

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

Report # 3

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ROCKY MOUNTAIN SURVEY
WITH NATIONAL COMPARISONS
APRIL, 1942

Report of a Cross-Sectional Survey
in the
EIGHT ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATES
MADE BY THE
NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

April, 1942

INCLUDING COMPARISONS WITH NATIONAL OPINION ON SOME OF THE SAME QUESTIONS

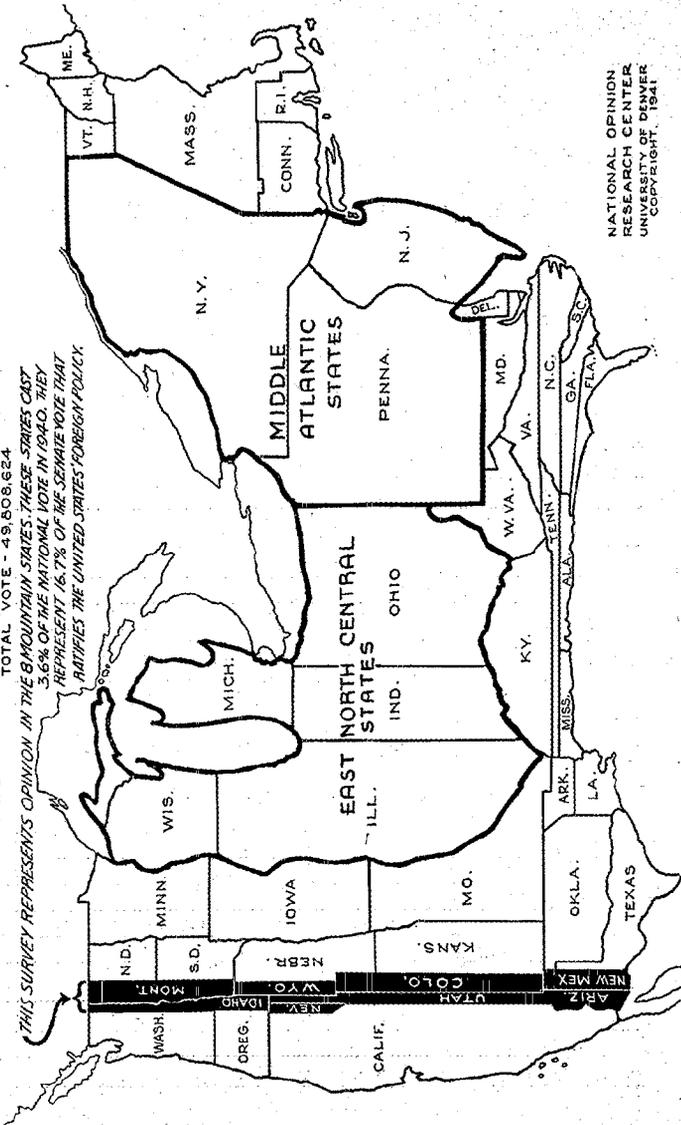
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POPULAR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT-1940

SHOWING STATES AS THEY WOULD APPEAR IF THEIR AREA WERE PROPORTIONAL TO THE POPULAR VOTE CAST IN 1940
TOTAL VOTE - 49,808,624

THIS SURVEY REPRESENTS OPINION IN THE 8 MOUNTAIN STATES. THESE STATES CAST 3.6% OF THE NATIONAL VOTE IN 1940. THEY REPRESENT 16.7% OF THE SENATE VOTE THAT APPLIES THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY.

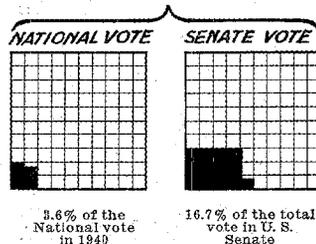


Purposes

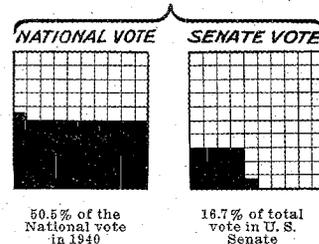
- I. To sound out public opinion in the Mountain States Census Area* on certain post-war problems of international concern, and on the part the United States might take in the world if the United Nations win the war.
- II. To determine the attitude of the people in these eight states on what the Federal government's post-war policy should be towards foreign products that are of particular importance to the Mountain area.

The Influence Voters in the Mountain States have on Foreign Affairs through their Senators

The Eight Mountain States*



The Eight Middle Atlantic and East North Central States†



Under the Constitution the President "shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur . . ." Thus the opinions of the voters in the eight Mountain states, as expressed by their Senators, on questions of foreign policy are of extraordinary weight.

Furthermore, the welfare of large sections of these states is mainly dependent on the market for and the domestic price of beef, sugar, wool and silver. As these products can be imported into the United States far more cheaply than they can be produced at home, they have in the past and may in the future influence our foreign policy—especially our relationships with our Latin American neighbors.

Method

A carefully selected cross-section based proportionally on the voting population of each of the eight Mountain states was questioned by the Center's staff of personally trained interviewers.

For Geographic Distribution, size of Cross-section, and other technical information, see page 21.

Time of Survey

The interviews on which this survey is based were made between March 25 and April 8, 1942.

*The eight Mountain States are: Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah and Wyoming.

†The Middle Atlantic States are: New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania; the East North Central are: Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin.

Summary

SENTIMENT in the eight Rocky Mountain states is as strongly in favor of America cooperating with other nations after the war to establish world peace as is the United States as a whole.

Identical questions, first presented to a national cross-section and then in a survey restricted to the eight Mountain states, reveal that over four out of five people think that if the Axis is defeated the United States should try to form some kind of a union to help keep peace and order in the world. Both surveys show a large majority agreeing that all the Allies, including Russia and Central and South American countries, should be included in such a union. About two out of five people believe that Germany, Italy and Japan should be included.

A considerable majority of both the national and regional samples are of the opinion that when hostilities end both Britain and Russia should pay us for war materials sent them under the Lease-Lend Bill. These majorities, however, are not quite so high in the Mountain area as in the nation as a whole. The Mountain States are decidedly more lenient in their attitude towards the Chinese paying for Lease-Lend than is the nation.

Nearly half of both cross-sections favor the Axis powers being made to pay as much of the cost of the war as they can afford within a time limit. Another third think that the victorious Allies should try to make Germany, Italy and Japan pay all the cost of the war. Thus 83 out of each hundred regionally, and 84 nationally expect reparations in some degree.

Both these surveys also show that a significantly large proportion of Americans, no matter where they live, are more favorably disposed to the Germans as a *people* than they are towards the Japanese as a *people*.

Thus it is established that the Mountain States as a whole are thinking very much the same as their compatriots on international questions. Whether or not this statement is also true regarding the importation of foreign products that are of particular concern to the Mountain region has yet to be ascertained. The Rocky Mountain survey reveals, however, that no less than three-quarters of the people favor either the total exclusion of foreign beef, sugar and wool, or would place quotas and taxes or both upon such products so that their sales price in this country would either equal or exceed that of our domestic products.

But this area is not so adamant regarding silver. Exactly half the sample questioned favors a price set by the government for this precious metal; 22% favor prices arrived at by competition and the remainder are without any definite opinions. Thus of those who have convictions, 69% want the present Silver Purchase Act or something like it after the war, and 31% favor the price of silver finding its own level in an open and competitive market. Furthermore, of those with definite opinions, 57% think the government should not allow silver from abroad to be sold here, 26% would allow it in without tax or hindrance, 10% favor imported silver "if necessary" and 7% would tax foreign silver or strictly limit its importation.

Part I Beef, Sugar, Wool, Silver

The following questions were presented upon the supposition that the war is over and has been won by the United Nations. Each person interviewed was handed a card with these four possible attitudes and asked:

"Which of the following statements comes closest, on the whole, to what you think our Government should do about allowing BEEF from other countries to be sold in the United States?"

(a) Our Government should not allow any beef from other countries to be sold in the U. S.	19%	
(b) Our Government should put a limit on the AMOUNT of beef from other countries to be sold in the U. S.	32	} 66%
(c) Our Government should put a tax on beef from other countries to be sold in the U. S.	20	
(b) AND (c)	14	
(d) Our Government should allow other countries to sell as much beef in the U. S. as they could with no tax on it	4	
Other	2	
No opinion or don't understand question . .	9	
		<u>100%</u>

Significant. Nearly two out of each ten people (19%) would exclude all foreign beef and only 4% would allow foreign beef to come into the country without taxation or hindrance.

Among the two-thirds (66%) majority who favor restricting foreign beef coming into the United States after the war, 32% would limit the amount, thus favoring a quota; 20% want an import duty and 14% desire both a quota and a duty.

On this question no important differences of opinion exists between those respondents who state that their incomes are directly or indirectly dependent upon the beef industry and those who state that their livelihoods are made in an entirely different field.

Women and people with less education and those in the lower economic group incline to be more hostile to the admission of foreign beef than men, those with more education and those with more money.

Reasons for Attitudes. After choosing one of the above statements, each respondent was asked to give a definite reason for his selection. The great majority of those who would exclude all foreign beef (Statement "a") state that the U. S. produces enough beef and that we don't need to import any.

"We must build up our beef industry and markets and protect our workers from foreign competition" was the reason given by a majority of those who favor either quotas or duties or both.

A majority of those who favor allowing foreign beef to come into the U. S. (Statement "d") state that we must continue trade and commerce to keep good relations with foreign countries.

Should the Price of Foreign Beef be Lower, the Same or Higher?

The 20% who selected Statement "c" and the 14% choosing both "b" and "c" were asked this additional question:

"Do you think the tax should make the price of beef from other countries be lower, the same, or higher than United States beef?"

*Based on 34% Choosing
"c" or "b" & "c"*

Lower	0.5%
Same	19.4
Higher	12.0
No Opinion	2.1
	<hr/>
	34.0%

Thus slightly more than half who were asked this question think that the tax should make the price of foreign beef the *same* as domestic beef. About one-third favor a tax making foreign beef more expensive than our own; and only a handful favor a tax that would allow beef from abroad to sell more cheaply than our domestic product.

Sugar and Wool

The same attitude scale that was asked on Beef was also asked concerning Sugar and Wool—again the question was presented on the supposition that the war is over and that the United Nations have won:

"Which of the following statements comes closest, on the whole, to what you think our Government should do about allowing SUGAR (Wool) from other countries to be sold in the United States?"

	<i>Sugar</i>	<i>Wool</i>
(a) Our Government should not allow any sugar (wool) from other countries to be sold in the United States.....	17%	14%
(b) Our Government should put a limit on the amount of sugar (wool) from other countries to be sold in the United States.....	30	33
(c) Our Government should put a tax on sugar (wool) from other countries to be sold in the United States.....	20	20
(b) AND (c).....	13	14
(d) Our Government should allow other countries to sell as much sugar (wool) in the United States as they could with no tax on it.....	7	5
Other	2	2
No opinion or don't understand question.....	11	12
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%

Significant. While the general attitude towards Sugar and Wool closely parallel that towards Beef, a slightly smaller percentage desire the total prohibition of foreign Sugar and Wool. Three more out of each hundred are prepared to allow Sugar to be imported tax exempt than favor the free entry of Beef.

The lower economic and education groups incline more towards the banning of foreign Sugar and Wool than do the higher economic and educational groups. No significant difference exists between the attitudes of men and women. (See pages 18-19 for breakdowns.)

Reasons for Attitudes. The majority of reasons given for each of the four statements both for Sugar and for Wool are similar to those given for Beef. Namely:

Of those preferring the exclusion statement ("a") a majority said:

"We produce enough and don't need to import sugar."

Of those preferring taxes or duties or both ("b" or "c" and "b" and "c") a majority said:

"We must build up our industry and markets, and protect our workers from foreign competition."

Of those preferring the "free-trade" statement ("d") a majority said:

"We cannot produce enough here" or "We must continue trade and commerce to keep good relations with foreign countries."

Should the Price of Foreign Sugar (Wool) be Lower, the Same, or Higher?

Each person interviewed who favored taxing sugar or wool was asked:

"Do you think the tax should make the price of Sugar (Wool) from other countries be lower, the same, or higher than United States Sugar (Wool)?"

	Sugar Based on 33% choosing "c" or "b" and "c"	Wool Based on 34% choosing "c" or "b" and "c"
Lower	0.3%	0.4%
Same	19.1	19.4
Higher	11.8	11.6
No Opinion	1.8	2.6
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	33.0%	34.0%

Significant. The striking similarity between the answers to this question on beef, sugar, or wool indicates that those who favor a protective tariff on one product, favor it on all.

As is the case of beef, over half of those desiring an import duty on foreign sugar and wool want it to make the price of the imported article equal that of our domestic product. Over a third would like a duty that would make the imported products more expensive than our own. Few, indeed, of those favoring a tariff are willing to have our domestic market undersold.

Silver

In an attempt to ascertain the feeling in the Mountain States regarding the Silver Purchase Act, the following question was presented:

"Some people say that it is better for the Government to make a set price which it pays for all silver. Others say that it would be better if those in the silver business would sell their silver at the price they could get for it; or, in other words, have the price set by competition. With which side do you agree?"

Set Price	50%
Competitive Price	22
Other	1
Don't Understand Question.....	5
No Opinion	22
	<hr/>
	100%

Significant. While 15% of the men were without any definite opinions, 31% of the women were unable to express an opinion. The higher economic and educational groups are more in favor of a competitive price than are the lower economic and educational groups.

Should Silver be Imported from Abroad?

Based upon the supposition that war is over and the United Nations have won, the second question relating to silver reads:

"Do you think the Government should or should not allow silver from other countries to be sold in the United States?"

Should Allow	18%
Allow if Needed.....	7
Allow if Limited or Taxed.....	5
Should NOT Allow.....	39
Other	2
No Opinion	25
Don't Understand	4
	<hr/>
	100%

Significant. Thirty people out of each 100 would allow the importation of silver from other countries with or without restriction. Yet more than twice as many people would completely exclude all foreign silver as would let it into the United States without any restrictions at all.

One out of every four people interviewed was without definite opinions on this question. This "No Opinion" category swells to 38% among women and shrinks to 20% among men.

Twice as many people in the higher educational groups would permit foreign silver into this country as are so inclined in the lower educational group (26% to 13%). Men, younger people and the higher economic groups are all more in favor of allowing foreign silver to be sold in the United States than are women, older people and the lower economic groups.

Part II

The Mountain States and a World Union After the War

It is illuminating to discover that, at this time, opinion in the Mountain States closely parallels the opinion of the whole country in believing that the United States should try to form some kind of union after the war.

A series of questions on this subject was presented to a nation-wide cross-section in February. In April, many of the same questions were asked in the Rocky Mountain area. This series began with:

"If Germany, Italy, and Japan are defeated, do you think the United States should try to form some kind of a union of the Allied Countries to help keep peace and order in the world?"*

	National Result	Mountain States Only
YES	85%	85%
NO	9	9
Depends	2	2
No Opinion	3	3
Don't Understand Question.....	1	1
	100%	100%

Significant. Thus it is established that at this time fewer than one out of ten people in the Mountain States as well as in the country as a whole indicate that they want the United States to follow an isolationist policy after the war.

*Such terms as "Union Now," "League of Nations," and "International Police Force" were ignored to avoid possible emotional or political prejudices.

Further analysis reveals that the state of Colorado is more isolationist than the nation as a whole and the other seven Mountain States. In Colorado 80% voted "Yes" and 13% "No" compared with 88% "Yes" and 7% "No" in the other Mountain States.

No significant differences in opinion are registered between the sexes, or among the various economic or age groups.

What about All the Allied Countries?

The 85% who said "Yes," and the 2% "Depends"* were then asked the next three questions:

"Do you think all the countries on the Allied side should be in this union, or just some of them?"

Of the 87% answering this Question

	National Result	Mountain States Only
ALL	77%	77%
SOME	5	5
Depends	1	1
No Opinion	4	4
	87%	87%

The 5% answering "Some" and the 1% answering "Depends" were then asked:

"Which (Allied) countries do you think should NOT be in the union?"

Significant. Of this 6% of the entire cross-section, 40 out of 100 mentioned Russia. Twenty said countries that will not cooperate or do not want to join. Seven out of 100 mentioned Britain and seven mentioned some or all of the Central and South American Countries.†

*On this and several other questions throughout the report a "Depends" group appears. This group consists of those respondents who qualified their replies so that their answers could not be classified in a specific category.

†These answers differ considerably with the national picture—see our March report.

The third question in this series deals with our neighbors to the south:

“Do you think all, some or none of the countries in Central America and South America should be in the union?”

Of the 87% answering this question

	National Result	Mountain States Only
ALL	70%	71%
SOME	5	7
Depends	2	3
None	2	1
No Opinion	8	5
	87%	87%

Comment. It will be noted that fewer people in the Mountain States than in the country only are without opinions on this question and that more would discriminate against some Central or South American country.

What about the Axis Countries?

Each respondent who favored the United States forming some kind of union was then asked:

“Do you think Germany, Italy, and Japan should be in this union?”

Of the 87% answering this question

	Germany		Italy		Japan	
	Nat.	R.M.	Nat.	R.M.	Nat.	R.M.
YES	44%	44%	44%	44%	44%	44%
NO	30	31	29	31	30	31
Depends	6	8	6	8	7	8
No Opinion	7	4	8	4	6	4
	87%	87%	87%	87%	87%	87%

The similarity between the two surveys on this question continues in the breakdowns. For example, both the national and regional surveys show that the younger people, the higher economic group and those with more education are more in favor of having the Axis powers in the proposed union than are older people, the lower economic group and those with less education.

Payment for Lease-Lend Materials

Allied War Debts may be an important problem in the post-war adjustment period. Therefore the following question was presented to a national cross-section last February. It was repeated in this survey for comparative purposes and because of the importance of the Mountain area vote in the U. S. Senate where all foreign treaties must be ratified.

“Do you think that Great Britain should or should not pay us for the war materials we have sent them under the Lease-Lend Bill? How about China? Russia?”*

	Russia		Britain		China	
	Nation- al	Mtn. States	Nation- al	Mtn. States	Nation- al	Mtn. States
Should	76%	68%	75%	72%	63%	51%
Should, but won't be able	7	7	9	7	14	14
Should not	9	12	9	9	15	21
Other	2	7	2	8	2	9
Don't know	6	6	5	4	6	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Significant. People in the Mountain area are considerably more generous in their attitude towards the Chinese paying for lease-lead materials than is the country as a whole. They are also slightly more generous towards Russia. Note that on all three questions those who choose “Other” is larger in the regional survey. Seven out of ten of these said that Russia, Britain and China should pay “as much as they can” or “as much as they are able to pay.”

*Regarding this question: It should be noted that the ways and means of collecting payment on lend-lease materials is a matter for the experts. In fact, the White House has already announced that the terms finally agreed upon “shall be such as not to burden commerce . . .”

How Much Should the Allies Try to Make Germany, Italy, Japan Pay?

This question, like the one that precedes it, is also based upon the supposition that the Allies win the war:

"Do you think the Allies should try to make Germany, Italy, and Japan pay—

	Germany		Italy		Japan	
	National	Mtn. States	National	Mtn. States	National	Mtn. States
All the cost of the war	35%	36%	34%	36%	35%	37%
As much as they can afford within a time limit set by the Allies	49	47	50	47	49	46
or						
None of the cost of the war	7	7	7	7	7	7
Other	4	5	3	5	3	5
No opinion	5	5	6	5	6	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Comment. In view of the fact that five weeks elapsed between the national survey and the one made in the Mountain States area, none of the above differences are significant. An examination of the various breakdowns shows that in the national survey more people in the upper educational group incline to be financially lenient towards the Axis than does the corresponding group in the Mountain area. Also people with educational advantages in both surveys incline to greater leniency towards the Axis than does the lower educational group.

The Conquered Countries After the War

To secure additional opinions toward the Axis powers, two further questions were presented regarding post-war problems. The first concerns the countries that the Axis has conquered and plundered:

"Do you think that after the war, Germany should be made to give up all, some, or none of the land and things she has taken since 1930?"

Identical questions were also asked concerning Italy and Japan.

Should be made to give up:

	Germany		Italy		Japan	
	National	Mtn. States	National	Mtn. States	National	Mtn. States
All land and things	77%	78%	81%	80%	83%	85%
SOME	15	13	8	6	8	6
NONE	1	1	2	2	1	1
Depends	2	2	1	2	1	1
No opinion	5	6	8	10	7	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As in the nation-wide survey, almost twice as many people in the Mountain States who have attended college approve of Germany's being allowed to keep "Some" of her gains, whereas only 10% of the less educated express such leniency.

* * * *

The 15% who answered "Some" or "Depends" for Germany were asked:

"What Should the Germans Not Have to Give Up?"

In the Mountain States over a third of these people (5% of the total cross-section) said that Germany should not have to give up any lands that were hers before the First World War. Almost another third gave such answers as "Territories that are basically German," a few made miscellaneous answers and nearly a third were unable to give specific answers.

* * * *

When the 8% in the Mountain States who answered "Some" or "Depends" concerning Italy were asked:

"What Should Italy Not Have to Give Up?"

Nearly half made no answer at all. The other half mentioned such things as, "Lands they had before World War I," or "African Possessions" or "Territories basically Italian."

* * * *

"What Should Japan Not Have to Give Up?"

Of the 7% who answered "Some" or "Depends" concerning Japan's war gains, nearly a third were unable to name anything she should not give up. One in three mentioned Manchuria or China and the remainder gave such miscellaneous answers as "Lands they need for their living space," and "Countries with large Japanese population."

Feeling Towards the German and Japanese People

In order to compare opinion in the Mountain States towards the people who live in Germany and Japan with opinion in the nation as a whole, the following attitude scale, first used in our national survey in March, was repeated in this survey. The three possible attitudes were presented to respondents on cards, one for Germany and one for Japan:

"Which of the following statements comes closest to describing how you feel, on the whole, about the people who live in Germany (Japan)?"

	German		Japanese	
	Nation al	Mtn. States	Nation al	Mtn. States
(a) The German (Japanese) people will always want to go to war to make themselves as powerful as possible	21%	17%	41%	43%
(b) The German (Japanese) people may not like war, but they have shown that they are too easily led into war by powerful leaders	30	34	27	25
(c) The German (Japanese) people are like any other people. If they could really choose the leaders they want, they would become good citizens of the world	42	43	18	15
No opinion	7	6	14	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Comment. While the figures indicate more antipathy toward the Japanese in the Mountain States survey than in the national survey, it should be realized that the two surveys were made five weeks apart. It should also be noted that more than twice as many persons in the Mountain States feel that the Japanese people are incorrigibly belligerent as think the German people will always want to go to war. Nearly three times as many feel that the Germans would become good citizens of the world if allowed to choose their leaders as think the Japanese are capable of becoming good world citizens. The fact that 17% are unable to select any one of the three attitudes as applied to the Japanese people, whereas only 6% are unable to do so for the German people, would seem to show a feeling of less familiarity with the Mikado's subjects even in the Mountain area.

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Supposing that the war is over and that the Allies have won, which of the following statements comes closest, on the whole, to what you think our Government should do about allowing BEEF from other countries to be sold in the United States?

	A Exclude All Foreign Beef	B Limit Foreign Beef	C Tax Foreign Beef	B & C Limit & Tax	D No Restrictions	Other	No Opinion	Don't Understand
TOTAL	19%	32%	20%	14%	4%	2%	7%	2%
By Sex								
Men	15	34	23	16	5	2	4	1
Women	22	31	17	13	3	2	10	2
By Age								
Under 40	18	37	19	13	5	1	5	2
Over 40	20	27	21	16	4	2	8	2
By Economic Level								
Upper	14	33	20	18	5	3	6	1
Middle	19	33	21	14	4	2	6	1
Lower	23	29	18	11	5	1	8	5
By Education								
Some or Completed College	10	38	22	16	7	3	4
Some or Completed High School	20	34	19	15	3	2	6	1
Grammar School Graduate or Less	24	26	20	12	4	1	10	3
By Place of Residence								
Farm	22	26	23	19	3	2	4	1
Non-Farm	17	35	19	13	5	2	7	2

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Supposing that the war is over and that the Allies have won, which of the following statements comes closest, on the whole, to what you think our Government should do about allowing SUGAR from other countries to be sold in the United States?

	A Exclude All Foreign Sugar	B Limit Foreign Sugar	C Tax Foreign Sugar	B & C Limit & Tax	D No Restrictions	Other	No Opinion	Don't Understand
TOTAL	17%	30%	20%	13%	7%	2%	9%	2%
By Sex								
Men	16	31	23	15	7	2	5	1
Women	19	29	17	11	7	2	13	2
By Age								
Under 40	15	34	20	12	8	1	8	2
Over 40	18	26	20	15	6	3	10	2
By Economic Level								
Upper	13	31	20	17	6	3	9	1
Middle	17	31	21	13	7	2	8	1
Lower	21	26	18	10	8	1	11	5
By Education								
Some or Completed College	10	34	22	15	11	3	5
Some or Completed High School	18	33	20	13	5	2	8	1
Grammar School Graduate or Less	22	24	19	11	7	1	12	4
By Place of Residence								
Farm	18	28	22	16	5	3	7	1
Non-Farm	16	31	19	12	8	2	10	2

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Supposing that the war is over and that the Allies have won, which of the following statements comes closest, on the whole, to what you think our Government should do about allowing WOOL from other countries to be sold in the United States?

	A Exclude All Foreign Wool	B Limit Foreign Wool	C Tax Foreign Wool	B & C Limit & Tax	D No Restrictions	Other	No Opinion	Don't Understand
TOTAL	14%	33%	20%	14%	5%	2%	10%	2%
By Sex								
Men	13	34	22	16	5	2	6	2
Women	15	33	18	13	4	2	13	2
By Age								
Under 40	13	38	19	12	5	2	9	2
Over 40	14	29	22	16	4	3	10	2
By Economic Level								
Upper	8	35	21	19	4	4	8	1
Middle	15	33	21	14	4	2	10	1
Lower	19	31	18	10	5	1	11	5
By Education								
Some or Completed College	8	36	23	17	7	3	6
Some or Completed High School	14	37	19	14	3	2	10	1
Grammar School Graduate or Less	19	27	19	12	4	2	13	4
By Place of Residence								
Farm	16	29	22	18	3	3	8	1
Non-Farm	13	35	19	13	5	2	11	2

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Some people say that it is better for the Government to make a set price which it pays for all silver. Others say that it would be better if those in the silver business would sell their silver at the price they could get for it; or in other words, have the price set by competition. With which side do you agree?

	Set Price	Competitive Price	Other	No Opinion	Don't Understand
TOTAL	49%	22%	1%	23%	5%
By Sex					
Men	54	27	1	14	4
Women	45	17	1	31	6
By Age					
Under 40	56	21	1	18	4
Over 40	43	23	1	28	5
By Economic Level					
Upper	47	26	1	23	3
Middle	50	23	1	21	5
Lower	50	19	1	25	5
By Education					
Some or Completed College	50	27	2	17	4
Some or Completed High School	52	22	1	22	3
Grammar School Graduate or Less.....	45	20	1	27	7
By Place of Residence					
Farmers	44	22	1	27	6
*Rural Non-Farm	53	17	1	22	7
Urban	51	26	1	20	2

*Rural Non-farm consists of non-agricultural workers in places under 2,500 population. These include many of the major silver mining areas.

Factual Information

ROCKY MOUNTAIN SURVEY

The Cross-Section. The sample population upon which this study was made is representative, within a small degree of error, of the voting population of the eight Mountain States. That is, the sample used is based upon certain sociological characteristics of the voting population of these states.

Geographical Distribution. Within each of the eight states, interviews were properly apportioned among the adult white population in the urban and rural areas of the state. For the urban population the interviews were apportioned to cities and towns in the correct size groups; while in the rural areas the interviews were properly apportioned among farmers and non-farmers. The interviews were obtained in each state as follows:

States	% of Cross-Section
Montana	11.7%
Wyoming	6.1
Utah	13.9
Idaho	13.2
Colorado	37.0
Arizona	4.8
New Mexico	10.3
Nevada	3.0
	<hr/> 100.0%

Size of Cross-Section. As a result of statistical research, it is now known that a poll will not be accurate, no matter how large a sample is taken (short of a total census of the entire population), if the cross-section is not an accurate miniature of the whole population.

According to a statistical table copyrighted by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, the number of interviews necessary to be within 3% correct on questions that divide evenly in a survey is 2,500. This number is sufficient 997 times in 1,000. This same table adds that HALF this sample, or 1,250 interviews, would be within 3%, 962 times in 1,000. The Mountain States survey reported in these pages is based on 2,500 interviews. The national survey on 2,600 interviews.

Sex. The sample included an equal number of men and women.

Age. Within each sex group half the interviews were obtained from persons between 21 and 40 years of age and half from persons over 40 years.

Economic Status. Within each sex group the interviews among the white population were assigned on the basis of four standard-of-living categories. For purposes of tabulation the two upper groups are combined in this report. Persons on relief are included within the lowest economic group. The economic characteristics of persons in each one of these three groups can be defined roughly as follows:

Upper (23% of sample)—Those persons who have all the necessities of life and most or some of the luxuries characteristic to their community. Four and one-half per cent of the sample is made up of what is understood as the prosperous and wealthy group. The remaining eighteen and one-half per cent is made up of persons who can afford some luxuries, but must choose rather carefully between which ones to buy.

Middle (55% of the sample)—This group is called the great middle class in America. They have large enough incomes to maintain an adequate standard of living but can seldom afford luxuries.

Lower (22% of the sample)—This group includes both people from families on relief and also the lowest income non-relief families. These people have difficulty maintaining an adequate standard of living.

The National Survey. The interviews on which the national survey reported in these pages is based were made between February 9 and 16, 1942.

The national cross-section was based on the same principles as those used for the Rocky Mountain survey, with these minor differences.

In the Mountain States the interviews were distributed among the states on the basis of their total vote in the 1940 Presidential election. For the national survey the interviews were distributed among the nine Census Divisions on the basis of their population over 21 years of age.

Economic Groups. On account of regional variations in the distribution of incomes, the economic groups for the Mountain States contain somewhat different proportions of the population than in the total national population. The relationship is indicated below:

<i>Economic Group</i>	<i>Mtn. States</i>	<i>National</i>
Upper	23%	29%
Middle	55	42
Lower	22	29

Purposes of the National Opinion Research Center

1. . . to establish the first non-profit, non-commercial organization to measure public opinion in the United States. Through a national staff of trained investigators, representative cross-sections or samples of the entire population will be personally interviewed on questions of current importance.
2. . . to make available to legislators, government departments, academicians, and non-profit organizations a staff of experts in the science of public opinion measurement, and a highly trained nation-wide corps of interviewers.
3. . . to analyze and review the results of surveys made by other polling organizations.
4. . . to create at the University of Denver a research Center to discover, test and perfect new methods, techniques and devices for ascertaining the status of public opinion.
5. . . to provide at the University of Denver a graduate department devoted to the study of the new science of public opinion measurement.

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Supplement to Report #3

Supplement to Cross-Sectional Survey

made in the

EIGHT ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATES

BY THE

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

May, 1942

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This supplement covers a series of questions aimed to disclose the feeling of the people in the Mountain Census Region towards regulation by the Federal Government after the war of gas companies, banks, labor unions, chain stores, and railroads. Also their views on Federal or State control of old age pensions, unemployment insurance, public schools and water rights.

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For all Factual information concerning method, size of cross-section, time, etc., see original report entitled—"Rocky Mountain Survey—with national comparisons, April, 1942."

More or Less Federal Regulation after the War?

With a view to exploring public sentiment in the Mountain states upon the regulation, after the war, of Labor Unions and certain large industries by the Federal Government, a series of five questions were asked. Except for the subjects the questions were identical in wording. For example, the first one read:

After the war, do you think the Federal Government should regulate gas and electric companies more or less than it did before the war started (say 1938)?

The second question substituted "Banks" for "Gas and Electric Companies," and so forth. On these questions the large percentage who were unable to express opinions (mostly among women) makes it advisable to present the results in two ways. First including the "No Opinion" and second, excluding it.

	Gas & Elec. Companies	Banks	Labor Unions	Chain Stores	Rail- roads
More Regulation.....	39	26	66	38	27
Same Regulation.....	26	52	13	32	39
Less Regulation.....	14	8	6	8	11
Depends.....	1	1	2	1	1
No Opinion.....	20	13	13	21	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Excluding "No Opinion"

More Regulation.....	49	30	76	49	34
Same Regulation.....	31	60	15	40	50
Less Regulation.....	18	9	7	10	15
Depends.....	2	1	2	1	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Significant. The over-all views of people with opinions on these questions reveals that when those answering "MORE regulation" are combined with those favoring the "SAME amount of regulation," they total at least 80% of the population in the Rocky Mountain area. Fewer than two out of ten (18%) people favor "LESS regulation" on any of these types of enterprises.

Further breakdowns of these questions show that with the exception of "labor unions," the upper economic group and higher educational group are, in each instance, less in favor of additional regulation by the Federal government than are the lower economic and educational groups.

1. **Gas and Electric Companies.** Those who favor MORE regulation are over two and a half times as numerous as those who desire LESS regulation. Among those with opinions 49 out of each 100 vote for additional regulation by the Federal government.

Variations in these opinions are greatest between Colorado and the other seven Mountain states, respectively—Arizona, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming. For example, only 41% desire MORE regulation in Colorado compared with 53% in the rest of the region.

Further breakdowns show that 26% of the upper economic level favor LESS regulation, but only half that number are of that opinion in the lower economic group. (Breakdowns page 5.)

2. **Banks.** A majority of people approve the present amount of regulation both in the region as a whole and in Colorado. Those who desire MORE regulation of banks climb from 23% among the upper economic level to 40% among the lower economic level. (Breakdowns page 5.)

3. **Labor Unions.** Three out of four (76%) persons with opinions desire MORE government regulation of labor unions in the region as a whole. This majority mounts to four out of five (82%) among the upper income and 80% for the higher educational groups. Opinion on this question in Colorado corresponds to that in the other seven states. (Breakdowns page 6.)

4. **Chain Stores.** Here the pattern of opinion closely parallels that concerning gas and electric companies. Nearly half (49%) favor some additional Federal regulation, and four out of ten (40%) vote for the SAME amount of regulation.

As in the case of gas and electric companies, a majority, 53%, of those with opinions want MORE regulation in the other seven states compared to only 41% voting for MORE in Colorado. (Breakdowns page 6.)

5. **Railroads.** Opinion on this question resembles that concerning banks. The chief differences appear between Colorado and the remainder of the region. For example, in Colorado nearly six out of ten (57%) are satisfied with the amount of Federal regulation, whereas fewer than five out of ten (47%) are satisfied with the present amount of regulation in the rest of the region. (Breakdowns page 7.)

Federal versus States Control

The constitutionally old problem of state versus federal control will probably be an important issue once the war is over. It seems important, therefore, to ascertain opinion during the war so that comparisons can be made after hostilities cease.

In order to present a reasonably rounded picture, four questions on this subject were included in this Rocky Mountain Survey. The first two—Old Age Pensions and Unemployment Insurance—are already largely controlled or supported by the Federal government; the third—the Public School System—receives little support from, and is in no way controlled by, the government in Washington; and the fourth—Water Rights—has under the present administration become increasingly a matter of Federal concern.

The first question read:

"Do you think that old age pensions should be mostly controlled by the Federal Government, or mostly controlled by each State Government?"

The second question substituted "Unemployment Insurance" for "Old Age Pensions," and so forth.

Again the somewhat high percentage without any definite opinions on these questions (mostly among women) make it desirable to present the results in two ways.

	Old Age Pensions	Unemp. Ins.	Public School Systems	Water Rights
Federal	57	53	21	26
State	31	30	68	54
Neither	2	2	1	1
Depends	1	1	1	1
No Opinion	9	14	9	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Excluding "No Opinion"

Federal	63	62	23	32
State	34	35	75	66
Neither	2	2	1	1
Depends	1	1	1	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Comment. People are satisfied with the status quo. A clear majority favors the Federal government having most of the control of Old Age Pensions (63%), and Unemployment Insurance (62%). A majority also favors the various States having most of the control of the Public School System and Water Rights.

Significant. It is interesting to discover that on each of these questions men and the lower economic group are *more* in favor of Federal control and *less* in favor of State control than are women and the upper economic group.

Another significant difference exists between the citizens of Colorado compared with the other seven states. Colorado is in each instance *more* in favor of State control and, with the exception of Unemployment Insurance, *less* in favor of Federal control than the remainder of the Mountain area. (Breakdowns page 7.)

BREAKDOWNS

"After the war, do you think the Federal Government should regulate GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANIES more or less than it did before the war started (say 1938)?"

	% Respondents with Opinions—100%				No Opinion % All Respondents
	More	Same	Less	Depends	
TOTAL	49%	31%	18%	2%	20%
By Sex					
Men	52	28	18	2	12
Women	45	35	18	2	27
By Age					
Under 40	50	35	14	1	19
Over 40	48	28	22	2	20
By Economic Level					
Upper	44	29	26	1	16
Middle	50	32	16	2	19
Lower	51	34	13	2	26
By Education					
Some or Completed College	47	27	25	1	10
Some or Completed High School	47	36	16	1	21
Grammar School Graduate or Less	52	31	14	3	25
By States					
Colorado	41	39	19	1	25
*Seven Other States	53	28	17	2	17

*These states are: Arizona, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah and Wyoming.

"After the war, do you think the Federal Government should regulate BANKS more or less than it did before the war started (say 1938)?"

	% Respondents with Opinions—100%				No Opinion % All Respondents
	More	Same	Less	Depends	
TOTAL	30%	60%	9%	1%	13%
By Sex					
Men	31	58	10	1	7
Women	28	62	9	1	20
By Age					
Under 40	30	62	7	1	14
Over 40	30	58	11	1	13
By Economic Level					
Upper	23	63	13	1	10
Middle	29	61	9	1	13
Lower	40	54	5	1	19
By Education					
Some or Completed College	26	59	14	1	7
Some or Completed High School	28	62	9	1	14
Grammar School Graduate or Less	36	58	6	*	19
By States					
Colorado	22	67	11	*	14
Other 7 States	34	56	9	1	14

*Less than 0.5%.

"After the war, do you think the Federal Government should regulate LABOR UNIONS more or less than it did before the war started (say 1938)?"

	% Respondents with Opinions=100%				No Opinion % All Respondents
	More	Same	Less	Depends	
TOTAL	76%	15%	7%	2%	13%
By Sex					
Men	75	16	7	2	6
Women	77	15	6	2	20
By Age					
Under 40.....	76	15	7	2	11
Over 40.....	76	15	6	3	15
By Economic Level					
Upper	82	10	6	2	9
Middle	75	15	7	3	13
Lower	70	21	7	2	16
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	80	10	7	3	7
Some or Completed High School....	76	16	6	2	13
Grammar School Graduate or Less	71	20	7	2	17
By States					
Colorado	75	18	5	2	15
7 Other States.....	76	14	8	2	12

"After the war, do you think the Federal Government should regulate CHAIN STORES more or less than it did before the war started (say 1938)?"

	% Respondents with Opinions=100%				No Opinion % All Respondents
	More	Same	Less	Depends	
TOTAL	49%	40%	10%	1%	21%
By Sex					
Men	48	39	11	2	15
Women	49	42	8	1	27
By Age					
Under 40.....	50	42	7	1	21
Over 40.....	48	38	12	2	21
By Economic Level					
Upper	47	35	16	2	18
Middle	49	42	8	1	20
Lower	50	42	7	1	27
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	48	35	15	2	14
Some or Completed High School....	48	43	7	2	20
Grammar School Graduate or Less	50	41	8	1	27
By States					
Colorado	41	47	10	2	23
7 Other States.....	53	37	9	1	20

"After the war, do you think the Federal Government should regulate RAILROADS more or less than it did before the war started (say 1938)?"

	% Respondents with Opinions=100%				No Opinion % All Respondents
	More	Same	Less	Depends	
TOTAL	34%	50%	15%	1%	22%
By Sex					
Men	33	50	16	1	11
Women	35	51	13	1	33
By Age					
Under 40.....	35	52	12	1	22
Over 40.....	33	48	18	1	22
By Economic Level					
Upper	29	50	20	1	17
Middle	34	51	14	1	20
Lower	42	47	10	1	29
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	32	47	20	1	12
Some or Completed High School....	32	53	14	1	24
Grammar School Graduate or Less	40	49	10	1	26
By States					
Colorado	25	57	17	1	25
7 Other States.....	39	47	13	1	20

"Do you think that OLD AGE PENSIONS should be mostly controlled by the Federal Government, or mostly controlled by each State Government?"

	% Respondents with Opinions=100%				No Opinion % All Respondents
	Federal	State	Neither	Depends	
TOTAL	63%	34%	2%	1%	9%
By Sex					
Men	68	28	2	2	5
Women	58	39	2	1	13
By Age					
Under 40.....	61	37	1	1	8
Over 40.....	66	31	2	1	10
By Economic Level					
Upper	57	39	2	2	9
Middle	63	34	2	1	9
Lower	70	27	2	1	10
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	63	34	2	1	7
Some or Completed High School....	60	36	2	2	8
Grammar School Graduate or Less	68	29	2	1	12
By States					
Colorado	57	38	3	2	11
Other 7 States.....	67	31	1	1	8

"Do you think that UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE should be mostly controlled by the Federal Government, or mostly controlled by each State Government?"

	% Respondents with Opinions=100%				No Opinion % All Respondents
	Federal	State	Neither	Depends	
TOTAL	62%	35%	2%	1%	14%
By Sex					
Men	66	31	2	1	8
Women	57	40	2	1	21
By Age					
Under 40.....	59	39	1	1	11
Over 40.....	65	31	3	1	17

	% Respondents with Opinions=100%				No Opinion % All Respondents
	Federal	State	Neither	Depends	
By Economic Level					
Upper	56%	39%	4%	1%	12
Middle	63	35	2	*	13
Lower	65	32	2	1	19
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	61	35	3	1	7
Some or Completed High School....	60	38	2	*	13
Grammar School Graduate or Less	66	31	2	1	21
By States					
Colorado	60	37	2	1	18
Other 7 States.....	63	34	2	1	12

*Less than 0.5%.

"Do you think that PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS should be mostly controlled by the Federal Government, or mostly controlled by each State Government?"

	% Respondents with Opinions=100%				No Opinion % All Respondents
	Federal	State	Neither	Depends	
TOTAL	23%	75%	1%	1%	9%
By Sex					
Men	25	74	*	1	6
Women	22	76	1	1	12
By Age					
Under 40.....	26	73	1	*	7
Over 40.....	21	77	1	1	10
By Economic Level					
Upper	19	79	1	1	6
Middle	23	75	1	1	8
Lower	30	69	*	1	13
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	26	72	1	1	3
Some or Completed High School....	20	79	1	*	8
Grammar School Graduate or Less	27	72	*	1	14
By States					
Colorado	19	79	1	1	11
Other 7 States.....	26	73	*	1	7

*Less than 0.5%.

"Do you think that WATER RIGHTS should be mostly controlled by the Federal Government, or mostly controlled by each State Government?"

	% Respondents with Opinions=100%				No Opinion % All Respondents
	Federal	State	Neither	Depends	
TOTAL	32%	66%	1%	1%	18%
By Sex					
Men	36	62	1	1	8
Women	26	72	1	1	27
By Age					
Under 40.....	31	68	*	1	17
Over 40.....	32	66	1	1	19
By Economic Level					
Upper	30	68	1	1	14
Middle	30	68	1	1	17
Lower	36	62	1	1	22
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	36	62	*	2	12
Some or Completed High School....	26	72	1	1	18
Grammar School Graduate or Less	36	63	*	1	22
By States					
Colorado	21	76	1	2	20
Other 7 States.....	38	61	*	1	16