their ignorance (Smith, 1980). If we assume that the lower DK levels on the GSS surveys result in fewer of the nonattitude holders being separated from the true substantive responses, then we would expect these random responders to increase the standard deviation. Unfortuantely it is uncertain whether nonattitude guessers necessarily distribute themselves in such a fashion or even if the GSS actually fails to remove more nonattitude holders from the substantive categories (SRC might push more people with real attitudes into the DKs).

We next examine how SRC and NORC compared on bivariate correlations. First, the intercorrelations between all items were compared. This gave six comparisons between the seven-point scales on SRC-P1 and GSS, fifteen comparisons between SRC-C1 and GSS; six comparisons between SRC-P1 and SRC-C1; and 55 comparisons on the eleven three-point spending scales between SRC-P2 and GSS. Second, correlations between education, sex, race, and region and the seven- and three-point scales were compared. This gave 16 comparisons between SRC-P1 and GSS; 16 between SRC-C1 and SRC-P1, 24 comparisons between SRC-C1 and GSS; and 33 comparisons between SRC-P2 and GSS (education was not available in this last instance). On the intercorrelations between the seven-point scales used on P1, GSS, and C1 there were three significant differences between each pair of surveys. This is well above chance, indicating that real differences exist. The within house differences (P1 vs. C1) were just as frequently as significant as the between house comparisons (GSS vs. P1 and GSS vs. C1), however, which suggests that house differences

are not necessarily the cause. If we look at the average difference however, we do see that there is greater difference between houses (mean difference in correlations = .063 for GSS-P1 and .029 for GSS-C1)[1] than within houses (mean difference in r= -.014 for P1-C1). On the three-point spending items there was a slightly higher number of statistically significant differences (7 out of 55 comparisons than expected by chance (ca.3), but there was no systematic differences in magnitude or direction (mean difference in correlations = -.006). In sum, on the seven-point scales a significant amount of variation occurs both within and between houses. The between house differences are slightly larger than the within house differences and on average GSS has a slightly higher intercorrelations than SRC. On the three-point spending scales between house differences are small and largely random. On the correlations with demographics, the differences are trivial. On 16 comparisons between GSS and P1 one is statistically significant and on GSS and C1 three differences were significant. Two of the 16 intra-house differences were significant. The mean differences in correlations were small (.0095 for GSS-P1; -.007 for GSS-C1;[2] and -.006 for P1-C1). On the spending items none of the 33 comparisons of correlations showed a statistically significant difference and the mean difference was -.004. In sum, the difference in the correlations between demographics and the attitude scales show virtually no indication of statistically significant house effects.

---

[1] If we include the 8 additional comparisons with the minority scale, the mean difference between GSS and C1 drops to .014 and none of the added correlations are statistically significant.

[2] The one of the 8 differences between the minority scales and the demographics were significant and the mean difference was +.005).

In sum, the comparison of the GSS and SRC studies shows one large and systematic house effect, the Michigan surveys record more DKs than the GSS does. This results from different survey treatments of nonresponse and the difference could presumably be narrowed or eliminated by standardizing interviewer training and instructions. With the DKs excluded from analysis the frequency and magnitude of differences between the houses were greatly reduced. Probably many of the remaining differences, especially those concerning spending priorities, were the result of true change. Other evidence points to context and a residual DK effect as causes of the remaining differences. In addition other house related factors such as nonresponse, sample frame, or coding could contribute to the observed differences. The comparison of correlational differences indicates somewhat larger than expected inter-house effects on inter-item correlations, but negigible difference on correlations with demographics.

All in all, these data stress the strong connection between DK levels and house. This suggests that this factor should always be carefully evaluated when comparing results across houses. In addition, there is enough differences remaining even after DKs are adjusted for and true change is considered that one must be wary of other survey-specific (e.g., context) or house-general (e.g., interviewer training) effects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Crespi, Leo P., "The Interview Effect in Polling." Public Opinion
1948 Quarterly, 12 (Spring), 99-111.

Smith, Tom W., "In Search of House Effects: A Comparison of Responses
1978 to Various Questions by Different Survey Organizations," Public Opinion Quarterly, 42 (Winter), 443-463.

Schuman, Howard and Stanley Presser, "The Assessment of 'No Opinion'
1978 in Attitude Surveys," Karl F. Schuessler, ed., Sociological Methodology, 1979. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Smith, Tom W., "Nonattitudes: A Review and Evaluation," Report to the
1980 the National Academy of Sciences, Panel on Survey-Based Measures of Subjective Phenomena.

APPENDIX:

QUESTION WORDING

1. First I would like to talk with you about some things people think about today. We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. First (READ ITEM A) . . . are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on (ITEM)?
READ EACH ITEM; CODE ONE FOR EACH.

	Too much	Too little	About right	Don't know
A. The space exploration program	3	1	2	8
B. Improving and protecting the environment	3	1	2	8
C. Improving and protecting the nation's health	3	1	2	8
D. Solving the problems of the big cities	3	1	2	8
E. Halting the rising crime rate	3	1	2	8
F. Dealing with drug addiction	3	1	2	8
G. Improving the nation's education system	3	1	2	8
H. Improving the conditions of Blacks	3	1	2	8
I. The military, armaments and defense	3	1	2	8
J. Foreign aid	3	1	2	8
K. Welfare	3	1	2	8

2. Do you expect the United States to fight in another war within the next ten years?

Yes 1
No 2
No opinion 8

89. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?

Republican ..... (ASK A) ... 1
Democrat ..... (ASK A) ... 2
Independent ..... (ASK B) ... 3
Other party affiliation (SPECIFY AND ASK B)
_____ 4
No preference ... (ASK B) ... 5

A. IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT: Would you call yourself a strong (Republican/Democrat) or not a very strong (Republican/Democrat)?

Strong 1
Not very strong 2

NOW GO TO Q. 90

B. IF INDEPENDENT, "NO PREFERENCE," OR "OTHER": Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

Republican 3
Democratic 4
Neither 5

---

90. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal--point 1-- to extremely conservative--point 7. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

HAND CARD O

1) Extremely liberal 01
2) Liberal 02
3) Slightly liberal 03
4) Moderate, middle of the road 04
5) Slightly conservative 05
6) Conservative 06
7) Extremely conservative 07

91. Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point number 1. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2,3,4,5, or 6. ENTER CODE IN BOXES.

HAND CARD P

DEFENSE SPENDING

01 02 03 04 05 06 07

GREATLY DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING — GREATLY INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING

A. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

☐☐

Haven't thought much 08

Don't know 98

B. Where would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time?

☐☐

Haven't thought much 08

Don't know 98

---

92. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups, even if it means giving them preferential treatment. (Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point number 1.) Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves. (Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.) ENTER CODE IN BOXES.

HAND CARD Q

MINORITY GROUPS

01 02 03 04 05 06 07

GOVERNMENT SHOULD HELP MINORITY GROUPS — MINORITY GROUPS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES

A. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

☐☐

Haven't thought much ... 08

Don't know 98

B. Where would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time?

☐☐

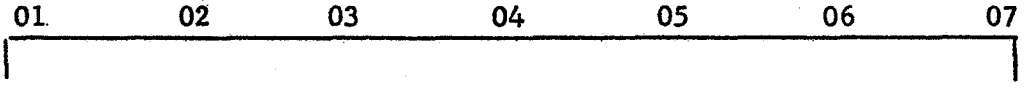
Haven't thought much ... 08

Don't know 98

93. Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education, in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to continue the services it now provides even if it means no reduction in spending. ENTER CODE IN BOXES.

HAND CARD R

GOVERNMENT SERVICES / GOVERNMENT SPENDING



GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE MANY FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING A LOT

GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONTINUE TO PROVIDE SERVICES; NO REDUCTION IN SPENDING

A. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

Haven't thought much	08
Don't know	98

B. Where would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time?

Haven't thought much	08
Don't know	98

SECTION N

N1. (R.B., P. 5) We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.

a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

8. DON'T KNOW
0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

N2. If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?

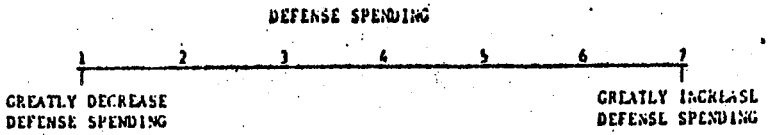
1. LIBERAL
3. MODERATE, MIDDLE OF ROAD
5. CONSERVATIVE
7. A REFUSES TO CHOOSE
8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 20, N4

	RATING	8. DON'T KNOW
b. Where would you place Jimmy Carter?		
c. Where would you place Ronald Reagan?		
d. (Where would you place) Ted Kennedy?		
e. (Where would you place) John Connally?		
f. (Where would you place) Gerald Ford?		
g. (Where would you place) Jerry Brown?		
h.* (Where would you place) BAKER ?		
i. (Where would you place) BUSH ?		
x. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?		
y. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?		

*SRC-C1 (April) study substituted Anderson for Baker.

N4. (R.B., P. 6) Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point number 1. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.



a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

*

8. DON'T KNOW
0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

TURN TO P. 22, N8

	RATING	8. DON'T KNOW
b. Where would you place Jimmy Carter?		
c. Where would you place Ronald Reagan?		
d. (Where would you place) Ted Kennedy?		
e.* (Where would you place) John Connally?		
~~f. (Where would you place) Gerald Ford?~~		
g. (Where would you place) Jerry Brown?		
h.* (Where would you place) BAKER ?		
i. (Where would you place) BUSH ?		

z. Where would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time? *

TURN TO P. 21, N5
TURN TO P. 22, N8

*The SRC-C1 (April) study omitted Connally and substituted Anderson for Baker.

N5. (BLUE CARD), READ AS NECESSARY:

Here is a scale from 0 to 100. 100 on this scale means the greatest possible importance, while 0 means not at all important. The other numbers on the scale from 0 to 100 represent higher and higher amounts of importance.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

R'S NUMBER RATINGS FOR STARRED ITEMS (N4a AND N4z) ARE:

0. THE SAME NUMBER

1. DIFFERENT BY ONE POINT

2. DIFFERENT BY TWO OR MORE POINTS

N5a. READ AS NECESSARY:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue (matches/comes close to) what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N4a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N4z). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government continue what it is doing so that it stays close to your own position on this issue?

_____ RATING

N5b. READ AS NECESSARY:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue does not match what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N4a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N4z). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government change what it is doing so that it comes closer to your own position on this issue?

_____ RATING

N8.* (R.B., P. 7) Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups, even if it means giving them preferential treatment. (Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point number 1.) Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves. (Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.)

MINORITY GROUPS

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1: GOVERNMENT SHOULD HELP MINORITY GROUPS

7: MINORITY GROUPS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES

a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

*

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

TURN TO P. 24, N12

ASK IN C-1 (APRIL STUDY) ONLY

	RATING	8. DON'T KNOW
b. Where would you place Jimmy Carter?		
c. Where would you place Ronald Reagan?		
d. (Where would you place) Ted Kennedy?		
~~e. (Where would you place) John Connally?~~ INAP		
~~f. (Where would you place) Howard Baker?~~ INAP		
g. (Where would you place) Jerry Brown?		
h. (Where would you place) John Anderson?		
i. (Where would you place) George Bush?		

z. Where would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time?

*

TURN TO P. 23, N9

TURN TO P. 24, N12

*Asked on SRC-C1 survey only.

N9. (BLUE CARD), READ AS NECESSARY:

Here is a scale from 0 to 100. 100 on this scale means the greatest possible importance, while 0 means not at all important. The other numbers on the scale from 0 to 100 represent higher and higher amounts of importance.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

R'S NUMBER RATINGS FOR STARRED ITEMS (N8a AND N8z) ARE:

- 0. THE SAME NUMBER
- 1. DIFFERENT BY ONE POINT
- 2. DIFFERENT BY TWO OR MORE POINTS

N9a. READ AS NECESSARY:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue (matches/comes close to) what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N8a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N8z). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government continue what it is doing so that it stays close to your own position on this issue?

_____ RATING

N9b. READ AS NECESSARY:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue does not match what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N8a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N8z). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government change what it is doing so that it comes closer to your own position on this issue?

_____ RATING

N12. (R.B., P. 8) Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education, in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to continue the services it now provides even if it means no reduction in spending.

GOVERNMENT SERVICES / GOVERNMENT SPENDING

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE MANY FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING A LOT

GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONTINUE TO PROVIDE SERVICES; NO REDUCTION IN SPENDING

a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

* _____

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

TURN TO P. 26, N16

	RATING	8. DON'T KNOW
b. Where would you place Jimmy Carter?		
c. Where would you place Ronald Reagan?		
d. (Where would you place) Ted Kennedy?		
e. *(Where would you place) John Connally?		
~~f. (Where would you place) Gerald Ford?~~		
g. (Where would you place) Jerry Brown?		
h. *(Where would you place) BAKER?		
i. (Where would you place) BUSH?		

z. Where would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time? * _____

TURN TO P. 25, N13 — TURN TO P. 26, N16

* The SRC-C1 (April) study omitted Conally and substituted Anderson for Baker.

N13. (BLUE CARD), READ AS NECESSARY:

Here is a scale from 0 to 100. 100 on this scale means the greatest possible importance, while 0 means not at all important. The other numbers on the scale from 0 to 100 represent higher and higher amounts of importance.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

R'S NUMBER RATINGS FOR STARRED ITEMS (N12a AND N12z) ARE:

0. THE SAME NUMBER

1. DIFFERENT BY ONE POINT

2. DIFFERENT BY TWO OR MORE POINTS

N13a. READ AS NECESSARY:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue (matches/comes close to) what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N12a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N12z). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government continue what it is doing so that it stays close to your own position on this issue?

_____ RATING

N13b. READ AS NECESSARY:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue does not match what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N12a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N12z). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government change what it is doing so that it comes closer to your own position on this issue?

_____ RATING

G6. Would you say that you (and your family living here) are affected personally by this problem?

1. YES	5. NO

G7. Which political party do you think would be most likely to get the government to do a better job in dealing with this problem -- the Republicans, the Democrats, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1. REPUBLICANS	5. DEMOCRATS	3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE	8. DON'T KNOW

G8. In the last week or two, have you seen, heard or read anything in the news about this problem?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DON'T KNOW

G9. We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. First, "the space exploration program": Are we spending too much, too little , or about the right amount on "the space exploration program?"

	3. TOO MUCH	1. TOO LITTLE	2. ABOUT RIGHT	8. DON'T KNOW	
a. THE SPACE EXPLORATION PROGRAM					a.
b. Improving and protecting the environment (Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on improving and protecting the environment?)					b.
c. Improving and protecting the nation's health					c.
d. Solving the problems of the big cities					d.
e. Halting the rising crime rate					e.
f. Dealing with drug addiction					f.
g. Improving the nation's education system					g.
h. Improving the conditions of blacks					h.
i. The military, armaments and defense					i.
j. Foreign aid					j.
k. Welfare					k.

TABLE 1

DIFFERENCES IN DISTRIBUTIONS

			DKs Excluded	
	Prob.	x^2	Prob.	x^2
A1 Respondent's Position on Defense Spending				
SRC-P1/GSS80/SRC-C1	<.001	97.3	<.0001	70.2
GSS80/SRC-P1, SRC-C1	<.0001	83.8	<.0001	63.3
A2 Federal Government's Position on Defense Spending				
SRC-P1/GSS80/SRC-C1	<.0001	108.2	<.0001	89.3
GSS80/SRC-P1, SRC-C1	<.0001	90.7	<.0001	72.4
B1 Respondent's Position on Minority Assistance				
GSS80/SRC-C1	.0042	22.8	.162	9.2
B2 Federal Government's Position on Minority Assistance				
GSS80/SRC-C1	.0509	15.4	.096	10.8
C1 Respondent's Position on Social Spending				
SRC-P1/GSS80/SRC-C1	<.0001	50.3	.063	20.3
GSS80/SRC-P1, SRC-C1	<.0001	42.2	.053	12.4
C2 Federal Government's Position on Social Spending				
SRC-P1/GSS80/SRC-C1	<.0001	79.0	.001	40.6
GSS80/SRC-P1, SRC-C1	<.0001	58.1	.005	18.8
D Spending Priorities				
Space	.001		.0360	
Environment	.0001		.0001	
Health	<.0001		.0461	
Urban	.0006		.5370	
Crime	<.0001		.0047	
Drugs	.0004		.0121	
Education	.0019		.9696	
Blacks	.0012		.7642	
Arms	.0223		.0381	
Foreign Aid	.0105		.0131	
Welfare	.0114		.5243	

APPENDIX: MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS

Survey	Position									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DK	Haven't thought about	
A1 Respondent's Position on Defense Spending										
SRC-P1	2.1	1.7	3.8	13.1	22.8	21.0	20.2	2.6	12.7	(1,008)
GSS80	3.2	3.3	6.6	21.1	22.9	12.9	19.0	1.7	9.2	(1,463)
SRC-C1	3.1	2.0	4.8	14.8	22.0	18.4	18.4	4.5	12.1	(964)
SRC-P1	2.5	2.0	4.4	15.5	26.9	24.8	23.9	--	--	(854)
GSS80	3.6	3.8	7.4	23.6	25.7	14.5	21.3	--	--	(1,303)
SRC-C1	3.7	2.4	5.7	17.8	26.4	22.0	22.0	--	--	(804)
A2 Federal Government's Position on Defense Spending										
SRC-P1	2.5	3.5	13.2	22.1	21.1	8.7	6.4	7.1	15.3	(1,008)
GSS80	4.0	8.6	21.1	21.9	13.4	7.9	5.6	4.2	13.4	(1,464)*
SRC-C1	2.6	5.6	15.4	21.0	19.0	9.9	3.3	6.6	16.7	(964)
SRC-P1	3.2	4.5	17.0	28.5	27.2	11.3	8.3	--	--	(782)
GSS80	4.9	10.4	25.6	26.5	16.2	9.5	6.8	--	--	(1,207)*
SRC-C1	3.4	7.3	20.0	27.3	24.8	12.9	4.3	--	--	(739)
B1 Respondent's Position on Minority Assistance										
GSS80	4.6	4.8	9.5	23.2	16.5	14.1	20.2	1.6	5.5	(1,464)
SRC-C1	5.5	4.3	7.9	21.7	17.4	15.9	16.1	3.1	8.1	(963)
GSS80	5.0	5.1	10.2	24.9	17.8	15.2	21.7	--	--	(1,361)
SRC-C1	6.2	4.8	8.9	24.4	19.6	17.9	18.1	--	--	(855)
B2 Federal Government's Position on Minority Assistance										
GSS80	16.5	18.8	16.9	14.1	8.9	6.6	3.5	5.3	9.5	(1,466)*
SRC-C1	12.6	19.3	18.6	13.4	10.3	5.2	2.7	6.6	11.4	(964)
GSS80	19.4	22.0	19.8	16.5	10.5	7.8	4.1	--	--	(1,250)*
SRC-C1	15.3	23.5	22.7	16.3	12.5	6.3	3.3	--	--	(750)
C1 Respondent's Position on Social Spending										
SRC-P1	6.0	7.1	10.8	15.1	15.6	12.2	16.4	3.5	13.6	(1,003)
GSS80	8.3	8.4	12.2	18.5	13.3	10.8	17.8	2.4	8.3	(1,464)
SRC-C1	5.8	9.2	11.8	15.3	12.1	12.7	15.7	4.1	13.4	(961)
SRC-P1	7.2	8.5	13.0	18.1	18.8	14.7	19.7	--	--	(832)
GSS80	9.3	9.4	13.7	20.7	14.9	12.1	20.0	--	--	(1,308)
SRC-C1	7.1	11.1	14.2	18.5	14.6	15.4	19.0	--	--	(793)
C2 Federal Government's Position on Social Spending										
SRC-P1	1.6	0.9	6.2	17.1	19.3	16.5	13.6	7.4	17.5	(1,008)
GSS80	2.2	4.2	9.3	18.0	17.9	16.4	15.3	3.7	12.9	(1,467)*
SRC-C1	2.2	3.4	8.4	14.3	18.2	17.9	10.6	7.2	17.9	(963)
SRC-P1	2.1	1.2	8.2	22.7	25.8	21.9	18.1	--	--	(757)
GSS80	2.7	5.1	11.2	21.6	21.5	19.7	18.3	--	--	(1,224)*
SRC-C1	2.9	4.6	11.2	19.1	24.2	23.8	14.1	--	--	(722)

MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS--Continued

D Spending Priorities

Survey	Too Much	Too Little	About Right	DK	
Space exploration program					
GSS80	39.2	18.0	34.5	8.3	(1,466)
SRC-P2	41.3	13.6	31.6	13.5	(829)
GSS80	42.7	19.8	37.6	--	(1,344)
SRC-P2	47.7	15.8	36.5	--	(717)
Improving and protecting the environment					
GSS80	15.4	47.9	31.0	5.7	(1,465)
SRC-P2	13.2	38.4	38.2	10.3	(836)
GSS80	16.4	50.8	32.9	--	(1,382)
SRC-P2	14.7	42.8	42.5	--	(750)
Improving and protecting the nation's health					
GSS80	7.6	54.7	33.5	4.1	(1,467)
SRC-P2	8.3	47.2	36.0	8.5	(839)
GSS80	8.0	57.1	35.0	--	(1,407)
SRC-P2	9.1	51.6	39.3	--	(768)
Solving the problems of the big cities					
GSS80	21.3	40.0	26.0	12.7	(1,464)
SRC-P2	18.2	36.7	26.0	19.1	(837)
GSS80	24.4	45.8	29.8	--	(1,278)
SRC-P2	22.5	45.3	32.2	--	(677)
Halting the rising crime rate					
GSS80	6.0	68.9	20.8	4.3	(1,463)
SRC-P2	4.8	59.7	25.1	10.4	(836)
GSS80	6.3	72.0	21.7	--	(1,400)
SRC-P2	5.3	66.6	28.0	--	(749)
Dealing with drug addiction					
GSS80	7.7	59.8	25.1	7.3	(1,460)
SRC-P2	7.1	52.0	29.5	11.4	(834)
GSS80	8.4	64.5	27.1	--	(1,353)
SRC-P2	8.0	58.7	33.3	--	(739)

MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS--Continued

D Spending Priorities

Survey	Too Much	Too Little	About Right	DK	
Improving the national education system					
GSS80	10.2	52.7	33.1	4.0	(1,463)
SRC-P2	10.0	50.3	31.8	7.9	(837)
GSS80	10.6	54.9	34.5	--	(1,404)
SRC-P2	10.9	54.6	34.5	--	(771)
Improving the condition of blacks					
GSS80	23.9	24.1	44.1	7.9	(1,462)
SRC-P2	23.8	22.6	40.6	13.0	(836)
GSS80	25.9	26.2	47.9	--	(1,347)
SRC-P2	27.4	26.0	46.6	--	(727)
The military, aramaments, and defense					
GSS80	11.5	56.3	25.7	6.5	(1,465)
SRC-P2	10.7	59.9	20.9	8.5	(838)
GSS80	12.3	60.2	27.5	--	(1,370)
SRC-P2	11.7	65.4	22.8	--	(767)
Foreign aid					
GSS80	69.8	5.1	19.8	5.3	(1,466)
SRC-P2	73.5	3.2	16.3	6.9	(839)
GSS80	73.7	5.4	20.9	--	(1,389)
SRC-P2	79.0	3.5	17.5	--	(781)
Welfare					
GSS80	56.5	13.4	25.8	4.2	(1,463)
SRC-P2	54.9	14.4	23.4	7.3	(836)
GSS80	59.0	14.0	27.0	--	(1,401)
SRC-P2	59.2	15.5	25.3	--	(775)

*On the Michigan questions people who were DK, hadn't thought, or NA on their own position position were not asked subsequent parts. They are included in the "haven't thought" category on the federal government questions. On the GSS questions no such screen was used. The above GSS figures were adjusted to be comparable with the Michigan figures.