A TREND ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDES TOWARD CAPITAL PUNISHMENT, 1936-1974

Tom W. Smith

May 1975

GSS Social Change Report #4

In the ongoing debate over capital punishment, opponents and proponents each claim that both God and public opinion are on their side.[1] As evidence of God's favor, abolitionists have the Fifth Commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," and arguments in favor of the sancity of human life, the virtue of mercy, and the goal of redemption. Supporters, however, might quote Leviticus 24:7, "He who kills a man shall be put to death," and argue for the preservation of justice. As proof of public opposition, abolitionists point to such things as the century-long trend to reduce the number of capital crimes, the steady decline in the number of executions since the 1930s, and the present rarity of death sentences. They conclude with Justice Thurgood Marshall that capital punishment "is morally unacceptable to the people of the United States as this time in their history."[2] In rebuttal, supporters note that numerous attempts to repeal the death penalty by referendum and legislative action have failed, that both the federal government and a large majority of the states authorize the death penalty, and that juries continue to hand down death sentences. They are well represented by Justice Lewis F. Powell's assessment that "the weight of the evidence indicates that the public generally has not accepted either the morality or the social merit of the views so passionately advocated by the articulate spokesmen for abolition."[3] In sum, looking to the same

---

[1] Examples of the pro and con positions can be found in Bedeau, 1964; McCafferty, 1972; and Sellin, 1967.

[2] Furman v. Georgia, 92 S. Ct., 2726ff, 33 L. Ed., 2nd, 418. It was in this case that the Supreme Court ruled by a five to four vote that existing laws and procedures for capital punishment were cruel and unusual and thereby unconstitutional.

[3] Ibid., p. 487.

sources for evidence, opponents and proponents come to diametrically opposite conclusions on the acceptability of the death penalty.

While hard evidence of God's opinion is unavailable, the American public has had its opinion probed in at least 26 national surveys since 1936 (see Appendix 1: Uses and Question Wordings). When unavailable studies and variant question wordings are pruned from this list, there remain 14 studies for which marginals are available (AIPO studies 1936, 59, 105, 522, 625, 704, 729, 746, 774, 839 and 846 and three General Social Surveys, GSS72, GSS73, and GSS74) and 10 studies for which data files are available (AIPO studies 522, 625, 704, 746, 774, 839, 846 and GSS72, GSS73, and GSS74). The marginal time series covers the full time span of 38 years; the data file series spans 21 years from 1953 to 1974. In either case, a long and rich vein of data exists to examine trends in public opinion on capital punishment.

To carry out the trend analysis, categorical linear flow graph analysis has been employed. Linear flow graph analysis translates linear equations into diagrams. There are three simple conventions for transforming equations into graphs: (1) variables become points; (2) coefficients are connected to arrows that join points; and (3) constants are attached to the origin of unlabeled arrows merging with a variable. While linear flow graphs are simply visual expressions of equations and add no unique mathematical properties, they assist causal inferences, help to solve relationships, and facilitate mathematical calculations. Categorical linear flow graph analysis extends graph theory to contingency table data. In this system, the variable values are categorical proportions, the coefficients are differences in proportions, and constants are proportions in a non-base category on a dependent variable among those in the base category on a prior variable. (A base category is the arbitrarily selected category of each variable from which the differences in proportions are calculated.) The disadvantages of categorical linear flow graph analysis are the necessity of arbitrarily selecting base categories and the method's strong appetite for N, which restricts the number of variables that can be used. Its advantages are that it permits the application of linear flow graph analysis to categorical data without level-of-measurement assumptions, that it handles

interactions in a straightforward manner, that relationships are expressed in terms of readily understandable differences in proportions, and that the system is especially congenial to over-time analysis.[4]

Equipped with the statistical tool, we can now consider the trend analysis of public opinion. The marginal porportion opposing the death penalty is graphed in Figure 1. The bottom line retains "don't knows" as a category (see Table 1-A); the upper line is figured after the "don't knows" have been excluded (see Table 1-B). Examination of the graph shows that opposition to capital punishment has gone over a series of peaks and valleys since 1936. In the late thirties a bit over one-third of the population opposed the death penalty; in 1953 this fell to 28 per cent. This drop may, however, be somewhat misleading. Two events in 1953 probably decreased opposition temporarily. The first was the execution on June 19th, about five and a half months before the survery, of the "atomic spies" Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The second was the kidnap-murder of six-year old Bobby Greenlease by Carl Hall and Bonnie Heady on October 7th. It is quite likely that strong public approval of capital punishment in these particular cases depressed the level of opposition registered in the survey.[5] After 1953, opposition apparently gained ground until, in 1966, a majority opposed capital punishment. Since 1966, the trend in opposition to capital punishment has been downward, and it has fallen sharply since 1971. Overall, the marginals on capital punishment from 1936 to 1974 indicate non-linear change (see Statistical Analysis in Tables 1-A and 1-B).

To get at the nature of this non-linear trend, the time under study was broken into periods of rising opposition (1936-1966) and

---

[4]For a concise and clear introduction to linear flow graphs see Stinchcombe, 1968. On categorical linear flow graphs, see Davis, forthcoming. On special techniques for handling over-time changes, see Davis, in press, and Taylor, 1975.

[5]One indication of the impact of the Greenlease and Rosenberg cases can be seen in that in 1937 only 58 per cent of those who supported capital punishment favored its application to women, while in 1953, 96 per cent did (see Erskine, 1971: 298). This dramatic rise probably results from the fact that two of the four defendants in the Greenlease and Rosenberg cases were women.

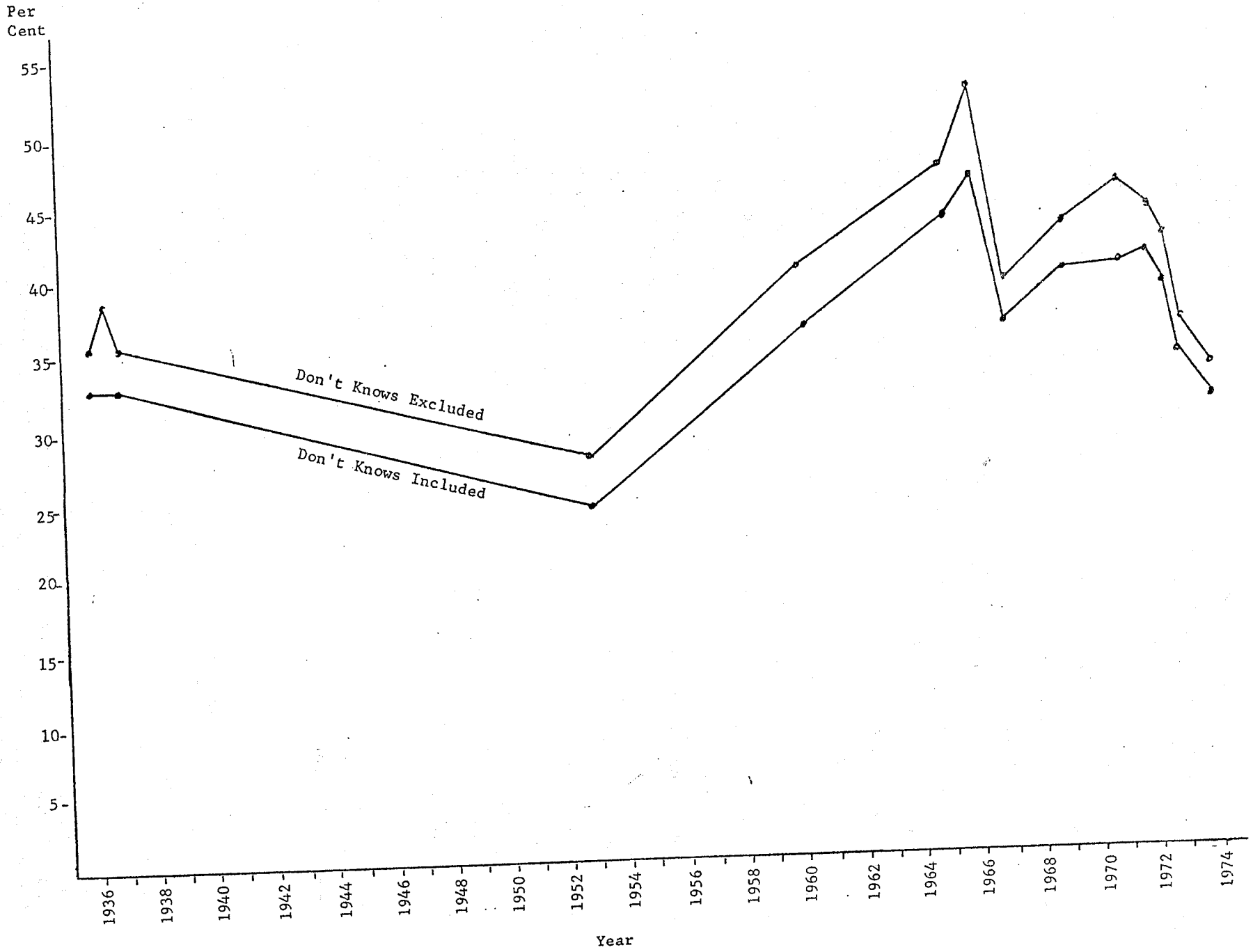

Fig. 1--Marginals for Per Cent Opposing Death Penalty

TABLE 1-A

MARGINALS, "DON'T KNOWS" INCLUDED[a]

Data							
Survey	AIPO[b]	AIPO59[b]	AIPO105[b]	AIPO522[c]	AIPO625	AIPO704	AIPO729[b]
Date	4/36	11/36	11/37	11/53	3/60	2/65	7/66
Per Cent:							
Yes	62.0	61.0	60.0	63.8	52.7	45.4	42.0
No	33.0	39.0	33.0	25.0	36.2	44.0	47.0
Don't Know .	5.0	*[d]	7.0	11.2	11.2	10.6	11.0
N	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	(1496)	(2973)	(1689)	n.d.

Survey	AIPO746	AIPO774	AIPO839	AIPO846	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74
Date	6/67	1/69	10/71	2/72	3/72	3/73	3/74
Per Cent:							
Yes	55.7	51.3	48.2	50.9	53.0	60.2	63.0
No	36.7	40.1	40.5	41.5	39.3	34.8	31.8
Don't Know .	7.5	8.6	10.3	7.6	7.8	5.0	5.1
N	(1518)	(1503)	(1558)	(1509)	(1609)	(1492)	(1480)

[a]Missing cases and no answers were excluded from the following studies: AIPO522 (2), AIPO625 (12), AIPO846 (4), GSS72 (4), GSS73 (12), and GSS74 (4).

[b]Data from Hazel Erskine, "The Polls: Capital Punishment," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXIV (Summer, 1970), 290-307. There was no data (n.d.) on the number of cases; for statistical analysis, 1,400 was used as the number of cases.

[c]The categories "qualified yes" and "qualified no" were grouped with the "don't knows."

[d]Figures probably exclude "don't knows."

TABLE 1-A--Continued

Statistical Analysis

	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
For per cent:						
Yes	1) No change	p = pooled	388.5	13	<.05	Reject
	2) Linear change	p = a + bx	317.1	12	<.05	Reject
	Reduction from linear term		81.4	1	<.05	Significant
No	1) No change	p = pooled	279.9	13	<.05	Reject
	2) Linear change	p = a + bx	246.8	12	<.05	Reject
	Reduction from linear term		33.1	1	<.05	Significant
Don't know	1) No change	p = pooled	163.8	12	<.05	Reject
	2) Linear change	p = a = bx	167.9	11	<.05	Reject
	Reduction from linear term		-4.1	1	>.05	Not significant

Final Model

Marginal proportion "Yes": Non-linear change with significant linear component

Marginal proportion "No": Non-linear change with significant linear component

Marginal proportion "Don't Know": Non-linear change

TABLE 1-B

MARGINALS, "DON'T KNOW" EXCLUDED[a]

Data

Survey	AIPO[b]	AIPO59[b]	AIPO105[b]	AIPO522[c]	AIPO625	AIPO704	AIPO729[b]
Date	4/36	11/36	11/37	11/53	3/60	2/65	7/66
Per Cent							
Yes	64.0	61.0	64.0	71.9	59.3	52.5	47.0
No	36.0	39.0	36.0	28.1	40.7	47.5	53.0
N	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	(1329)	(2641)	(1460)	n.d.

Survey	AIPO746	AIPO774	AIPO839	AIPO846	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74
Date	6/67	1/69	10/71	2/72	3/72	3/73	3/74
Per Cent							
Yes	60.3	56.2	53.9	55.1	57.7	63.4	66.5
No	39.7	43.8	46.1	44.9	42.6	36.6	33.5
N	(1403)	(1373)	(1394)	(1394)	(1484)	(1417)	(1404)

Statistical Analysis

Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
For per cent No:					
1) No change	p = pooled	317.0	13	<.05	Reject
2) Linear change	p = a + bx	273.0	12	<.05	Reject
Reducation from linear term		44.0	1	<.05	Significant

Final Model

Marginal Proportion "No": Non-linear change with significant linear component

[a]Missing cases and no answers were e cluded from the following studies, AIPO522 (2), AIPO625 (12), AIPO846 (4), GSS72 (4), GSS73 (12), and GSS74 (4).

[b]Data from Erskine, "Capital Punishment." No data (n.d.) available on number of cases. For statistical analysis 1350 was used as the number of cases.

TABLE 1-C

CHANGE IN PROPORTION "NO", "DON'T KNOWS" EXCLUDED

Statistical Analysis

Period	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
1936-1966	1) No change	p = pooled	237.4	9	<.05	Reject
	2) Linear change	p = a + bx	172.3	8	<.05	Reject
	Reduction from linear term		65.1	1	<.05	Significant
1966-1974	1) No change	p = pooled	147.9	7	<.05	Reject
	2) Linear change	p = a + bx	85.0	6	<.05	Reject
	Reduction from linear term		62.9	1	<.05	Significant
1971-1974	1) No change	p = pooled	71.3	4	<.05	Reject
	2) Linear change	p = a + bx	6.5	3	>.05	Accept

Final Model

Marginal proportion "No" (1936-66): Non-linear change with significant linear component

Marginal proportion "No" (1966-74): Non-linear change with significant linear component

Marginal proportion "No" (1971-74): 3.79 - .0467 (Year - 1900)

falling opposition (1966-1974). For both of these periods the trends were still found to be non-linear (see Table 1-C). Only for the years 1971-1974 was a definite linear trend evident (see Table 1-C). In both periods, however, the degree of linearity was much higher than it had been for the entire period (1936-1974). In brief, the trend in opposition since 1936 cannot be simply defined as an inverted-V with its apex in 1966, but these periods of rising and falling opposition are a major feature of the 38 years of change.

One last notable feature from the marginals is the relatively high level of "don't know" responses. Over time, they average .079 of all responses (missing cases excluded). This level is above that found on other general opinion questions, and indicates that people find this a difficult question to take sides on.[6] This difficulty probably stems from the gravity of the decision involved. The relatively high level of "don't knows" may also help to account for some of the fluctuations in the marginals, since the same forces that create a large number of undecided people may produce a low level of certitude among those who take sides. In other words, the opinion of many people may be tentative and fluid rather than absolute and fixed.

This notion of a loosely anchored swing group receives support from several questions that have explored the intensity of feelings on capital punishment (see Appendix 2: Questions Relating to the Reasons and Conditions for Supporting or Opposing Capital Punishment). About a fifth of the population in 1968 and 1973 absolutely opposed the death penalty: 18 per cent would never vote for the death penalty, 16 per cent would never apply it to first degree murders, and 16 per cent would never convict a person who would automatically receive the death penalty (see questions A, F, and G). Around 30 per cent strongly favored its use with 28 per cent who would use it for all first degree murders and 39

---

[6]The proportion of "don't know" responses on capital punishment for the three General Social Surveys (1972, 1973, 1974) averaged .060. The proportion of "don't knows" on 13 other questions that asked yes/no responses on concrete domestic policies (including items on gun registration, the legalization of marijuana, wiretapping, school busing, divorce laws, sex education, birth control information, and abortions) was .036. A similar difference appears to exist on Gallup surveys.

per cent who could always vote for conviction in cases carrying an automatic death penalty (see questions F and G). The remaining 50 per cent believe in the conditional or selective use of the death penalty. A 1973 Harris survey offers further illustration: 59 per cent supported the death penalty, 10 per cent were undecided, and 31 per cent opposed the penalty. Here, 28 per cent would always use the death penalty for first degree murder, 56 per cent would use it selectively (including the "don't knows"), and 16 per cent would never use it. Assuming that all of the "never-use-it" group were opponents and that all of the "always-use-it" group were proponents, then of the 59 per cent who favored capital punishment, 28 per cent were universalists and 31 per cent were conditionalists (the 10 per cent undecided were all conditionalists), and of the 31 per cent opposed to the death penalty, 15 per cent were conditionalists and 16 per cent were total abolitionists. This indicates that a large proportion of both proponents and opponents are neither totally in favor of nor totally opposed to the death penalty.

Having examined the change in the marginals on capital punishment, the next step is to analyze the relationship of independent variables to capital punishment during the years from 1953 to 1974 for which data files are available. Inspection of the data files revealed that over-time analysis of the relationship between the following demographic variables and capital punishment was possible: sex, race, religion, cohort, income, education, and political party affiliation.

Turning to basics first, Figure 2 graphs the sex differential on capital punishment. The graph indicates that women are consistently more opposed to the death penalty than are men. This difference is constant over time and the difference in proportions averages .115 (i.e., pooled over all surveys, the proportion of women expressing opposition to capital punishment minus the proportion of men registering opposition equals .115; see Table 2). Both the direction of this difference and its consistency can be explained by differences in the socialization processes of girls and boys (Watson, 1965: 433-36; and Phelps and Austin, 1975; this difference also manifests itself on war issues, see Mueller, 1973: 146-47). Racial differences between whites and blacks are shown in

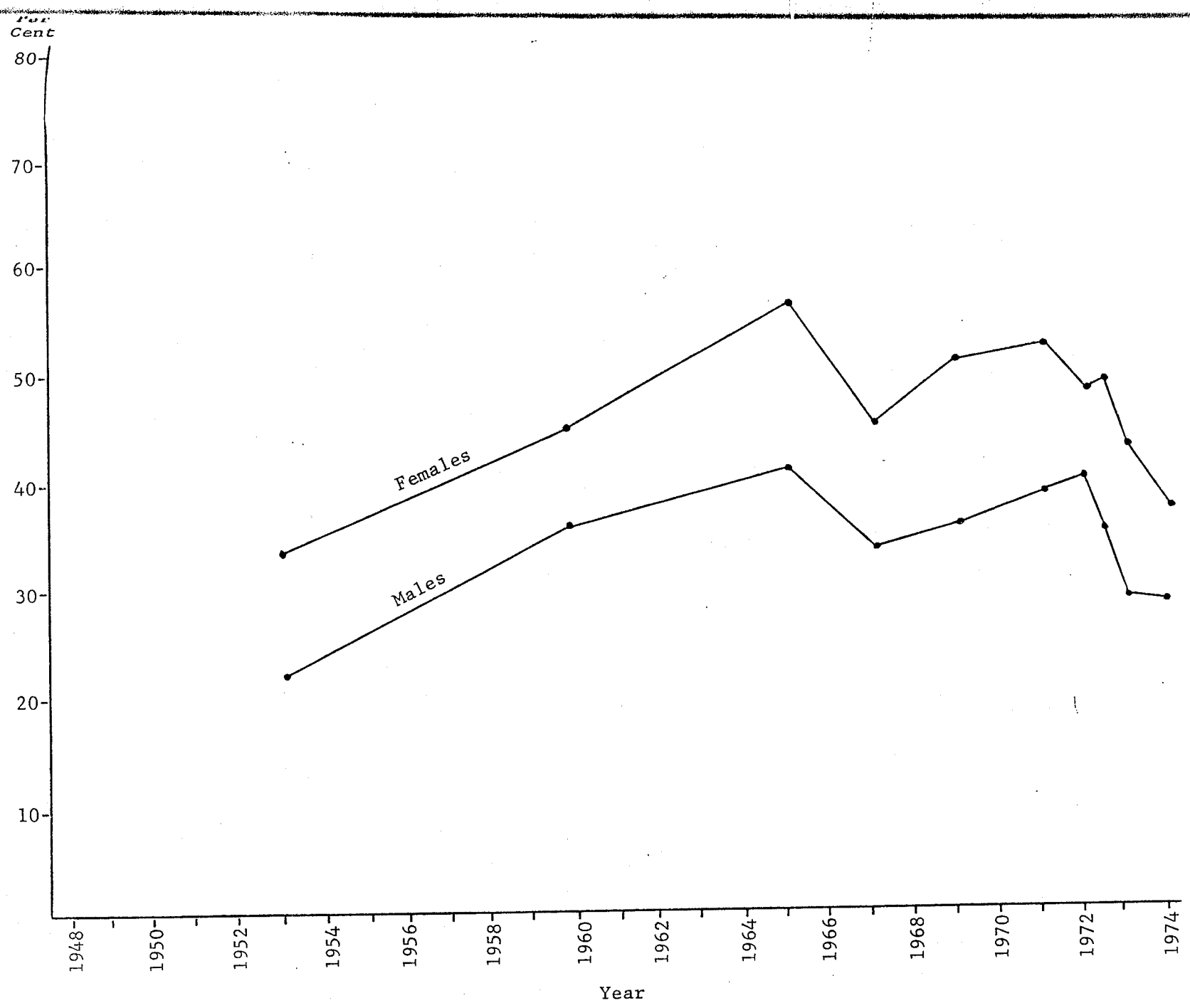

Fig. 2--Per Cent Opposing Death Penalty by Sex

TABLE 2

SEX DIFFERENCES

Data					
Survey	AIP0522	AIP0625	AIP0704	AIP0746	AIP0774
Date	11/53	3/60	2/65	6/67	1/69
Per Cent No:					
Male	22.6 (656)	36.3 (1289)	41.6 (754)	34.1 (710)	36.2 (698)
Female	33.6 (670)	45.0 (1350)	56.9 (756)	45.5 (693)	51.7 (675)
Survey	AIP0830	AIP0846	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74
Date	10/71	2/72	3/72	3/73	3/74
Per Cent No:					
Male	39.3 (707)	40.9 (700)	34.9 (765)	29.7 (669)	29.6 (668)
Female	53.1 (687)	49.0 (694)	49.7 (719)	42.8 (748)	37.1 (736)

Statistical Analysis						
Category Differences (Base = Male)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Female	1) No difference	d = 0	231.0	10	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = C	12.7	9	>.05	Accept

Final Model

Female: d = .115 σ = .008

Figure 3. At all time points, blacks have been more opposed to the death penalty than whites. Each group has generally followed the national trends, but the differential has not been constant: since 1953 the gap has been widening at an average of about 1 per cent a year (see Table 3). The direction of this difference is easily understood in light of the disproportionate application of the death penalty to blacks (Wolfgang and Riedel, 1973). The widening of the gap might well be a result of the civil rights movement, which increased black sensitivity to such inequalities.

Figure 4 shows the difference between Protestants and Catholics on capital punishment. Catholics have fairly consistently registered less support for the abolition of capital punishment than Protestants, although the percentage difference has never exceeded -8, and has averaged only -.042 (see Table 4). The reason for this difference is obscure, but it is worth noting that many Protestant demoninations have taken official positions agains the death penalty (Sellin, 1967: 121-22).

Figure 5 shows cohort differences on capital punishment. There has never been a significant difference between the middle cohort and either the young or old cohorts. The new cohort, however, has consistently been more opposed to capital punishment than any of the older cohorts. Since the emergence of the new cohort in the 1965 survey, the new and middle cohorts have differed by an average of .106 (see Table 6). This difference seems to be a true cohort effect (rather than an age difference) since the young cohort in 1953 and 1960 did not show a similar difference, and because the difference has not changed as the new cohort has aged.

Figure 6 shows the income differential on capital punishment. For the abbreviated time period for which data is available (1965-1974), there has been a constant relationship between low income and opposition to the death penalty. The differences in proportions between the middle and wealthy groups and the less well off have been .066 and .100 respectively. This difference most probably reflects a greater interest in order by the economically secure groups, as well as a belief among the

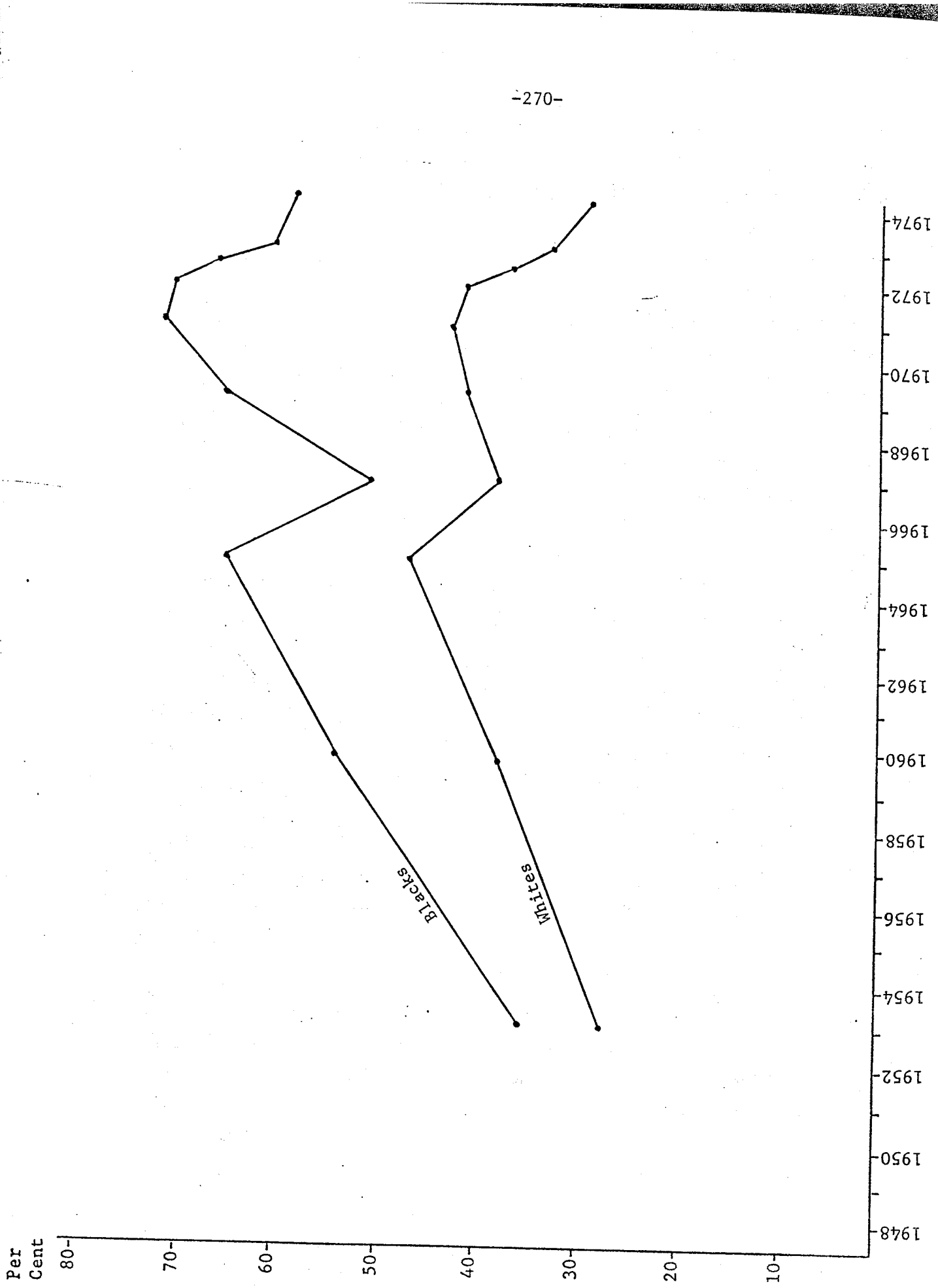

Fig. 3--Per Cent Opposing Death Penalty by Race

TABLE 3

RACE DIFFERENCES[a]

Data

Survey	AIPO522	AIPO625	AIPO704	AIPO746	AIPO774
Date	11/53	3/60	2/65	6/67	1/69
Per Cent No:					
Whites	27.6 (1226)	38.8 (2324)	47.6 (1314)	38.8 (1269)	41.8 (1262)
Blacks	36.0 (89)	54.2 (308)	66.7 (135)	51.8 (83)	66.7 (96)

Survey	AIPO839	AIPO846	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74
Date	10/71	2/72	3/72	3/73	3/74
Per Cent No:					
Whites	43.6 (1262)	42.1 (1263)	37.6 (1245)	33.0 (1238)	30.2 (1240)
Blacks	72.5 (120)	71.8 (131)	68.1 (235)	61.7 (167)	60.1 (158)

Statistical Analysis

Category Difference (Base = Whites)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Blacks	1) No difference	d = 0	361.6	10	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	32.2	9	*	
	3) Linear change in difference	d = a + bx	3.9	8	>.05	Accept
	Reduction from linear change		28.3	1	<.05	Significant

Final Model

Blacks: -.53 + .0112 (Year - 1900)

[a]Those who were neither whites nor blacks were excluded.

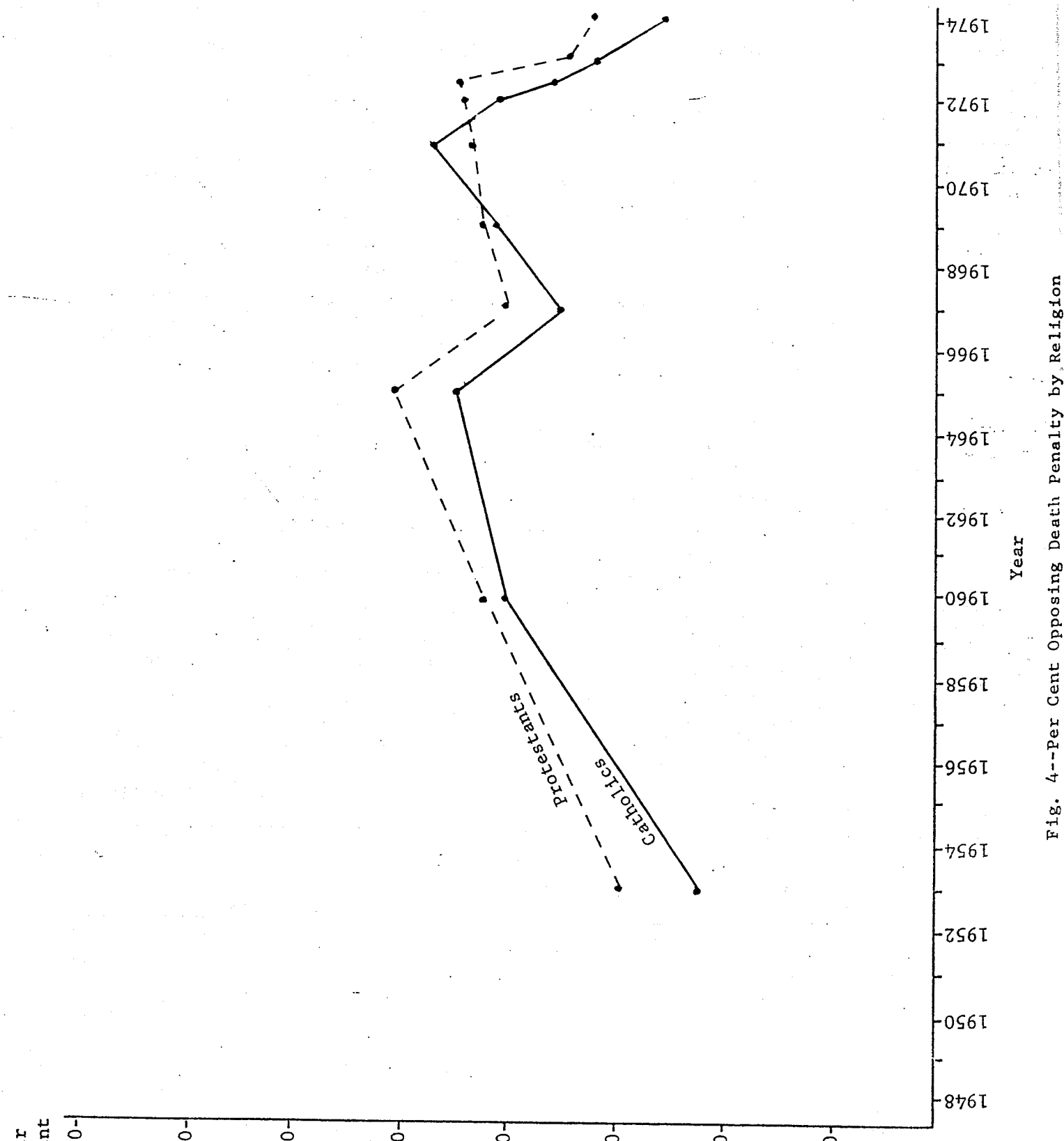

Fig. 4--Per Cent Opposing Death Penalty by Religion

TABLE 4

RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES[a]

Data

Survey	AIPO522	AIPO625	AIPO704	AIPO746	AIPO774
Date	11/53	3/60	2/65	6/67	1/69
Per Cent No:					
Protestants . .	29.7 (930)	42.3 (1607)	51.0 (1059)	41.2 (934)	43.9 (897)
Catholics . . .	22.1 (307)	40.1 (755)	45.2 (343)	35.1 (342)	41.5 (335)

Survey	AIPO839	AIPO846	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74
Date	10/71	2/72	3/72	3/73	3/74
Per Cent No:					
Protestants . .	44.0 (897)	45.1 (854)	45.5 (939(	35.1 (883)	33.4 (905)
Catholics . . .	47.5 (356)	42.2 (377)	36.2 (387)	33.5 (370)	26.1 (357)

Statistical Analysis

Category Difference (Base = Protestants)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Catholics	1) No difference	d = 0	35.6	10	*	
	2) Constant difference	d = c	14.5	9	>.05	Accept
	Reduction from constant term		21.1	1	<.05	Significant

Final Model

Catholics: $d = -.042$ $\sigma = .009$

[a]Those who were neither Protestant nor Catholics were excluded.

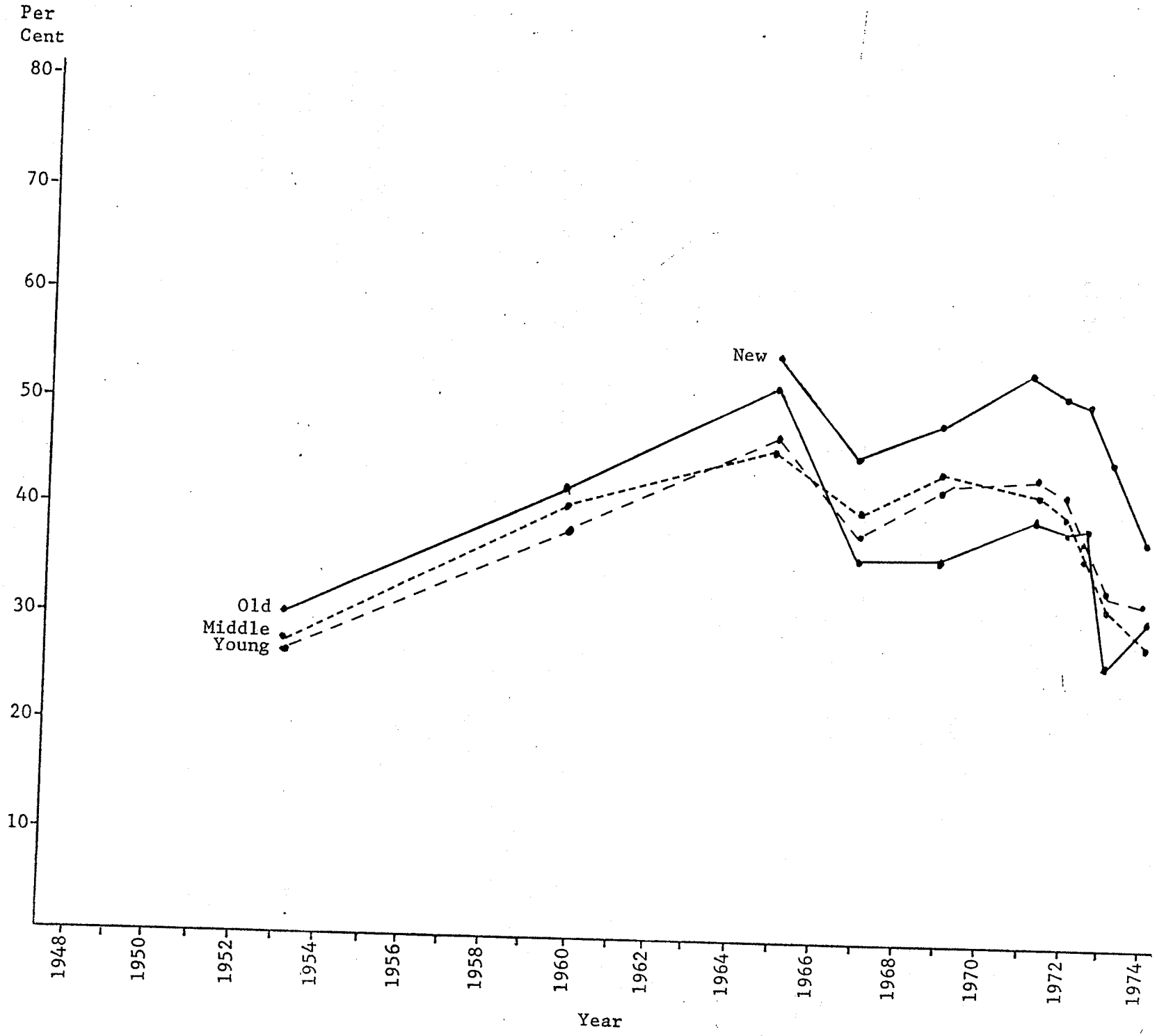

Fig. 5--Per Cent Opposing Death P[illegible]

TABLE 5

COHORT DIFFERENCES[a]

Data					
Survey	AIPO522	AIPO625	AIPO704	AIPO746	AIPO774
Date	11/53	3/60	2/65	6/67	1/69
Per Cent No:					
New	-	-	55.1 (156)	46.2 (199)	49.2 (242)
Young	26.5 (294)	38.7 (852)	47.6 (532)	38.7 (468)	43.6 (447)
Middle . . .	27.2 (526)	40.9 (925)	46.9 (450)	40.3 (424)	44.9 (421)
Old	30.0 (504)	42.7 (832)	52.6 (342)	36.6 (287)	36.4 (247)
Survey	AIPO839	AIPO846	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74
Date	10/71	2/72	3/72	3/73	3/74
Per Cent No:					
New	54.1 (414)	52.3 (463)	51.6 (473)	46.7 (467)	38.2 (505)
Young	44.3 (386)	42.5 (386)	38.3 (405)	33.3 (408)	32.8 (381)
Middle . . .	43.0 (335)	40.5 (338)	37.1 (404)	32.0 (375)	28.3 (336)
Old	40.3 (221)	39.0 (200)	39.6 (197)	26.4 (163)	31.3 (176)

Statistical Analysis

Category Difference (Base = Middle)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
New	1) No difference	d = 0	74.0	8	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	6.9	7	>.05	Accept
Young	1) No difference	d = 0	3.7	10	>.05	Accept
Old	1) No difference	d = 0	12.2	10	>.05	Accept

Final Model

New: d = .106 = .013
Young: d = 0
Old: d = 0

[a]The old cohort was born in 1906 or earlier, the middle cohort was born between 1907 and 1923, the young cohort was born from 1924 to 1939, and the new cohort was born from 1940 on.

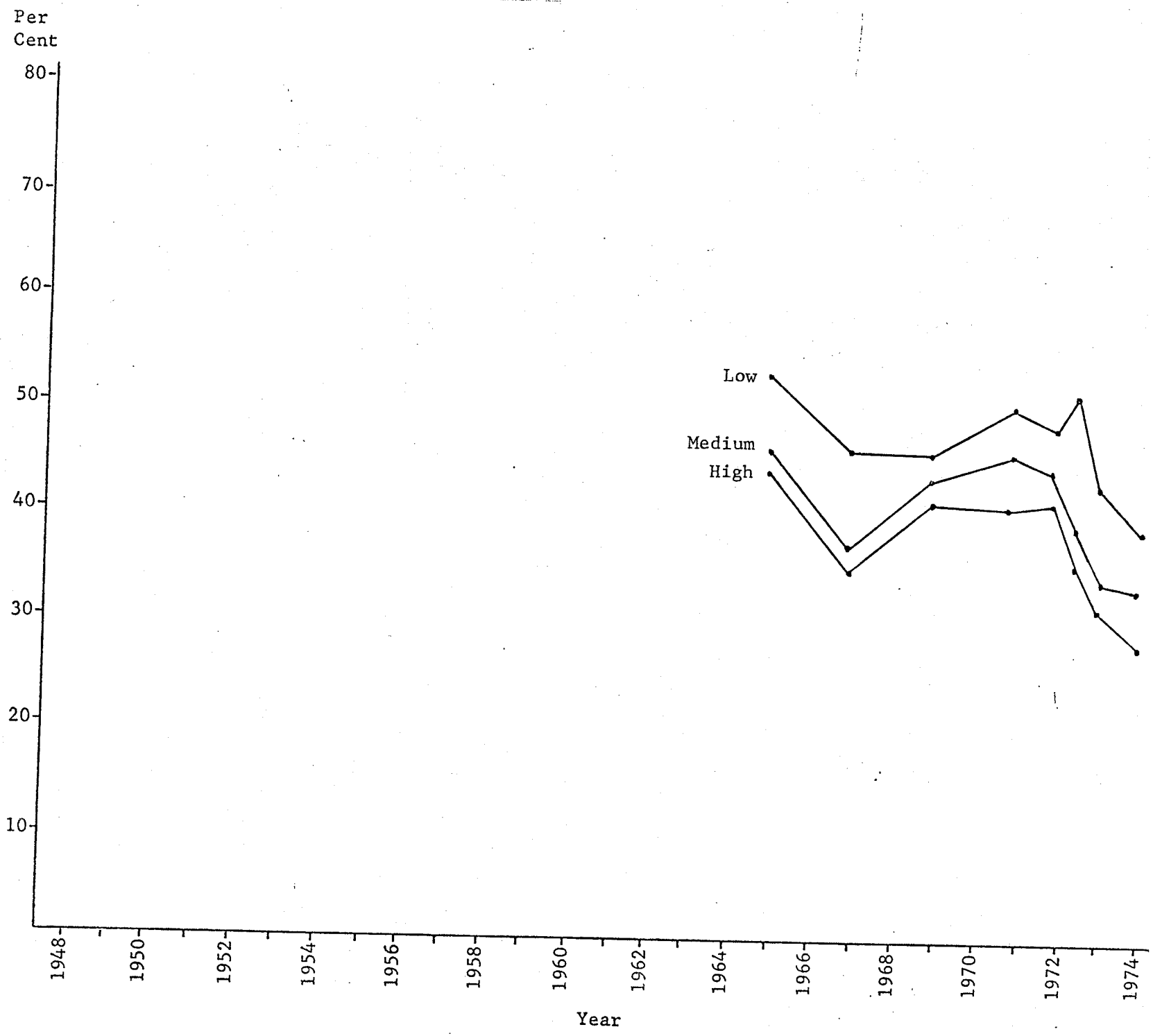

Fig. 6--Per Cent Opposing Death Penalty by Income

TABLE 6

INCOME DIFFERENCES[a]

Survey	AIP0704	AIP0746	AIP0774	AIP0839	AIP0846	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74
Date	2/65	6/67	1/69	10/71	2/72	3/72	3/73	3/74
Per Cent:								
Low . . .	53.8 (403)	46.8 (417)	46.2 (403)	50.9 (381)	49.2 (386)	52.9 (399)	43.8 (402)	39.5 (387)
Medium .	47.2 (513)	37.2 (611)	44.1 (533)	46.2 (524)	44.8 (536)	39.4 (526)	34.4 (567)	32.9 (495)
High. . .	45.6 (544)	35.9 (359)	41.5 (422)	41.1 (453)	42.0 (443)	36.6 (435)	32.0 (353)	28.4 (412)

Statistical Analysis

Category Difference (Base = Low)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Medium	1) No difference	d = 0	43.5	8	>.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	11.4	7	>.05	Accept
High	1) No difference	d = 0	75.7	8	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	7.2	7	<.05	Accept

Final Model

Medium: -.066 = .012
High: -.100 = .012

[a]Income was collapsed into three categories of approximately equal size. To achieve this the following cuts were made:

Surveys	Categories		
	Low	Medium	High
AIP0704	to $3,999	$4,000-6,999	$7,000 +
AIP0746	to $4,999	$5,000-9,999	$10,000 +
AIP0774	to $4,999	$5,000-9,999	$10,000 +
AIP0839	to $5,999	$6,000-10,999	$11,000 +
AIP0846	to $5,999	$6,000-11,999	$11,000 +
GSS72	to $5,999	$6,000-12,499	$12,500 +
GSS73	to $6,999	$7,000-14,999	$15,000 +
GSS74	to $6,999	$7,000-14,999	$15,000 +

poorer group of class inequities in the judical system in general, and the punishment of capital crimes in particular (Wald, 1971; Overby, 1971).

Figure 7 presents the educational differences on capital punishment. The graph and data indicate that high school graduates register the least support for abolition, that the less-educated are more in favor of abolition (by an average of .038 over the high school graduates), and that the college-educated favor abolition the most (by an average of .061 over the high school graduates). Since this relationship seemed rather curious, the relationship was reexamined with income introduced as a control variable. On the eight studies where this was possible, the pooled zero-order difference between the less-educated and high school graduates was .040; between the college-educated and high school graduates it was .061; between the middle and poorer income group it was -.066; and between the wealthier and poorer income group it was -.100. With income introduced as an intervening variable, the difference between the less-educated and high school graduates disappeared and the difference between the college-educated and the high school graduates increased to .073. Net of education, the difference between the middle and poor income groups rose to -.076, and the wealthy to poor difference became -. 134 In brief, income was creating a spurious difference between the less-educated and high school graduates, while supressing the relationship between the college-educated and high school graduates, and between the middle and wealthy groups and the less well off.

In Figure 8, party differences on capital punishment are shown: Democrats show the greatest opposition to capital punishment; the Independents are less opposed; and the Republicans are the least opposed. The Republican-Democrat difference has not been constant, however, but has been widening at a rate of .049 a year (see Table 9). This party difference appears to reflect liberal-conservative ideological cleavage on this issue. In 1974 at least, the difference between conservatives and liberals was greater than that between Republicans and Democrats (see Table 10).[7]

---

[7]Also on this point, see Zeisel, 1968: 19-24.

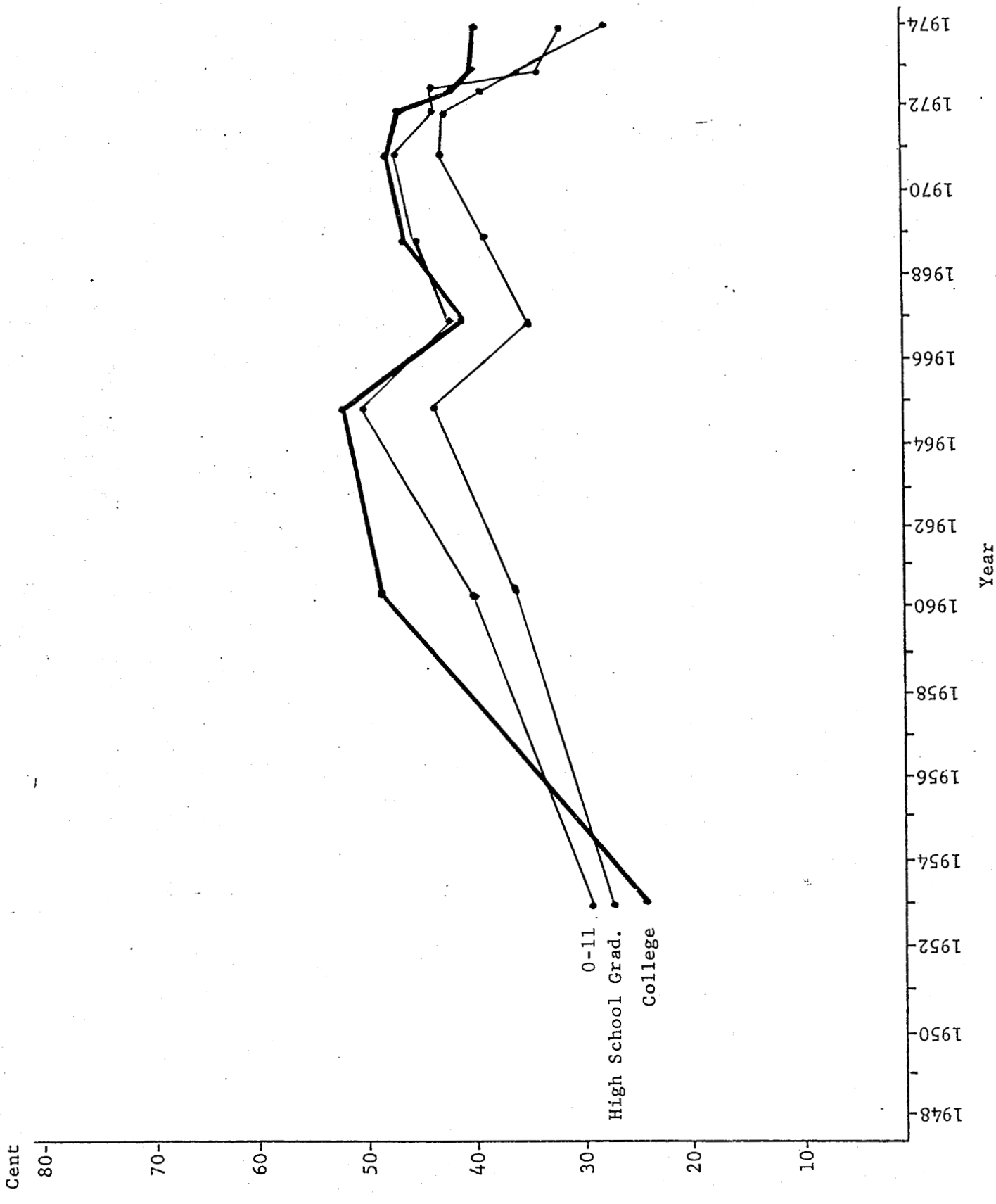

Fig. 7--Per Cent Opposing Death Penalty by Education

TABLE 7

EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES

Data

Survey	AIP0522	AIP0625	AIP0704	AIP0746	AIP0774
Date	11/53	3/60	2/65	6/67	1/69
Per Cent:					
Less than High School	29.4 (680)	40.7 (1412)	51.1 (655)	42.6 (531)	46.0 (500)
High School Graduate	27.7 (404)	36.5 (816)	44.7 (524)	35.5 (512)	39.8 (490
College	24.2 (236)	49.6 (407)	52.8 (326)	41.5 (354)	46.4 (375)

Survey	AIP0839	AIP0846	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74
Date	10/71	2/72	3/72	3/73	3/74
Per Cent:					
Less than High School	47.8 (471)	43.9 (506)	44.5 (580)	34.2 (511)	32.2 (475)
High School Graduate	43.2 (530)	43.6 (491)	39.9 (467)	35.7 (460)	28.6 (469)
College	47.9 (386)	47.5 (394)	43.0 (433)	40.3 (442)	40.0 (457)

Statistical Analysis

Category Difference (Base = High School)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Less than High School	1) No Difference	d = 0	24.5	10	*	
	2) Constant difference	d = c	7.4	9	>.05	Accept
	Reduction from constant term		17.1	1	<.05	Significant
College	1) No difference	d = 0	52.4	10	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	17.8	9	*	

Final Model

Less than High School: $d = .038$ $\sigma = .009$
College: $d = .061$ $\sigma = .010$

TABLE 8

EDUCATION BY INCOME DIFFERENCES

Data

Survey	AIPO704			AIPO746			AIPO774			AIPO839		
Date	2/65			6/67			1/69			10/71		
	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High
Per Cent No:												
Less than High School	53.8 (290)	50.9 (220)	39.3 (122)	49.3 (274)	36.8 (201)	29.4 (51)	46.8 (252)	50.8 (191)	24.5 (53)	50.8 (236)	50.0 (168)	27.8 (54)
High School Graduate	54.9 (91)	37.9 (206)	46.3 (214)	40.8 (98)	33.3 (273)	36.5 (137)	42.3 (104)	38.2 (220)	40.1 (162)	52.7 (91)	41.5 (248)	40.0 (180)
College	50.0 (20)	60.0 (85)	48.6 (208)	47.6 (42)	45.2 (135)	37.1 (170)	53.5 (43)	44.5 (119)	46.9 (207)	47.1 (51)	51.9 (106)	45.2 (219)
Survey	AIPO846			GSS72			GSS73			SS74		
Date	2/72			3/72			3/73			3/74		
	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High
Per Cent No:												
Less than High School	48.3 (238)	42.2 (187)	36.1 (72)	51.4 (251)	38.2 (191)	37.0 (92)	38.4 (237)	29.4 (177)	26.9 (52)	34.2 (222)	28.0 (150)	25.4 (59)
High School Graduate	48.9 (92)	45.0 (220)	39.3 (168)	52.2 (92)	37.5 (200)	34.3 (137)	53.3 (92)	33.9 (227)	26.5 (117)	34.5 (87)	32.5 (200)	20.7 (145)
College	50.9 (53)	48.1 (129)	46.3 (203)	60.7 (56)	43.9 (132)	37.9 (206)	50.0 (72)	40.0 (160)	37.0 (184)	60.3 (78)	38.9 (144)	34.6 (208)

TABLE 8--Continued

Category Difference (Base = High School and Low)	Hypothesis	Model	Statistical Analysis x^2	df	p	Decision
Less than High School	1) No difference	d = 0	39.8	24	*	
	2) Constant difference	d = c	39.7	23	*	
	Reduction from constant term		.1	1	>.05	Not Significant
College	1) No difference	d = 0	60.3	24	*	
	2) Constant difference	d = c	24.5	23	>.05	Accept
	Reduction from constant term		35.8	1	<.05	Significant
Medium	1) No difference	d = 0	71.2	24	*	
	2) Constant difference	d = c	31.1	23	>.05	Accept
	Reduction from constant term		30.1	1	<.05	Significant
High	1) No difference	d = 0	120.8	24	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	26.6	23	>.05	Accept

Final Model

Less than High School: $d = 0$
College: $d = .073 \quad \sigma = .012$

Medium: $d = -.076 \quad \sigma = .012$
High: $d = -.134 \quad \sigma = .014$

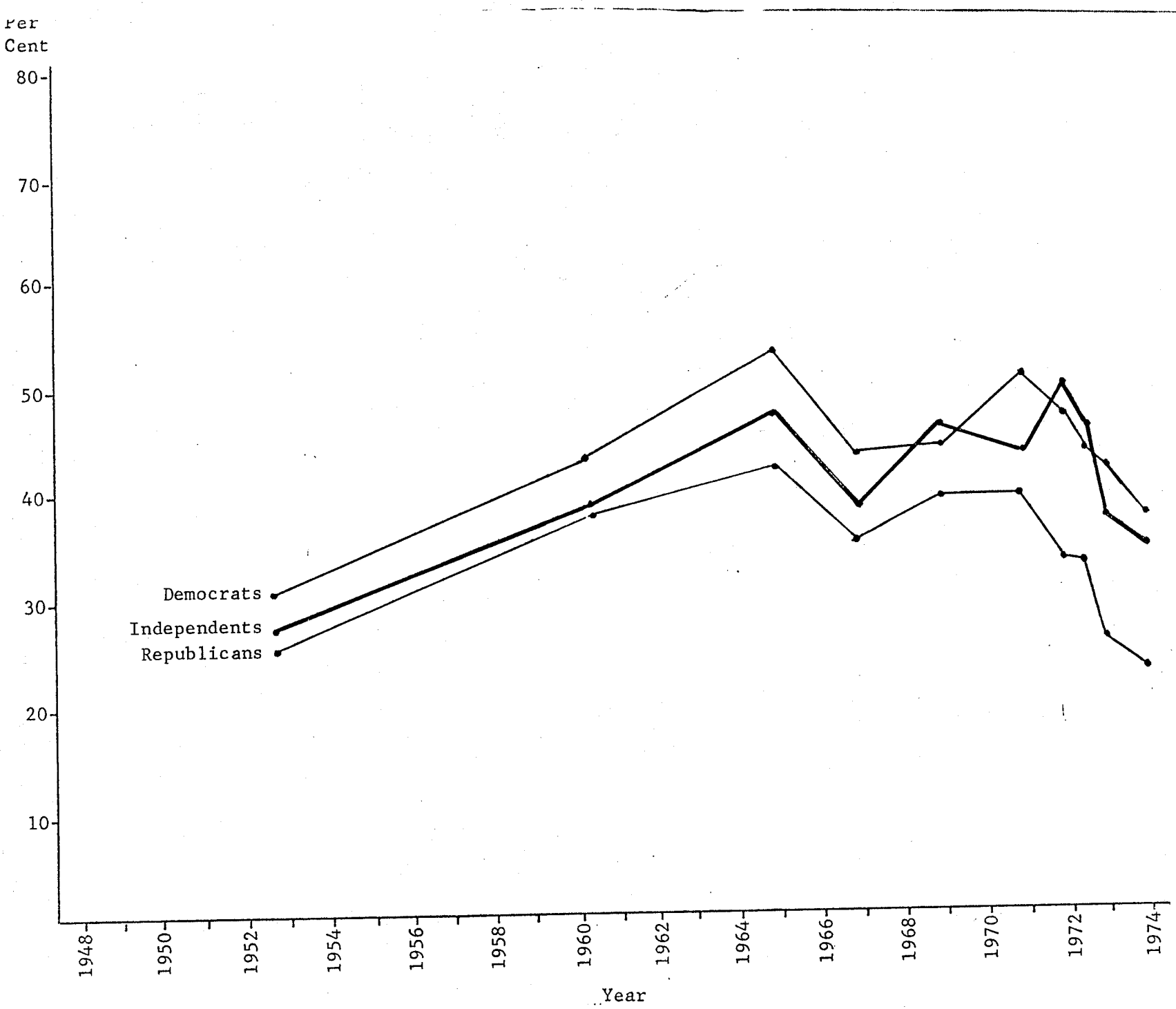

Fig. 8--Per Cent Opposing Death Penalty by Party

TABLE 9

PARTY DIFFERENCES[a]

Data

Survey	AIPO522	AIPO625	AIPO704	AIPO746	AIPO774
Date	11/53	3/60	2/65	6/67	1/69
Per Cent No:					
Republican	25.1 (410)	38.0 (729)	42.8 (402)	35.6 (410)	39.7 (388)
Independent	27.1 (291)	38.5 (620)	47.9 (338)	38.5 (351)	46.6 (397)
Democrat	30.4 (605)	43.2 (1218)	53.7 (751)	43.5 (609)	44.6 (547)

Survey	AIPO839	AIPO846	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74
Date	10/71	2/72	3/72	3/73	3/74
Per Cent No:					
Republican	39.9 (363)	33.7 (338)	33.2 (337)	25.8 (325)	23.2 (311)
Independent	43.8 (361)	50.6 (439)	46.3 (393)	37.7 (488)	34.9 (433)
Democrat	51.0 (649)	47.3 (573)	44.8 (688)	42.1 (580)	37.6 (585)

Statistical Analysis

Category Difference (Base = Democrat)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Republican	1) No difference	d = 0	119.0	10	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	17.3	9	*	
	3) Linear change in difference	d = a + bx	6.6	8	>.05	Accept
	Reduction from linear term		10.7	1	<.05	Significant
Independent	1) No difference	d = 0	19.7	10	*	
	2) Constant difference	d = c	11.7	9	>.05	Accept
	Reduction from constant term		8.0	1	<.05	Significant

Final Model

Republican: $d = 0.21 - .0047\ (\text{Year} - 1900)$

Independent: $d = -.027 \quad \sigma = .010$

[a]Members of third parties are excluded.

TABLE 10

COMPARISON OF PARTY AND IDEOLOGY DIFFERENCES

Data						
Survey	GSS74					
Date	3/74					
	Democrat	Independent	Republican	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative
Per Cent No:	37.6 (585)	34.9 (433)	23.2 (311)	46.3 (404)	29.6 (541)	25.1 (394)

Statistical Analysis

Category Difference (Base = Democrat, Liberal)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Independent	1) No difference	d = 0	.08	1	>.05	Accept
Republican	1) No difference	d = 0	21.5	1	<.05	Reject
Moderate	1) No difference	d = 0	27.5	1	<.05	Reject
Conservative	1) No difference	d = 0	41.0	1	<.05	Reject

Final Model

Party		Ideology	
Independents:	d = 0	Moderate:	d = -.167 σ = .032
Republican:	d = -.145	Conservative:	d = -.212 σ = .033

In the foregoing analysis, capital punishment was found to be associated with each of the independent demographic variables tested. Constant differences were found for categories of sex, religion, cohort, income, and education. Linear differences were discovered for categories of race and for the Republican-Democrat difference among political parties. With these over-time relationships established, it is now possible to consider the potential contribution of these independent variables to the marginal changes on capital punishment. Two factors must be considered: first, the differences in proportions on the dependent variable among the categories of the independent variables (which have already been inspected); and second, the marginal shifts over time in the proportion of cases in the categories of the independent variable. The relationship between these two factors is illustrated in Table 11-A. If there is no relationship between an independent and a dependent variable (i.e., if d = 0), then the independent variable will not contribute to or help explain any of the change in the dependent variable regardless of whether or not there are marginal shifts (see cells A and B, Table 11-A). Likewise, if there is a stable relationship between the independent and dependent variables (i.e., d = c) and no marginal shifts, there will be no effects of the independent variable on the change in the dependent variable (see cell C). However, if a constant relationship exists and there are marginal shifts, then the independent variable will help to explain the change in the dependent variable (see cell D). When there is linear change over time in the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, the independent contributes to the change in the dependent variable whether or not there are changes in the marginals of the independent variable (see cells E and F). In brief, by considering both the relationship between an independent and a dependent variable and the marginal changes of the independent variable, it is possible to test whether this variable has contributed to the marginal changes in the dependent variable (cases D, E, F) or has had no effect on the observed changes (cases A, B, C).

This scheme has been applied to the independent variables examined above. Table 11-B shows that sex, religion, and income have no effect on

TABLE 11-A

TYPOLOGY FOR TESTING CONTRIBUTION OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLE ON CHANGE IN DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Differences in Proportions:	Marginals of Independent Variable: 1) No change	2) Change
1) No difference (d = 0)	A	B
2) Constant difference (d = c)	C	D
3) Linear change in difference (d = a + bx)	E	F

TABLE 11-B

TESTING THE CONTRIBUTION OF SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES TO CHANGE ON CAPITAL PUNSIHMENT

Variable	Over Time Difference in Proportions	Marginal Shifts Over Time	Case
Sex:			
Female vs. Male	d = .115	*	C
Race:[a]			
Black vs. White	d = -.53 + .0122 (Year - 1900)	.045	F
Religion:			
Catholic vs. Protestant	d = -.042	*	C
Cohort:			
New vs. Middle	d = .106	+.358	D
Young vs. Middle	d = 0	+.048	B
Old vs. Middle	d = 0	-.255	B
Education:[b]			
0-11 vs. High School	d = .038	.147	D
College vs. High School	d = .061	-.176	D
Income:[c]			
Middle vs. Low	d = -.066	*	C
High vs. Low	d = -.100	*	C
Party:			
Republican vs. Democrat	d = 0.21 - .0047 (Year - 1900)	-.080	F
Independent vs. Democrat	d = -.027	.103	D

*Not significant at .05 level.

[a]The small gain in the proportion of blacks is an artifact of sampling variation. The censuses for 1950 and 1970 show less than a one percent gain for adult blacks.

[b]When income is controlled the 0=11 vs. High School difference becomes 0 and thus a type "B" case.

[c]By cutting income into equal thirds the possibility of marginal shifts was eliminated. If fixed dollar value had been used there would have been marginal shifts and income would be a type "D" case.

the changes in capital punishment, and that race, cohort, education, and party all play a role. With the identification of these change variables it is possible to construct a causal model to explain the observed change in the capital punishment marginals.[8]

For the sake of clarity two relatively uncomplicated four-variable models were tested. In the first model, the prior variable is time; the intervening variables are, first, cohort and, next, party preference; and the final dependent variable is capital punishment. This model is presented in a flow graph in Figure 9 and the accompanying statistical analysis is in Table 12-A. Starting at the left side, the graph translates as follows. The terms feeding into the cohort categories are their marginal changes from 1953 to 1974. Flowing out from the cohort categories to the party categories are the differences in proportions between cohorts on party preference. The dual arrows from the new cohort to Republican represent the fact that over time the new cohort has become increasingly less Republican (i.e., linear differentiation). The long arrow from the new cohort to opposition indicates that net of time and party , the new cohort is associated with opposition to capital punishment (or, more precisely, controlling for time and party, the new cohort gives .103 more opposition responses than the middle cohort does). The absence of arrows from the young and old cohorts shows that there are no independent effects from these categories. Moving on to the party variable, there are no exogenous arrows entering the system, since there is no effect between time and party net of cohort (i.e., the marginal changes in parties over time are explained by cohort). From the party categories to capital punishment are two broken arrows (dashed lines signify negative differences in proportions) indicating that, net of time and cohort, there is a direct effect between party and capital punishment. The negative signs signify that being either a Republican or an Independent lead to less opposition to capital

---

[8]Non-change variables can, of course, be put in a change model and would be especially appropriate if they explained or supressed change variables.

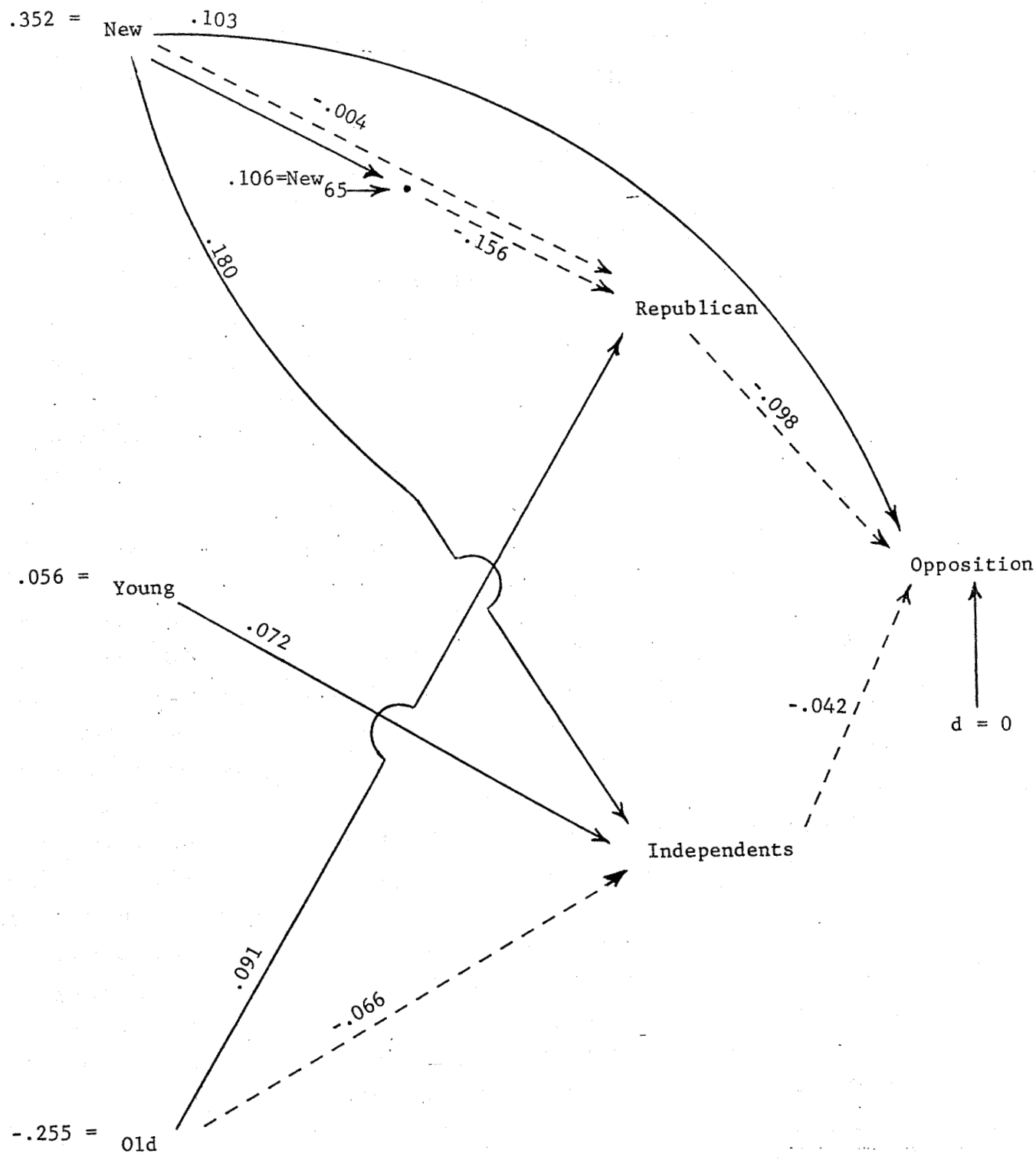

Fig. 9--Flow Graph Model of Change in Cohort, Party, and Capital Punishment, 1953-1974

TABLE 12

COHORT BY PARTY DIFFERENCES

Data

Survey	AIPO522			AIPO625			AIPO704		
Date	11/53			3/60			2/65		
	Dem.	Ind.	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Rep.
Per Cent No:									
New	-	-	-	-	-	-	60.9 (64)	46.0 (50)	58.5 (41)
Young	32.1 (131)	17.7 (79)	26.7 (75)	35.7 (353)	38.9 (244)	42.7 (239)	52.8 (269)	45.9 (135)	38.0 (121)
Middle	28.8 (240)	28.4 (109)	23.5 (170)	48.8 (443)	37.2 (258)	27.2 (195)	51.3 (234)	46.2 (93)	39.2 (120)
Old	31.3 (233)	32.7 (101)	26.1 (165)	45.0 (407)	40.7 (118)	40.1 (282)	56.1 (173)	54.5 (55)	47.2 (108)

Survey	AIPO746			AIPO774			AIPO839			AIPO846		
Date	6/67			1/69			10/71			2/72		
	Dem.	Ind.	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Rep.
Per Cent No:												
New	50.0 (78)	45.6 (68)	40.0 (50)	53.9 (76)	53.6 (97)	34.9 (63)	55.6 (178)	58.7 (143)	42.9 (84)	57.3 (164)	56.8 (199)	30.8 (78)
Young	42.4 (198)	35.8 (137)	38.0 (121)	40.5 (173)	47.1 (155)	44.9 (107)	54.8 (166)	36.7 (109)	35.8 (106)	43.7 (151)	46.1 (128)	37.5 (96)
Middle	46.6 (204)	34.5 (94)	35.1 (113)	44.6 (193)	44.7 (103)	44.0 (109)	48.9 (184)	35.9 (64)	35.7 (84)	41.1 (175)	43.8 (73)	35.4 (82)
Old	36.1 (119)	40.0 (50)	34.2 (114)	44.6 (101)	31.6 (38)	32.0 (103)	44.3 (106)	16.7 (36)	46.1 (76)	47.0 (83)	41.7 (36)	29.1 (79)

Survey	GSS72			GSS73			GSS74		
Date	3/72			3/73			3/74		
	Dem.	Ind.	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Rep.
Per Cent No:									
New	52.0 (175)	55.2 (183)	43.5 (85)	54.4 (169)	48.4 (182)	31.8 (88)	43.5 (186)	35.9 (209)	29.7 (74)
Young	41.5 (195)	41.6 (113)	27.2 (81)	33.9 (171)	33.8 (139)	31.2 (77)	36.8 (171)	35.3 (116)	22.4 (76)
Middle	43.5 (216)	32.4 (71)	27.6 (105)	40.8 (174)	26.7 (90)	22.8 (101)	30.3 (142)	32.9 (103)	19.4 (79)
Old	41.2 (102)	40.0 (25)	34.4 (64)	33.8 (65)	32.4 (37)	14.3 (56)	37.6 (85)	29.6 (27)	21.1 (57

TABLE 12-A--Continued

Statistical Analysis						
Category Differences on Capital Punishment	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Time:						
1974 vs. 1953	1) No difference	d = 0	12.5	12	>.05	Accept
Cohort:						
New vs. Middle	1) No difference	d = 0	88.3	24	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	29.4	23	>.05	Accept
Young vs. Middle	1) No difference	d = 0	41.7	30	>.05	Accept
Old vs. Middle	1) No difference	d = 0	39.2	30	>.05	Accept
Party:						
Republican vs. Democrat	1) No difference	d = 0	175.7	38	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	70.1	37	*	Accept
Independent vs. Democrat	1) No difference	d = 0	69.8		*	
	2) Constant difference	d = c	51.0		>.05	Accept
	Reduction from constant term		18.8		>.05	Significant

Final Model

New: d = .103 σ = .014
Young: d = 0
Old: d = 0

Republican: d = -.098 σ = .010
Independent: d = -.042 σ = .010

punishment than being a Democrat. The last, but perhaps most important, is the exogenous arrow that flows into capital punishment. It indicates that net of cohort and party there was no difference in opposition to capital punishment between 1953 and 1974.

When all the paths in Figure 9 are added up, the change in opposition to capital punishment from 1953 to 1974 can be decomposed into causally distinct components. As Table 13 shows, opposition to capital punishment increased by .0421 from 1953 to 1974.[9] Most of this change (.0363) is accounted for by the emergence of the pro-abolitionist new cohort. The remaining change (.0058) is accounted for by cohort effects on party preference. This effect works as follows: Cohort succession has increased the proportion of Independent and decreased the proportion of Republicans. The increase in Independents tends to decrease the level of opposition while the decrease of Republicans tends to increase opposition to capital punishment. The net effect is to increase opposition (i.e., the positive transmittances through Republican are greater than the negative transmittances through Independent). In sum, the entire increase in opposition to capital punishment can be explained as the result, direct or indirect, of cohort succession.

Returning to the analysis of marginal trends with which we began this investigation, we noted there that after 1966 opposition to capital punishment declined. In light of the fact that cohort succession explains an <u>increase</u> in opposition since 1953, it is of special interest to see what has caused the decrease since 1966. To examine this change, the eight data files available from 1965 to 1974 were examined (with the 1966 survey unavailable, the 1965 study becomes the pivotal point). Figure 10 presents the flow graph and Table 12-B the statistical analysis. Compared with Figure 9, most coefficients change only slightly and, except for the appearance of a path between young and Republican and an exogenous term into Independent, the causal relations remain similar. The one major difference is the appearance of a -.178 difference from time to capital punishment net of cohort and party. Turning to Table 14, the enormous impact of this new term becomes immediately apparent.

---

[9] As Table 13 indicates, the observed change from the raw data was .053, but the model change totaled only .0421. This difference results primarily from the setting of non-significant paths to zero.

TABLE 13

DECOMPOSITION OF CHANGE IN CAPITAL PUNISHMENT
FROM FIGURE 9

Source		Change
Direct from Cohort:		
New - Opposition	.352 * .103	.0363
Cohort via Party:		
New - Republican - Opposition	.352 * [(-.004 + (-.156) * -.098 .106 * -.156 * -.098	.0071
New - Independent - Opposition	.352 * .180 * -.042	-.0027
Young - Independent - Opposition	.056 * .072 * -.042	-.0002
Old - Republican - Opposition	-.255 * .091 * -.098	.0023
Old - Independent - Opposition	-.255 * -.066 * -.042	-.0007
	Total Modeled Change	.0421
	(Raw Data	.053)

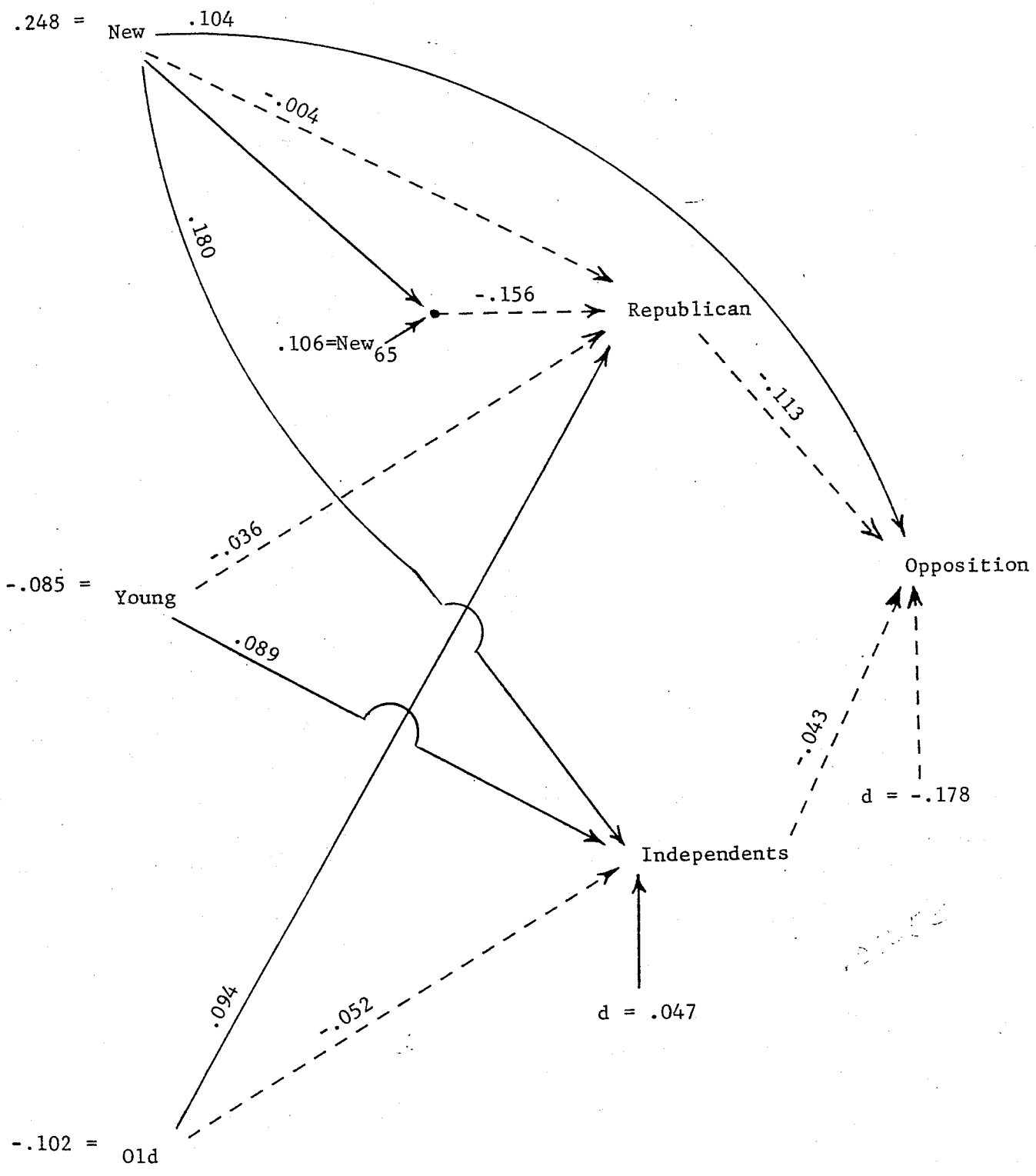

Fig. 10--Flow Graph Model of Change in Cohort, Party, and Capital Punishment, 1965-1974

TABLE 12-B

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Differences on Capital Punishment	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Time:						
1974 vs. 1965	1) No difference	d = 0	95.0	12	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	6.6	11	>.05	Accept
Cohort:						
New vs. Middle	1) No difference	d = 0	90.1	24	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	29.4	23	>.05	Accept
Young vs. Middle Middle	1) No difference	d = 0	11.9	24	>.05	Accept
Old vs. Middle	1) No difference	d = c	27.6	24	>.05	Accept
Party:						
Republican vs. Democrat	1) No difference	d = 0	138.2	32	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	38.6	31	>.05	Accept
Independent vs. Democrat	1) No difference	d = 0	53.4	32	*	
	2) Constant difference	d = c	39.4	31	*	
	Reduction from constant term		14.0	1	<.05	Significant

Final Model

Time: $d = -.178$ $\sigma = .019$

New: $d = .104$ $\sigma = .013$
Young: $d = 0$
Old: $d = 0$

Republican: $d = -.113$ $\sigma = .011$
Independent: $d = -.043$ $\sigma = .011$

TABLE 14

DECOMPOSITION OF CHANGE IN CAPITAL PUNISHMENT
FROM FIGURE 10

Source		Change
Direct from Cohort:		
New - Opposition	.248 * .104	.0258
Cohort via Party:		
New - Republican - Opposition	.248 * -.160 * -.113 .106 * -.156 * -.113	.0064
New - Independent - Opposition	.248 * .180 * -.043	-.0019
Young - Republican - Opposition	-.085 * -.036 * -.113	-.0003
Young - Independent - Opposition	-.085 * -.089 * -.043	.0003
Old - Republican - Opposition	-.102 * .094 * -.113	.0011
Old - Independent - Opposition	-.102 * -.052 * .043	-.0002
Party Net of Cohort:		
Independent - Opposition	.047 * -.043	-.0020
Time Net of Cohort and Party:		
1965 - 1974 - Opposition		-.178
	Total Modeled Change	-.149
	(Raw Data	-.163)

From 1965 to 1974 the direct impact of the emergence of the new cohort was to increase opposition by .0258; the impact of cohort through party was .0054; and the result of the growth of the Independents net of cohort was -.0020. Together, these account for a net change of .0294. When this is combined with the unexplained time change of -.178, the total modeled change becomes -.149. This indicates that although cohort succession continues to increase opposition to the death penalty, there has been a large decrease in opposition across all categories of cohort and party. Thus, the cohort flow is being washed out by a counter current from time.

To examine change in capital punishment further, a second model was tested with time as the prior variable, cohort as the first intervening variable and education as the second, and capital punishment as the dependent variable. The 1953 to 1974 analysis showed much the same results as the party model did (see Figure 11 and Tables 15-A and 16). The emergence of the pro-abolitionist new cohort accounts for an increase in opposition of .0403. The sum effect of cohort on education is a virtually nil -.0024 (it would be positive if income was controlled for), and a growth in the college-educated unaccounted for by cohort accounts for a .0046 increase in opposition. When the 1965 to 1974 model was tested, the similarity of results was again apparent. The new cohort accounts for a .0288 increase; the impact of the new cohort via education was .0024; and the independent impact of the increase in the college group was .0038--for a net change of .0350. This gain in opposition was once again overwhelmed by a -.181 change from time net of cohort and education, giving a total modeled change of -.1460.

To review, the small increase in opposition from 1953 to 1974 can be well explained by either of the models, but neither model can account for the large inverted-V change that occurred between these end points. It is probable that by considering cohort, education, income, and party together as intervening variables the explained proportion would rise, but the net gain would probably be marginal. Instead of pursuing this course, we decided to examine the alternative model that capital punishment is related to concern about crime in general and

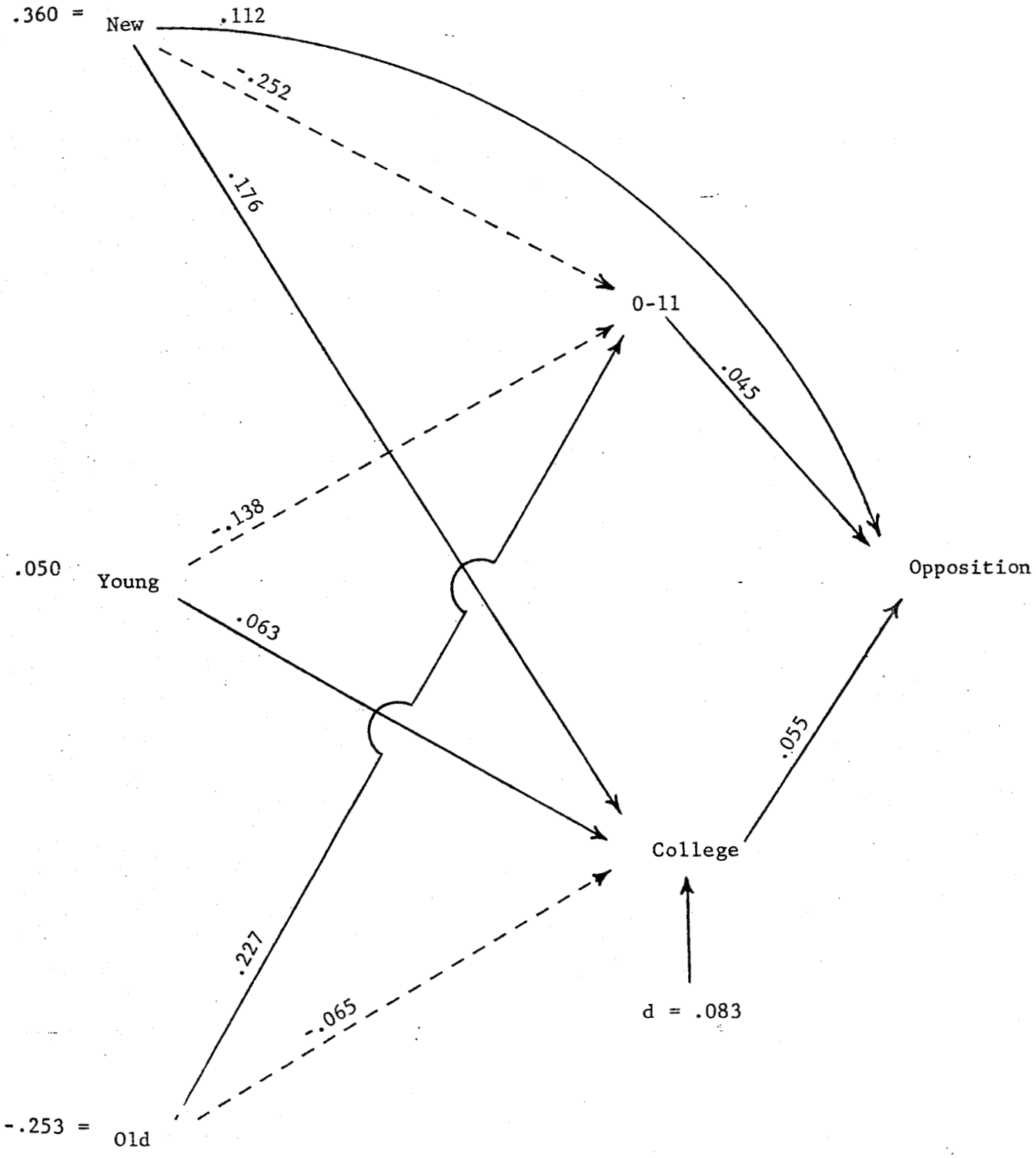

Fig. 11--Flow Graph Model for Change in Cohort, Education, and Capital Punishment, 1953-1974

TABLE 15-B

COHORT BY EDUCATION DIFFERENCES

Data

Survey	AIPO522			AIPO625			AIPO704		
Date	11/53			3/60			2/65		
	>H.S.	H.S.	H.S.+	>H.S.	H.S.	H.S.+	>H.S.	H.S.	H.S.+
Per Cent No:									
New	-	-	-	-	-	-	58.3 (36)	51.4 (70)	57.1 (49)
Young	32.0 (100)	23.9 (134)	23.3 (60)	42.0 (295)	26.5 (362)	56.4 (195)	48.4 (161)	42.7 (227)	54.5 (143)
Middle	27.5 (233)	28.4 (183)	23.4 (107)	38.6 (477)	43.3 (307)	43.6 (140)	46.9 (213)	46.6 (148)	46.0 (87)
Old	30.1 (346)	31.8 (85)	26.5 (68)	40.9 (631)	42.6 (130)	51.5 (68)	55.6 (232)	41.2 (68)	56.1 (41)

Survey	AIPO746			AIPO774			AIPO839			AIPO846		
Date	6/67			1/69			10/71			2/72		
	>H.S.	H.S.	H.S.+	>H.S.	H.S.	H.S.+	>H.S.	H.S.	H.S.+	>H.S.	H.S.	H.S.+
Per Cent No:												
New	44.8 (29)	39.2 (97)	56.2 (73)	61.5 (39)	41.9 (93)	50.9 (110)	58.4 (177)	49.7 (169)	55.5 (164)	51.7 (87)	51.7 (180)	52.6 (194)
Young	40.8 (130)	33.7 (196)	43.2 (139)	43.0 (135)	39.4 (188)	50.8 (124)	53.1 (113)	40.6 (175)	40.8 (98)	43.0 (135)	40.3 (149)	45.1 (102)
Middle	45.3 (192)	38.5 (143)	32.6 (89)	49.4 (168)	40.6 (155)	45.3 (95)	44.7 (132)	40.2 (122)	44.4 (81)	42.8 (145)	39.7 (126)	37.3 (67)
Old	40.4 (171)	31.8 (66)	31.2 (48)	41.0 (156)	32.0 (50)	23.7 (38)	41.4 (140)	38.8 (49)	40.0 (30)	41.0 (139)	27.3 (33)	42.9 (28)

Survey	GSS72			GSS73			GSS74		
Date	3/72			3/73			3/74		
	>H.S.	H.S.	H.S.+	>H.S.	H.S.	H.S.+	>H.S.	H.S.	H.S.+
Per Cent No:									
New	52.0 (100)	45.9 (181)	56.8 (192)	40.8 (103)	41.1 (175)	54.5 (187)	35.9 (92)	32.9 (207)	44.7 (206)
Young	42.7 (143)	36.3 (146)	35.3 (116)	33.1 (130)	38.1 (139)	28.8 (139)	34.8 (112)	24.7 (146)	41.0 (122
Middle	43.9 (196)	33.9 (115)	26.4 (91)	34.9 (172)	28.0 (118)	32.1 (84)	29.5 (149)	26.5 (98)	28.4 (88)
Old	41.0 (139)	41.7 (24)	33.3 (33)	27.2 (103)	22.2 (27)	28.1 (33)	30.0 (120)	23.5 (17)	36.8 (38)

TABLE 15-A --Continued

Differences on Capital Punishment	Hypothesis	Model	Statistical Analysis x^2	df	p	Decision
Time:						
1974 vs. 1953	1) No difference	d = 0	9.4	12	>.05	Accept
Cohort:						
New vs. Middle	1) No difference	d = 0	98.3	24	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	28.5	23	>.05	Accept
Young vs. Middle	1) No difference	d = 0	50.5	30	*	
	2) Constant difference	d = c	50.3	29	*	
Old vs. Middle	1) No difference	d = 0	28.3	30	>.05	
Education:						
Less than High School	1) No difference	d = 0	67.9	38	*	
	2) Constant difference	d = c	45.7	37	>.05	Accept
	Reduction from constant term		22.2	1	>.05	Significant
College	1) No difference	d = 0	111.8	38	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	84.4	37	*	

TABLE 16

DECOMPOSITION OF CHANGE IN CAPITAL PUNISHMENT
FROM FIGURE

Source		Change
Direct from Cohort:		
New - Opposition	.360 * .112	.0403
Cohort via Education:		
New - 0-11 - Opposition	.360 * -.252 * .045	-.0041
New - College - Opposition	.360 * .176 * .055	.0035
Young - 0-11 - Opposition	.050 * -.138 * .045	-.0003
Young - College - Opposition	.050 * .063 * .055	.0002
Old - 0-11 - Opposition	-.253 * .227 * .045	-.0026
Old - College - Opposition	-.253 * -.065 * .055	.0009
Education Net of Cohort:		
College - Opposition	.083 * .055	.0046
Time Net of Cohort and Education:		
1953 - 1974 - Opposition		
	Total Modeled Change	.0425
	(Raw Data	.056)

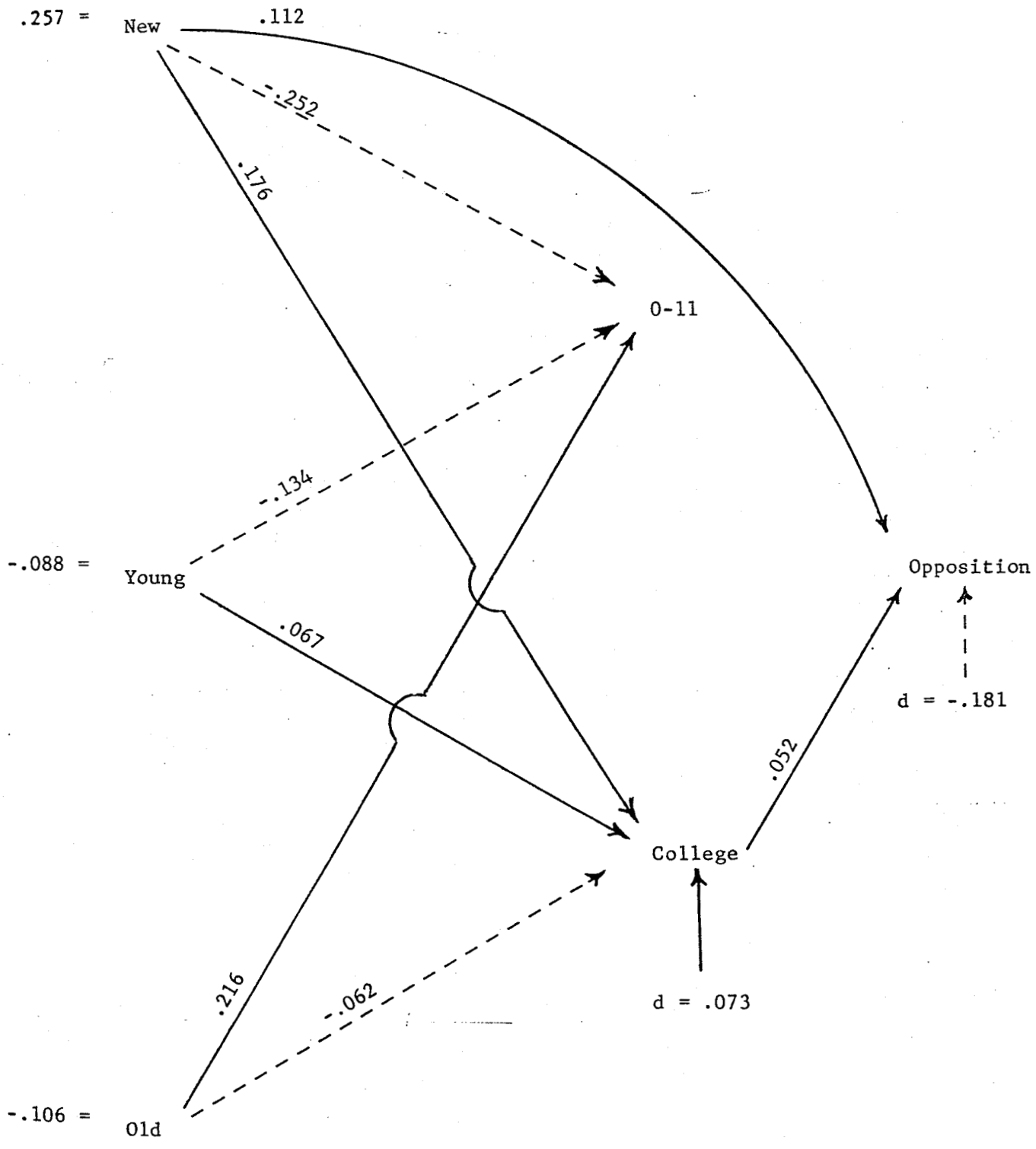

Fig. 12--Flow Graph Model for Change in Cohort, Education and Capital Punishment, 1965-1974

TABLE 15-B

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Statistical Analysis						
Differences on Capital Punishment	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Time:						
1974 vs. 1965	1) No difference	d = 0	96.8	12	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	4.0	11	>.05	Accept
Cohort:						
New vs. Middle	1) No difference	d = 0	98.3	24	<.05	Reject
	2) Constant difference	d = c	28.4	23	>.05	Accept
Young vs. Middle	1) No difference	d = 0	21.5	24	>.05	Accept
Old vs. Middle	1) No difference	d = c	24.3	23	>.05	Accept
Education:						
0-11 vs. High School	1) No difference	d = 0	41.6	32	>.05	Accept
College vs. High School	1) No difference	d = 0	59.2	32	*	
	2) Constant difference	d = c	39.4	31	>.05	Accept
	Reduction from constant term		19.8	1	<.05	Significant

Final Model

1974:	d = -.181	σ = .019
New:	d = +.112	σ = .013
Young:	d = 0	
Old:	d = 0	
0-11:	d = 0	
College:	d = .052	σ = .012

TABLE 17

DECOMPOSITION OF CHANGE IN CAPITAL PUNISHMENT FROM FIGURE

Source		Change
Direct from Cohort:		
New - Opposition	.257 * .112	.0288
Cohort via Education:		
New - College	.257 * .176 * .052	.0024
Young - College	-.088 * .067 * .052	-.0003
Old - College	-.106 * -.062 * .052]	+.0003
Education Net of Cohort:		
College - Opposition	.073 * .052	.0038
Time Net of Cohort and Education:		
1965 - 1974 - Opposition		-.181
	Total Modeled Change	-.1460
	(Raw Data	-.154)

murder in particular, and that concern about crime is in turn related to the crime rate. Although the propositions seem eminently logical, there is unfortunately little direct evidence. Since this is the case, it was necessary to test the model by considering such indirect evidence as the relationship between criminal victimization and capital punishment and between methods of criminal control and capital punishment.

The first association explored was the relationship between criminal victimization and capital punishment. In the General Social Surveys for 1973 and 1974, three questions relating to criminal experiences were asked ("During the last year--that is, between March and now--did anyone break into or somehow illegally get into your apartment/home?", "During the last year, did anyone take something directly from you by using force--such as a stickup, mugging, or threat?", and "Have you ever been threatened with a gun or shot at?"--this last question asked in 1973 only), and a fourth question appeared on the expectation or fear of crime ("Is there any area right around here--that is, within a mile--where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?"). When these questions were crosstabulated with capital punishment, having been robbed or threatened with a gun and fear of the neighborhood were revealed to be unrelated to capital punishment,and having been burglarized was associated with opposing capital punishment (see Table 18). This finding is not surprising considering that criminal victimization is highest among groups that tend to oppose capital punishment--blacks, the young, and low-income earners (Executive Office of the President, OMB, 1967; U. S. Department of Justice, 1974).

Next, the association between methods of crime control and capital punishment was examined. The General Social Surveys include three questions relating to crime control. In 1972, 1973, and 1974,the General Social Survey asked, "In general, do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with criminals?" In 1973 only, it asked, "Are there any situations you can imagine in which you would approve of a policeman striking an adult male citizen?" <u>If yes or not sure</u>: Would you approve if the citizen:. . . . Was being questioned as a

TABLE 18

ASSOCIATION OF CRIME RELATED ITEMS
TO CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Source[a]	Variable	Final Model[b]	
	A. Criminal Victimization		
GSS73	Threatened with gun	d = 0	
GSS73, GSS74	Robbed	d = 0	
GSS73, GSS74	Fear to walk alone	d = 0	
GSS73, GSS74	Home burglarized	d = .115	σ = .035
	B. Crime Control		
GSS72, GSS73, GSS74	Courts		
	Too easy vs. about right	d = -.243	σ = .016
	Too harsh vs. about right	d = .101	σ = .010
GSS73	Police Hit Citizen (Base = Disapprove of hitting)	d = -.125	σ = .025
GSS73	Police Hit Murder Suspect (Base = Disapprove of hitting)	d = -.093	σ = .048

[a]GSS = General Social Survey conducted by National Opinion Research Center.

[b]Analysis was conducted in same manner as in previous tables.

suspect in a murder case?" Here, rating courts as too lenient was strongly associated with supporting capital punishment, and both approving of a policeman striking an adult male in general and of a murder suspect in particular was also associated with supporting capital punishment (see Table 18).

The association between both dissatisfaction with the courts and the greater approval of physical coercion by police can be seen in part as evidence of greater concern over crime control by those who favor capital punishment. Or, to put it another way, tougher courts, more persuasive policemen, and capital punishment are all seen as means of dealing with the crime explosion. This finding is consistent with the relationship reported earlier between political ideology and capital punishment. Liberals are concerned about social justice and conservatives about social control. To deal with social problems in general (the "roots" of crime), liberals favor programs of social amelioration. To conservatives, crime is caused by criminals whose punishment should be swift, sure, and stern. In sum, although there is no evidence of a relationship between criminal victimization and capital punishment, there is strong support for the proposition that support for capital punishment is associated with a concern about crime control.

The second proposition, that concern about crime is related to the level of crime, might well be accepted as axiomatic, but as one bit of proof it is worth noting that while the crime rate rose from 2,423 in 1965 to 4,775 during the first six months of 1974, the proportion considering the courts too lenient climbed from .575 to .842.[10]

Accepting the model as substantiated, we can now consider what is probably the major determinant of the change in attitudes on capital punishment--the rate of change in the murder rate. The homicide rate per 100,000 population fell from 7.1 in 1936 to 4.5 in 1963 and rose to

---

[10]The crime statistics are from the Uniform Crime Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The figures on criminal justice are from Adams (1975).

9.8 in the first half of 1974;[11] The level of opposition to capital punishment rose from .36 in 1936 to .53 in 1966 and then fell to .34 in 1974, a directly inverse relationship. The change in the murder rate does not account for such fluctuations as the drop in opposition in 1953 or the zig-zag from 1966 to 1971, but it does explain nicely the "long swings" from 1936 to 1966 and from 1966 to 1974. In light of this, the change in the murder rate should be considered as a basic determinant of the change in public opinion on capital punishment since 1936.

---

[11] Rates from 1936 to 1972 are in Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget, 1973. Rates for 1973 and 1974 are from the Uniform Crime Reports.

APPENDIX 1

USAGES AND QUESTION WORDING[a]

Wordings	Surveys[b]	Dates
A. Are you in favor of the death penalty for murder?	AIPO	4/36
	AIPO59	11/36
	AIPO105	11/37
B. In some countries, a person found guilty of murder is never sentenced to death but is given a long prison term. In most states in this country, a murderer is given the death sentence. Which do you think is the better sentence for a person found guilty of murder in the United States - a long prison term or death?	AIPO397	5/47

[a]The list here includes only questions asking general approval or disapproval of the death penalty for murder or unspecified serious crimes. Other questions dealing with the death penalty are listed in Erskine, "The Polls: Capital Punishment," pp. 290-307. In addition to the Erskine article the following sources were used to compile this appendix: Survey Data Trend Analysis: An index to Repeated Questions in U.S. National Surveys Held by the Roper Public Opinion Research Center (Williamstown, Ma.: Roper Public Opinion Research, 1975); Hugo Adam Bedau, ed., The Death Penalty in America: An Anthology (Chicago: Aldine, 1964), pp. 231-257; Louis Harris, "Majority of Americans Now Favor Capital Punishment," The Harris Survey, June 11, 1973, p. 1-2; XINDEX, the data archival program of the Social Change Project, National Opinion Research Center; and Gallup Opinion Index, (November, 1974) pp. 3,5.

[b]AIPO = American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup); Roper = The Roper Organization, Inc.; SRS = Survey Research Service, National Opinion Research Center; HARRIS = Louis Harris and Associates, Inc.; GSS = General Social Survey, National Opinion Research Center; SRC = Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research.

Wordings	Surveys	Dates
C. Are you in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?	AIPO522	11/53
	AIPO562	3/56
	AIPO588	8/57
	AIPO625	2/60
	AIPO704	1/65
	AIPO729	5/66
	AIPO746	5/67
	AIPO774	1/69
	AIPO839	10/71
	AIPO846	2/72
	GSS72	3/72
	AIPO860	11/72
	GSS73	3/73
D. Do you think people who are convicted of the worst crimes, like murder, should be executed, or do you think the heaviest penalty given anyone should be life imprisonment?	ROPER	2/58
E. Do you think that having a death penalty for the worst crimes is a good idea or are you against the death penalty?	SRS760	10-11/64
F. Some states have abolished capital punishment - executing persons who commit a murder - and have substituted life imprisonment instead. Do you favor or oppose capital punishment?	Harris	7/66
G. Do you believe in capital punishment (death penalty) or are you opposed to it?	Harris	1969
	Harris	9/70
	Harris	6/73
H. The death penalty for serious crimes should be abolished entirely? 1. Strongly Agree 2. Mildly Agree 3. Mildly Disagree 4. Strongly Disagree	SRC233[c]	1/73
I. Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?	GSS74	3/74

[c]All surveys have the adult population as their base except for SRC233 which covers employed persons only.

Wordings	Surveys	Dates
J. Suppose that on election day, November 5, you could vote on key issues as well as candidates. Please tell me how you would vote on each of these 14 propositions. Proposition 2: I favor the death penalty for persons convicted of murder. I oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder.	Gallup	10/74

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE REASONS AND CONDITIONS FOR SUPPORTING OR OPPOSING CAPITAL PUNISHMENT[a]

Date	Survey[b]	Questions	Responses
2/68	AIPO	A. Now, on another subject... Do you have any conscientious or religious scrupples against the death penalty?	
		Yes.....34% No.....65% Don't Know..... 1%	(1504)
		IF YES, ASK: Here are three statements. Please read them and tell me which comes closest to your views on the death penalty.	
		1. If I were a juror on a murder case, I would never under any circumstances vote for the death penalty, no matter how horrible the crime.....18%	
		2. If I were a juror on a murder case, I would vote for the death penalty only if it were a horrible murder and a most terrible murderer.....7%	
		3. If I were a juror on a murder case, I would vote for the death penalty only very reluctantly, if there were no mitigating circumstances.....6%	
		Don't Know.....3% 34%	

[a]The sources are Hans Ziesel, Some Data on Juror Attitudes Toward Capital Punishment (Chicago: Center for Studies in Criminal Justice, University of Chicago Law School, 1968), pp. 7-9, Louis Harris, "Majority of Americans Now Favor Capital Punishment," The Harris Survey, (June 11, 1973), pp. 1-3, and Louis Harris "Through Public Favors Death Penalty, Most Would Use it Sparingly," The Harris Survey, (June 14, 1973), pp. 1-2.

[b]AIPO = American Institute of Public Opinion, Harris = Louis Harris and Associates, Inc.

Date	Survey	Questions	Responses
6/73	Harris	B. Do you believe in capital punishment (death penalty) or are you opposed to it?	
		Believe in.....59%	
		Opposed.....31%	
		Not Sure.....10%	
			(1537)
		C. Do you feel that the death penalty is more effective (a better deterant) or not more effective than (READ LIST) in keeping other people from committing such crimes as murder?	
		Life sentences with possible parole	
		More effective.....56%	
		Not more effective.....32%	
		Not Sure.....12%	
		Life sentences without parole	
		More effective.....57%	
		Not more effective.....29%	
		Not Sure.....14%	
		D. Now, I'd like to read you some statements other people have made about why they support capital punishment. For each one would you tell me if it represents your own view completely, fairly well, only slightly, or not at all?	
		Capital punishment is more effective than other penalties in keeping people from committing crimes.	
		Reflects own view.....61%	
		Does not.....33%	
		Not Sure..... 6%	
		A government which cannot execute criminals is going to become weak and lose the respect of the people.	
		Reflects own view.....49%	
		Does not.....42%	
		Not Sure..... 9%	

Date	Survey	Questions	Responses

D. Continued

The Bible is right when it preaches "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

Reflects own view.....40%
Does not.....49%
Not Sure.....11%

Someone who has committed a terrible crime such as murder is an animal and deserves to be executed.

Reflects own view.....41%
Does not.....51%
Not Sure..... 8%

E. Suppose it could be proven that your satisfaction that the death penalty was no more effective than long prison sentences in keeping other people from committing crimes such as murder, would you be in favor of the death penalty or would you be opposed to it?

Favor.....35%
Oppose.....48%
Not Sure.....17%

F. Do you feel that <u>all</u> persons convicted of (READ LIST) should get the death penalty, that no one convicted of (ITEM ON LIST) should get the death penalty, or do you feel that whether or not some convicted of (ITEM ON LIST) gets the death penalty should depend on the circumstances of the case and the character of the person?

First degree murder

All.....28%
No one.....16%
Depends.....53%
Not Sure..... 4%

Date	Survey	Questions	Responses
		G. Suppose you were being considered as a possible juror for a trial where if the person were convicted of the crime he would automatically get the death penalty. If the job of the jury were just to decide whether or not the person was guilty, which statement on this card best describes how you would feel in advance of trial?	
			If guilt were proven, I could always vote guilty even though the defendant would automatically receive the death penalty.....39%
			I could not say in all cases, even if guilt were proven, that I would vote guilty, knowing the defendant would automatically receive the death penalty.....33%
			I could never vote guilty, even if guilt were proven, knowing the defendant would automatically receive the death penalty.....16%
			Not Sure.....12%

REFERENCES

Adams, Rebecca

1975 "Criminal Justice". Chicago: National Opinion Research Center (litho).

Bedeau, Hugo Adam, ed.

1964 The Death Penalty in America: An Anthology. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Davis, James A.

1976 "D-Systems: Analyzing Contingency Tables with Linear Flow Graphs," in David Heise, ed., Sociological Methodology, 1976. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

In Press "Communism, Conformity, Cohorts, and Categories: American Tolerance in 1954 and 1972-73." In press, American Journal of Sociology.

Erskine, Hazel

1971 "The Polls: Women's Role." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXV (Summer): 275-278.

Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget

1973 Social Indicators, 1973: Selected Statistics on Social Conditions and Trends in the United States. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

McCafferty, James A., ed.

1972 Capital Punishment. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Mueller, John E.

1973 War, Presidents, and Public Opinion. New York: John Wiley.

Overby, Andrew

1971 "Discrimination Against Minority Groups," in Leon Radzinowicz and Marvin E. Wolfgang, eds., Crime and Justice, V. II. New York: Basic Books

Phelps, Stanless and Nancy Austin

1975 The Assertive Woman. San Luis Obispo, Calif.: Impact.

Sellin, Thorsten

1967 Capital Punishment. Readers in Social Problems. New York: Harper and Row.

Stinchcombe, Arthur L.

1968 Constructing Social Theories. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.

Taylor, D. Garth

1975 "Procedures for Evaluating Trends in Qualitative Indicators." Chicago: National Opinion Research Center.

U. S. Department of Justice

1974 "Criminal Victimization in the United States: January-June 1973. A National Crime Panel Survey Report." Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Justice.

U. S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice

1967 The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society: Report of the Commission. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

Wald, Patricia M.

1971 "Poverty and Criminal Justice," in Leon Radzinowicz and Marvin E. Wolfgang, eds., Crime and Justice, V. II. New York: Basic Books.

Watson, Robert I.

1965 Psychology of the Child. New York: John Wiley.

Wolfgang, Marvin E. and Marc Riedel

1973 "Race, Judicial Discretion, and the Death Penalty." The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, CDVII (May): 119-133.

Zeisel, Hans

1968 Some Data on Juror Attitudes Towards Capital Punishment. Chicago: Center for Studies in Criminal Justice, University of Chicago Law School.