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Citizens' ViewPoint
TECHNICAL REPORT

PUBLIC OPINIONS ABOUT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OPTIONS:

Data from a Pennsylvania Survey

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Citizens' ViewPoint

Public Opinions About Economic Development Options

Americans have long espoused the desirability of sustained economic growth. Local leaders often view growth as an indication of progress and as such, describe it as the single most important force in the mobilization of business and local leadership in communities across the United States (Molotch, 1976). The establishment and growth of business and industry are expected to provide jobs and these, in turn, are believed to enhance the well-being of residents. So valued is economic growth that the pursuit of capital for growth purposes often appears to be unquestioned in terms of the social worth of the product: "They [community leaders] invite capital to make anything—whether bombs or buttons, tampons or tanks—in their own back yards" (Molotch and Logan, 1984:484).

In recent years, however, some citizens, public officials, and communities across the country have taken stands against growth and economic development activities. Central to this position is a questioning of the age-old belief that unlimited growth and material abundance are the touchstones of the "good life".[1] No-growth advocates point to the ecological dangers and diminished quality of life that can accompany unchecked economic development. In some communities, no-growth advocates have mustered enough support to pass strict ordinances forbidding certain kinds of developments in order to ensure that the local way of life is not unduly disturbed.

Determining the extent to which a growth policy or a non-growth policy should be pursued constitutes a dilemma for community and state decision makers. On the one hand, there is some evidence that certain growth patterns may speed up the degradation of the environment, and/or result in social and cultural upheaval (Canan and Hennessy, 1989; Vogel and Swanson, 1989; Bridger and Harp, 1990). The pursuit of a no-growth policy, on the other hand, may limit the job opportunities of citizens who are unemployed or underemployed, and who see in economic development the chance for more lucrative employment and an improved lifestyle. Moreover, it is hard to imagine widespread support for a no-growth policy among both policy makers and residents within Pennsylvania, given the weakened state of economic affairs over the last decade.[2]

While clearly it is impossible to experience both growth and non-growth simultaneously, some argue that it is possible to achieve economic growth while avoiding some of the negative consequences that often accompany it. Many people, for example, believe that the goals of economic growth and environmental protection are not incompatible. In a national survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, 59% of the respondents indicated that they believed that we can achieve environmental protection and business and

new job growth at the same time (Ladd, 1982). More recently, Willits and Crider (1991) reported that 67 percent of Pennsylvania residents felt that we can achieve environmental protection and economic growth concurrently.

Controlling for the negative effects of economic growth requires local and state leaders to actively pursue a growth management policy[3] This process entails intensely and critically addressing the costs and benefits associated with the range of economic development options that are available. The process also entails assessing the public's acceptance of various economic development strategies.

Despite a relatively large body of research that has examined citizens', mayors', and local leaders' attitudes toward growth (Fliegel, Sofranko, and Glasgow, 1981; Gottdiener and Neiman, 1981; Maurer and Napier, 1981; Maurer and Christenson, 1982; Baldassare, 1984; Dunlap and Van Liere, 1984; Albrecht, Bultena, and Hoiberg, 1986; Anglin, 1990), limited research is available that directly assesses the relative priority people assign to promoting different economic development strategies. Studies that have focused on various options include case studies examining the political climate attending the implementation of a given development strategy (e.g., Canan and Hennessey, 1989), survey analysis enumerating the range of economic development strategies extant in communities (Green and Fleischmann, 1989), and economic analysis assessing the relative benefits of different development strategies (Warner, 1989).

A recent survey, the Citizens' Viewpoint, 1990, conducted by the College of Agricultural Sciences at Penn State University, obtained information on Pennsylvanian's attitudes about several different options for enhancing economic growth in the Commonwealth. What can be learned by examining Pennsylvanians' attitudes toward various economic development strategies? First, information may be used by policy makers as an aid in decision making. By gauging the citizenry's attitudes toward such matters, policy makers are in a better position to gauge the public's support for pursuing specific economic development options. Research indicates that successful implementation of a specific economic development strategy is dependent on the political support it enjoys (Kirby, 1985; Whitt, 1987). Second, the information presented here provides community leaders, state representatives, and other policy makers a means for determining whether their own views are in line with the people whom they serve. Hence, survey results, insofar as they are representative of Pennsylvanians in general, provide a democratic forum whereby citizens' views and interests are voiced.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

As noted, there is a rather extensive literature dealing with people's attitudes toward growth and non-growth, but only limited research on people's attitudes toward specific economic development options. One of few studies that did examine people's views of different development strategies was conducted by Fliegel et al. (1981). Midwesterners were asked whether elected officials in their communities should try to keep new factories out, attract tourists and promote recreation, develop the community business district, and attract new residents to the area. Respondent's answers to these four policy items were examined only in terms of migration status and orientation to growth. No analysis was conducted using other personal or areal characteristics of respondents.

Given the dearth of research in this area, it is difficult to predict exactly what are the correlates of support for specific economic development options. However, certain personal and areal characteristics have been found to be associated with endorsement of

economic growth in general. Because this literature is discussed in other Citizen's Viewpoint reports (Scott and Willits, 1991; Willits and Crider, 1991), the review here is abbreviated. The reader is directed to those reports and also to an excellent paper by Van Liere and Dunlap (1980) for an elaboration of the ideas presented below.

GENDER

While the relationship of gender to attitudes toward growth has been found to be equivocal, some researchers have argued that men should be more likely to favor growth because they have traditionally been more concerned about jobs and economic matters. Previous analysis of data from the Citizens' Viewpoint, 1990 found no significant differences between men and women in regard to general attitudes toward economic growth (Willits and Crider, 1991). However, there may be gender differences in regard to how different developmental strategies are viewed.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Education and income have commonly been used as indicators of socioeconomic status. Education has been found to be related to support for economic growth. Education tends to foster exposure to and support for ecological ideas. The relationship of income to attitudes toward growth is empirically more unstable. However, it is often predicted that support for growth is highest among low income earners because they have most to lose under an anti-growth policy. This expected negative relationship between income and overall support for economic growth activities was found in prior analysis of the Citizens' Viewpoint data.

AGE

Age was positively related to overall growth-support attitudes using these data, although other research studies have presented conflicting findings. While younger persons are often more supportive of environmental principles and hence might be expected to be anti-growth, they also may be more likely to be concerned about job opportunities. As a result, they may support those economic development activities which appear to be least environmentally threatening, while rejecting other strategies which appear to constitute greater threats.

AREAL CHARACTERISTICS

As noted by Willits and Crider (1991), there is little research that has examined rural-urban differences in attitudes toward economic growth. However, support for economic growth has been found to be strongest among people who felt they would directly benefit from such growth (Maurer and Napier, 1981). Such a perception is inexorably linked to the economic strength of the area in which a person lives. Within Pennsylvania, rural counties, and the West, Central, and Northeast regions of the state have been hit most severely by the economic slow-down of the 1980s (cf. Fuller and Smith, 1991). Unemployment rates run higher in these areas than other areas of the state (Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, 1989). Therefore, it is plausible that people living in these areas would support a range of development options that could lead to economic growth[4] Whether they are more supportive of some strategies than of others is an empirical question that is addressed in the current report.

PURPOSE OF THIS ANALYSIS

This report was designed to provide policy makers, educators, local leaders, and the citizenry with up-to-date information concerning the priority Pennsylvanians place on various economic development strategies.

The present analysis addressed the following two research questions:

1. What priority does the citizenry give to different economic development strategies?
2. What social and areal characteristics of Pennsylvanians are associated with the priorities among different economic development strategies?

METHODOLOGY

THE SAMPLE

The data for this analysis were drawn from a statewide mail survey, the Citizens' Viewpoint, 1990. The study was carried out by the College of Agricultural Sciences at Penn State University to ascertain Pennsylvania residents' perceptions on a multitude of social issues. Five regions within the state were sampled, each corresponding to those used by Penn State Cooperative Extension: West, Central, Northeast, Capital, and Southeast (see Figure 1 in the Appendix). Within each region, 1500 names were drawn from current telephone listings. Altogether, 7500 questionnaires were mailed, along with a cover letter instructing the addressee who in the household should answer the survey. Follow-up reminders were mailed as a means of encouraging people to respond. Of the 7500 names to whom questionnaires were sent, 896 had insufficient or outdated addresses, resulting in post office returns of the survey materials. Of the remaining, 3632 returned usable questionnaires, representing 55 percent of the valid addresses. (See Willits, Crider, and Janota, 1990) for a more complete description of the study methods.) For analysis addressing the first research question, the regional samples were weighted in regard to the proportion of the total state population in the region.

ASSESSING THE PRIORITY FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH

The Citizens' Viewpoint, 1990 asked respondents to indicate whether various strategies for economic development should have "high", "medium", or "low" priority in Pennsylvania in the future. Respondents were also given the opportunity of indicating a "don't know" response. In all, thirteen items dealing with economic development options were included. While these are clearly not exhaustive of all possible development strategies, the list is varied enough to provide an opportunity to compare the priorities that Pennsylvanians assign to different economic development options.

In a related report (Willits and Crider, 1991), six of the items were combined to form an index or scale to measure overall support for economic growth. In this report, seven additional items have been added. As noted, the goal here is to compare the priority Pennsylvanians assigned to individual economic development strategies rather than to assess general support for economic growth.

PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

To arrive at an overview of how Pennsylvanians feel about various development strategies, the items dealing with different options were grouped or paired as a means of focusing on alternative choices. Four general sets of strategies were considered: 1) the nature of economic assistance, 2) the modification of tax and pollution laws, 3) the sources of industries, and 4) the sizes of businesses. In addition, data were available for two sets of more specific strategies—one dealing with promoting traditional industries in the state (mining, farming, forestry) and a second focusing on promoting tourism. The specific questionnaire items are shown on Table 1. In each case, the proportion of "high priority", "medium priority", "low priority" and "don't know" responses were obtained.

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

The first pair of items dealt with different types of assistance that could be given to communities in need—direct financial aid and expert help. Pennsylvanians were somewhat more likely to support giving state and federal aid to communities facing economic hardship than providing technical assistance in their economic development efforts. Approximately 50 percent of the respondents indicated that high priority should be given to economic aid; just over 40 percent answered that technical assistance should have high priority. The extent to which this difference represented citizen distrust of expert technical assistance from outside the community and how much it simply reflected the feeling that communities facing "severe economic hardships" deserved greater priority than those "engaged in economic development efforts", could not be determined. Public endorsement of both strategies was common. Fewer than one in ten persons indicated that either of these efforts should have low priority, and even smaller percentages indicated that they had no opinion on these issues.

TAX LAWS VERSUS POLLUTION LAWS

The second set of options focused on laws which could be enacted or altered to encourage economic development—changing local and state tax laws and lowering pollution standards. The citizenry differed greatly in their beliefs as to the appropriateness of these strategies for keeping and attracting businesses and industries. While 5 out of 10 respondents suggested that high priority should be devoted to changing local and state taxes to keep and attract business and industry, less than 2 out of 10 favored lowering pollution standards for this purpose.

The contrast is even more striking in the incidence of low priority answers. Only about 11 percent of the survey participants gave the changing of tax laws low priority, while nearly 60 percent responded that lowering pollution standards should have low priority. Clearly the majority of Pennsylvanians would not choose to permit greater industrial pollution in return for economic growth. As with the previous set of items, the proportion of respondents indicating that they had no opinion was small.

SOURCES OF INDUSTRIES

The third set of strategies focused on the priority that Pennsylvanians assign to encouraging industry already in the Commonwealth versus providing incentives to attract businesses from outside the state. The respondents differed very little as to whether we should be trying to expand existing Pennsylvania industries or to attract industries from outside the state. About 60 percent of the citizenry assigned high priority to each of these two development strategies, but providing incentives to out-of-state firms received a somewhat larger proportion of low priority responses, suggesting that encouraging in-state industry was slightly more popular. However, the differences in response patterns were small.

SIZE OF BUSINESSES

The fourth set of contrasts centered on the relative priority Pennsylvanians give to developing small and large businesses. Pennsylvanians favored developing small businesses over large businesses by over 26 percentage points. Approximately 67 percent of the respondents assigned high priority to developing small businesses, compared to only 40 percent for developing large businesses. Fewer than 5 percent gave low priority to promoting small businesses, while more than 3 times that proportion gave low priority to promoting large businesses.

TRADITIONAL INDUSTRIES

The fifth set of contrasts examined the relative priority given to developing three traditional industries within the state: coal mining, agriculture, and lumbering. Respondents differed considerably in terms of their support for promoting these industries. More than 76 percent of the survey participants felt that high priority should be given to promoting Pennsylvania agricultural products; just 54 percent gave high priority to promoting Pennsylvania lumber and byproducts; and only 49 percent gave a high priority rating to promoting Pennsylvania coal and byproducts.

TOURISM

The final set of contrasts focused on the priority Pennsylvanians felt should be given to tourism in rural and urban areas of the state. Overall, the citizenry assigned considerably lower priority to tourism promotion than to developing the traditional industries discussed above. Less than 4 out of 10 respondents stated that high priority should be devoted to promoting tourism in either rural or urban areas, and 1 in 5 felt that tourism development should have low priority.

SUMMARY

Clearly, Pennsylvanians place higher priorities on some economic development strategies than on others. The citizenry favors providing economic aid over technical assistance, changing tax laws over changing pollution standards, promoting small businesses over large businesses, and promoting agriculture more than lumber and coal. Pennsylvanians differed little in the priority they assigned to expanding industries within the Commonwealth and to attracting industries currently located outside the state. There was also little difference in the priority given to promoting tourism in rural areas and urban areas.

Overall, the citizenry assigned the highest priority to promoting Pennsylvania agriculture products and to promoting small business—growth strategies that may be perceived to be relatively non-destructive. Lowest priority was assigned to lowering pollution standards—again, an indication that respondents favored growth strategies that are compatible with environmental protection.

ASSESSING DIFFERENCES AMONG THE CITIZENRY

Are there differences among the various social and areal groups within the Commonwealth in regard to the priority they assign to the various economic development strategies? To determine the correlates of the priority assigned to the various economic development strategies, respondents were classified on the basis of gender, age, socioeconomic status (level of education and family income), place of residence, rural complexion of county, unemployment rate in county, and regional location. Age was treated in terms of the following categories: (1) less than 40 years; (2) 40-64 years; and (3) 65 years and older. Family income was also grouped into three categories: (1) less than $20,000; (2) $20,000-39,999; and (3) $40,000 and more. Educational attainment was classified into four categories: (1) less than high school; (2) high school graduate; (3) some college; and (4) college graduate. Place of residence was divided into three categories: (1) city; (2) village or borough; and (3) country. Counties in which 50 percent or more of the residents lived in municipalities of less than 2,500 people and which were not contiguous to urban areas were defined as "rural"; all other counties were defined as "urban" (Center for Rural Pennsylvania, 1991). The percentage of unemployed in counties was taken from Pennsylvania Labor Department statistics for October, 1989 - the month when Pennsylvanians were sent the Citizens' Viewpoint, 1990 survey (Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, 1989). For simplicity, respondents were classified into one of two categories: (1) counties where the unemployment rate was 5 percent or less; or (2) counties where the unemployment rate was greater than 5 percent. Finally, all respondents were classified in terms of the region of the state in which they lived (see Figure 1 in the Appendix).

Differences in expressed priority were examined by calculating percentages for each economic priority issue for each grouping of respondents. The observed differences were tested using chi-square analysis and the .05 level was used to determine significance. The strength of each relationship is also reported using the Cramer's V statistic. Consistent with the previous analysis, differences among categories of respondents were explored for the six sets of economic development strategies.

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

Differences in the priority assigned to directing more state and federal aid to communities facing severe economic hardship (Table 2) were most pronounced in response to varying levels of family income (V=.15). Support was highest among low income earners and declined as income increased. Support for providing aid was greatest among females, older adults, individuals with low levels of education, city residents, people living in counties with high unemployment rates, and respondents living in the West, Central, and Northeast

regions of the state. Rural status of the county was not significantly related to this priority item.

The relationships of the various predictor variables to priority assigned to providing technical assistance to aid communities in their economic development efforts were somewhat different from those for the priority item dealing with financial aid (Table 2). Support for providing technical assistance was strongest among males, respondents 40 years and older, individuals with some college, city residents, those living in counties with high unemployment and in all areas except the Capital region of the state. In contrast to the previous analysis, significant differences among people with different levels of family income were largely explained by varying levels of uncertainty: low income earners were more than three times as likely as high income earners to respond "don't know" to the priority item. Again, no significant differences were observed between residents of rural and urban counties.

TAX LAWS AND POLLUTION LAWS

Seven of the eight predictor variables were found to be significantly related to priority assigned to changing tax laws to keep and attract business and industry (Table 3). Support for changing tax laws was highest among males, respondents 40 years of age and older, city residents, people living in counties with high unemployment rates, and individuals living in the West, Central, and Northeast regions of the state. Significant differences among people with different levels of education and income were largely due to varying levels of uncertainty. Low income earners and respondents with low levels of educational attainment were more likely than their counterparts to answer "don't know" to the priority item. A re-analysis of the data revealed that when the don't know response category was omitted, the relationship between family income and the priority item was not significant.[5] As with the previous analysis, the rural status of the county was not significantly related to support for changing tax laws.

Relatively strong differences were observed among people with different levels of education (V=.17) and income (V=.18) and age (V=.15) in the extent to which they gave high priority to lowering pollution standards (Table 3). People with low levels of income and education and older citizens were the strongest advocates of lowering pollution standards; these categories were also the most undecided. Each of the other predictor variables was also significantly related to the pollution priority item. Support for lowering pollution standards was strongest among females and individuals living in cities, rural counties, counties with high unemployment rates, and the Northeast and West regions of the state.

SOURCES OF INDUSTRIES

Generally speaking, the various predictor variables were related consistently to the two economic development strategies dealing with providing incentives for the expansion of existing Pennsylvania industries and for attracting new industries from outside the state (Table 4). Support for these strategies was strongest among respondents over 40 years of age, high school graduates, and individuals living in counties with high unemployment rates. Residents of the West, Central, and Northeast regions were somewhat more supportive than were those living in the Capital or Southeast regions. Support for these two economic development strategies was also higher among city dwellers and people living in rural counties. The relationships of place of residence to support for expanding existing Pennsyl-

vania industries, and rural status of county to support for attracting industries from outside the state were not significant. While gender was significantly related to the two priority items, these differences resulted from differences in the rates of uncertainty; females were more likely than males to answer "don't know." A similar pattern was evident in the way family income related to support for providing incentives for developing existing Pennsylvania industries; significant differences are attributed to greater rates of uncertainty among low income earners compared to their high income counterparts. Although low income was associated with higher rates of uncertainty for the item dealing with attracting industries from outside the state, low income earners also expressed higher levels of support relative to high income earners.

SIZE OF BUSINESSES

Support for promoting small businesses was greatest among people who had at least graduated from high school, those who lived in counties with high rates of unemployment, and residents of the West, Central, and Northeast regions of the state (Table 5). Significant differences between males and females, people of different ages, and individuals with varying levels of family income were largely due to relatively high rates of uncertainty for females, older respondents, and individuals reporting low levels of family income. Place of residence and rural status of county were not significantly related to support for developing small businesses.

The various independent variables were all slightly more predictive of people's support for promoting large rather than small businesses (Table 5). Strongest support for promoting large businesses was evident among individuals living in counties with high unemployment rates, city residents, and those in the West and Central regions of the state. Respondents over 40 and individuals with less than a college degree expressed both slightly more support for promoting large business and higher rates of uncertainty than their respective counterparts. As with the previous analysis, gender and income differences were largely a function of the relatively high rates of "don't know" responses among females and people with low levels of family income. Again, no significant differences were observed between individuals living in rural and urban counties.

TRADITIONAL INDUSTRIES

As outlined in Table 6, the independent variables were related to the three items dealing with traditional industries (coal, agriculture, and lumber) in slightly different ways. The strongest relationships were observed in the way the various independent variables related to support for promoting Pennsylvania coal byproducts. Particularly strong differences in expressed support for promoting coal were evident between counties with low and high unemployment rates (V=.17), among the various age groups (V=.16), between males and females (V=.15), and by education level (V=.13), with support being highest in counties with high unemployment rates, among older respondents, males and individuals with lower levels of education. Family income and region of the state were also predictors of support for promoting coal. Low income earners, and respondents living in the Central and West regions of the state expressed higher support for promoting Pennsylvania coal compared to their respective counterparts. Females, again, expressed high rates of uncertainty. In contrast to previous analyses, city residents were no more likely than others to assign high priority to the promotion of coal. People living in rural counties were slightly more likely than those living in urban counties to support the promotion of coal.

Relationships involving the economic development item dealing with the promotion of Pennsylvania agriculture were almost all weaker than the relationships involving the economic development items pertaining to promoting Pennsylvania coal and Pennsylvania lumber. Modest differences were observed among age, education, family income, residence, and regional groups, with support being highest among individuals who were older, lacked a college degree, had family incomes of less than $40,000, and who lived in the country and outside the West and Southeast regions of the state. No significant differences were observed between males and females, between individuals living in rural and urban counties, or between persons living in counties with high and low rates of unemployment.

Consistent with the findings pertaining to differences in expressed support for promoting coal, differences were observed among age groups (V=.12), education levels (V=.10), and income categories (V=.10) in the priority assigned to promoting Pennsylvania lumber and byproducts. Support was highest among individuals who were older, those with lower levels of formal education and those with lower incomes. Support for promoting lumbering was also significantly higher among females, individuals living in counties with high unemployment rates and in areas other than the Southeast region of the state. No significant differences in support for promoting lumbering were evident among residence groups or between individuals living in rural and urban counties.

TOURISM

There were only minor differences in the way the various independent variables related to the priority items dealing with promoting tourism (Table 7). Support for promoting tourism in both rural and urban areas was strongest among older respondents, and among individuals with lower levels of family income, those living in cities, and those living in counties with high unemployment rates. Support for promoting tourism in both rural and urban areas was highest among individuals living in the Northeast region and lowest among those from the Capital region of the state. Respondents with lower levels of education were more likely than their counterparts to support promoting tourism in rural and urban areas of the state. Persons with less than a high school education were also the most likely to indicate that they did not know what priority should be given to promoting tourism. The significant differences between males and females were largely a result of the higher rates of uncertainty among females. Individuals living in rural and urban counties did not differ in the priority they assigned to either rural or urban tourism.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Overall, there was considerable support for the economic development activities included on the questionnaire. For most items, the overwhelming majority of respondents indicated that the development strategies assessed should have medium or high priority in the years ahead. The most obvious exception to this generalization was the item which asked about lowering pollution standards to keep or attract business and industry. That a majority of Pennsylvanians failed to support lowering pollution standards, while only a small minority rejected the other twelve economic development strategies, suggests that economic growth is indeed an important priority, but the means by which this should be achieved should not be disruptive to the quality of the environment.

Pennsylvanians were also more likely to support giving direct financial aid to communities facing severe economic hardship than they were to endorse technical assistance

to aid communities in their economic development efforts. Small businesses were endorsed more than large businesses. Residents as a whole felt that greater priority should be devoted to promoting traditional industries (coal, agriculture, and lumber) than to promoting either rural or urban tourism. There were also marked differences in the priority assigned to promoting coal, agriculture, and lumber. Agriculture received the highest support, followed by lumber, and then coal.

There was variation in the priority given to various development activities depending upon the personal attributes of the respondents and the characteristics of their areas of residence. For some development options, these differences were small; for others they were relatively large. Relatively small differences were found for promoting Pennsylvania agriculture and for promoting small businesses. These two strategies received widespread support by the citizenry across all age, gender, education, residence, and regional categories. This suggests that policy makers in the Commonwealth may be reasonably confident that efforts in implementing these economic strategies will receive broad-based support across the state. In contrast, there were much more pronounced differences among residents in their feelings about lowering pollution standards to keep and attract business and industry, promoting coal and its byproducts, providing state and federal aid to communities facing economic hardship, promoting large businesses, and providing incentives to attract businesses from outside the state. Efforts to implement development strategies such as these would not be expected to enjoy the same widespread support.

People living in counties with high unemployment rates were most likely to support any and all types of economic development options. Despite a few points of divergence, family income and age were consistently related to the range of economic development strategies. In general, people with lower family incomes were more likely than their more wealthy counterparts to support development activities. Age was positively related to the tendency to give high priority to the strategies assessed.

The relationships of education differed for the various development options examined. There was evidence of the expected negative relationship for some items but not for others. Perhaps the most consistent finding in regard to education was that the proportion of "don't know" responses was considerably larger for those who did not complete high school, and, in general, that proportion declined with increasing educational level.

Men were, in general, more likely than women to support the economic development strategies included. However, support for both direct state and federal aid to communities facing severe economic hardship and for lowering pollution standards was more widespread among women than men. A greater proportion of women than men indicated that they did not know how they felt about the issues in question.

Country residents were the most and city residents the least likely to support promoting agricultural products as a development option. However, for most of the development strategies, city residents were more supportive than were country dwellers. Support for promoting coal, lumber, and small business did not differ significantly for the three residence groups.

The rural or urban nature of the county was statistically associated with support for only three strategies — lowering pollution controls, providing incentives for existing industries, and promoting coal and its by-products. In all three instances, residents of rural counties were more likely than those in urban counties to support these options for encouraging economic growth.

There were also regional differences in the priority given to various development options. Support for most options was strongest among residents living in the West, Central, and Northeast regions, and lowest in the Capital and Southeast regions.

Thus, while there were some consistencies in the patterns of relationships of the various social and locational variables to citizen attitudes, there were also numerous inconsistencies. Policy makers cannot expect that the same constituencies which support one type of development strategy will necessarily support other types as well.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Dunlap and Van Liere (1984) used the terms "dominant social paradigm" and "new environmental paradigm" to characterize the ideological bases for pro-growth and anti-growth. For further elaboration on this distinction, see the related Citizens' Viewpoint report, *Environmental Concern of Pennsylvania Citizens: Data From a Statewide Survey* by Scott and Willits (1991). That study also presents a detailed analysis of Pennsylvanians' support for the new environmental paradigm.

[2] A number of economic trends pertaining to the Commonwealth are reported in the recent publication of *Road to Renaissance VI* by Fuller and Smith (1991). Significant for this discussion is the fact that job losses during the recession (1980-1983) were greater in Pennsylvania than the nation as a whole. Unfortunately, job gains during the recovery (1983-86), growth (1986-89), and slow-down (1989-90) periods were also less than the rest of the country.

[3] According to Vogel and Swanson (1989), the question of whether growth is good or bad is avoided under a growth management policy. As they noted, other questions are more crucial: "what kind of growth? how much growth? where will the growth go? when will the growth occur? who will benefit and pay for the growth? and what impact will the growth have on the community?" (p. 83).

[4] In addition, a study of Kentucky mayors indicates that suburban mayors are less likely to favor economic growth compared to mayors from core cities and large and small towns in nonmetropolitan areas (Maurer and Christenson, 1982). Given the relative affluence of suburban residents, this finding is not surprising. Moreover, it supports the prediction that economic growth should be strongest among people living in locales hurt by the economy.

[5] An additional set of analyses was conducted which involved treating "don't know" responses as missing data. This alternative treatment of data provided an opportunity to assess the relative contribution of varying levels of uncertainty ("don't know" responses) among social and areal groupings to the original relationships. The strength of many relationships did tend to go down when the data were reanalyzed, suggesting the importance of varying levels of uncertainty to the strength of the original relationships. In the text of this report we point out those cases where the reexamination of data resulted in insignificant results overall.

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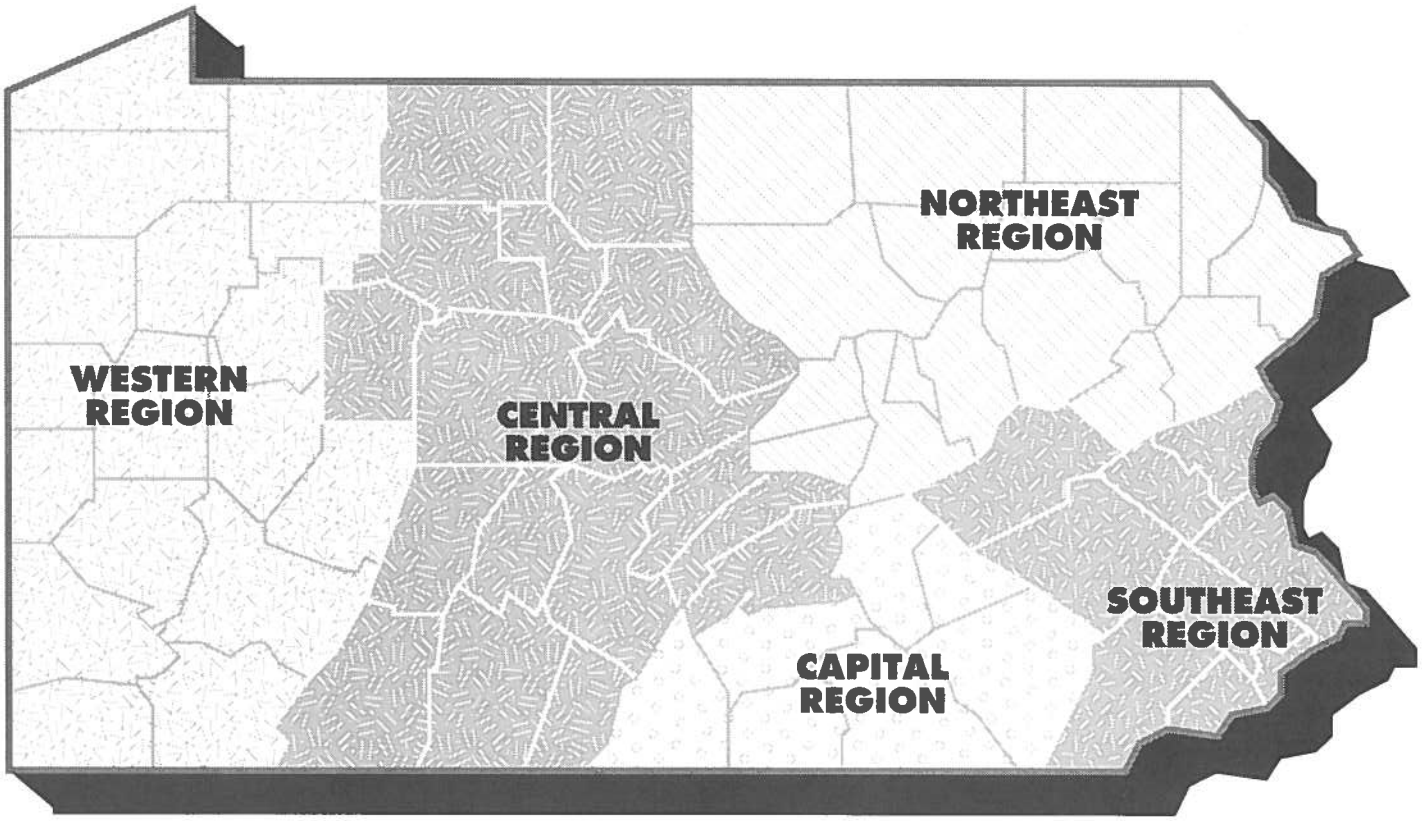
PENNSYLVANIA REGIONS

USED IN THE CITIZENS' VIEWPOINT, 1990.



APPENDIX TABLE 1

ECONOMIC GROWTH PRIORITIES

RESPONSES TO THE ITEMS DEALING WITH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OPTION

	Number of cases[a]	WHAT PRIORITY SHOULD EACH HAVE FOR PENNSYLVANIA? Low	Medium	High	Don't Know
		PERCENTS			
A. General strategies for dealing with Pennsylvania economy					
1. Economic assistance					
a. Direct more state and federal aid to communities that face severe economic hardships	3532	9.4	36.0	49.9	4.7
b. Provide technical assistance to aid communities in their economic development efforts	3542	8.2	43.1	41.8	6.9
2. Tax laws versus pollution laws					
a. Change local and state taxes to keep and attract business and industry	3554	10.7	32.1	49.9	7.4
b. Lower pollution standards to keep and attract business and industry	3547	59.4	17.0	18.6	5.0
3. Sources of industries					
a. Provide incentives for the expansion of existing Pennsylvania industries	3557	5.6	29.1	60.5	4.8
b. Provide incentives to attract new industries from outside the state	3556	10.0	25.8	59.9	4.2
4. Size of business					
a. Promote the development of small businesses	3571	4.4	25.8	66.5	3.3
b. Promote the development of large businesses	3561	14.9	39.8	40.3	5.0
B. Specific industries worth developing					
1. Traditional industries					
a. Promote the use of Pennsylvania coal and byproducts	3561	12.1	31.0	48.9	8.0
b. Promote Pennsylvania agricultural products	3575	2.5	18.9	76.7	1.9
c. Promote the use of Pennsylvania lumber and byproducts	3575	10.8	30.8	53.9	4.5
2. Tourism					
a. Promote tourism in rural areas of the state	3567	20.3	26.9	37.5	5.3
b. Promote tourism in urban areas of the state	3555	19.0	39.7	35.4	5.8

[a]Number of cases varies due to missing data.

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

RELATIONSHIPS OF SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS TO ECONOMIC GROWTH PRIORITIES

Social Characteristics	Direct more state and federal aid to communities that face severe economic hardship: Number of cases	PRIORITY (PERCENT) Low	Medium	High	Don't Know	Chi Square (V)	Provide technical assistance to aid communities in their economic development efforts: Number of Cases	PRIORITY (PERCENT) Low	Medium	High	Don't Know	Chi Square (V)
Gender												
Male	1930	12.2	36.9	46.8	4.0	46.01***	1935	9.6	41.7	43.2	5.5	27.73***
Female	1564	6.0	35.5	53.0	5.4	(.11)	1565	7.7	43.6	39.0	9.6	(.09)
Age												
<40 years	930	9.0	45.7	41.8	3.4	75.30***	935	8.1	52.8	34.8	4.3	79.76***
40–64 years	1345	12.1	34.9	48.3	4.8	(.11)	1352	9.5	40.5	44.0	6.0	(.11)
65 years +	822	7.3	29.2	58.8	4.7		822	7.7	36.0	45.5	10.8	
Education												
< H.S. graduate	542	5.4	29.0	57.2	8.5	115.79***	537	10.8	36.9	37.8	14.5	83.76***
H.S. graduate	1093	7.7	33.5	53.6	5.2	(.11)	1095	9.8	42.5	39.2	8.6	(.09)
Some college	932	9.9	37.6	49.9	2.7		937	7.9	42.4	45.0	4.7	
College graduate	879	13.8	44.1	38.5	3.6		885	7.5	46.0	42.7	3.8	
Family Income												
<$20,000	1133	5.5	28.8	59.7	6.1	114.28***	1130	7.8	38.6	41.9	11.8	64.58***
$20,000–39,999	1284	9.3	38.2	48.0	4.6	(.15)	1295	8.3	44.1	41.9	5.7	(.10)
$40,000+	878	15.5	43.8	37.8	2.8		881	10.7	44.7	41.1	3.5	
Residence												
Country	793	13.4	39.0	42.5	5.2	33.41***	793	10.8	46.9	33.9	8.3	33.75***
Village/Borough	1986	8.8	35.9	50.9	4.5	(.07)	1994	8.8	41.6	42.8	6.9	(.07)
City	621	6.9	34.0	54.9	4.2		622	6.1	38.9	47.6	7.4	
Rural Status of County												
Rural	1023	10.9	35.7	49.3	4.2	3.11	1027	9.7	41.2	40.8	8.3	5.04
Urban	2266	9.0	36.9	49.4	4.6	(.03)	2271	8.1	42.8	42.3	6.9	(.04)
Unemployment Rate in County												
2.5–5.0%	1875	11.3	38.3	45.4	5.0	33.88***	1885	8.5	44.7	39.2	7.5	13.58**
5.1%+	1414	7.3	34.2	54.7	3.8	(.10)	1413	8.6	39.1	45.3	7.0	(.06)
Region												
West	743	9.2	28.9	58.0	3.9	77.89***	743	7.3	41.6	44.3	6.9	32.39**
Central	782	7.2	35.7	52.9	4.2	(.09)	781	8.3	39.6	43.8	8.3	(.06)
Northeast	643	7.9	35.5	51.9	4.7		646	11.0	38.2	43.2	7.6	
Capital	785	13.4	41.3	38.7	6.6		788	9.6	47.1	34.8	8.5	
Southeast	590	9.2	39.8	46.3	4.7		593	7.6	45.2	41.3	5.9	

** Significant at .01 *** Significant at .001

APPENDIX TABLE 3

TAX LAWS VERSUS POLLUTION LAWS

RELATIONSHIPS OF SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS TO ECONOMIC GROWTH PRIORITIES

Social Characteristics	Change local and state taxes to keep and attract business and industry: Number of cases	PRIORITY (PERCENT) Low	Medium	High	Don't Know	Chi Square (V)	Lower pollution standards to keep and attract businesses and industries: Number of Cases	PRIORITY (PERCENT) Low	Medium	High	Don't Know	Chi Square (V)
Gender												
Male	1940	11.2	31.0	52.3	5.5	27.68***	1934	62.7	17.8	15.6	4.0	58.93***
Female	574	10.7	33.9	45.9	9.4	(.09)	1569	51.9	18.2	22.4	7.5	(.13)
Age												
< 40 years	935	11.3	36.5	45.7	6.5	28.64***	932	70.9	14.8	11.3	3.0	139.93***
40-64 years	1349	10.5	32.2	52.2	5.2	(.07)	1347	59.4	19.2	17.1	4.4	(.15)
65 years +	835	10.8	28.6	51.0	9.6		831	45.5	19.9	26.1	8.5	
Education												
< H.S. grad	543	13.1	26.7	48.3	12.0	52.28***	543	32.4	25.0	30.2	12.3	309.42***
H.S. grad	1100	12.1	29.5	51.1	7.3	(.07)	1094	51.7	22.0	20.0	6.2	(.17)
Some college	936	10.9	34.4	48.5	6.2		936	65.5	13.9	17.1	3.5	
College grad	887	8.7	37.5	49.2	4.6		882	74.6	12.0	10.9	2.5	
Family Income												
< $20.000	1140	11.8	29.0	49.6	9.6	27.57***	1135	42.2	21.7	26.6	9.5	219.58***
$20,000-39,999	1292	11.1	33.3	49.9	5.7	(.06)	1293	63.3	16.8	16.4	3.5	(.18)
$40,000 +	884	9.2	35.2	50.3	5.3		877	71.3	14.7	10.8	3.2	
Residence												
Country	796	11.4	32.3	47.9	8.4	17.73**	799	58.8	20.5	14.9	5.8	28.79***
Village/borough	1998	11.4	33.6	48.9	6.1	(.05)	1990	59.1	17.7	18.6	4.5	(.06)
City	627	9.1	27.9	54.2	8.8		623	53.9	15.2	23.8	7.1	
Rural Status of County												
Rural	1029	10.9	31.1	51.3	6.7	2.39	1030	54.1	20.0	20.2	5.7	10.45*
Urban	2281	11.1	33.0	48.5	7.4	(.03)	2273	59.8	16.7	17.8	5.7	(.06)
Unemployment Rate in County												
2.5 - 5.0%	1887	12.5	35.5	44.1	7.8	49.01***	1889	63.8	15.8	15.7	4.7	62.81***
5.1% +	1423	9.1	28.3	56.4	6.3	(.12)	1414	50.2	20.4	22.4	7.0	(.14)
Region												
West	746	8.8	26.7	59.7	4.8	108.50***	743	53.8	20.3	21.0	4.8	102.52***
Central	788	9.9	28.7	54.2	7.2	(.10)	786	49.9	24.8	18.1	7.3	(.10)
Northeast	642	10.4	31.2	51.2	7.2		642	53.9	13.7	25.9	6.5	
Capital	797	15.2	40.7	35.5	8.7		790	65.4	14.7	14.1	5.8	
Southeast	594	10.8	34.3	46.0	8.9		595	65.2	14.5	16.3	4.0	

* Significant at .05 ** Significant at .01 *** Significant at .001

SOURCES OF INDUSTRIES

RELATIONSHIPS OF SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS TO ECONOMIC GROWTH PRIORITIES

Social Characteristics	Provide incentives for the expansion of existing Pennsylvania industries: Number of cases	PRIORITY (PERCENT) Low	Medium	High	Don't Know	Chi Square (V)	Provide incentives to attract new industries from outside the state: Number of Cases	PRIORITY (PERCENT) Low	Medium	High	Don't Know	Chi Square (V)
Gender												
Male	1936	5.8	28.4	61.8	3.9	11.87**	1931	9.4	25.5	62.4	2.7	27.33***
Female	1574	5.1	27.3	61.1	6.4	(.06)	1577	11.0	24.3	58.7	6.1	(.09)
Age												
< 40 years	934	6.7	33.8	56.6	2.8	66.29***	935	12.8	31.6	52.4	3.2	56.14***
40-64 years	1357	4.6	25.9	65.7	3.8	(.10)	1353	8.6	25.2	62.4	3.8	(.09)
65 years +	825	5.3	24.8	61.1	8.7		825	8.2	19.9	67.0	4.8	
Education												
< H.S. grad	538	5.8	25.7	55.6	13.0	109.20***	541	10.9	20.9	59.5	8.7	59.19***
H.S. grad	1102	5.3	25.0	65.4	4.4	(.10)	1099	9.0	22.6	64.1	4.3	(.08)
Some college	937	5.2	29.6	61.6	3.6		934	10.8	25.4	60.6	3.2	
College grad	885	6.3	31.5	60.2	1.9		887	10.4	30.3	57.0	2.3	
Family Income												
< $20.000	1137	5.1	24.3	61.8	8.8	62.41***	1133	9.2	19.5	64.8	6.5	52.83***
$20,000-39,999	1294	5.4	28.4	62.8	3.4	(.10)	1289	9.9	27.5	59.9	2.6	(.08)
$40,000 +	881.	5.9	31.0	60.8	2.3		883	11.2	27.7	58.2	2.8	
Residence												
Country	799	6.1	29.5	58.7	5.6	7.08	798	12.7	30.7	52.3	4.4	39.46***
Village/borough	1993	5.8	27.7	61.9	4.6	(.03)	1993	10.0	23.6	62.5	3.9	(.08)
City	628	4.1	27.5	64.0	4.3		623	6.9	22.5	66.8	3.9	
Rural Status of County												
Rural	1029	4.7	24.1	66.4	4.9	15.05**	1028	8.5	23.9	63.3	4.3	7.36
Urban	2280	6.2	29.2	59.5	5.1	(.07)	2276	11.1	25.3	59.2	4.3	(.05)
Unemployment Rate in County												
2.5 - 5.0%	1890	6.5	31.8	56.0	5.7	60.00***	1889	13.1	28.4	53.3	5.3	102.70***
5.1% +	1419	4.7	22.1	69.2	4.1	(.13)	1415	6.6	20.2	70.2	3.0	(.18)
Region												
West	744	2.6	24.6	69.8	3.1	99.28***	746	5.0	19.6	73.2	2.3	192.14***
Central	782	5.2	22.4	66.5	5.9	(.10)	785	6.8	20.1	68.4	4.7	(.18)
Northeast	646	4.8	25.9	65.0	4.3		641	9.8	22.5	64.1	3.6	
Capital	794	7.8	34.6	50.9	6.7		791	17.4	31.9	45.3	5.4	
Southeast	597	7.5	33.0	54.1	5.4		597	12.2	30.7	51.8	5.4	

* *Significant at .01 *** Significant at .001

SIZE OF BUSINESS

RELATIONSHIPS OF SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS TO ECONOMIC GROWTH PRIORITIES

Social Characteristics	Promote the development of small businesses: Number of cases	PRIORITY: Low	Medium	High	Don't Know	Chi Square (V)	Promote the development of large businesses: Number of Cases	PRIORITY: Low	Medium	High	Don't Know	Chi Square (V)
		PERCENT						PERCENT				
Gender												
Male	1042	4.2	25.5	68.1	2.3	11.56**	1939	15.2	39.3	42.4	3.1	21.67***
Female	1588	4.2	26.6	65.1	4.2	(.06)	1580	14.4	39.3	40.0	6.3	(.08)
Age												
< 40 years	937	3.1	29.0	66.2	1.7	21.62*	938	15.4	43.0	39.6	2.1	32.16***
40-64 years	1361	4.3	26.2	66.6	2.9	(.06)	1357	12.8	40.5	42.7	4.0	(.07)
65 years +	833	4.6	21.7	69.6	4.1		832	14.8	36.8	41.6	6.9	
Education												
< H.S. grad	544	6.6	25.9	61.0	6.4	41.23***	541	14.4	34.2	41.8	9.6	60.65***
H.S. grad	1104	4.2	24.9	68.1	2.8	(.06)	1102	13.8	38.9	42.6	4.6	(.08)
Some college	942	3.7	26.6	67.4	2.2		940	16.2	37.9	43.3	2.7	
College grad	892	3.5	26.6	68.2	1.8		888	15.2	43.7	38.5	2.6	
Family Income												
< $20.000	1145	4.3	24.1	66.9	4.7	23.78***	1140	13.7	36.3	42.6	7.4	47.32***
$20,000-39,999	1297	3.7	27.5	66.5	2.2	(.06)	1295	13.8	40.8	42.5	2.9	(.08)
$40,000 +	884	4.3	26.0	68.1	1.6		882	16.3	41.4	39.9	2.4	
Residence												
Country	802	2.6	27.1	66.7	3.6	9.97	800	17.6	45.4	32.8	4.3	48.15***
Village/borough	2009	4.6	26.3	66.3	2.8	(.04)	2002	14.7	38.4	42.8	4.1	(.08)
City	625	4.0	23.2	69.8	3.0		626	10.5	35.1	49.0	5.3	
Rural Status of County												
Rural	1033	4.8	25.5	67.0	2.7	3.12	1035	14.0	36.6	45.3	4.1	7.61
Urban	2291	3.8	26.7	66.3	3.2	(.03)	2281	14.7	40.3	40.3	4.6	(.05)
Unemployment Rate in County												
2.5 - 5.0%	1900	4.5	27.5	64.5	3.5	10.04*	1895	16.7	43.7	34.5	5.0	98.67***
5.1% +	1424	3.6	24.6	69.3	2.5	(.05)	1421	11.5	33.1	51.7	3.7	(.17)
Region												
West	746	4.4	19.8	73.7	2.0	36.75***	747	10.2	36.7	49.9	3.2	131.27***
Central	788	3.6	25.3	68.3	2.9	(.06)	787	12.5	32.5	51.3	3.7	(.11)
Northeast	650	4.3	26.6	66.0	3.1		644	15.1	37.9	41.6	5.4	
Capital	798	4.1	30.3	61.8	3.8		797	18.6	47.6	28.7	5.1	
Southeast	599	4.7	28.5	62.4	4.3		596	17.8	41.8	34.1	6.4	

* Significant at .05 **Significant at .01 *** Significant at .001

TRADITIONAL INDUSTRIES

RELATIONSHIPS OF SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS TO ECONOMIC GROWTH PRIORITIES

Social Characteristics	Promote the use of Pennsylvania coal and by products: Number of cases	PRIORITY (PERCENT): Low	Medium	High	Don't Know	Chi Square (V)	Promote Pennsylvania agricultural products: Number of Cases	PRIORITY (PERCENT): Low	Medium	High	Don't Know	Chi Square (V)
Gender												
Male	1940	12.3	29.2	54.3	4.2	75.49***	1941	2.3	17.8	78.6	1.3	5.80
Female	1582	10.7	31.4	46.5	11.4	(.15)	1584	2.0	17.6	78.0	2.4	(.04) .
Age												
< 40 years	937	17.6	37.4	36.7	8.3	153.04***	936	1.7	20.6	75.9	1.8	20.38**
40-64 years	1352	9.6	32.0	52.0	6.4	(.16)	1357	2.6	18.1	77.7	1.6	(.06)
65 years +	834	8.5	20.4	64.1	7.0		835	2.0	13.1	82.9	2.0	
Education												
< H.S. grad	549	6.4	21.2	61.6	10.9	162.99***	547	2.9	16.1	77.3	3.7	63.15***
H.S. grad	1102	8.8	26.7	56.7	7.8	(.13)	1103	1.4	15.4	81.7	1.5	(.08)
Some college	936	10.7	34.2	49.1	6.0		939	1.3	15.9	81.6	1.3	
College grad	886	19.2	36.5	38.4	6.0		890	3,7	23.6	71.3	1.3	
Family Income												
< $20.000	1150	7.6	25.2	57.9	9.3	84.60***	1143	1.4	15.3	80.6	2.7	36.80***
$20,000-39,999	1293	11.1	33.6	48.4	6.8	(.11)	1296	1.9	16.6	80.2	1.2	(.07)
$40,000 +	880	16.9	33.0	44.4	5.7		884	3.4	21.8	73.6	1.1	
Residence												
Country	800	11.6	31.4	49.5	7.5	10.77	801	1.2	15.5	81.8	1.5	13.80*
Village/borough	2002	11.6	29.6	52.4	6.4	(.04)	2004	2.5	17.7	78.3	1.4	(.04)
City	626	11.8	30.8	47.6	9.7		627	1.9	19.9	75.6	2.6	
Rural Status of County												
Rural	1034	9.9	29.0	54.3	6.9	8.39*	1032	2.6	16.5	78.5	2.4	5.64
Urban	2281	12.0	31.4	49.1	7.6	(.05)	2288	2.0	18.1	78.4	1.5	(.04)
Unemployment Rate in County												
2.5 - 5.0%	1889	13.7	34.1	43.3	8.9	100.49***	1898	2.4	17.8	77.8	2.0	2.50
5.1% +	1426	8.2	26.1	60.4	5.3	(.17)	1422	1.8	17.4	79.2	1.5	(.03)
Region												
West	746	8.6	27.5	57.2	6.7	128.79***	748	3.3	21.7	73.4	1.6	35.69***
Central	792	8.2	24.2	62.9	4.7	(.11)	789	1.9	17.4	78.8	1.9	(.06)
Northeast	645	11.6	30.1	51.8	6.5		643	2.5	16.2	79.5	1.9	
Capital	796	14.7	35.7	39.2	10.4		794	1.0	13.1	83.9	2.0	
Southeast	596	14.9	33.7	41.9	9.4		602	2.5	19.8	75.6	2.2	

* Significant at .05 **Significant at .01 *** Significant at .001

Promote the use of Pennsylvania lumber and by-products

Number of Cases	PRIORITY PERCENT Low	Medium	High	Don't Know	Chi Square (V)
1938	12.1	30.5	54.8	2.6	29.65***
1584	8.8	29.4	56.3	5.6	(.09)
935	14.3	36.4	45.9	3.4	87.09***
1359	10.3	31.1	55.6	2.9	(.12)
833	7.3	22.2	65.4	5.0	
547	8.0	23.4	60.5	8.0	109.20***
1099	8.6	27.3	61.2	2.9	(.10)
939	12.0	29.4	55.7	2.9	
890	13.4	38.9	44.0	3.7	
1143	8.0	24.3	62.1	5.6	72.68***
1294	10.2	32.1	55.3	2.3	(.10)
883	14.0	34.3	48.4	3.3	
800	9.8	29.5	57.1	3.6	2.80
2001	10.9	30.3	55.2	3.5	(.02)
628	10.7	29.6	55.1	4.6	
1033	10.4	28.0	58.3	3.4	4.82
2284	10.5	31.2	54.4	3.9	(.04)
1896	10.9	31.6	53.0	4.5	15.86**
1421	9.9	28.2	59.1	2.7	(.07)
746	10.1	29.8	56.2	4.0	19.51
788	10.3	28.3	58.1	3.3	(.04)
647	11.4	25.3	58.9	3.4	
791	9.5	31.9	54.4	4.3	
603	11.6	33.0	49.9	5.5	

TOURISM

RELATIONSHIPS OF SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS TO ECONOMIC GROWTH PRIORITIES

Social Characteristics	Promote tourism in rural areas of the state: Number of cases	PRIORITY PERCENT: Low	Medium	High	Don't Know	Chi Square (V)	Promote tourism in urban areas of the state: Number of Cases	PRIORITY PERCENT: Low	Medium	High	Don't Know	Chi Square (V)
Gender												
Male	1938	20.9	38.1	37.3	3.7	11.21*	1930	20.9	41.2	33.4	4.5	15.39**
Female	1574	19.6	37.9	36.5	6.0	(.06)	1572	17.9	40.2	34.9	7.1	(.07)
Age												
< 40 years	934	24.8	42.5	29.1	3.5	72.66***	934	22.7	45.8	27.6	3.9	52.07***
40-64 years	1359	20.7	39.6	35.8	3.9	(.11)	1357	20.0	40.8	34.3	4.9	(.09)
65 years +	825	14.8	33.3	46.1	5.8		819	15.3	37.0	40.7	7.1	
Education												
< H.S. grad	542	15.3	33.4	42.3	9.0	53.28***	538	16.4	35.5	35.9	12.3	68.81***
H.S. grad	1098	20.2	36.9	38.5	4.4	(.07)	1090	20.1	40.9	33.8	5.2	(.08)
Some college	938	21.3	40.2	35.0	3.5		936	21.5	40.0	34.9	3.6	
College grad	886	22.5	40.7	33.5	3.3		889	18.3	45.1	32.9	3.9	
Family Income												
< $20.000	1132	14.7	36.0	42.5	6.8	62.48***	1127	15.4	37.7	38.4	8.4	56.89***
$20,000-39,999	1298	22.4	38.9	35.4	3.2	(.10)	1296	21.6	42.7	31.7	3.9	(.09)
$40,000 +	881	22.8	41.4	32.2	3.5		882	20.7	42.9	32.9	3.5	
Residence												
Country	797	24.5	38.5	32.5	4.5	24.07**	795	22.0	43.1	29.1	5.8	27.52***
Village/borough	1998	20.0	38.1	37.7	4.2	(.06)	1989	20.3	40.0	34.8	4.9	(.06)
City	627	15.8	37.2	41.4	5.9		627	14.4	39.7	39.1	6.9	
Rural Status of County												
Rural	1031	20.4	38.7	37.1	3.9	1.36	1026	21.7	41.3	31.4	5.6	7.16
Urban	2282	20.4	38.3	36.5	4.8	(.02)	2274	18.4	41.2	35.1	5.2	(.05)
Unemployment Rate in County												
2.5 - 5.0%	1894	22.8	39.8	32.4	5.1	38.69***	1889	20.5	42.0	31.9	5.6	9.24*
5.1% +	1419	17.3	36.7	42.3	3.7	(.11)	1411	17.9	40.3	36.7	5.0	(.05)
Region												
West	749	18.6	35.8	40.3	5.3	47.04**	746	18.2	39.5	36.5	5.8	31.71**
Central	784	16.8	40.2	38.5	4.5	(.07)	784	16.8	43.4	33.5	6.3	(.05)
Northeast	642	20.4	34.0	42.2	3.4		637	19.6	37.7	37.5	5.2	
Capital	790	24.1	42.3	28.9	4.8		787	23.6	43.2	27.4	5.7	
Southeast	600	21.2	36.2	36.7	6.0		599	18.5	38.4	37.1	6.0	

* Significant at .05 **Significant at .01 *** Significant at .001