

Criminal Justice in Massachusetts:

The Public's View

The Massachusetts Institute
for a New Commonwealth
and
Crime and Justice Foundation

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MassINC



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PREFACE

MassINC's report **Criminal Justice in Massachusetts: Putting Crime Control First**, posed a simple question: "What policies would reduce crime?" For answers, we turned to nationally recognized crime policy expert Mark Kleiman of UCLA (formerly of Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government) and his colleagues at BOTEC Analysis Corporation.

The report offered a comprehensive set of recommendations for improving the Massachusetts criminal justice system, recommendations which touched on virtually all of the key areas of our current system. Many of these recommendations -- including the Sentencing Commission guidelines, major reform of our probation system, increased support for community policing, and increased prison education and drug/alcohol treatment efforts -- are now under active consideration by state and national policy makers (in both the executive and legislative branches of government), as well as practitioners throughout the criminal justice system.

In an effort to learn more about the public's views on many of these critical issues, MassINC, in partnership with the Crime and Justice Foundation, commissioned Tubby Harrison of the polling firm Harrison & Goldberg Incorporated, to conduct an extensive public opinion survey on the subjects of crime and criminal justice.

This report analyzes the results of a telephone poll of 400 registered voters in Massachusetts. Interviewing for the poll was conducted between April 2 and 9, 1997. The poll's margin of error is plus or minus 5 percent.

The full text of the questionnaire, with the results filled in, is included as an appendix to this report.

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

GENERAL FEELINGS: CRIME AND DRUGS IN MASSACHUSETTS

- **Despite recent reports of falling crime rates, voters on balance still feel crime in Massachusetts and, to a lesser extent in the area where they live, has gone up over the past few years.** However, crime no longer dominates the list of public concerns the way it might have a few years ago. **Page 3**
- **Voters feel that the amount of illegal drugs and drug dealing has gone up in Massachusetts and in their area over the past few years.** **Page 3**

SENTENCING AND PRISON OVERCROWDING

- **The public is unequivocal about sending violent criminals to prison.** However, they do not think that all or most such criminals are actually being sent there. **Page 6**
- **The vast majority of Massachusetts voters feel the state's prisons are overcrowded.** **Page 7**
- **A clear majority of voters favor building a new 1,000 cell prison in Massachusetts.** A smaller majority support doing so even after they're informed of the cost of building (\$100 million) and operating (\$25 million per year) such a new prison. **Page 7**

RATING THE MASSACHUSETTS CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

- **Overall, the Massachusetts criminal justice system gets mixed reviews from the state's voters.** **Page 8**
- **Voters give the police relatively positive ratings on their performance.** The police get their highest marks for dealing with violent crime and violent criminals, and for working with communities to prevent crime. **Page 8**
- **Voters are quite negative when it comes to rating the courts.** The courts draw negative reviews across the board, especially on trying and sentencing criminals promptly and without delay, and on seeing to it that those criminals who should be in prison are actually sent there. **Page 10**
- **Voters give the state's prison system largely negative ratings.** While a large number of voters hold no opinion on the performance of the prison system, those who do voice an opinion voice displeasure across the board. **Page 12**

- **Voters give the state's probation and parole system largely negative ratings.** While a large number of voters hold no opinion on the state's probation and parole system, those who do voice an opinion voice displeasure across the board. **Page 13**

WHAT WILL BE EFFECTIVE IN REDUCING CRIME

- **Voters hold a more complex, less simplistic view of the effectiveness of various crime control measures than is often assumed.** Voters endorse the effectiveness of an eclectic blend of crime control measures that includes tough law enforcement measures, increased supervision of probationers and parolees, and more prevention and rehabilitation efforts. **Page 17**
- **Community policing and a greater emphasis on dealing with abused, neglected or problem children before they get into really serious trouble top the list of crime control measures the public views as very effective in substantially reducing crime.** Of 25 strategies for reducing crime, these two strategies rank first on being perceived as very effective. **Page 17**
- **Perhaps surprisingly, capital punishment for convicted murderers ranks only in the middle of the list of 25 items in terms of being very effective in substantially reducing crime.** **Page 17**

COMMUNICATING WITH THE PUBLIC

- **For those seeking to maximize voter support for measures that focus on rehabilitation efforts for inmates and tighter checking on and control over probationers and parolees, voters must first be convinced that the speaker is serious about dealing firmly with violent crime and violent criminals.** Using approaches that emphasize prison rehabilitation or community-based supervision as substitutes for strong law enforcement, rather than proposing a blend of both, does not work very well. **Page 20**

II. GENERAL FEELINGS: CRIME AND DRUGS IN MASSACHUSETTS

Despite recent news reports and statistics showing a falling violent crime rate, the prevailing public perception is that violent crime is increasing, not decreasing in Massachusetts.

Forty-six percent say that violent crime in Massachusetts has gone up over the past few years (13% say it has gone up a lot), 14% say it has stayed about the same, and 5% "don't know" -- for a total of 65% who say violent crime has not gone down, compared with 35% who say it has (this includes 3% who say it has gone down a lot).

Similarly, 33% say that violent crime in the area where they live has gone up (7% say it has gone up a lot), 35% say it has stayed about the same and 3% "don't know" -- for a total of 71% who say that violent crime in their area has not gone down, compared with 29% who say it has (this includes 5% who say it has gone down a lot).

Still, the fact that almost as many people say that crime in the area where they live has gone down (29%) as say it has gone up (33%) may indicate that Massachusetts voters are increasingly noticing a drop in crime at their local level. And even at the state level, the number who say crime has gone up (46%) is only 11 points higher than the number who say crime has gone down (35%).

Massachusetts voters do not just lump violent crime and drugs into one category. In fact, they perceive drugs as the bigger problem. Fully 71% (25 percentage points higher than for violent crime) say that the amount of illegal drugs and drug dealing in Massachusetts has gone up over the past few years (26% say it has gone up a lot), compared with just 10% who say it has gone down (1% say it has gone down a lot) -- 12% say it has stayed about the same and 7% "don't know."

Also, although fewer people (53%) say that the amount of illegal drugs in the area where they live has gone up (12% say it has gone up a lot) than say that about Massachusetts generally, this 53% figure is considerably higher than the 33% who say that violent crime has gone up in their area. Only 14% say the amount of illegal drugs and drug dealing has gone down in the area where they live (2% say it has gone down a lot), 20% say it has stayed about the same and 13% "don't know."

While most Massachusetts voters do not say that violent crime has gone down, either in the state or the area in which they live, there is evidence that public concern over crime has begun to subside. In both *unprompted* results regarding what voters think is the most serious problem facing Massachusetts today (the problem that we in Massachusetts need to deal with more than anything else) and *prompted* results regarding how much voters worry about each of 15 "things," crime is no longer the top-ranking problem. And while on an *unprompted* basis it continues to rank near the top, it no longer dominates, as it might have done only a few years ago.

As seen in the following table, on an *unprompted* basis, education and the schools now ranks first as the most serious problem facing the state, mentioned by 21% of respondents. Crime in

general (17%) ranks a strong second -- with taxes (12%), jobs (10%) and drugs (7%) rounding out the top five.

Furthermore, juvenile crime (including drug usage among juveniles and violence in the schools) is mentioned by 4%. However, even if that percentage is combined with crime generally (17%), the combined percentage of the two merely equals but does not top education and the schools (21%).

QUESTION: "What do you think is the biggest, most serious problem facing Massachusetts today -- the problem that we in Massachusetts need to deal with more than anything else?" (MULTIPLE RESPONSES WERE PERMITTED.)

Education, the schools	21%
Crime (generally)	17
Taxes	12
Jobs	10
Drugs	7
Social programs, problems, the homeless	5
Juvenile crime, drugs, and violence in the schools	4
Health care/insurance, medical costs	3
Too many people on welfare, welfare fraud	3
Welfare reform -- the number of displaced persons	3
Infrastructure, roads	2
The environment	1
Big Dig costs	1
Other	12
Don't know	16

As seen in the table on the next page, on a *prompted* basis (and using the percentage who say they almost never stop worrying about the problem or worry about it very often as the measure), concerns about crime in general, juvenile crime and drug dealing (if we consider drug dealing part of crime) all rank below four other items which headed the list: the cost of health insurance and health care (49%), followed by the amount of taxes people "like you" have to pay (40%), whether our public schools in Massachusetts are good enough (40%), and the breakdown of families (37%).

As noted, below those four came three crime-related worries: the amount of drug dealing and drug addiction in Massachusetts (37%), violent crime by young people (34%), and the amount of crime and violence in Massachusetts (32%).

This is not to say that Massachusetts voters are not worried about crime and violence. Rather, it is that they are worried about other things more.

Also the fact that on many of these items, the *unprompted* rankings are different from the *prompted* ones is not unusual. The *unprompted* results are top-of-the-mind ones and often reflect the "news"; the *prompted* ones tend to represent a striking-a-nerve reaction. But in both cases, violent crime and drugs fail to dominate the way they once might have.

QUESTION: "Next, for each of the following things, please tell me how often, if at all, you worry or get very upset or worked up about it -- almost never, occasionally, fairly often, very often, or whether you almost never stop worrying or being extremely upset or worked up about it."

	ALMOST NEVER STOP WORRYING/WORRY <u>VERY OFTEN</u> %
The cost of health insurance and health care.	49
The amount of taxes people like you have to pay.	40
Whether our public schools in Massachusetts are good enough.	40
The breakdown of families.	39
The amount of drug dealing and drug addiction in Massachusetts.	37
Violent crimes by young people.	34
The amount of crime and violence in Massachusetts.	32
Not being able to afford to send your child to college.	29
Domestic violence against women.	28
The real <u>property taxes</u> people in Massachusetts have to pay.	27
Racial tensions.	22
How Massachusetts can get more decent-paying jobs with health insurance and other benefits.	20
Whether it is safe to go out at night where you live.	17
The amount of burglaries and break-ins.	17
The amount of car thefts.	13

In assessing the current level of concern in Massachusetts about crime and violence, it should be kept in mind that most people have not been "touched" recently by violence. To be sure, 12% say that they, themselves, have been the victim of a crime within the last year or two, 11% say that some other member of the household has, and 21% say that either they, themselves or some other member of their household has been a victim. And this is not to say those percentages are insignificant. However, "only" 2% say that they, themselves, were victims of a violent crime, 4% say some other person in their household was, and 6% say that either they, themselves, or some other member of the household was the victim of a violent crime.

Again, while these figures should not be taken lightly, they do mean that eight households in ten have not been victimized by crime within the last year or two and 94% have not been victimized by a violent crime.

III. SENTENCING AND PRISON OVERCROWDING

Whatever the level of concern over crime and violence may be, the public is unequivocal with respect to criminals who commit violent crimes -- they want them sent to prison. Fully 73% of Massachusetts voters feel that all of those convicted of violent crimes should be sent to prison, and another 17% say that most of such people should be sent there. This widespread belief in sending all those convicted of violent crimes to prison holds true among Democrats (67%), Republicans (81%), self-described liberals (71%), and conservatives (79%) alike.

However, voters do not think the state's criminal justice system comes close to meeting their desires in this respect. While 73% say that all those convicted of violent crimes should be sent to prison and 90% that all or most should be sent there, only 6% say that all of such criminals today are in fact sent to prison, and only 41% say that all or most are sent there.

However, voters do make important distinctions in their preferred sentencing outcomes when asked about specific crimes. While they show very little leniency for those convicted of murder (91% say all should be sent to prison) or rape (88% say all should be sent to prison), they take a noticeably less hard-line view toward those convicted of domestic violence against women (49% say all should be sent to prison) and those juvenile offenders under the age of 17 who are guilty of a violent crime (45% say all of these should be sent to prison).

A significant number of voters also are willing to take into account the circumstances when it comes to convicted drug dealers. While the voters take a very hard line against convicted dealers of hard drugs such as heroin or cocaine who sell such drugs for profit (81% say all of these should be sent to prison), they are less tough on drug dealers who are addicts themselves and sell drugs to feed their habit (59% say all these should be sent to prison).

Nevertheless, in both cases or sets of circumstances, a clear majority think all those convicted of selling hard drugs should be sent to prison.

QUESTION: "Next, for each of the following kinds of crimes, please tell me whether you think almost all people convicted of that kind of crime should be sent to prison, most people, some people, or almost no people convicted of that kind of crime should be sent to prison."

	<u>ALL</u>	<u>ALL/MOST</u>
	%	%
Convicted murderers.	91	98
Convicted rapists.	88	97
Convicted dealers of hard drugs such as heroin or cocaine who sell drugs <i>for profit</i> .	81	93
Convicted sexual offenders other than rapists.	76	91
Those convicted of crimes such as armed robbery, armed assault or mugging and the like.	71	93
Convicted dealers of hard drugs such as heroin or cocaine who are <i>addicts</i> themselves and sell drugs to feed their drug habit.	59	79
Those guilty of domestic violence against women.	49	76
Juvenile offenders under age 17 who are guilty of a violent crime.	45	66
Those convicted of crimes such as burglaries or break-ins.	43	71
Those convicted of car theft.	37	61

The vast majority of Massachusetts voters feel the state's prisons are overcrowded. And, although by a smaller majority, the voters continue to support the construction of a new prison even after being informed of the costs of building and operating such a facility.

In this regard, 45% think Massachusetts prisons are very overcrowded, and another 38% think they are fairly overcrowded.

Furthermore, 64% favor (29% strongly) building another 1,000 cell prison in Massachusetts; 23% are opposed (9% strongly); 6% say their opinion depends on how much the prison would cost, and 7% express no opinion on the subject. Thus, strong opinion in favor outweighs strong opinion against by about three to one.

When voters are told that it would cost 100 million dollars to build such a prison and another 25 million dollars a year to operate it, a majority of 53% continue to favor building such a facility, although the number strongly in favor drops from 29% to 20%. The number opposed to building such a facility after learning of the costs rises to 36%, with 17% strongly opposed.

The finding that, after voters hear the costs, the number of strong supporters of building such a prison (20%) is roughly equal to the number of strong opponents (17%), suggests that many voters might be receptive to less expensive alternative ways of dealing with prison overcrowding.

Among so-called "**most likely voters**" in next year's election for Governor (who at this stage might be considered opinion leaders or trend setters), the results, after the costs of the prison are explained, are 56% in favor (27% strongly), 36% opposed (19% strongly).

IV. RATING THE MASSACHUSETTS CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Overall, or in general, the Massachusetts criminal justice system ("which consists of the police, the courts, probation and the prisons") gets mixed reviews from the voters.

As seen in the following table, those who rate the system excellent or good outnumber those who rate it poor or very poor by about two to one (49% to 23%). While at first glance these numbers appear to reflect public approval of the state's criminal justice system, a closer look provides a less positive view of the results.

Only 2% rate the system overall as excellent (5% rate it very poor). Furthermore, if we combine the fair/so-so/mixed percentage (24%) with the poor/very poor one (23%), the negative percentage is almost as high as the positive one. Thus overall, the Massachusetts criminal justice system receives a tepid rating, indicating that the voters see plenty of room for improvement and change.

QUESTION: "Next, in general or overall, please tell me how you would rate the Massachusetts criminal justice system -- which consists of the police, the courts, probation, and prisons -- on the job it is doing to control crime. Would you rate the Massachusetts criminal justice system excellent, good, poor or very poor on the job it is doing to control crime?"

<u>EXCELLENT/ GOOD</u>	<u>POOR/ VERY POOR</u>	<u>FAIR/SO-SO/ MIXED</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	<u>EXCELLENT</u>	<u>VERY POOR</u>
%	%	%	%	%	%
49	23	24	4	2	5

a) The Police

Voters were also asked to rate each of the four major components (the police, the courts, the prison system and the probation and parole system) of the state's criminal justice system on several criteria. Voters give the police relatively positive ratings, but that is not the case for the courts, the prison system or the probation and parole system.

As seen in the following table, clear majorities of the voters rate the police positively on two of the five criteria about which they were asked.

The police get overwhelmingly positive ratings on dealing with violent crime and violent criminals, with 79% rating them excellent or good on this while only 8% rate them poor or very poor. They also do well on "community policing," or "working with communities and neighborhoods to prevent crime," with 67% rating them excellent or good, and only 17% rating them poor or very poor.

However, on neither of these two criteria do many people rate them excellent, and for community policing when the fair/so-so/mixed percentage is combined with the poor/very poor one, the negative percentage rises to 27%.

The ratings of the police on dealing with gangs and violent crime by teen-agers (50% excellent or good, 28% poor or very poor, 13% fair/so-so/mixed) and on dealing with domestic violence (50% excellent or good, 29% poor or very poor, 13% fair/so-so/mixed) are tepid at best. To be fair, on both criteria, the definite positive percentage exceeds the definite negative one by about five to three. However, the fair/so-so/mixed one is a substantial 13% -- which brings the negative percentage in both cases up to the 40% range.

And the police come off less well on dealing with drugs and drug dealers (43% excellent or good, 38% poor or very poor, 12% mixed) -- the poor/very poor percentage plus the fair/so-so/mixed one totals 50%, and the excellent percentage is only 3%.

QUESTION: "Now, let's get more specific. Please tell me how you would rate the **police** in Massachusetts on each of the following -- excellent, good, poor or very poor."

	EXCEL- LENT/ GOOD %	POOR/ VERY POOR %	FAIR/ SO-SO/ MIXED %	DON'T KNOW %	EXCEL- LENT %	VERY POOR %
Dealing with violent crime and violent criminals.	79	8	9	4	7	1
Working with communities and neighborhoods to prevent crime.	67	17	10	6	10	1
Dealing with gangs and violent crime by young people still in their early and middle teens.	50	28	13	9	4	3
Dealing with domestic violence against women and children.	50	29	13	8	4	4
Dealing with drugs and drug dealers.	43	38	12	7	3	5

b) The Courts

In contrast to their relatively positive ratings of police performance in Massachusetts, voters are quite negative when it comes to rating the performance of Massachusetts courts. As seen in the table on the following page, on four out of six categories on which voters rated the courts, a majority gave them negative marks. For all six categories, the negative percentage exceeds the positive one -- even without combining the fair/so-so/mixed percentage with the poor/very poor one. And the excellent percentages are virtually non-existent.

The courts receive their "best" ratings on dealing with violent crime and violent criminals (36% excellent/good, 43% poor/very poor, 15% fair/so-so/mixed) and dealing with domestic violence against women and children (32% excellent/good, 47% poor/very poor, 14% fair/so-so/mixed). But even in these two cases, when the mixed reviews are combined with the poor/very poor ratings, majorities take a negative view of the courts.

The courts receive even worse reviews on other aspects of their performance. Their worst rating comes on trying and sentencing criminals promptly and without delay: only 18% rate them excellent/good, while 62% rate them poor/very poor, with an additional 13% giving them mixed

ratings. They are rated almost as badly on seeing to it that those criminals who should be in prison are actually sent there (22% excellent/good, 56% poor/very poor, 16% fair/so-so/mixed). So the voters blame more than prison overcrowding for the fact (as they see it) that far fewer violent criminals are sent to prison than should be sent there.

The ratings of the courts are also dismal on dealing with drugs and youth violence. A majority of Massachusetts voters give them a negative rating on dealing with drugs and drug dealers (24% excellent/good, 54% poor/very poor, 14% fair/so-so/mixed). Similarly, on dealing with gangs and violent crime by young people still in their early and middle teens, 24% rate the courts excellent/good, 55% rate them poor/very poor, and 15% give them a fair/so-so/mixed rating.

QUESTION: "Please tell me how you would rate the **courts** in Massachusetts on each of the following -- excellent, good, poor or very poor."

	EXCEL- LENT/ GOOD %	POOR/ VERY POOR %	FAIR/ SO-SO/ MIXED %	DON'T KNOW %	EXCEL- LENT %	VERY POOR %
Dealing with violent crime and violent criminals.	36	43	15	6	1	10
Dealing with domestic violence against women and children.	32	47	14	7	2	11
Dealing with gangs and violent crime by young people still in their early and middle teens.	24	54	14	8	*	10
Dealing with drugs and drug dealers.	24	55	15	6	1	12
Seeing to it that those criminals who <u>should</u> be in prison are actually <u>sent</u> there.	22	56	16	6	2	13
Trying and sentencing criminals promptly and without delay.	18	62	13	7	1	18

* Less than .5 of 1%

c) The Prison System

Many voters admit to ignorance about rehabilitation efforts on the part of the state's prisons. As seen in the table on the following page, high percentages (33%, 25% and 27% respectively) of the voters "don't know" how to rate the prison system on teaching inmates to be able to read, write and do arithmetic at a high-school level, treating inmates who are drug addicts or alcoholics, or training inmates for real jobs when they get out.

As far as voter opinion of the prison system is concerned, it is largely negative. For all but one of the six categories on which the voters were asked to rate the prisons, the excellent/good percentage is lower than the poor/very poor one by a wide margin.

Voters heavily criticize the state's prison system on seeing to it that life in prison is hard and disciplined (22% excellent or good, 55% poor or very poor, 11% fair/so-so/mixed). However, they are also critical of the system on treating inmates who are drug addicts or alcoholics (18% excellent or good, 45% poor or very poor, 12% fair/so-so/mixed), and training inmates for real jobs when they get out (17% excellent or good, 44% poor or very poor, 12% fair/so-so/mixed). What is more, voters give the prison system even worse ratings on rehabilitating and reforming those sent to prison (12% excellent or good, 63% poor or very poor, 13% fair/so-so/mixed).

In this regard, prisons serve two distinct, and arguably inconsistent goals (to punish law violators, while at the same time reforming and rehabilitating them before their release from prison). The public's negative ratings of the prisons on both these goals underline the difficulties prison officials face in meeting these competing demands. But, again, it is quite clear that at present Massachusetts voters disapprove of the prison system's performance on both of these goals.

The only criterion on which the state's prison system gets anything approaching decent ratings is teaching inmates to be able to read, write and do arithmetic at a high school level (30% excellent or good, 27% poor or very poor, 10% fair/so-so/mixed). But, as noted, 33% admit they don't know enough to form an opinion on this criterion.

As noted in connection with voters' general or overall ratings of the state's criminal justice system, they see plenty of room for improvement and change. That certainly applies to the prison system and, as seen next, the probation and parole one.

QUESTION: "Please tell me how you would rate the **prison system** in Massachusetts on each of the following -- excellent, good, poor or very poor."

	EXCEL- LENT/ GOOD %	POOR/ VERY POOR %	FAIR/ SO-SO/ MIXED %	DON'T KNOW %	EXCEL- LENT %	VERY POOR %
Teaching prison inmates to be able to read, write and do arithmetic at a high-school level.	30	27	10	33	3	8
Seeing to it that life in prison is hard and disciplined -- that inmates realize that they are being punished for their crime.	22	55	11	12	4	11
Giving prison inmates who are drug addicts or alcoholics treatment and getting them to break their drug or alcohol habits.	18	45	12	25	2	9
Training prison inmates for real jobs when they get out.	17	44	12	27	2	9
Rehabilitating and reforming those sent to prison so that once they get out, they don't go back to committing crimes and don't wind up back in prison.	12	63	13	12	2	17

d) The Probation and Parole System

As with the state's prison system, high percentages of the voters "don't know" enough to rate the probation and parole system on various criteria.

What is more, those who do think they know enough to rate that system, tend to be largely critical of it on criteria such as punishing people on probation or parole who violate the terms of

their probation or parole (22% excellent or good, 39% poor or very poor, 11% fair/so-so/mixed), monitoring, checking and closely supervising those on probation or parole for violations (21% excellent or good, 44% poor or very poor, 13% fair/so-so/mixed), testing those on probation or parole for drugs and punishing those who fail their drug tests (19% excellent or good, 32% poor or very poor, 8% fair/so-so/mixed), and helping people on probation or parole to stay off drugs and get a job (17% excellent or good, 40% poor or very poor, 12% fair/so-so/mixed).

These negative ratings appear to reflect a receptivity to changes and reforms in the state's probation and parole system, particularly if those reforms offer a combination of punishment for violations and rehabilitation.

QUESTION: "Please tell me how you would rate the **probation and parole system** in Massachusetts on each of the following -- excellent, good, poor or very poor."

	EXCEL LENT/ GOOD	POOR/ VERY POOR	FAIR/ SO-SO/ MIXED	DON'T KNOW	EXCEL- LENT	VERY POOR
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Punishing people on probation or parole who violate the terms of their probation or parole.	22	39	11	28	1	8
Monitoring, checking on and closely supervising people who are put on probation or paroled from prison, to make sure they are not violating the terms of their probation or parole.	21	44	13	22	2	9
Testing people on probation or parole for drugs and punishing those who fail their drug tests.	19	32	8	41	1	6
Helping people on probation or parole to stay off drugs and get a job.	17	40	12	31	1	5

e) Regression Analysis

As seen in the table below, regression analysis (which shows the relationship between two perceptions after controlling for demographics, party and ideology) shows that voters' ratings of the courts are (more closely related to or) more important determinants of how they rate the state's criminal justice system overall than are their ratings of the police, the prison system or the probation and parole system. In fact (with the possible exception of the ratings of the probation and parole system or testing people on probation or parole for drugs and punishing those who fail their drug tests), on each of the six categories on which the courts were rated, the relationship between these ratings and the rating of the state's criminal justice system overall is greater than for any other category on which the police, the prisons and the probation and parole system were rated.

The single (greatest relationship or) strongest determinant of voter opinion of the criminal justice system overall was how the courts are dealing with violent crime and violent criminals. This was followed closely in importance by the courts ratings on dealing with gangs and violent crime by young people still in their early and middle teens, dealing with drugs and drug dealers, and seeing to it that those criminals who should be in prison are actually sent there.

If perceptions of the criminal justice system overall are to be improved, improving perceptions of (and possibly change and reforms in) the courts would seem to be critical.

	<u>REGRESSION SCORES</u>
COURTS	
Dealing with violent crime and violent criminals.	.46
Dealing with gangs and violent crime by young people still in their early and middle teens.	.41
Dealing with drugs and drug dealers.	.40
Seeing to it that those criminals who <u>should</u> be in prison are actually <u>sent</u> there.	.40
Trying and sentencing criminals promptly and without delay.	.35
Dealing with domestic violence against women and children.	.30
PROBATION AND PAROLE SYSTEM	
Testing people on probation or parole for drugs and punishing those who fail their drug tests.	.29
Monitoring, checking on and closely supervising people who are put on probation or paroled from prison, to make sure they are not violating the terms of their probation or parole.	.25

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Punishing people on probation or parole who violate the terms of their probation or parole.	.24
Helping people on probation or parole to stay off drugs and get a job.	.20

POLICE

Dealing with violent crime and violent criminals.	.26
Dealing with domestic violence against women and children.	.25
Dealing with drugs and drug dealers.	.25
Dealing with gangs and violent crime by young people still in their early and middle teens.	.19
Working with communities and neighborhoods to prevent crime.	.19

PRISON SYSTEM

Seeing to it that life in prison is hard and disciplined -- that inmates realize that they are being punished for their crime.	.19
Rehabilitating and reforming those sent to prison so that once they get out, they don't go back to committing crimes and don't wind up back in prison.	.14
Training prison inmates for real jobs when they get out.	.09
Giving prison inmates who are drug addicts or alcoholics treatment and getting them to break their drug or alcohol habits.	*ns
Teaching prison inmates to be able to read, write and do arithmetic at a high-school level.	*ns

* NOT SIGNIFICANT

V. WHAT WILL BE EFFECTIVE IN REDUCING CRIME

The table in this section shows, for each of 25 possible crime control measures or approaches, the percentage who think the particular measure or approach would be very effective in substantially reducing crime.

These results indicate that voters have a more complex, less simplistic view of the effectiveness of various crime control measures than is often assumed. They endorse the effectiveness of an eclectic blend of crime control measures that includes tough law enforcement measures, increased supervision of probationers and parolees, and more prevention and rehabilitation efforts.

For example, the top ranking items in terms of being seen as very effective in substantially reducing crime are more community policing (66% say this would be very effective) and putting more emphasis and money on dealing with abused, neglected and problem children before they get into really serious trouble (66%).

The third highest rated measure is frequent drug testing for those on probation or parole and punishment and taking away privileges for those who fail (57%).

Furthermore, perhaps surprisingly, more people see these three measures as very effective in substantially reducing crime than feel that way about capital punishment for convicted murderers (45%), which is also outranked by life imprisonment with no parole for convicted murderers (54%); closer monitoring, supervision and control of those who are paroled from prison or put on probation (53%); sending juvenile offenders to tough boot camps where they are forced to learn discipline (53%); making convicted criminals pay back their victims and the community for the harm they have caused (51%); banning the ownership and sale of assault weapons (50%); teaching prison inmates to be able to read, write and do arithmetic at a high school level (50%); more job training for prison inmates -- training them for real jobs when they get out (49%); and putting more emphasis and money on pre-school education for children (49%).

These results do not allow for an easy categorization of the public's view. In fact, they appear to reflect a genuine receptivity to a blend of what are often too simplistically called "tough" crime control measures (e.g. measures focused on punishment, restitution and tighter checking on and control over probationers and parolees) with a number of measures that are often too simplistically labeled "soft" (e.g. measures focused on rehabilitation and prevention). "Blend" means just that -- not "soft" as a substitute for "tough," or vice versa.

The public sees certain approaches toward serious criminals that focus on enforcement, punishment and tighter control as being very effective in substantially reducing crime -- life imprisonment with no parole for convicted murderers, closer monitoring of those on probation and parole, tough boot camps for juvenile offenders, making offenders pay back their victims, and banning the ownership and sale of assault weapons. Yet by "very effective" percentages almost as high, the public also thinks that measures like prison education and job training for inmates and a stronger emphasis on pre-school education for children would be very effective.

In addition, voters seem to be quite eclectic -- while they think certain measures focused on punishment and enforcement would be very effective, they do not feel that way about others. They show (at best) little enthusiasm or a lot of skepticism about such "tough" approaches as getting rid of television sets and gyms for prisoners (30%), mandatory sentences with no parole for convicted drug dealers who are addicts and sell drugs to feed their drug habit (30%), making all people sent to prison serve their full sentences with no time off for good behavior (39%), and mandatory prison sentences for juvenile offenders under age 17 who are guilty of violent crimes (31%).

On the other hand, voters also show little faith in the effectiveness of other "soft" approaches that focus on rehabilitation, like trying to rehabilitate and reform those sent to prison (24%), sending only those convicted of violent crimes and dealers of hard drugs to prison, and sentencing those convicted of lesser crimes to probation under close monitoring and control (30%), more treatment for prison inmates who are drug addicts or alcoholics (33%), and doing more to prepare inmates for release from prison by gradually moving them to a lower security level in prison, to work-release programs, to half-way houses and the like (35%).

Also, voters apparently really do view juvenile criminals differently than adult ones. In their sentencing preferences, fewer voters favored incarcerating all juvenile offenders under age 17 who are guilty of a violent crime than favored doing so for adults convicted of such a crime. And, here, in their views on effectiveness, mandatory prison sentences with no parole for juvenile offenders under age 17 who are guilty of violent crimes ranked near the bottom of the list.

QUESTION: "Next, for each of the following, please tell me how effective, if at all, you think that it is or would be in substantially reducing crime -- very effective, fairly effective, not too effective, or not really effective at all."

	<u>VERY EFFECTIVE</u> %
More community policing under which the police, especially those on the street, work with communities and neighborhoods to prevent crime and put pressure on criminals, gang members, and youthful offenders.	66
Putting more emphasis and money on dealing with abused, neglected or problem children before they get into really serious trouble.	66
Frequent drug testing for those on parole or probation, and punishment and taking away privileges for those who fail.	57
Life imprisonment with no parole for convicted murderers.	54
Sending juvenile offenders to tough boot camps -- where they are forced to learn discipline.	53

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Closer monitoring, supervision and control of those who are paroled from prison or put on probation.	53
Life imprisonment with no parole for those convicted three different times of a violent crime.	51
Making convicted criminals pay back their victims and the community for the harm they have caused.	51
Putting more police on the streets.	51
Banning the ownership and sale of assault weapons.	50
Teaching prison inmates to be able to read, write and do arithmetic at a high school level.	50
More job training for prison inmates -- training them for real jobs when they get out.	49
Putting more emphasis and money on pre-school education for children.	49
Mandatory, long prison sentences with no parole for convicted dealers of hard drugs such as heroin or cocaine who sell drugs <i>for profit</i> .	46
Capital punishment for convicted murderers.	45
Mandatory prison sentences with no parole for those convicted of crimes involving the use of a handgun.	42
Actually requiring prison inmates to get the equivalent of a high school degree before they can be released from prison.	42
For all people sent to prison, making them serve their full sentence with no time off for good behavior.	39
Doing more to prepare inmates for release from prison by gradually moving them to a lower security level in prison, to work-release programs, to half-way houses and the like.	35
More treatment for prison inmates who are drug addicts or alcoholics.	33
Mandatory prison sentences with no parole for juvenile offenders under age 17 who are guilty of violent crimes.	31
Getting rid of things like television sets and gyms for prisoners, and concentrating on punishing them for their crimes.	30
Mandatory prison sentences with no parole for convicted dealers of hard drugs such as heroin or cocaine who are <i>addicts</i> themselves and sell drugs to feed their drug habit.	30
Sending only those convicted of violent crimes and dealers of hard drugs to prison, and sentencing those convicted of lesser crimes to probation under close monitoring and control.	30
Trying to rehabilitate and reform those sent to prison.	24

VI. COMMUNICATING WITH THE PUBLIC

As noted, Massachusetts voters think that certain crime control measures which are not considered "easy sells" would be very effective -- measures such as teaching prison inmates to be able to read, write and do arithmetic at a high school level, and more job training for prison inmates -- training them for real jobs when they get out.

The poll results show that voter receptivity toward some of these approaches can be increased by communicating a crime-fighting message that blends a commitment to dealing firmly with serious, violent criminals with an enhanced focus on these more rehabilitative measures. However, these results indicate that approaches that focus on rehabilitative strategies, without first making clear a commitment to dealing firmly and toughly with serious crime, are less persuasive than when voters are first told (and convinced) that we must deal firmly with serious criminals.

In this connection, we divided the overall sample into two subsamples. Those in the first subsample were read Statement #1 below; those in the second subsample were read Statement #2 on the next page.

STATEMENT #1

"ONE LAST POINT. Most violent crime is committed by a relatively small number of hard-core, repeat criminals. That's why we've got to continue targeting our law enforcement resources at getting violent criminals off the streets and behind bars.

"But, even if we're successful in getting those violent criminals off the streets, we're still missing big opportunities to control crime and make our neighborhoods safer.

"Three out of four convicted criminals are out on probation or parole, not behind bars. However, right now, our probation and parole system does little or nothing to keep tabs on those offenders or punish those who violate their probation or parole. In fact, 60 percent of all the cocaine and heroin used in Massachusetts is used by criminals out on probation, parole or bail.

"We have to totally revamp our probation system. We can use tougher measures like regular drug testing, electronic monitoring bracelets, and regular visits by police and probation officers to monitor and control their behavior. We can mandate participation in education, job training, treatment for drug abuse, and other constructive activities that structure the offender's day. And we can combine these efforts with automatic prison sentences for probation violations like positive drug tests -- beginning with short sentences that get longer after each violation.

"Not only that, our prisons also have to become more than just crime schools -- most inmates come out of prison more hardened criminals than when they went in. And eventually, over 90% of them will get out.

"Furthermore, even if they wanted to get a decent job, a huge number of these released prison inmates aren't equipped to hold one -- 40% can't read and over half have serious drug and alcohol habits. Our prison system does little or nothing to teach or train them for anything other than crime.

"We need to teach inmates to read, write and do arithmetic, as well as give them basic job training. We also need more drug and alcohol treatment for them. It's only common sense, if they have a job and they're off drugs, they are less likely to return to a life of crime."

STATEMENT #2

"ONE LAST POINT. Most violent crime is committed by a relatively small number of hard-core, repeat criminals. But our state prisons are so over-crowded that today many violent criminals get off without long prison sentences.

"So we need to build more prison cells and to toughen prison sentences to get violent criminals off the streets. But, even with more prison cells and tougher sentencing, at any given time three out of four convicted criminals are out on probation or parole, not behind bars.

"However, right now, our probation and parole system does little or nothing to keep tabs on those offenders or punish those who violate their probation or parole. In fact, 60 percent of all the cocaine and heroin used in Massachusetts is used by criminals out on probation, parole or bail.

"We have to totally revamp our probation system. We must use tougher measures like regular drug testing, electronic monitoring bracelets, and regular visits by police and probation officers to monitor and control their behavior. We have to mandate participation in education, job training, treatment for drug abuse, and other constructive activities that structure the offender's day. And we must combine these efforts with automatic prison sentences for probation violations like positive drug tests -- beginning with short sentences that get longer after each violation.

"Not only that, our prisons also have to become more than just crime schools -- most inmates come out of prison more hardened criminals than when they went in. And eventually, over 90% of them will get out.

"Furthermore, even if they wanted to get a decent job, a huge number of these released prison inmates aren't equipped to hold one -- 40% can't read and over half have serious drug and alcohol habits. Our prison system does little or nothing to teach or train them for anything other than crime.

"We have to do better at teaching inmates to read, write and do arithmetic. We've got to get more of them into drug and alcohol treatment, as well as training them to hold basic jobs when they get out. And where possible, we've got to make more of these efforts mandatory -- because they're the only proven ways to keep these convicts from committing more crimes when they finally get out."

Then, after voters had heard their particular statement, they were asked, for each of seven items they had earlier been asked about, how effective they thought it would be in substantially reducing crime.

As seen in the table on the following page, both statements increased the very effective percentage on more treatment for prison inmates who are drug addicts or alcoholics, on closer monitoring, supervision and control of those who are paroled from prison or put on probation, and possibly on frequent drug testing for those on parole or probation, and punishment and taking away privileges for those who fail.

However, the second statement increased that (very effective) percentage more than the first on more treatment for prison inmates who are drug addicts or alcoholics and closer monitoring, supervision and control of those who are paroled from prison or put on probation.

Also, the second statement (but not the first) noticeably increased the very effective percentage on teaching prison inmates to be able to read, write and do arithmetic at a high school level, and more job training for prison inmates.

Several factors help to explain why the second statement is more effective than the first:

- The second statement talks about the need to build more prison cells and toughen prison sentences; the first does not, and instead talks about missing big opportunities to make our neighborhoods safer.
- The second statement says that we must use tougher measures like regular drug testing, electronic monitoring bracelets and regular visits by police and probation officers to control the behavior of those on probation. It also says we have to mandate participation in education, job training, treatment for drug abuse and other constructive activities to structure the offender's day. And it also says we must have automatic prison sentences for probation violations like positive drug tests -- beginning with short sentences that get larger after each violation. The first statement says we can do these things.
- The second statement says that, where possible, we have to mandate teaching inmates to read, write and do arithmetic, getting more of them into drug and alcohol treatment and training them to hold basic jobs when they get out. The first does not.

So, to sum up the differences, the second message takes a "tougher" (more mandatory) approach than the first, and the results bear out the greater effectiveness of the second in moving public opinion on reforms that focus more on tighter checking on and control over probationers and

increased prison rehabilitation efforts. Thus, for those seeking to maximize public support for strengthened probation and rehabilitative measures, voters must first be convinced that the speaker is serious about dealing firmly with violent criminals. Once voters have been convinced of this commitment, they are more receptive toward control measures that focus on controlling probationers and rehabilitating and educating prison inmates.

QUESTION: "Now that you know the things I just mentioned, please tell me how effective, if at all, you think it is or would be in substantially reducing crime -- very effective, fairly effective, not too effective, or not really effective at all."

	VERY EFFECTIVE	
	<u>BEFORE</u>	<u>AFTER</u>
	%	%
Sending only those convicted of violent crimes and dealers of hard drugs to prison, and sentencing those convicted of lesser crimes to probation under close monitoring and control.		
STATEMENT #1	32	28
STATEMENT #2	27	25
More treatment for prison inmates who are drug addicts or alcoholics.		
STATEMENT #1	35	42
STATEMENT #2	31	45
Teaching prison inmates to be able to read, write and do arithmetic at a high school level.		
STATEMENT #1	53	54
STATEMENT #2	46	52
Actually requiring prison inmates to get the equivalent of a high school degree before they can be released from prison.		
STATEMENT #1	43	46
STATEMENT #2	41	43
More job training for prison inmates -- training them for real jobs when they get out.		
STATEMENT #1	48	51
STATEMENT #2	50	59

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Closer monitoring, supervision and control of those who are paroled from prison or put on probation.

STATEMENT #1	56	65
STATEMENT #2	50	63

Frequent drug testing for those on parole or probation, and punishment and taking away privileges for those who fail.

STATEMENT #1	59	64
STATEMENT #2	54	58

VII. APPENDIX: FILLED-IN QUESTIONNAIRE

1997 MASSACHUSETTS CRIME POLL #1

<p>INTRO: "HELLO, may I please speak to (NAME OF PERSON ON LIST). HELLO, I'm (NAME). I'm working on a poll being conducted by C.C.I. and I would like to get your opinions on a few questions. (DO NOT TELL RESPONDENT FROM WHERE YOU ARE CALLING.)"</p>
--

1. To begin with, are you at least 18 years of age or older?

YES (**CONTINUE**)----- 100%
 NO (INELIGIBLE)
 NO ANSWER (INELIGIBLE)

2. RECORD RESPONDENT'S GENDER:

FEMALE----- 53.3%
 MALE----- 46.7

3. RECORD DATE OF INTERVIEW:

WED., APRIL 2----- 21.9%
 THURS., APRIL 3----- 19.0
 FRI., APRIL 4----- 10.3
 SUN., APRIL 6----- 16.4
 MON., APRIL 7----- 12.3
 TUES., APRIL 8----- 11.9
 WED., APRIL 9----- 8.2

4. Next, are you registered to vote in MASSACHUSETTS, are you registered to vote somewhere else, or are you not registered to vote yet?

REGISTERED TO VOTE IN MASSACHUSETTS (**CONTINUE**)----- 100%
 REGISTERED TO VOTE SOMEWHERE ELSE (INELIGIBLE)
 NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE YET (INELIGIBLE)
 DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER/(INELIGIBLE)
 NO ANSWER (INELIGIBLE)

5. RECORD POLITICAL PARTY FROM LIST:

DEMOCRAT-(D)----- 39.0%
 REPUBLICAN-(R)----- 14.0
 OTHER----- 47.0

6. Next, as you may know, there will be elections this next year between the DEMOCRATIC and REPUBLICAN candidates for GOVERNOR, STATE ATTORNEY GENERAL, U.S. CONGRESS and for various other offices. Many people don't think it really matters who wins these elections, and, therefore, won't bother to vote. How about you? Will you most likely not vote in next year's elections between the DEMOCRATIC and REPUBLICAN candidates for GOVERNOR, STATE ATTORNEY GENERAL, and U.S. CONGRESS, are the chances of your voting about 50-50, will you probably vote, or are you just about absolutely certain you will vote in next year's elections between the DEMOCRATIC and REPUBLICAN candidates for GOVERNOR, STATE ATTORNEY GENERAL and U.S. CONGRESS?

MOST LIKELY WILL NOT VOTE ----- 21.3%
 CHANCES ARE ABOUT 50-50 ----- 7.0
 WILL PROBABLY VOTE ----- 14.5
 ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN ----- 56.3
 DON'T KNOW/HAVEN'T MADE UP MIND YET/NO ANSWER --- 1.0

7. How regularly, if at all, do you vote in elections between the DEMOCRATIC and REPUBLICAN candidates for offices such as GOVERNOR? Do you always vote in elections for GOVERNOR usually vote, occasionally vote or do you hardly ever vote in elections for GOVERNOR?

ALWAYS-----	71.2%
USUALLY-----	20.7
OCCASIONALLY-----	4.4
HARDLY EVER-----	3.0
DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER-----	0.7

8. As you understand it, in which month will next year's GENERAL election between the DEMOCRATIC and REPUBLICAN candidates for GOVERNOR be held? (DO NOT READ ANSWERS ALOUD)

NOVEMBER-----	75.7%
ANY OTHER MONTH-----	4.3
DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER-----	20.0

9. Next, what do you think is the biggest, most serious problem facing MASSACHUSETTS today -- the problem that we in MASSACHUSETTS need to deal with more than anything else? (PROBE FOR DETAILS AND EXPLANATIONS. IF NECESSARY, ASK: "What do you mean by that?" DO NOT ASK "Anything else?")

See tables.

10. For background purposes only, would you tell me your age? (DO NOT READ ANSWERS ALOUD)

18 - 19 YRS-----	-
20 - 24 YRS-----	1.1%
25 - 29 YRS-----	2.6
30 - 34 YRS-----	7.1
35 - 39 YRS-----	9.0
40 - 44 YRS-----	13.8
45 - 49 YRS-----	15.5
50 - 54 YRS-----	14.1
55 - 59 YRS-----	5.5
60 - 64 YRS-----	6.1
65 YRS OR MORE-----	22.9
NO ANSWER-----	2.3

11. Next, in general or overall, please tell me how you would rate the Massachusetts criminal justice system -- which consists of the police, the courts, probation, and prisons -- on the job it is doing to control crime? Would you rate the Massachusetts criminal justice system excellent, good, poor or very poor on the job it is doing to control crime?

EXCELLENT -----	1.9%
GOOD -----	47.3
POOR -----	18.8
VERY POOR -----	4.6
(DO NOT READ ALOUD)	
FAIR/SO-SO/MIXED/GOOD IN SOME WAYS/ POOR IN OTHERS, ETC. -----	24.3
DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER-----	3.1

12. Now, let's get more specific. Please tell me how you would rate the **police** in Massachusetts on each of the following -- excellent, good, poor or very poor. First, take. . .

	EXCEL- LENT	GOOD	POOR	VERY POOR	(DO NOT READ ALOUD)	
					FAIR/SO-SO/ MIXED/GOOD IN SOME WAYS, POOR IN OTHERS	DK/NA
a) Dealing with violent crime and violent criminals.	6.6%	72.2	7.5	0.7	9.4	3.6
b) Dealing with gangs and violent crime by young people still in their early and middle teens.	4.0%	46.4	25.4	2.7	13.3	8.2
c) Dealing with domestic violence against women and children.	3.8%	46.4	24.9	4.3	13.2	7.4
d) Dealing with drugs and drug dealers.	2.8%	40.5	33.0	4.9	12.3	6.6
e) Working with communities and neighborhoods to prevent crime.	10.1%	57.0	15.2	1.4	9.6	6.7

13. How about the **courts**? Please tell me how you would rate the **courts** in Massachusetts on each of the following -- excellent, good, poor or very poor. First, take. . .

	EXCEL- LENT	GOOD	POOR	VERY POOR	(DO NOT READ ALOUD)	
					FAIR/SO-SO/ MIXED/GOOD IN SOME WAYS, POOR IN OTHERS	DK/NA
a) Dealing with violent crime and violent criminals.	1.1%	34.9	33.7	9.5	14.6	6.3
b) Dealing with gangs and violent crime by young people still in their early and middle teens.	0.2%	23.6	43.7	10.0	14.0	8.5
c) Dealing with domestic violence against women and children.	1.8%	30.2	36.1	10.6	14.5	6.9
d) Dealing with drugs and drug dealers.	0.5%	23.8	43.4	11.7	14.5	6.0
e) Seeing to it that those criminals who <u>should</u> be in prison are actually <u>sent</u> there.	1.8%	20.7	42.7	13.1	16.2	5.6
f) Trying and sentencing criminals promptly and without delay.	1.0%	17.3	44.6	17.5	12.7	6.9

14. How about the **prison system**? Please tell me how you would rate the **prison system** in Massachusetts on each of the following -- excellent, good, poor or very poor. First, take. . .

(DO NOT READ ALOUD)

	<u>EXCEL- LENT</u>	<u>GOOD</u>	<u>POOR</u>	<u>VERY POOR</u>	<u>FAIR/SO-SO/ MIXED/GOOD IN SOME WAYS, POOR IN OTHERS</u>	<u>DK/NA</u>
a) Seeing to it that life in prison is hard and disciplined -- that inmates realize that they are being punished for their crime.	4.0%	18.4	44.0	10.6	10.9	12.1
b) Rehabilitating and reforming those sent to prison so that once they get out, they don't go back to committing crimes and don't wind up back in prison.	2.3%	9.4	45.9	16.9	13.2	12.4
c) Giving prison inmates who are drug addicts or alcoholics treatment and getting them to break their drug or alcohol habits.	2.2%	16.2	36.7	8.7	11.5	24.7
d) Teaching prison inmates to be able to read, write and do arithmetic at a high-school level.	3.1%	26.7	19.5	7.7	10.0	33.1
e) Training prison inmates for real jobs when they get out.	2.3%	14.9	34.6	9.4	12.3	26.4

15. How about the **probation and parole system**? Please tell me how you would rate the **probation and parole system** in Massachusetts on each of the following -- excellent, good, poor or very poor. First, take. . .

(DO NOT READ ALOUD)

	<u>EXCEL- LENT</u>	<u>GOOD</u>	<u>POOR</u>	<u>VERY POOR</u>	<u>FAIR/SO-SO/ MIXED/GOOD IN SOME WAYS, POOR IN OTHERS</u>	<u>DK/NA</u>
a) Monitoring, checking on and closely supervising people who are put on probation or paroled from prison, to make sure they are not violating the terms of their probation or parole.	1.6%	19.2	34.3	9.2	13.0	22.6
b) Punishing people on probation or parole who violate the terms of their probation or parole.	0.9%	20.5	31.0	8.4	11.1	28.1
c) Testing people on probation or parole for drugs and punishing those who fail their drug tests.	1.3%	17.8	26.0	5.7	8.3	41.0
d) Helping people on probation or parole to stay off drugs and get a job.	0.6%	16.2	34.5	5.2	11.6	31.8

16. Would you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose building another 1,000-cell state prison in Massachusetts?

STRONGLY FAVOR ----- 28.8%
SOMEWHAT FAVOR ----- 35.3
SOMEWHAT OPPOSE ----- 13.6
STRONGLY OPPOSE ----- 9.2

(DO **NOT** READ ALOUD)

DEPENDS ON COST, ETC. ----- 5.7
DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER ----- 7.4

17. Right now, it would cost 100 million dollars to build a new 1,000-cell state prison and another 25 million dollars a year to operate it. In that case, would you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose building another 1,000-cell state prison in Massachusetts?

STRONGLY FAVOR ----- 20.4%
SOMEWHAT FAVOR ----- 32.3
SOMEWHAT OPPOSE ----- 18.5
STRONGLY OPPOSE ----- 17.0

(DO **NOT** READ ALOUD)

DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER ----- 11.6

18. Do you think Massachusetts prisons are very overcrowded, fairly overcrowded, not overcrowded too much, or not overcrowded at all?

VERY OVERCROWDED----- 44.9%
FAIRLY OVERCROWDED----- 38.2
NOT OVERCROWDED TOO MUCH----- 4.4
NOT OVERCROWDED AT ALL----- 1.5
DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER----- 11.0

19. Next, for each of the following things, please tell me how often, if at all, you worry or get very upset or worked up about it -- almost never, occasionally, fairly often, very often, or whether you almost never stop worrying or being extremely upset or worked up about it. First, take. . .

	<u>ALMOST NEVER</u>	<u>OCCA-SION ALLY</u>	<u>FAIRLY OFTEN</u>	<u>VERY OFTEN</u>	<u>ALMOST NEVER STOP WORRYING</u>	<u>DK/NA</u>
a) How Massachusetts can get more decent-paying jobs with health insurance and other benefits.	22.6%	29.2	25.8	13.7	5.9	2.8
b) Whether our public schools in Massachusetts are good enough.	12.7%	21.1	25.2	27.5	12.2	1.2
c) The breakdown of families.	9.2%	21.7	28.1	27.4	11.2	2.4
d) The amount of crime and violence in Massachusetts.	6.3%	26.2	34.7	25.8	6.5	0.4
e) The amount of taxes people like you have to pay.	11.8%	23.2	24.0	23.9	16.2	1.0
f) The amount of drug dealing and drug addiction in Massachusetts.	8.4%	22.1	31.3	26.2	10.4	1.6
g) The cost of health insurance and health care.	10.4%	16.3	23.7	31.5	17.9	0.2
h) Whether it is safe to go out at night where you live.	48.0%	21.1	12.6	9.8	7.6	0.9
i) Not being able to afford to send your child to college.	37.8%	15.4	14.7	16.8	11.7	3.6
j) Domestic violence against women.	13.1%	31.0	26.8	20.2	8.1	0.8
k) Racial tensions.	16.5%	34.8	25.9	17.3	4.6	0.9
l) The real property taxes people in Massachusetts have to pay.	19.8%	30.0	22.0	17.9	8.9	1.3
m) Violent crimes by young people.	5.9%	25.8	32.9	25.6	8.6	1.3
n) The amount of burglaries and break-ins.	18.3%	39.7	23.9	13.2	4.2	0.7
o) The amount of car thefts.	27.3%	37.8	21.5	8.6	4.0	0.9

20. Next, do you think the amount of violent crime in **MASSACHUSETTS** has gone up a lot over the last few years, gone up somewhat, gone down somewhat, or gone down a lot?

GONE UP A LOT-----	13.4%
GONE UP SOMEWHAT-----	33.1
GONE DOWN SOMEWHAT-----	31.7
GONE DOWN LOT-----	2.8
(DO NOT READ ALOUD)	
STAYED ABOUT THE SAME-----	14.4
DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER-----	4.7

21. How about the area where you live? Do you think the amount of violent crime in the area where you live has gone up a lot over the last few years, gone up somewhat, gone down somewhat, or gone down a lot?

GONE UP A LOT----- 6.8%
 GONE UP SOMEWHAT----- 26.6
 GONE DOWN SOMEWHAT----- 23.9
 GONE DOWN LOT----- 5.1
 (DO **NOT** READ ALOUD)
 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME----- 35.0
 DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER----- 2.5

22. How about illegal drugs and drug dealing? Do you think the amount of illegal drugs and drug dealing in **MASSACHUSETTS** has gone up a lot over the last few years, gone up somewhat, gone down somewhat, or gone down a lot?

GONE UP A LOT----- 26.2%
 GONE UP SOMEWHAT----- 45.1
 GONE DOWN SOMEWHAT----- 9.2
 GONE DOWN LOT----- 1.0
 (DO **NOT** READ ALOUD)
 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME----- 11.5
 DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER----- 7.0

23. How about the area where you live? Do you think the amount of illegal drugs and drug dealing in the area where you live has gone up a lot over the last few years, gone up somewhat, gone down somewhat, or gone down a lot?

GONE UP A LOT----- 12.0%
 GONE UP SOMEWHAT----- 40.9
 GONE DOWN SOMEWHAT----- 12.1
 GONE DOWN LOT----- 2.1
 (DO **NOT** READ ALOUD)
 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME----- 20.2
 DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER----- 12.8

24. How many of those convicted of violent crimes should be sent to prison -- all, most, some, or almost none of those convicted of violent crimes?

ALL----- 73.1%
 MOST----- 16.9
 SOME----- 4.7
 NONE----- 0.2
 (DO **NOT** READ ALOUD)
 DEPENDS ON CIRCUMSTANCES/CRIME, ETC.- 3.8
 DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER----- 1.3

25. Next, how many of those convicted of violent crimes do you think are sent to prison -- all, most, some, or almost none of those convicted of violent crimes?

ALL----- 5.9%
 MOST----- 35.2
 SOME----- 50.6
 NONE----- 3.3
 (DO **NOT** READ ALOUD)
 DEPENDS ON CIRCUMSTANCES, ETC.----- 1.0
 DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER----- 4.0

26. Next, for each of the following kinds of crimes, please tell me whether you think almost all people convicted of that kind of crime should be sent to prison, most people, some people, or almost no people convicted of that kind of crime should be sent to prison. First, take. . .

(DO NOT READ ALOUD)

	<u>ALL</u>	<u>MOST</u>	<u>SOME</u>	<u>NONE</u>	<u>DEPENDS ON CIRCUM- STANCES</u>	<u>DK/NA</u>
a) Convicted murderers.	90.8%	7.2	0.7	-	1.3	-
b) Those convicted of crimes such as armed robbery, armed assault or mugging and the like.	71.3%	21.2	5.0	-	2.3	0.2
c) Convicted rapists.	88.4%	8.9	1.6	-	0.9	0.2
d) Convicted sexual offenders other than rapists.	76.4%	14.1	5.6	0.2	2.3	1.4
e) Those guilty of domestic violence against women.	49.0%	26.7	17.8	0.2	5.6	0.7
f) Convicted dealers of hard drugs such as heroin or cocaine who sell drugs for profit.	80.8%	12.3	6.0	0.2	0.2	0.4
g) Convicted dealers of hard drugs such as heroin or cocaine who are addicts themselves and sell drugs to feed their drug habit.	58.8%	20.1	17.2	1.7	1.5	0.6
h) Those convicted of crimes such as burglaries or break-ins.	43.1%	28.3	24.2	0.7	2.9	0.7
i) Those convicted of car theft.	36.7%	24.7	32.1	2.3	2.8	1.4
j) Juvenile offenders under age 17 who are guilty of a violent crime.	45.2%	20.6	23.5	4.1	5.9	0.7

27A/B. Next, for each of the following, please tell me how effective, if at all, you think that it is or would be in substantially reducing crime -- very effective, fairly effective, not too effective, or not really effective at all. First, take. .

	-----EFFECTIVE-----				DON'T KNOW/ NO ANSWER
	VERY	FAIRLY	NOT TOO	NOT AT ALL	
a) Life imprisonment with no parole for convicted murderers.	54.2%	27.6	10.5	3.7	4.0
b) Capital punishment for convicted murderers.	44.9%	24.5	12.1	10.4	8.1
c) Life imprisonment with no parole for those convicted three different times of a violent crime.	51.3%	27.0	11.2	4.3	6.3
d) For all people sent to prison, making them serve their full sentence with no time off for good behavior.	39.1%	32.7	16.6	5.8	5.7
e) Getting rid of things like television sets and gyms for prisoners, and concentrating on punishing them for their crimes.	30.3%	21.1	24.4	17.9	6.2
f) Mandatory, long prison sentences with no parole for convicted dealers of hard drugs such as heroin or cocaine who sell drugs for profit .	45.9%	35.6	9.9	5.9	2.7
g) Mandatory prison sentences with no parole for convicted dealers of hard drugs such as heroin or cocaine who are addicts themselves and sell drugs to feed their drug habit.	30.1%	34.4	18.4	13.2	3.9
h) Making convicted criminals pay back their victims and the community for the harm they have caused.	50.6%	32.0	8.6	5.3	3.5
i) Sending juvenile offenders to tough boot camps -- where they are forced to learn discipline.	53.4%	34.3	6.2	2.0	4.1
j) Mandatory prison sentences with no parole for juvenile offenders under age 17 who are guilty of violent crimes.	31.0%	37.6	15.4	8.4	7.6
k) Sending only those convicted of violent crimes and dealers of hard drugs to prison, and sentencing those convicted of lesser crimes to probation under close monitoring and control.	29.8%	37.8	17.8	9.4	5.2
l) Putting more police on the streets.	50.5%	34.6	10.4	2.2	2.3

(QUESTION 27 CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

(QUESTION 27 CONTINUED)

	-----EFFECTIVE-----				
	<u>VERY</u>	<u>FAIRLY</u>	<u>NOT TOO</u>	<u>NOT AT ALL</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW/ NO ANSWER</u>
m) More community policing under which the police, especially those on the street, work with communities and neighborhoods to prevent crime and put pressure on criminals, gang members, and youthful offenders.	66.0%	29.4	2.2	1.1	1.3
n) Mandatory prison sentences with no parole for those convicted of crimes involving the use of a handgun.	41.5%	37.6	13.4	4.3	3.2
o) Trying to rehabilitate and reform those sent to prison.	23.6%	48.7	19.2	5.5	2.9
p) More treatment for prison inmates who are drug addicts or alcoholics.	33.0%	47.8	13.1	3.5	2.7
q) Banning the ownership and sale of assault weapons.	49.6%	27.2	12.5	7.9	2.9
r) Teaching prison inmates to be able to read, write and do arithmetic at a high school level.	49.6%	37.6	9.2	1.8	1.9
s) Actually requiring prison inmates to get the equivalent of a high school degree before they can be released from prison.	41.8%	37.0	11.4	6.8	3.1
t) More job training for prison inmates -- training them for real jobs when they get out.	48.9%	38.9	7.6	3.0	1.6
u) Closer monitoring, supervision and control of those who are paroled from prison or put on probation.	53.1%	38.6	3.7	1.3	3.2
v) Frequent drug testing for those on parole or probation, and punishment and taking away privileges for those who fail.	56.5%	33.3	5.2	2.4	2.6
w) Putting more emphasis and money on pre-school education for children.	49.3%	26.4	13.2	8.1	3.0
x) Putting more emphasis and money on dealing with abused, neglected or problem children before they get into really serious trouble.	66.0%	27.1	4.1	1.3	1.5
y) Doing more to prepare inmates for release from prison by gradually moving them to a lower security level in prison, to work-release programs, to half-way houses and the like.	35.3%	43.2	11.0	5.3	5.1

28. Have you, yourself, been the victim of a crime within the last year or two?

YES, HAVE (CONTINUE)-----	11.8%
NO, HAVE NOT (SKIP TO Q. 30)-----	88.2
DON'T KNOW, DON'T REMEMBER, NO ANSWER (SKIP TO Q. 30)-----	-

BASED ON EVERYONE, ASKED IF "YES, HAVE"

29. Was it a violent crime?

YES-----	2.1%
NO, DON'T KNOW, DON'T REMEMBER, NO ANSWER-----	9.7
NOT A VICTIM OF A CRIME-----	88.2

30. Has someone else in your household been the victim of a crime within the last year or two?

YES, HAS (CONTINUE)-----	11.4%
NO, HAS NOT (SKIP TO Q. 32)-----	88.4
DON'T KNOW, DON'T REMEMBER, NO ANSWER (SKIP TO Q. 32)-----	0.2

BASED ON EVERYONE, ASKED IF "YES, HAS"

31. Was it a violent crime?

YES-----	4.4%
NO, DON'T KNOW, DON'T REMEMBER, NO ANSWER-----	7.0
NOT A VICTIM OF A CRIME-----	88.6

NEXT, A FEW QUESTIONS FOR BACKGROUND PURPOSES ONLY.

32. Next, in your political thinking, do you think of yourself as being very liberal, somewhat liberal, somewhat conservative or very conservative?

VERY LIBERAL-----	7.1%
SOMEWHAT LIBERAL-----	35.2
SOMEWHAT CONSERVATIVE-----	34.1
VERY CONSERVATIVE-----	8.7
(DO NOT READ ALOUD)	
NONE OF THESE/MODERATE/MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD, ETC.-----	14.2
DON'T KNOW, NO ANSWER-----	0.7

33. Are you employed full-time outside the home, part-time or are you not employed outside the home?

FULL-TIME -----	56.6%
PART-TIME -----	12.2
NOT EMPLOYED OUTSIDE HOME -----	31.0
NO ANSWER -----	0.2

34. Do you have any children under age 18?

YES, (CONTINUE) ----- 33.8%
 NO (SKIP TO Q. 36) ----- 64.8
 NO ANSWER (SKIP TO Q. 36) ----- 1.4

BASED ON EVERYONE, ASKED IF "YES"

35. Do you have any children under age 6 living at home with you?

YES----- 12.2%
 NO----- 21.6
 NO ANSWER-----
 DON' T HAVE CHILDREN
 UNDER AGE 18----- 66.2

36. Do you come from a Hispanic or Latino or Spanish-speaking background?

YES (SKIP TO Q.39) ----- 2.2%
 NO, DON'T KNOW, NO ANSWER
 (CONTINUE) ----- 97.8

BASED ON EVERYONE, ASKED IF "NO" OR "DON'T KNOW" OR "NO ANSWER"

37. What is your race -- are you white, black, American Indian, Oriental or Asian, or something else?

WHITE----- 95.2%
 BLACK----- 0.9
 AMERICAN INDIAN----- 0.2
 ORIENTAL/ASIAN----- 0.2
 HISPANIC/LATINO----- 2.2
 OTHER----- 0.5
 NO ANSWER----- 0.7

38. Which particular ethnic group or nationality -- such as English, French, Irish, Greek, German, Italian, Portuguese, Polish, Hispanic or Latino, Asian, Jewish, black or African-American and so forth -- do you consider yourself a part of or feel closest to? (IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS MORE THAN ONE, ASK: "Which of these do you feel closest to?" IF "BOTH", RECORD FIRST GROUP MENTIONED).

NONE, AMERICAN----- 21.5%
 ENGLISH----- 16.2
 FRENCH/FRENCH CANADIAN----- 8.7
 IRISH----- 20.9
 GREEK----- 0.7
 GERMAN----- 2.1
 ITALIAN----- 9.6
 PORTUGUESE----- 3.0
 POLISH----- 1.5
 HISPANIC/LATINO----- 2.2
 ASIAN----- 0.2
 JEWISH----- 1.8
 BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN----- 0.4
 OTHER (SPECIFY)----- 9.0
 DON'T KNOW, NO ANSWER----- 2.2

39. Which of the following describes your own educational background -- did not complete high school, high school graduate, some college, graduate of a two-year college, graduate of a four-year college, attended post graduate or professional school but did not graduate, or do you have a post-graduate or professional school degree?

DID NOT COMPLETE HIGH SCHOOL-----	4.7%
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE-----	19.2
SOME COLLEGE-----	15.7
2-YEAR COLLEGE GRADUATE-----	11.6
4-YEAR COLLEGE GRADUATE-----	21.1
ATTENDED POST-GRADUATE SCHOOL BUT DID NOT GRADUATE-----	5.6
POST GRADUATE/PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL DEGREE-----	21.8
NO ANSWER-----	0.2

40. Finally, we need to know which one of the following broad categories covers your total family income last year -- that is, 1996... (READ CATEGORIES 1 THROUGH 13 ALOUD).

LESS THAN \$3,000-----	0.5%
\$ 3,000 - \$ 4,999-----	0.8
\$ 5,000 - \$ 7,999-----	0.9
\$ 8,000 - \$ 9,999-----	2.3
\$10,000 - \$14,999-----	1.8
\$15,000 - \$19,999-----	2.3
\$20,000 - \$24,999-----	3.5
\$25,000 - \$29,999-----	4.8
\$30,000 - \$39,999-----	9.3
\$40,000 - \$49,999-----	10.1
\$50,000 - \$74,999-----	15.3
\$75,000 - \$99,999-----	9.9
\$100,000 OR MORE-----	8.0
(DO NOT READ ALOUD)	
DON'T KNOW, NO ANSWER, REFUSED-----	30.5

STATEMENT #1

ONE LAST POINT. Most violent crime is committed by a relatively small number of hard-core, repeat criminals. That's why we've got to continue targeting our law enforcement resources at getting violent criminals off the streets and behind bars.

But, even if we're successful in getting those violent criminals off the streets, we're still missing big opportunities to control crime and make our neighborhoods safer.

Three out of four convicted criminals are out on probation or parole, not behind bars. However, right now, our probation and parole system does little or nothing to keep tabs on those offenders or punish those who violate their probation or parole. In fact, 60 percent of all the cocaine and heroin used in Massachusetts is used by criminals out on probation, parole or bail.

We have to totally revamp our probation system. We can use tougher measures like regular drug testing, electronic monitoring bracelets, and regular visits by police and probation officers to monitor and control their behavior. We can mandate participation in education, job training, treatment for drug abuse, and other constructive activities that structure the offender's day. And we can combine these efforts with automatic prison sentences for probation violations like positive drug tests -- beginning with short sentences that get longer after each violation.

Not only that, our prisons also have to become more than just crime schools -- most inmates come out of prison more hardened criminals than when they went in. And eventually, over 90% of them will get out.

Furthermore, even if they wanted to get a decent job, a huge number of these released prison inmates aren't equipped to hold one -- 40% can't read and over half have serious drug and alcohol habits. Our prison system does little or nothing to teach or train them for anything other than crime.

We need to teach inmates to read, write and do arithmetic, as well as give them basic job training. We also need more drug and alcohol treatment for them. It's only common sense, if they have a job and they're off drugs, they are less likely to return to a life of crime.

STATEMENT #2

ONE LAST POINT. Most violent crime is committed by a relatively small number of hard-core, repeat criminals. But our state prisons are so over-crowded that today many violent criminals get off without long prison sentences.

So we need to build more prison cells and to toughen prison sentences to get violent criminals off the streets. But, even with more prison cells and tougher sentencing, at any given time three out of four convicted criminals are out on probation or parole, not behind bars.

However, right now, our probation and parole system does little or nothing to keep tabs on those offenders or punish those who violate their probation or parole. In fact, 60 percent of all the cocaine and heroin used in Massachusetts is used by criminals out on probation, parole or bail.

We have to totally revamp our probation system. We must use tougher measures like regular drug testing, electronic monitoring bracelets, and regular visits by police and probation officers to monitor and control their behavior. We have to mandate participation in education, job training, treatment for drug abuse, and other constructive activities that structure the offender's day. And we must combine these efforts with automatic prison sentences for probation violations like positive drug tests -- beginning with short sentences that get longer after each violation.

Not only that, our prisons also have to become more than just crime schools -- most inmates come out of prison more hardened criminals than when they went in. And eventually, over 90% of them will get out.

Furthermore, even if they wanted to get a decent job, a huge number of these released prison inmates aren't equipped to hold one -- 40% can't read and over half have serious drug and alcohol habits. Our prison system does little or nothing to teach or train them for anything other than crime.

We have to do better at teaching inmates to read, write and do arithmetic. We've got to get more of them into drug and alcohol treatment, as well as training them to hold basic jobs when they get out. And where possible, we've got to make more of these efforts mandatory -- because they're the only proven ways to keep these convicts from committing more crimes when they finally get out.

41. Which of the things I just mentioned stands out in your mind? (DO **NOT** PROMPT. DO **NOT** PROBE. MULTIPLE RESPONSES PERMITTED).

See tables.

42. Now that you know the things I just mentioned, please tell me how effective, if at all, you think it is or would be in substantially reducing crime -- very effective, fairly effective, not too effective, or not really effective at all. First, take. . .

	-----EFFECTIVE-----				
	<u>VERY</u>	<u>FAIRLY</u>	<u>TOO</u>	<u>NOT AT ALL</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER</u>
k) Sending only those convicted of violent crimes and dealers of hard drugs to prison, and sentencing those convicted of lesser crimes to probation under close monitoring and control.	26.6%	41.5	20.0	6.5	5.4
p) More treatment for prison inmates who are drug addicts or alcoholics.	43.2%	40.3	8.7	3.4	4.4
r) Teaching prison inmates to be able to read, write and do arithmetic at a high school level.	52.9%	35.2	7.9	2.4	1.7
s) Actually requiring prison inmates to get the equivalent of a high school degree before they can be released from prison.	44.4%	37.6	10.2	4.8	2.9
t) More job training for prison inmates -- training them for real jobs when they get out.	54.9%	39.2	3.3	1.7	0.9
u) Closer monitoring, supervision and control of those who are paroled from prison or put on probation.	64.0%	29.9	2.2	1.0	2.9
v) Frequent drug testing for those on parole or probation, and punishment and taking away privileges for those who fail.	61.1%	29.8	4.8	2.0	2.3

43. Would you be willing to be interviewed by a newspaper or television reporter about your views on controlling crime.

YES----- 27.8%
 NO----- 66.9
 DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER----- 5.3

44. Would you be willing to participate in a group discussion on the subject of controlling crime?

YES----- 32.8%
 NO----- 58.7
 DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER----- 8.5

INTERVIEWER: RECORD RESPONDENT'S NAME, CITY OR TOWN, COUNTY, AND PHONE #

RESPONDENT'S NAME _____

CITY/TOWN _____ COUNTY _____

PHONE# (INCLUDING AREA CODE) _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION. WE REALLY APPRECIATE IT.

\$7.00



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