



BALANCING ACT: THE PUBLIC'S TAKE ON CIVIL LIBERTIES AND SECURITY

A TREND STUDY FROM THE
AP-NORC CENTER FOR PUBLIC
AFFAIRS RESEARCH

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In this report, the Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research presents new, in-depth data on American public opinion on the balance between civil liberties and security. The Center's inaugural study, released on the 10-year anniversary of the September 11th attacks, provided seminal research on this balance. In light of recent events, including the public disclosure of several mass surveillance programs conducted by the U.S. government, the Center updated its civil liberties and security study to assess changes in public opinion and to collect new data on America's policy preferences about where to draw the line between civil liberties and security.

The AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research conducted 1,008 interviews with a representative sample of Americans. The key findings provide an important source of data for policymakers, journalists, and the public to understand where the public stands on this issue.

- A majority of Americans oppose mass surveillance of people's internet usage for future investigations and disapprove of the court process that determines whether and how that surveillance data can be collected and used. Fifty-nine percent of Americans oppose the process in which a federal court, whose proceedings are classified and where no attorney is present to argue against the government's case, controls the U.S. government's ability to analyze the information it collects on telephone and internet communications. Sixty-eight percent of Americans favor the appointment of an attorney to argue against the government in these classified courts.
- A majority of Americans report that the government's goal of protecting the rights and freedoms of U.S. citizens is more important than the goal of making sure that U.S. citizens are safe from being harmed by terrorists. However, the data reveal a downward trend since 2011 in the percentage of Americans who think the government is doing a good job protecting certain rights and freedoms, and a majority now feels the government is doing a poor job protecting the right to privacy.
- There are significant generational divides in public opinion on the need for transparency of U.S. intelligence operations to protect civil rights. Younger Americans are significantly more willing than older Americans to support revealing details of U.S. intelligence operations in order to prove that those operations do not violate civil rights. Younger Americans are also more likely to believe that leaking classified information is justified if it reveals government wrongdoing.
- Although Americans show a growing concern about the government's ability to protect civil rights, they express significantly more confidence in U.S. intelligence agencies than they do in Congress or the executive branch.
- Americans are more pessimistic about the prospects for the war on terrorism now than they were in 2011. Fewer Americans now believe it is at least moderately likely that the United States could win the war on terrorism in the next decade. And, a majority of Americans believe that the U.S. government is reacting to events as they occur rather than having a clear plan for the war on terrorism.

DATA REVEAL A DOWNWARD TREND IN THE PERCENTAGE OF AMERICANS WHO THINK THE GOVERNMENT IS DOING A GOOD JOB PROTECTING CERTAIN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, AND A MAJORITY NOW FEELS THE GOVERNMENT IS DOING A POOR JOB PROTECTING THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY.

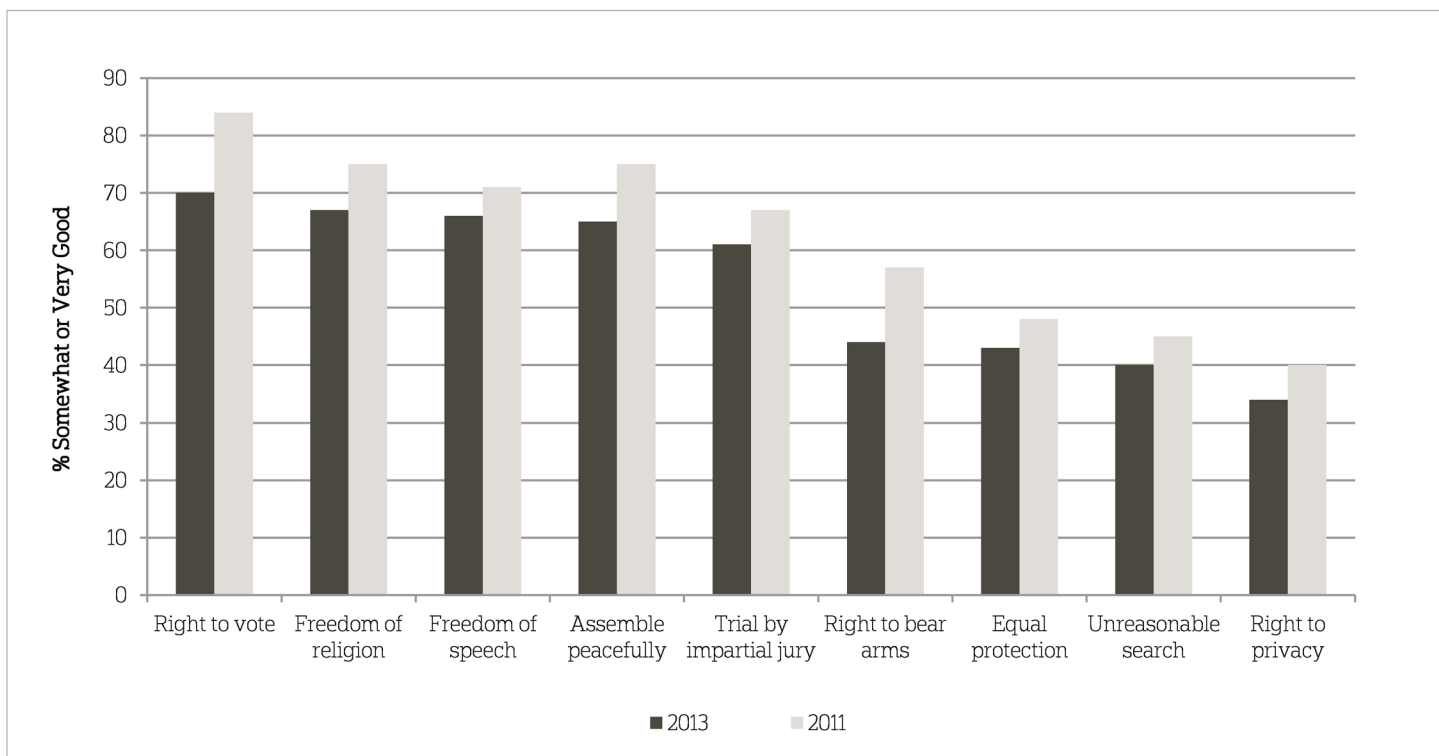
Americans continue to see the protections of rights and freedoms as a more important goal for the government than ensuring their security, but fewer now think the government is upholding that goal.

In 2013, 58 percent of Americans report that the government's goal of protecting the rights and freedoms of U.S. citizens is more important than the goal of making sure that U.S. citizens are safe from being harmed by terrorists. Thirty-seven percent report that security is the more important goal, and 5 percent volunteered a response that both goals are equally important. These figures are similar to the 2011 data, when 54 percent preferred protecting rights and freedoms, while 35 percent favored keeping citizens safe from terrorists.

While Americans continue to prioritize the importance of protecting the rights and freedoms of U.S. citizens, they are slightly less satisfied than they were two years ago with the

job the government is doing protecting those rights. Fewer Americans say the government is doing a somewhat or very good job protecting the right to vote (70 percent in 2013 vs. 84 percent in 2011), the right to keep and bear arms (44 percent vs. 57 percent), the right to assemble peacefully (65 percent vs. 75 percent), the freedom of religion (67 percent vs. 75 percent), the right to privacy (34 percent vs. 40 percent), the right to trial by impartial jury (61 percent vs. 67 percent), freedom from unreasonable search and seizure (40 percent vs. 45 percent), the right to equal protection under the law (43 percent vs. 48 percent), and the freedom of speech (66 percent vs. 71 percent). The right to privacy is the only right or freedom where a majority, 58 percent, says the government is doing a somewhat poor or very poor job. This is up 14 points from 44 percent in 2011.

Percentage of Americans saying the government is doing a somewhat good or very good job protecting specific rights and freedoms.

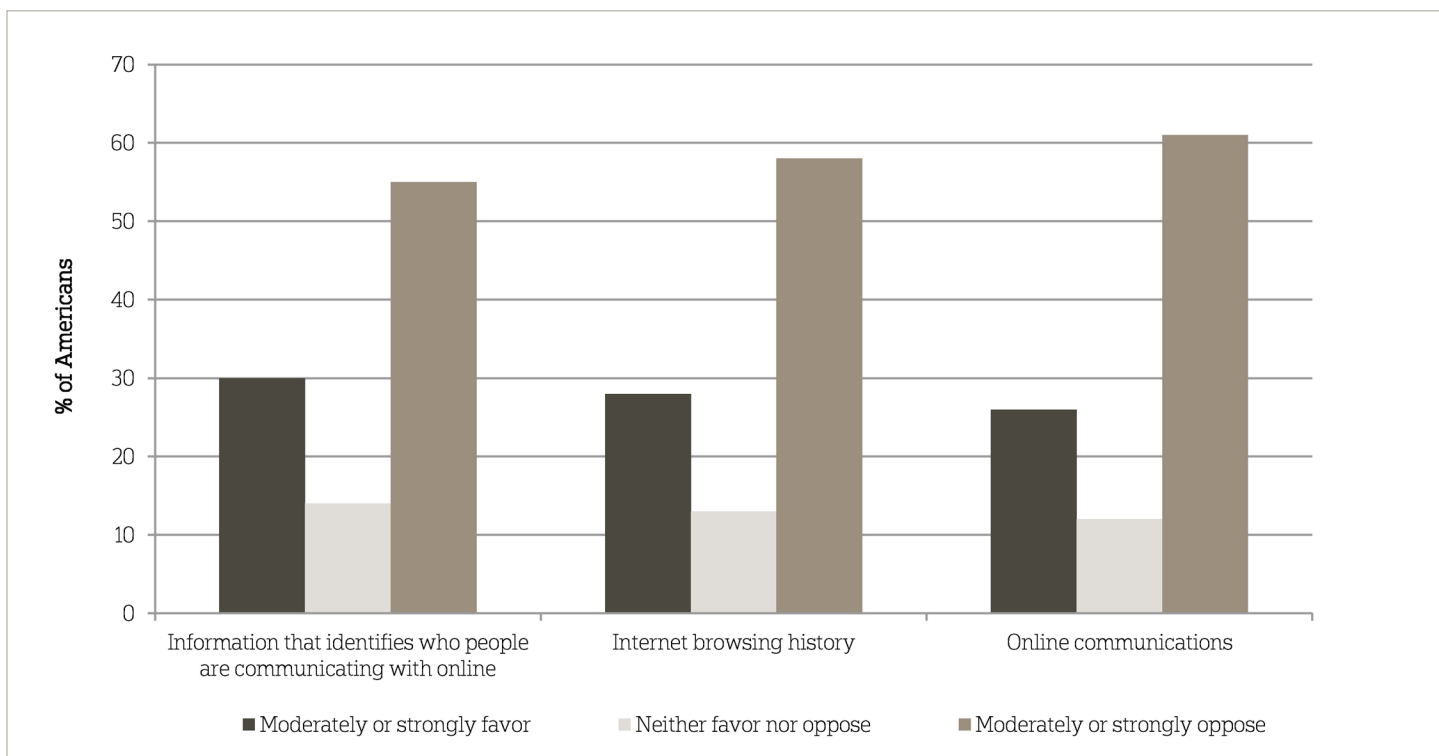


A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS OPPOSE MASS SURVEILLANCE OF PEOPLE'S INTERNET USAGE FOR FUTURE INVESTIGATIONS AND DISAPPROVE OF THE COURT PROCESS THAT DETERMINES WHETHER AND HOW THAT SURVEILLANCE DATA CAN BE USED.

A majority of Americans oppose the government collection of information about how people, including U.S. citizens, use the internet or telephone. A majority of Americans (56 percent) oppose a policy that allows the government to collect telephone records for calls made in the United States, including those calls made by U.S. citizens, for potential use in future investigations, while 32 percent favor such a policy. Similarly, a majority of Americans (54 percent) oppose a policy that allows the government to collect data on internet usage in the United States, including usage by U.S. citizens, for potential use in future investigations, while 34 percent favor such a policy.

Looking specifically at different types of internet usage data, 58 percent of Americans oppose government collection of internet browsing history, while just 28 percent favor this type of data collection. Fifty-five percent of Americans oppose government collection of email addresses, chat usernames, or other information used to identify who people are communicating with online, while 30 percent favor this type of data collection. Six in 10 (61 percent) oppose government collection of the content of online communications, such as texts of emails, chat histories, or recordings of video chats, while 26 percent favor this type of data collection. In each case, most of those who say they oppose the policy say they feel that way strongly.

In gathering data for potential use in future investigations, the government collects several different types of information about how people, including U.S. citizens, use the internet. For each of the following, please tell me if you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose government collection of that type of information.



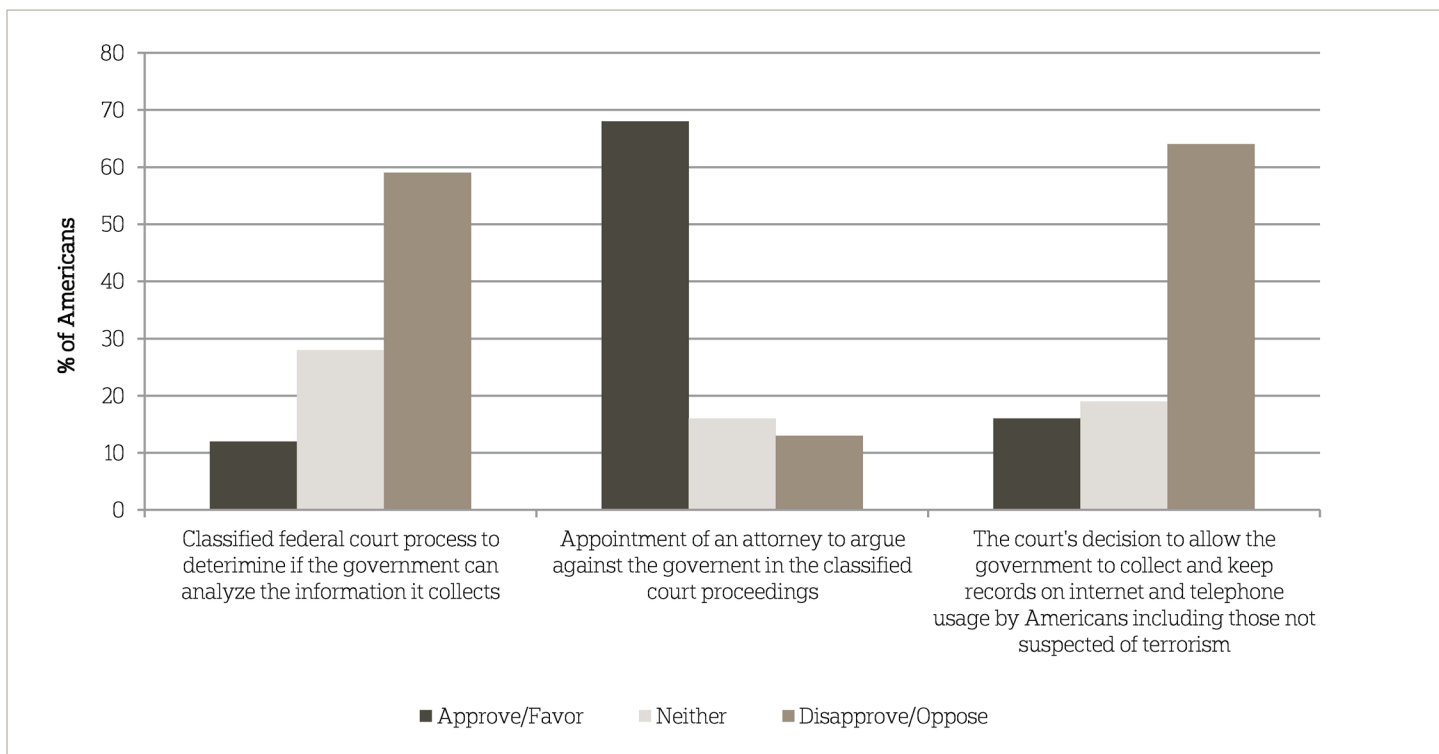
A majority of Americans disapprove of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court and the process by which the government gets approval for its telephone and internet surveillance programs. Just 12 percent of Americans favor the process in which a federal court, whose proceedings are classified and where no attorney is present to argue against the government's case, controls the U.S. government's ability to analyze the information it collects on telephone and internet communications, and 59 percent oppose it. Domestic-born

residents are more likely than foreign-born residents to oppose this process (61 percent vs. 40 percent). Just 16 percent of all people in the poll say they approve of the court's decision to allow the government to collect and keep records on internet and telephone usage by Americans. Nearly two-thirds (64 percent) disapprove of that decision.

Sixty-eight percent of Americans would moderately or strongly favor the appointment of an attorney to argue against the government in the classified proceedings before the federal court that decides whether the government gets permission to analyze the information it has collected, and

just 13 percent would moderately or strongly oppose such an appointment. Levels of support are nearly equal across partisan and ideological lines.

Americans' attitudes toward the court process by which the government gets approval for its telephone and internet surveillance programs.



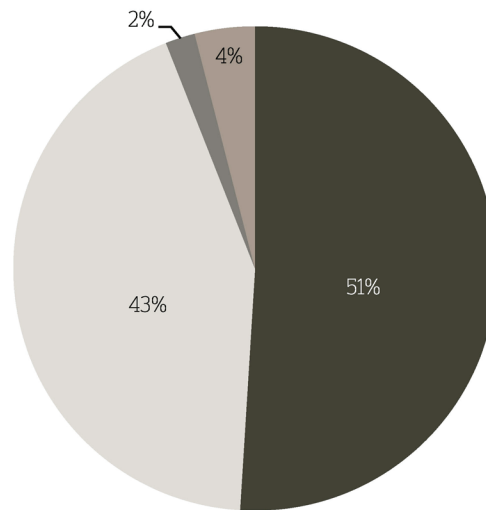
EVEN MORE THAN PARTISANSHIP, AGE DIVIDES PUBLIC OPINION ON THE NEED FOR TRANSPARENCY OF U.S. INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS TO PROTECT CIVIL RIGHTS.

Despite broad opposition to the surveillance programs that have been revealed to be in use by the government, the public is more evenly divided on whether the government has an obligation to prove it is upholding Americans' civil rights. A slight majority (51 percent) says that it is more important to keep the details of U.S. intelligence operations secret even if the government is accused of violating civil rights, while 43 percent say it is more important that the government publicly prove its intelligence operations do not violate civil rights, even if that means revealing the details of U.S. intelligence operations.

Younger Americans are significantly more likely than older Americans to say the government should reveal details of U.S. intelligence operations in order to prove that those operations do not violate civil rights. Among Americans under age 30, 63 percent believe it is more important that the government publicly prove its intelligence operations do not violate civil rights compared with 42 percent among Americans age 30-44, 38 percent among Americans age 45-64, and only 30 percent

among Americans age 65 and older. Likewise, far fewer younger Americans (31 percent of those 18-29) believe it is more important to keep the details of U.S. intelligence operations secret even when the government is accused of violating civil rights than older Americans (53 percent of Americans 30-44, 56 percent ages 45-64, and 60 percent ages 65 and older).

Although differences between partisans exist, they are much smaller than generational differences. Democrats are split on this issue, with 47 percent saying it is more important to keep the details of U.S. intelligence operations secret, and 48 percent saying it is more important that the government publicly prove its intelligence operations do not violate civil rights. Republicans favor maintaining the secrecy of U.S. intelligence operations, with 59 percent saying it is more important to keep the details secret, while 35 percent say it is more important that the government publicly prove its intelligence operations do not violate civil rights.

Which comes closer to your view? When it comes to U.S. intelligence operations and the protection of civil rights...

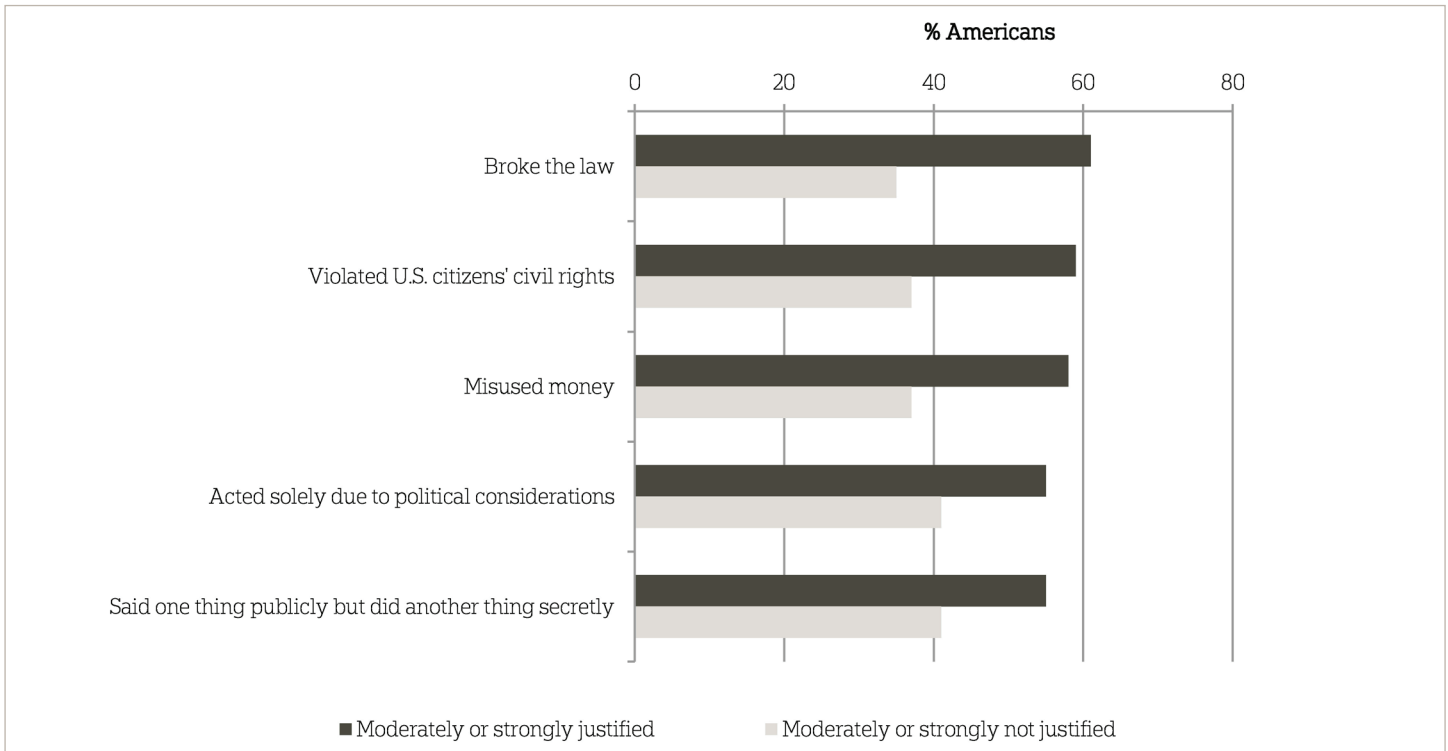
- It is more important to keep the details of U.S. intelligence operations secret even if the government is accused of violating civil rights.
- It is more important that the government publicly prove its intelligence operations do not violate civil rights, even if it means revealing the details of U.S. intelligence operations.
- Neither (vol.)
- Don't Know/ Refused (vol.)

A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS BELIEVE THAT LEAKING CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IS JUSTIFIED IF IT REVEALS GOVERNMENT WRONGDOING.

A majority of Americans say that a person in possession of classified government information is justified in revealing that information if it shows that the government is engaged in illegal or illicit activities. Sixty-one percent of Americans say that a person's illegal release of classified government information is justified if it shows that the government broke the law. Fifty-nine percent of Americans say release of the material is justified if the information shows that the

government violated U.S. citizens' civil rights, and 58 percent feel it is justified if it shows the government misused money. Fifty-five percent of Americans say that illegal release is justified if the information shows that the government acted solely due to political considerations or that the government said one thing publicly but did another thing secretly.

If a person in possession of classified government information reveals that information illegally in an effort to show that the government..., would you say that person's actions are generally justified or generally not justified?



Again, younger Americans are more likely than older Americans to prefer transparency even if it risks revealing classified information. Americans age 18-29 (72 percent) and age 30-44 (68 percent) are more likely than those age 45-64 (56 percent) and 65 and older (51 percent) to say that a person's actions are justified if they have illegally released classified government information that shows that the government broke the law. Those under 30 (78 percent) are most likely to say that a person's actions are justified if it reveals that the government violated U.S. citizens' civil rights.

For the most part, Americans feel the same way about these issues across partisan and ideological lines. The one exception, however, is that liberals (72 percent) are more likely than conservatives (60 percent) and moderates (57 percent) to say that a person's actions are justified if this person illegally reveals classified government information that shows that the government broke the law. Republicans (40 percent) are more likely than Democrats (31 percent) to say that a person's actions are not justified under this same situation.

AMERICANS HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY MORE CONFIDENCE IN THE MILITARY AND U.S. INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES THAN THEY DO IN CONGRESS OR THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

The nation's intelligence gathering agencies merit only tepid confidence among Americans, yet they inspire far more confidence than the government's more public-facing legislature and executive branch. Twenty-four percent of Americans say they have a great deal of confidence in the U.S. government's intelligence gathering agencies, while nearly half (49 percent) say they have only some confidence, and 26 percent say they have hardly any confidence at all. As in previous polling, the military generates confidence in a majority: 56 percent report a great deal of confidence, 35 percent only some confidence, and just 8 percent report hardly any confidence at all.

Significant differences in confidence in the U.S. government's intelligence gathering agencies exist along ideological and party lines. Democrats are more likely than Republicans to express a great deal of confidence in the U.S. government's intelligence gathering agencies. Twenty-eight percent of Democrats say they have a great deal of confidence compared to 19 percent of Republicans and Independents. Thirty percent of moderates and 25 percent of liberals say they have a great deal of confidence in the U.S. government's intelligence gathering agencies, compared to just 15 percent of conservatives. Thirty-two percent of conservatives say they have hardly any confidence at all, compared to one-quarter of liberals and 19 percent of moderates.

By comparison, confidence in the executive branch and Congress is significantly lower. Only 15 percent of Americans say they have a great deal of confidence in the executive branch of the federal government, 35 percent say they have only some confidence, and nearly half (47 percent) say they

have hardly any confidence at all. Just 7 percent of Americans say they have a great deal of confidence in Congress, a third say they have only some confidence, and 59 percent say they have hardly any confidence at all.

As far as the people running these institutions are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them?

	A great deal of confidence	Only some confidence	Hardly any confidence at all	Don't know	Refused
Military	56	35	8	1	*
U.S. government's intelligence gathering agencies	24	49	26	1	1
Executive branch of the federal government	15	35	47	2	*
Congress	7	33	59	1	*

While confidence in Congress and the executive branch has remained fairly stable since 2011, these recent figures represent a steep decline in confidence compared to the immediate post-9/11 period. In the 2002 General Social Survey, just 25 percent expressed hardly any confidence in Congress, and 21 percent felt the same about the executive branch. Confidence in the military in 2013 is down 9 percentage points from 2011, when 65 percent reported a great deal of confidence, but remains at the same level as it did in 2002.

Majorities continue to view bipartisan cooperation and patriotism as bigger problems today than they were 10 years ago. In 2011, 56 percent of Americans said the amount of bipartisanship and cooperation in government had gotten a lot worse compared to a decade earlier; 55 percent of Americans say the same in 2013. In 2013, one out of four Americans say the patriotism of the American people has gotten a lot worse compared to 10 years ago, a slight increase over the one out of five Americans who said as much in 2011.

COMPARED TO 2011, MORE AMERICANS NOW SAY THAT THE 9/11 TERRORIST ATTACKS HAD A GREAT DEAL OF IMPACT ON AMERICANS' INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, AND, THREE OUT OF FIVE AMERICANS SAY THEY EXPECT TO LOSE MORE FREEDOMS THAN THEY GAIN OVER THE NEXT DECADE.

Twelve years later, the effects of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, continue to ripple through American life and government. Sixty-three percent of Americans today say that the attacks of September 11th have had some impact on the way they live their lives today, up from 57 percent in 2011 and 50 percent in 2006. More Americans in 2013, 61 percent, believe that the 9/11 terrorist attacks had a great deal of impact on American's individual rights and freedoms than in 2011 (50 percent). A large majority also still feels that the attacks had a great deal or some impact on the amount of political conflict in the United States (85 percent in 2013 and 84 percent in 2011).

Most Americans, 59 percent, say it is sometimes necessary to sacrifice some rights and freedoms to fight terrorism, though this represents a slight decrease compared to 2011. The number of Americans who say it is never necessary to make these sacrifices increased slightly from 33 percent in 2011 to 38 percent in 2013.

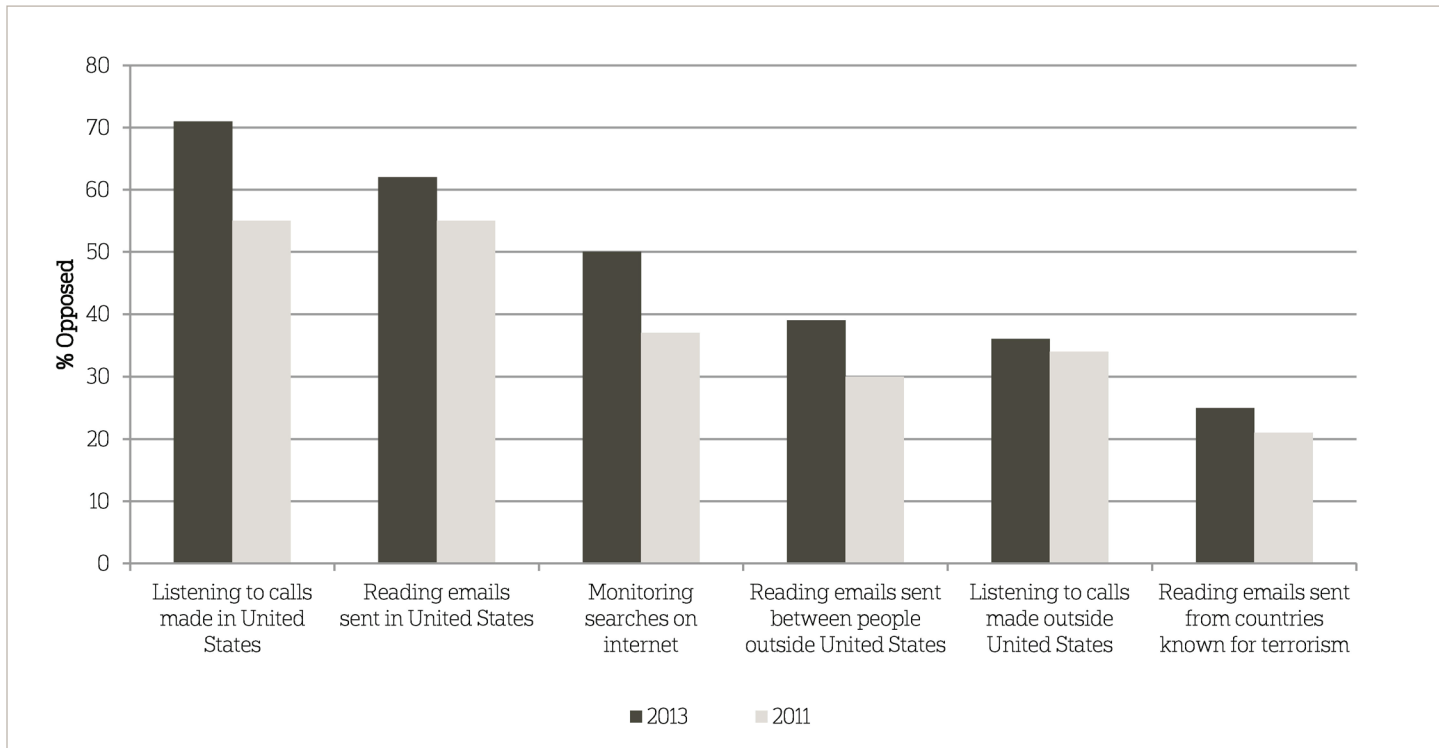
At the same time, the number of Americans who say the government is doing enough to protect the rights and freedoms of U.S. citizens as it conducts the war on terrorism fell from 60 percent in 2011 to 53 percent in 2013. Fifty-three percent also say that they personally feel that they have lost some of their personal freedoms as a result of the government's fight against terrorism, similar to the 51 percent who said the same in 2011. Fewer of these Americans now think their loss of freedom was necessary compared with 2011. Less than half (43 percent) of 2013 respondents who feel they lost some freedom to the war on terror say it was necessary, down from 53 percent saying so in 2011. When asked to think ahead to the next 10 years, 60 percent of Americans think that, on balance, they will probably lose more freedoms than they will gain.

THE PUBLIC GENERALLY CONTINUES TO SUPPORT GOVERNMENT SURVEILLANCE ACTIVITIES IN PUBLIC PLACES AS A RESULT OF TERRORIST THREATS, WHILE SUPPORT FOR SURVEILLANCE OF PHONE AND INTERNET COMMUNICATIONS WITHIN THE UNITED STATES IS DECLINING.

Americans remain uneasy about the government monitoring, without a warrant, of phone calls and internet activity within the United States. In 2011, 65 percent of Americans opposed the government listening, without a warrant, to calls made in the United States; this number climbed to 71 percent in 2013. A similar increase occurred in opposition to the government reading, without a warrant, any emails sent in the United States (55 percent in 2011 vs. 62 percent in 2013). In 2011, only 37 percent opposed the government monitoring internet searches of U.S. citizens, without a warrant, to watch for suspicious activity. That figure increased to 50 percent in 2013.

Americans, however, generally support the government monitoring calls and emails from outside the country. Forty-nine percent of Americans favor the government listening, without a warrant, to phone calls made in countries outside the United States, and 47 percent favor the government reading, without a warrant, any emails sent between people outside the United States (both unchanged since 2011). A sizable majority (66 percent, up from 65 percent in 2011) favors the government reading, without a warrant, emails sent from countries known for terrorist activities to people inside the United States.

Now I'm going to read you a list of specific policy measures about phone calls and e-mails that some people have suggested the government should take on in response to terrorist threats against the United States. For each one, please tell me if you favor, oppose or neither favor nor oppose that particular policy.



Americans continue to support the installation of surveillance cameras in public places. More than seven out of 10 Americans supported this practice to watch for suspicious activity or to capture and track license plates of cars in areas at risk of a terrorist attack in 2011, and those rates remain the same today. A majority of Americans (55 percent) favor a policy that requires random searches of people attending big, public events such as sporting events or festivals, while 36 percent oppose such a policy. Women are more likely than men to favor that policy (61 percent vs. 49 percent).

And there has been only a slight change in support for national ID cards. Support for requiring all people in the United States to carry a national ID card and produce it to authorities upon demand is split, with 45 percent in favor and 45 percent opposed. This a slight change from the 47 percent who supported and 42 percent who opposed such a policy in 2011.

Opposition to some types of searches in public places has grown since 2011. A majority now opposes random searches of people riding public transit trains and buses, up from 45 percent in 2011. Opposition to body scans and pat-downs of people boarding commercial airline flights in the United States also increased from 21 percent to 30 percent over the last two years, as did opposition to the use of racial and ethnic profiling to decide who should get tougher screening at airports (53 percent opposed in 2011, up to 65 percent in 2013).

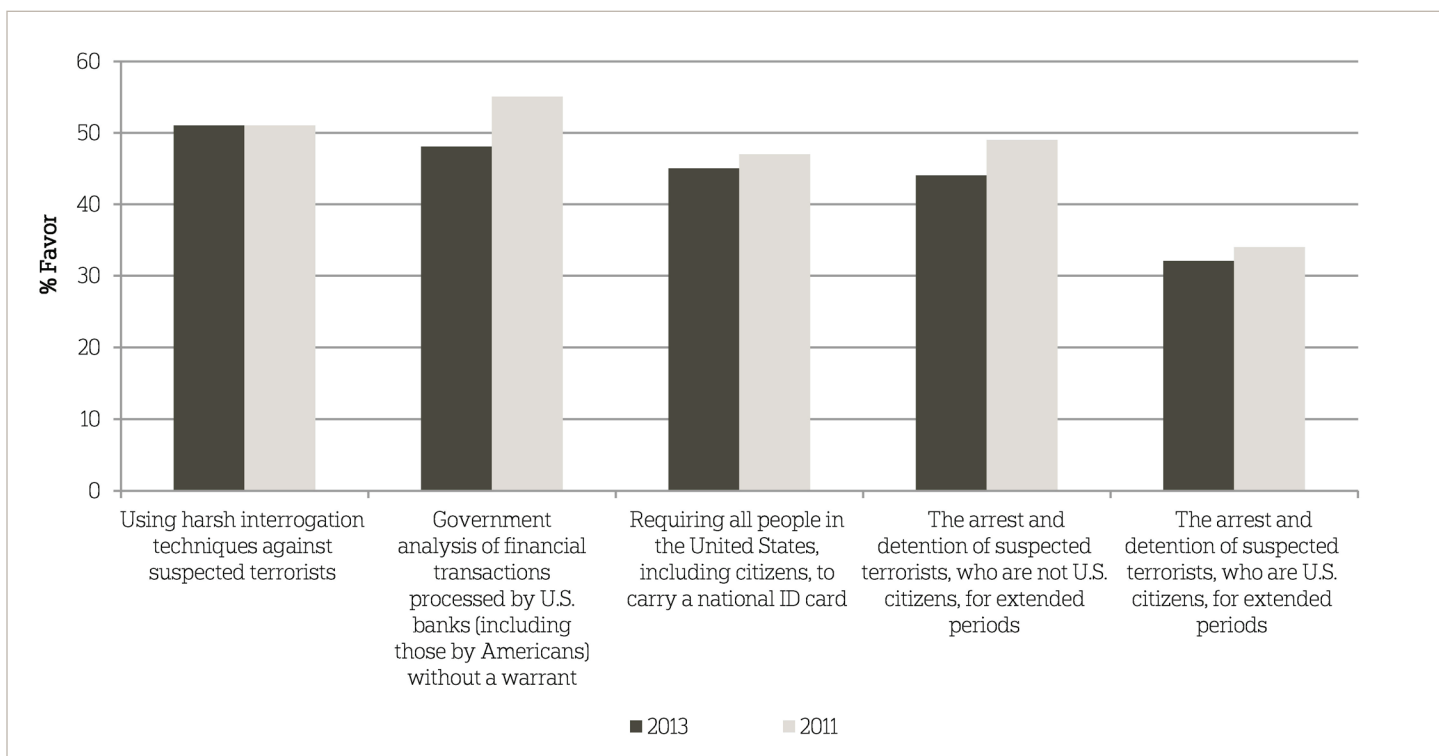
More Americans also oppose the government monitoring public library records, including those of U.S. citizens, without a warrant (41 percent opposed in 2011, up to 53 percent today). And fewer Americans support the government analyzing financial transactions processed by U.S. banks without a warrant, including those by U.S. citizens, than did in 2011. Just 48 percent favor such a policy today compared to 55 percent in 2011.

Americans are split on a policy that would allow the government to analyze internet activities and communications, including those involving U.S. citizens,

without a warrant, to watch for suspicious activity that might be connected to terrorism. Forty-six percent moderately or strongly favor such policy, and 45 percent moderately or strongly oppose such policy. Americans age 18-29 (32 percent) are less likely than Americans age 45-64 (52 percent) and Americans age 65 and older (54 percent) to moderately or strongly favor such policy.

Americans view the long-term detention of suspected terrorists less favorably than they did two years ago. Support fell for the arrest and detention of suspected terrorists for extended periods without charges, even for non-citizens. Forty-nine percent favored this policy as a response to terrorist threats in 2011, but just 44 percent favor it today. Support remains low for the arrest and long-term detention without formal charges of suspected terrorists who are U.S. citizens. Just 34 percent favored this policy in 2011 and 32 percent favor it today. Finally, support for the use of harsh interrogation techniques against suspected terrorists remained stable, with a slim majority (51 percent) favoring this practice.

Now I'm going to read you a list of specific policy measures that people have suggested the government should take on in response to terrorist threats against the United States. For each one, please tell me if you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose that particular policy.



AMERICANS ARE MORE PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR THE WAR ON TERRORISM NOW THAN THEY WERE IN 2011.

Very few Americans think that the United States has won the war on terrorism—only 6 percent in 2011 and 4 percent in 2013. Among those who do not think the United States has won the war on terrorism, confidence that the war will be won in the next decade has fallen since 2011. Two years ago, 51 percent said it was at least moderately likely that the United States could win the war on terrorism in the next decade. Just 41 percent of Americans express the same confidence today. Perceptions of war's effectiveness at preventing terrorist attacks have also decreased. Only 28 percent of Americans say the U.S. war efforts have been very effective or extremely effective compared to 36 percent two years ago. A majority of Americans (68 percent) continue to believe that the U.S. government is reacting to events as they occur rather than having a clear plan for the war on terrorism.

Still, Americans' fears of terrorist attacks remain at moderate levels. In 2011, 37 percent of Americans said the risk of an attack in the region where they live is moderately high or greater, 35 percent feel that way today. About a third (32

percent) were concerned that they or their family might be the victim of a terrorist attack in 2011, 30 percent say so today. Just under half who are concerned about the risk of attack say this concern has a substantial impact on their life.

In the 2011 poll, there was little difference between those worried about terrorist attacks and others on whether it was necessary to sacrifice some rights and freedoms to avoid terrorist attacks. Now, those who are concerned about attacks are more apt to say it is necessary to sacrifice rights to battle terrorism (65 percent vs. 56 percent among those not concerned). A similar difference emerges on the question of government priorities. Those who are more concerned are more likely to put security ahead of protecting civil liberties. Nearly half (47 percent) of the more concerned respondents prioritized safety and civil liberties this way, while 64 percent of those who are not as concerned prioritized protecting the rights and freedoms of U.S. citizens.

SUPPORT FOR POLICIES TO FIGHT TERRORISM CONTINUES TO BE INFLUENCED BY WORRY AND PARTISANSHIP.

When looking at specific policies to fight terrorism, those who worry more about terrorism are generally willing to go further than those who worry less, a difference that was also observed in 2011. Among those who worry at least somewhat, support for harsh interrogation techniques (63 percent in 2013 vs. 59 percent in 2011), a required national ID card (56 percent in both 2013 and 2011), arrest and detention of non-citizen suspects without formal charges (59 percent in both 2013 and 2011), and the government monitoring of internet searches, including those by U.S. citizens (54 percent in both 2013 and 2011), remains high and stable. However, among those who worry less about becoming victimized, support for these policies has dropped. Support for harsh interrogation techniques among these Americans inched down from 47 percent to 45 percent, and support for a required national ID card did the same, from 43 percent to 41 percent. Bigger drops in support among this group were seen for the arrest and detention of non-citizen suspects without formal charges (45 percent in 2011 vs. 38 percent in 2013) and the government monitoring internet searches for suspicious activity (45 percent vs. 36 percent).

Americans are divided on the use of torture against suspected terrorists to obtain information about terrorist activities, and their opinions on this topic remain relatively unchanged since 2011. Fifty percent of respondents today say the use of torture

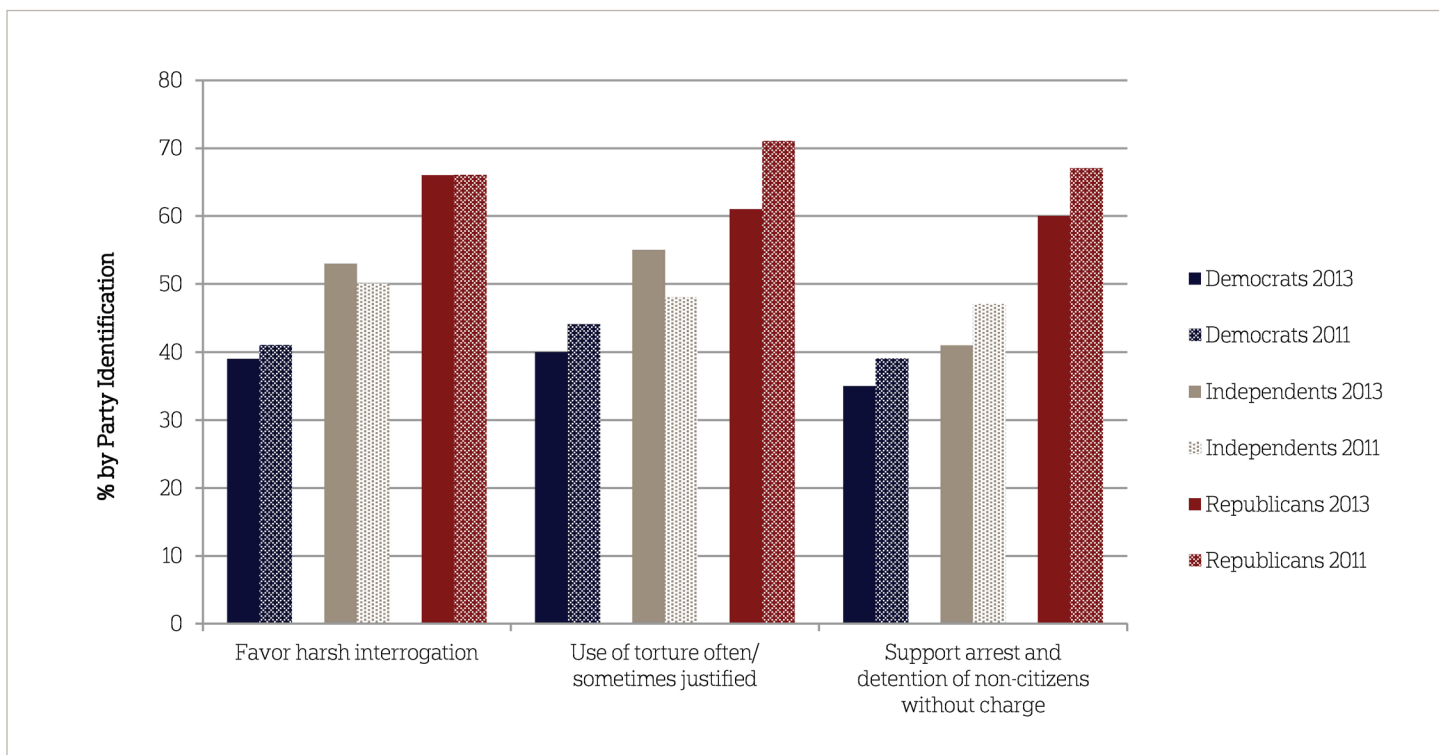
can sometimes or often be justified while 47 percent say it can rarely or never be justified. These opinions tend to shift over the years, however, when looking at past polls conducted by the AP. In 2005, just 38 percent said torture could sometimes be justified, while 59 percent said it could not. In May 2011, in the immediate aftermath of the killing of Osama bin Laden, 60 percent said that torture could sometimes be justified.

As they did in 2011, strong differences exist between the attitudes of Democrats, Independents, and Republicans on many of these issues. The use of harsh interrogation techniques to respond to terrorist threats sparks particular disagreement. Just 39 percent of Democrats favor such a policy compared to 53 percent of Independents and 66 percent of Republicans. These totals have changed very little since 2011. Americans are also divided along party lines when asked whether torture can be justified. Just 40 percent of Democrats say that torture can sometimes or often be justified, a total slightly lower than the 44 percent who said so in 2011. Interestingly, over the last two years, support among Independents has increased from 48 percent to 55 percent. But among Republicans, support has actually decreased, falling from 71 percent in 2011 to 61 percent today.

While Republicans are much more likely than Independents and Democrats to support the arrest and long-term detention of non-citizen terrorist suspects without formal trial (60 percent vs. 41 percent and 35 percent, respectively), support

for this policy has declined across all party affiliations by several percentage points.

2013 and 2011 support for policies to respond to terrorism by party identification



STUDY METHODS

This survey was funded and conducted by the Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research. Interviews were completed between August 12 and August 29, 2013. NORC and AP staff collaborated on all aspects of the study, with input from AP's subject matter experts. The authors thank Rebecca Reimer, Emily Alvarez, Dennis Junius, and Daniel Malato for their assistance in the analysis and writing of the report and Michael Colicchia for his assistance in the data collection.

This random-digit-dial (RDD) survey of the 50 states and the District of Columbia was conducted via telephone with 1,008 American adults. In households with more than one adult, we used a process that randomly selected which adult would be interviewed. This group of American adults included 599 respondents on landlines and 409 respondents on cell phones. Cell phone respondents were offered a small monetary incentive for participating, as compensation for telephone usage charges. Interviews were conducted in both English and Spanish, depending on respondent preference. All interviews were completed by professional interviewers who were carefully trained on the specific survey for this study.

The RDD sample was provided by a third-party vendor, Marketing Systems Group. The final response rate was 20 percent, based on the widely accepted Council of American Survey Research Organizations method. Under this method, our response rate is calculated as the product of the resolution rate (72 percent), the screener rate (71 percent), and the interview completion rate (40 percent). The overall margin of error was +/- 4.0 percentage points.

The sample design aimed to ensure the sample representativeness of the population in a time- and cost-efficient manner. The sampling frame utilizes the standard dual telephone frames (landline and cell). Sampling weights were calculated to adjust for sample design aspects (such as unequal probabilities of selection) and for nonresponse bias arising from differential response rates across various demographic groups. Poststratification variables included age, sex, race, region, education, and landline/cell phone use. The weighted data, which thus reflect the U.S. general population, were used for all analyses.

All analyses were conducted using Stata (version 12), which allows for adjustment of standard errors for complex sample designs. All differences reported between subgroups of the U.S. population are at the 95 percent level of statistical significance, meaning that there is only a 5 percent (or less) probability that the observed differences could be attributed to chance variation in sampling. Additionally, bivariate differences between subgroups are only reported when they also remain robust in a multivariate model controlling for other demographic, political, and socioeconomic covariates.

A comprehensive listing of all study questions, complete with tabulations of top-level results for each question, is available on the AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research website: www.apnorc.org.

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