



JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES

1998 NATIONAL OPINION POLL

SOCIAL SECURITY

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April 1999

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies
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The 1998 Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies National Opinion Poll is a national survey of 1,606 adults, which was conducted between September 5 and September 27, 1998. The survey's questions cover a broad range of topics including politics, education, social security, devolution, health care, the environment, and deregulation.

The survey has two components: a "general" sample of 850 adults from the national population (including 94 African-Americans) and a sample of 850 adults from the national African-American population. The first two releases of the findings from the survey deal with politics and education. This release is on Social Security. In the following months, the Joint Center will release findings on the other topics identified above. The survey methodology is described in an accompanying appendix.

ANALYSIS

Knowledge of Social Security (Table 1).

Respondents were asked how well informed they were regarding the Social Security program. Roughly equal proportions of blacks and whites responded that they were well informed, with 61 percent of blacks and 64 percent of whites responding in this way. With one exception, there was a straightforward monotonic relationship between respondents' ages and their being informed about Social Security with increasing proportions of "well informed" responses for each succeeding age cohort. Black seniors (81 percent) and seniors in the general population (78 percent) were the most likely to give the 'well informed' responses. The one exceptional age cohort was 18 to 25 year old African Americans, among whom 69 percent gave the "well informed" response, which was a much higher rate than for either black Generation Xers (people between the ages of 26 and 25), whose rate was 37 percent, or black baby-boomers (those between the ages of 36 and 50), whose rate was 58 percent. This high level of "well informed" responses indicates either that Social Security is a high salience issue with this group or that many of the younger respondents were being unrealistic in believing themselves well informed on the issue.

Among the black population, there were two other relationships worth noting. The proportion of respondents indicating that they were well informed increased consistently with education, with only 35 percent of those with less than a high school degree saying they were well informed, while 74 percent of those with at least a college degree said they were well informed. Also, black respondents from households without children (66 percent) were more likely to identify themselves as well informed than respondents from households with children (52 percent).

Major Source of Retirement Income (Table 2).

The respondents were asked what they expected to be their major source of retirement income: Social Security, an employer-sponsored pension, or their own retirement savings. Blacks (35 percent) were more than twice as likely as whites (17 percent) to answer Social Security, and blacks were significantly less likely (29 percent) than whites (54 percent) to say that their own retirement savings would be their major source of retirement income. Similar proportions of blacks (29 percent) and whites (24 percent) answered that an employer sponsored pension plan would be their major source of retirement income.

In the black population, there were no clear generational differences on this question with the exception of those from Generation X, who were similar to whites (only 19 percent answered Social Security and 41 percent answered own retirement savings). In the general population, those over 50 years responded somewhat similarly to African Americans with more persons responding that Social Security would be the major source of retirement income, and fewer responding that their own savings would be the major source.

In both the black population and in the general population, much higher proportions of lower-income and lower-middle-income persons said Social Security would be their major source of retirement income, and lower proportions said their own savings would be the major source. For those with higher incomes, those relationships were reversed, with personal savings being more important and Social Security less so.

The responses from persons with children in the black and the general population were reversed. Among blacks, those from households with children were more likely (than those without children) to identify Social Security (39 percent) as their major source of retirement income, and less likely to identify personal savings (18 percent). In the general population, those from households with children were less likely (than those without children) to identify Social Security (15 percent) as their major retirement income source and more likely to identify personal savings as the major source (55 percent).

Retirement Savings Situation (Table 3).

When asked about current retirement savings, several differences emerged based on race, gender, generation, income, and whether one had children in one's household or not. While similar proportions of blacks (46 percent) and whites (43 percent) indicated that they wanted to save but didn't have enough money to do so, whites were more likely (37 percent) than blacks (26 percent) to respond that they were saving a lot for retirement.

Black women (54 percent) were significantly more likely than black men (38 percent) to indicate that they were unable to save for retirement. Among blacks, significant majorities of Generation Xers (64 percent) and baby boomers (58 percent) responded that they were unable to save for retirement. A large majority (62 percent) of Generation Xers in the general population also indicated that they were unable to save for retirement.

Among blacks, those making over \$35,000 were significantly more likely to be favorably situated regarding retirement than those making less than \$35,000. A large majority (68 percent) of black upper-income (\$75,000+) respondents indicated that they either had a pension or were saving a lot toward retirement; roughly equal numbers of black upper-middle-income (\$35- \$75,000) respondents said they were unable to save (49 percent) or were either covered by a pension or saving a lot for retirement (47 percent). In black households with children, respondents were more likely to report being unable to save (54 percent) and less likely to report saving a lot (19 percent) than were persons from households without children.

In the general population, there was a strong monotonic relationship between income and ability to save for retirement, with more than twice as many low as high income respondents reporting being unable to save (67 vs. 29 percent); high-income respondents were more than 14 times more likely than low-income respondents to report that they were saving a lot (57 vs. 4 percent). Also in the general population, persons from households with children were significantly more likely to report being unable to save for retirement than those from childless households (49 vs. 36 percent).

Return from Social Security (Table 4).

Majorities of respondents in both the black (53 percent) and the general (61 percent) populations believed they will get less back from Social Security than they paid in. Among blacks, women (57 percent) were more likely than men (47 percent) to express this view. In both the black and the general populations, one's views on this were strongly tied to age and generation.

Among blacks, a large majority (more than 60 percent) of respondents under 50 believed they will get less back from Social Security than they paid in; Generation Xers were the most negative on Social Security with 69 percent believing they will get less back. A plurality of blacks between 51 and 64 years of age think they will get the same or more back from Social Security than they paid in (48 vs. 39 percent); a large majority of black seniors believed that they will get the same or more back from Social Security (69 percent) and only 22 percent think they will get less back. Low-income black respondents (59 percent) and upper-middle-income black respondents (58 percent) believed that they will get less back from Social Security than they paid in. A large majority (70 percent) of upper-income black respondents, and a modest majority (53 percent) of black lower-middle-income respondents believed that they will get the same or more back from Social Security than they paid in.

In the general population, large majorities (70 percent) of those under 50 years believed that they will get less back from Social Security, and a majority (52 percent) of those between 51 and 64 believed this as well. Senior citizens in the general population were the only age cohort believing that they will get more back from Social Security than they paid in; however, it was only a plurality of support with 49 percent believing they will get the same or more back.

The pattern of responses in the general population based on income was similar to that in the black population with upper-income and lower-middle-income groups being least negative to Social Security, and low-income and upper-middle-income groups being most negative (on the question of return). Also, in the general population, persons from households with children (72 percent believing they will get less back) were significantly more negative on Social Security than persons from households without children (53 percent less back).

Confidence in the Social Security System (Table 5).

In the Joint Center's survey, respondents were asked how confident they were that Social Security would continue to provide benefits equal to those enjoyed by current recipients. A small majority of blacks (51 percent) and a large majority of whites (65 percent) indicated that they were not confident that Social Security would continue to provide benefits similar to those enjoyed at present. In the black population, a majority of the youngest age cohort (51 percent) and a majority of those over 50 years (between 57 and 62 percent) expressed confidence in the Social Security system (paying equivalent benefits to future retirees). However, large majorities of Generation Xers (74 percent) and baby boomers (62 percent) believed that Social Security would not provide equal benefits in the future. Black upper-middle-income respondents were equally as negative on future benefits (66 percent) as were Generation Xers and baby boomers.

In the general population, except for senior citizens, large majorities (between 59 and 74 percent) of all other age cohorts believed that Social Security will not provide equivalent benefits in the future. Respondents from lower-middle-income households expressed the highest level of confidence (44 percent) that Social Security would continue to provide equivalent benefits in the future; the other income groups were substantially negative in their views on future benefits.

Minimum Standard of Living (Table 6).

A substantial majority of both blacks (66 percent) and whites (60 percent) believed that the Social Security system should ensure a minimum standard of living for all retirees. All subgroups of African Americans supported this proposition, but there were two which only did so by small margins. Black Generation Xers (47 vs 45 percent) and upper-middle-income persons (52 vs 45 percent) were significantly less supportive of this proposition than all other subgroups. In the general population, Generation Xers were also the least supportive of the minimum standard of living proposition, with only 52 percent endorsing the proposition.

Social Security Vs. Tax Cuts. (Table 7).

Large majorities of both the black and the largely white general population believed that the budget surplus should be preserved to protect social security and oppose large tax cuts at this time. Among blacks, 77 percent held this position, and 63 percent of whites responded similarly. Among both populations, there were two groups that were more likely to support tax cuts those under the age of 35 and persons with children.

Among blacks, 28 percent of those between 18 and 25, and 29 percent of those between 26 and 35, favored large tax cuts as opposed to protecting social security; this was double the proportion for the total black population (14 percent). In contrast, only one percent of blacks over 50 years supported a tax cut. Among the general population, the differences were not quite so great, with about a third (between 32 and 34 percent) of those under 35 years favoring tax cuts as opposed to only 10 percent of senior citizens. Among the total general population, 26 percent favored tax cuts.

Respondents from households with children were also more likely to support tax cuts. Among blacks, while 20 percent of those with children favored tax cuts, only 9 percent from households without children supported tax cuts. Among the general population, 38 percent of those from households with children favored tax cuts, while only 18 percent of those without children favored tax cuts.

Social Security Reform. (Table 8).

There is decidedly mixed opinion on the question of whether to incrementally fix the Social Security program as opposed to implementing immediate major reforms. A near majority of African Americans (49 percent) and 47 percent of whites expressed support for immediate major reform of Social Security. Among blacks, 37 percent opted for the incremental approach, while 44 percent of whites supported the incremental approach.

There were significant gender differences on reform, especially among blacks, where a solid majority (58 percent) of black men favored immediate major reform (versus 32 percent for the incremental approach), while a plurality of black women (43 vs. 41 percent) favored the incremental approach. Among African Americans, younger persons especially those 18 to 25 (57 percent) and surprisingly, black seniors (63 percent) favored immediate major reform. Among the mostly white general population, baby boomers (58 percent) most favored immediate major reform of social security, while seniors were thoroughly opposed to it (59 percent for incremental approach vs. 25 percent for immediate reform).

There were also some interesting income differences on Social Security reform, with upper-income persons in both the black (70 percent) and general (65 percent) populations strongly favoring immediate major

reform. Lower-middle-income blacks (\$15-\$35,000 household income) also strongly supported immediate major reform (74 percent).

The Federal Government Investing in the Stock Market (Table 9).

Large majorities of both the black (57 percent) and the white (56 percent) populations opposed the federal government's investing Social Security funds in the stock market. Upper-income persons in both the black (55 percent) and the general (57 percent) populations and black college graduates (50 percent) were the only subgroups favoring the federal government's investing in the stock market. Black women (63 percent opposed), senior citizens in the general population (71 percent opposed), those with less education (in both the black and general populations), low-income persons in both the black (64 percent) and the general (69 percent) populations, and persons from households without children in both populations (62-63 percent) were the subgroups most opposed to allowing the federal government to invest Social Security funds in the stock market.

The Government Vs. Individual Investors (Table 10).

Large majorities of both the black (68 percent) and the white (68 percent) populations believed that if Social Security funds were to be invested in the stock market, then individuals should invest the money themselves not the government; a majority of every subgroup favored individual over government investment. Senior citizens in the general population (34 percent favoring government vs. 53 percent favoring individuals) were the strongest supporters of government investment, while African Americans between 51 and 64 years were the strongest supporters of individual investors (4 percent favoring government vs. 78 percent favoring individuals).

The Moynihan Plan (Table 11).

One of the most prominent of the legislative proposals that have been offered to reform the Social Security system is the 'Moynihan Plan' which calls for reducing the FICA tax by two percentage points between 2001 and 2004 and allowing workers to put that money into a personal retirement account. Respondents in the Joint Center's National Survey expressed considerable support for Senator Moynihan's proposal.

Among African Americans, 62 percent indicated that they favored Moynihan's proposal as did 72 percent of whites. Among blacks, men (68 percent) favored the plan more than women (56 percent), persons between 26 and 65 years strongly favored the plan (between 61 percent of baby boomers who favored the plan and 76 percent of Generation Xers who favored it), and upper-middle-income persons (76 percent) strongly favored the plan. Low-income persons (44 percent) and those between 18 and 25 years (48 percent) were most lukewarm to the proposal; however, considerable proportions of all subgroups expressed uncertainty about the proposal. In the general population, large majorities of every subgroup save senior citizens favored the Moynihan proposal. Senior citizens favored the proposal by a 44 to 35 percent plurality.

The Porter Plan (Table 12).

Another prominent reform proposal has been offered by U.S. Representative John Porter (R-IL). Rep. Porter's proposal calls for diverting 80 percent of the current 12.4 percent payroll tax to Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs). Rep. Porter's proposal, while receiving plurality support, drew considerably less support than that of Senator Moynihan. Among blacks, 48 percent favored the Porter proposal (with 27 percent opposed), and whites favored the proposal 43 to 32 percent. Among African Americans, men (53 percent) favored the Porter proposal more than women (43 percent), and Generation Xers (66 percent) strongly favored the proposal, as did lower-middle-income persons (66 percent). Black baby boomers (37 percent favor vs. 30 percent oppose) and upper-income persons (39 percent favor vs. 46 percent oppose) were the most opposed to the Porter proposal.

In the general population, men (50 percent) favored the Porter proposal more than women (38 percent), and there were strong generational effects, with a majority of those under 50 years supporting the proposal (ranging from 57 percent for those between 18 and 25 to 48 percent for Generation Xers) and those over 50 years opposing it especially seniors, who opposed it 41 to 18 percent. In contrast to the black population, in the general population it was low-income persons who did not like the Porter proposal, with 33 percent in favor and 49 percent in opposition.

APPENDIX

Methodology.

The survey was designed and the questionnaire developed at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. The overall study design consisted of two groups: a national general population sample of 850 and a national sample of African Americans of 850. There are 94 African American respondents in the general population sample who are also part of the national sample of African Americans. Thus, in total, there are 1,606 adults, 18 years of age or older, who are included in this study.

The survey results are based upon (random digit dialing) telephone interviews with 1,606 adults that were conducted between September 5, 1998 and September 27, 1998. The field work was done by Research America of Philadelphia, PA. Randomized procedures were used to select respondents within each household reached by telephone, and after the initial call, there were at least three 'call-backs' if no interview was completed.

The results of this survey for both the general population sample and the black population sample should be interpreted with a statistical margin of error of ± 3.5 percentage points. That is, one can say with 95 percent confidence that the statements made based upon the procedures employed have a random error (sampling error, random measurement error, etc.) component of ± 3.5 percentage points. Actually, this survey, like all surveys, does not have a margin of error; the individual items in the survey have margins of error. The margin of error for a question is based upon its sample variance, the level of confidence desired (e.g., 95 percent), and upon sample size.

The ± 3.5 percentage points is a conservative estimate of margin of error; i.e., many items especially those where large majorities of either sample hold similar positions have a margin of error much smaller than ± 3.5 percentage points.

In addition to the random error component in surveys, there are potentially non-random errors that may be present. While this survey is based upon random digit dialing techniques that effectively deal with potential problems in telephone surveys such as unlisted numbers, new numbers, etc., non-response in telephone surveys produce a variety of known (and probably some unknown) biases. Further, a telephone survey by definition defines its population as those individuals with some reasonable expectation of being reached by telephone. Such a definition, of course, eliminates certain populations; for example, most homeless people, and others living in poverty, who are unreachable by phone are not part of the sample population. Thus, the statements made based upon this survey are most likely not generalizable to homeless people, black or white.

During the field work phase of the survey, an effort was made to maximize the use of same-race interviewers, and a majority of the interviews were conducted with same-race interviewers (i.e., black interviewers for black respondents and white interviewers for white respondents).

The sample data from the overall survey are weighted in the analyses to population parameters for a variety of demographic factors. The parameters used in this weighting are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1996 Current Population Survey, and prior Joint Center surveys.

Table 1. In general, how well informed are you about Social Security that is, the benefits available, who is and is not covered, and so on? Would you say you are very well informed, fairly well informed, not too well informed, or not at all informed?

	Black Population			General Population		
	Well Informed %	Not Well Informed %	(N)	Well Informed %	Not Well Informed %	(N)
Total	61	39	850	62	38	850
White	-	-	-	64	36	709
18-25	69	31	127	45	55	76
26-35	37	63	168	51	49	160
36-50	42	257	62	38	301	
51-64	71	29	175	72	28	175
65+	81	19	88	78	22	106
Less Than HS	35	65	97	61	39	51
HS Graduate	52	48	277	55	45	228
Some College	70	30	184	67	33	239
College+	74	26	259	63	37	315
Children	52	48	326	60	40	318
No Children	66	34	470	63	37	470

Table 2. Looking ahead to your retirement, what do you expect to be your major source of income: Social Security, an employer sponsored pension plan, or your own retirement savings?

	Black Population					General Population				
	Social Security %	Employer Pension %	Savings %	D/K %	(N)	Social Security %	Employer Pension %	Savings %	D/K %	(N)
Total	35	29	29	7	850	20	26	49	5	850
White	-	-	-	-	-	17	24	54	5	709
18-25	43	21	31	4	127	18	33	46	3	76
26-35	19	32	41	8	168	11	22	61	6	160
36-50	36	32	27	5	257	17	25	54	3	301
51-64	41	27	23	9	175	25	30	37	8	175
65+	31	37	20	12	88	34	24	35	7	106
\$0-\$15,000	58	14	2	25	75	40	13	36	11	45
\$15-\$35,000	63	23	14	-	129	30	31	36	4	157
\$35-\$75,000	20	33	39	9	250	18	28	47	7	328
\$75,000+	39	34	28	-	104	12	21	67	-	164
Children	39	34	18	9	326	15	25	55	5	318
No Children	31	29	35	6	470	24	27	44	6	470

Table 3. Which of the following statements best describes your current retirement savings situation? I don't need to save for retirement because Social Security and my pension will take care of me. I want to save every month, but don't seem to have enough money to do it. I regularly save some money for retirement, or I am saving a lot of money for retirement.

	Black Population					General Population				
	Don't Need to Save %	Can't Save %	Saving A lot %	D/K %	(N)	Don't Need to Save %	Can't Save %	Saving A lot %	D/K %	(N)
Total	18	46	26	11	850	13	44	35	9	850
White	-	-	-	-	-	12	43	37	8	709
Men	20	38	32	11	400	13	41	38	8	412
Women	15	54	20	10	450	13	46	31	10	438
18-25	25	22	34	20	127	15	48	23	15	76
26-35	11	64	18	7	168	9	62	27	2	160
36-50	13	58	22	7	257	8	45	45	3	301
51-64	17	47	28	8	175	16	33	39	11	175
65+	25	23	32	20	88	25	25	24	26	106
\$0-\$15,000	12	52	13	23	75	24	67	4	4	45
\$15-\$35,000	8	56	16	20	129	17	57	24	3	157
\$35-\$75,000	17	49	30	4	250	12	43	37	9	328
\$75,000+	40	33	28	-	104	11	29	57	4	164
Children	13	54	19	14	326	10	49	36	5	318
No Children	17	43	31	9	470	15	36	36	12	470

Table 4. When you retire, do you believe you'll get back more money than you paid into Social Security, less than you paid in Social Security, or about the same as you paid in?

	Black				General Population			
	More/Same %	Less %	D/K %	(N)	More/Same %	Less %	D/K %	(N)
Total	40	53	8	850	28	61	10	850
White	-	-	-	-	28	61	11	709
Men	46	47	7	400	30	61	9	412
Women	33	57	9	450	29	61	10	438
18-25	33	61	6	127	24	70	7	76
26-35	30	69	1	168	26	72	2	160
36-50	32	60	8	257	22	70	8	301
51-64	48	39	13	175	36	52	12	175
65+	69	22	10	88	49	28	22	106
\$0-\$15,000	19	59	22	75	27	64	9	45
\$15-\$35,000	53	47	-	129	36	61	3	157
\$35-\$75,000	36	58	7	250	24	69	9	328
\$75,000+	70	31	-	104	33	56	11	164
Children	39	56	5	326	22	72	7	318
No Children	37	54	9	470	36	53	12	470

Table 5. How confident are you that the Social Security System will continue to provide benefits of equal value to the benefits received by retirees today? Would you say that you are very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, or not at all confident about that?

	Black Population				General Population			
	Confident %	Not Confident %	D/K %	(N)	Confident %	Not Confident %	D/K %	(N)
Total	41	51	9	850	33	62	5	850
White	-	-	-	-	31	65	4	709
18-25	51	37	12	127	36	60	5	76
26-35	23	74	3	168	23	70	8	160
36-50	23	62	14	257	23	74	4	301
51-64	57	40	4	175	40	59	1	175
65+	62	29	9	88	65	28	8	106
\$0-\$15,000	24	37	39	75	17	55	27	45
\$15-\$35,000	53	47	-	129	44	52	5	157
\$35-\$75,000	34	66	1	250	27	69	4	328
\$75,000+	48	45	8	104	27	73	0	164

Table 6. Please indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement: The Social Security system should ensure a minimum standard of living to all contributors, even if some receive benefits exceeding the value of their contributions.

	Black Population				General Population			
	Agree %	Disagree %	D/K %	(N)	Agree %	Disagree %	D/K %	(N)
Total	66	25	9	850	59	35	6	850
White	-	-	-	-	60	34	6	709
18-25	68	26	6	127	62	30	8	76
26-35	47	45	8	168	52	42	5	160
36-50	72	15	13	257	63	35	3	301
51-64	66	27	7	175	58	36	5	175
65+	80	9	11	88	61	25	14	106
\$0-\$15,000	59	2	39	75	76	13	11	45
\$15-\$35,000	87	13	-	129	61	36	4	157
\$35-\$75,000	52	45	3	250	60	33	6	328
\$75,000+	79	14	8	104	59	39	1	164

Table 7. President Clinton has proposed that the budget surplus should be preserved and there should be no large tax cuts until social security has been placed on a more secure footing. Others have recently argued for large tax cuts now. Which of these two positions is closer to your own?

	Black Population				General Population			
	Save Surplus %	Large Tax Cuts %	D/K %	(N)	Save Surplus %	Large Tax Cuts %	D/K %	(N)
Total	77	14	9	850	64	26	10	850
White	-	-	-	-	63	28	10	709
18-25	69	28	4	127	61	32	8	76
26-35	70	29	1	168	57	34	8	160
36-50	77	9	14	257	64	26	11	301
51-64	95	1	4	175	60	24	16	175
65+	71	1	28	88	85	10	5	106
Children	75	20	5	326	52	38	11	318
No Children	78	9	12	470	72	18	11	470

Table 8. Some people say we should fix Social Security in small steps, perhaps starting with a bipartisan commission. Other people say we should undertake major reform immediately, rather than risk waiting until the problems of social security reach crisis proportions. Which is closer to your opinion?

	Black Population				General Population			
	Fix in Small Steps %	Major Reform %	D/K %	(N)	Fix in Small Steps %	Major Reform %	D/K %	(N)
Total	37	49	13	850	46	46	9	850
White	-	-	-	-	44	47	9	709
Men	32	58	10	400	44	49	7	412
Women	43	41	16	450	48	43	10	438
18-25	26	57	16	127	44	51	6	76
26-35	44	50	6	168	55	39	6	160
36-50	42	42	16	257	35	58	7	301
51-64	41	45	15	175	48	43	10	175
65+	28	63	9	88	59	25	16	106
\$0-\$15,000	63	16	22	75	40	44	16	45
\$15-\$35,000	26	74	-	129	47	47	7	157
\$35-\$75,000	37	48	14	250	46	46	9	328
\$75,000+	30	70	-	104	35	65	-	164

Table 9. Currently, the Social Security's trust funds' assets are invested in US government securities. Would you favor or oppose the federal government investing some portion of Social Security assets in private equities, that is, the stock market, which might make more money for the fund, but would involve greater risks and may cost more in the short run?

	Black Population				General Population			
	Favor %	Oppose %	D/K %	(N) %	Favor %	Oppose %	D/K %	(N) %
Total	33	57	10	850	37	57	7	850
White	-	-	-	-	36	56	8	709
Men	43	50	7	400	40	57	3	412
Women	25	63	13	450	33	56	11	438
18-25	33	56	11	127	43	47	10	76
26-35	30	69	1	168	34	58	7	160
36-50	35	58	7	257	46	51	4	301
51-64	37	42	22	175	39	60	2	175
65+	31	60	9	88	10	71	19	106
Less Than HS	13	52	35	97	28	73	-	51
HS Graduate	27	68	6	277	25	61	14	228
Some College	30	59	11	184	40	59	1	239
College+	50	47	3	259	45	48	6	315
\$0-\$15,000	14	64	22	75	27	69	4	45
\$15-\$35,000	38	48	13	129	31	66	3	157
\$35-\$75,000	27	62	12	250	39	55	6	328
\$75,000+	55	46	-	104	56	37	6	164
Children	42	53	6	326	44	49	7	318
No Children	25	63	13	470	32	62	7	470

Table 10. If some Social Security funds were invested in the stock market, which do you favor -- having the government make this investment in a broad index fund, or allowing individuals to invest their portion however they would like?

	Black Population				General Population			
	Government Invests %	Individuals Invest %	D/K %	(N) %	Government Invests %	Individuals Invest %	D/K %	(N) %
Total	17	68	15	850	24	67	9	850
White	-	-	-	-	24	68	9	709
18-25	26	67	7	127	18	76	6	76
26-35	17	78	6	168	15	78	7	160
36-50	18	58	23	257	26	67	7	301
51-64	4	78	18	175	27	61	13	175
65+	21	70	9	88	34	53	14	106
\$0-\$15,000	22	57	22	75	9	91	-	45
\$15-\$35,000	16	66	18	129	31	64	5	157
\$35-\$75,000	14	77	8	250	25	65	11	328
\$75,000+	32	58	11	104	27	64	9	164

Table 11. I'm going to ask you about two legislative proposals on changing Social Security. Please indicate whether you would favor the proposal or oppose the proposal? Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's proposal would reduce the social security payroll tax by two percentage points between 2001 and 2004 and allow workers to put that money into a personal retirement account.

	Black Population				General Population			
	Favor %	Oppose %	D/K %	(N)	Favor %	Oppose %	D/K %	(N)
Total	62	25	14	850	72	20	8	850
White	-	-	-	-	72	20	8	709
Men	68	19	12	400	73	20	7	412
Women	56	29	15	450	72	19	10	438
18-25	48	37	15	127	84	10	6	76
26-35	76	19	5	168	75	16	10	160
36-50	61	23	16	257	75	18	7	301
51-64	63	17	21	175	76	22	2	175
65+	53	37	9	88	44	35	21	106
\$0-\$15,000	44	20	35	75	91	9	-	45
\$15-\$35,000	57	29	13	129	72	21	7	157
\$35-\$75,000	76	17	7	250	73	20	7	328
\$75,000+	55	37	8	104	81	17	2	164

Table 12. Representative John Porter's proposal would give workers a choice between the current system, or Individual Retirement Accounts funded by diverting 80 percent of the current 12.4 percent payroll tax. The remaining 20 percent would go to the Social Security trust fund.

	Black Population				General Population			
	Favor %	Oppose %	D/K %	(N)	Favor %	Oppose %	D/K %	(N)
Total	48	27	26	850	44	34	23	850
White	-	-	-	-	43	32	25	709
Men	53	24	23	400	50	36	14	412
Women	43	29	28	450	38	32	31	438
18-25	51	25	24	127	57	25	18	76
26-35	66	28	7	168	48	30	22	160
36-50	37	30	33	257	52	32	17	301
51-64	40	23	37	175	34	42	24	175
65+	50	29	21	88	18	41	41	106
\$0-\$15,000	54	2	43	75	33	49	18	45
\$15-\$35,000	66	14	21	129	49	30	21	157
\$35-\$75,000	41	36	23	250	43	33	24	328
\$75,000+	39	46	15	104	54	30	16	164