

**Anti-Inflation
Measures - - -**

**NATIONAL
OPINION
RESEARCH
CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER**

Report # 4

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**NATIONAL SURVEY
JUNE, 1942**

Report of a Nation-wide Sampling Survey

on

Anti-Inflation Measures . . .

MADE BY THE

**NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER**

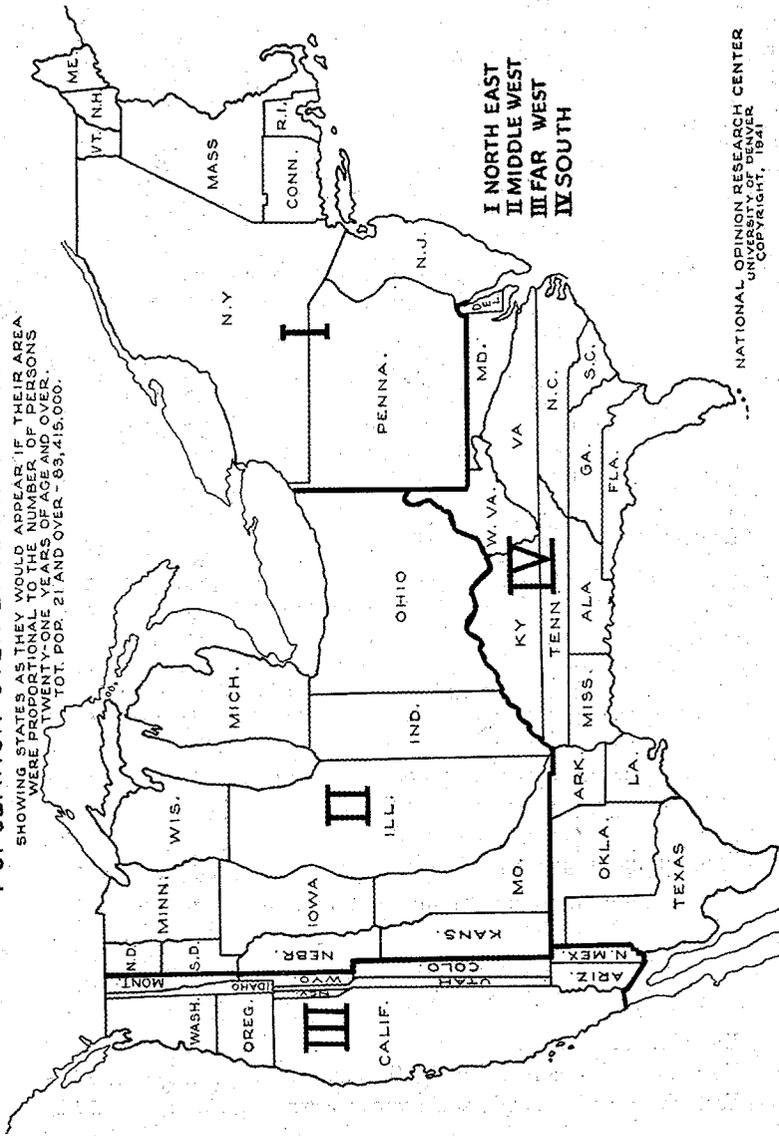
June, 1942

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Distorted Map showing adult population by states.....	2
Purposes, Method, etc.....	3
Summary	4
 PART I	
<i>Attitudes towards</i>	
. . . Limits on Wages and Salaries during the War.....	5
. . . Enforced Savings.....	6
. . . Federal Sales Tax.....	7
. . . Limiting Business Profits.....	8
. . . Pay-day Deductions of Income Tax.....	9
. . . Present Price Control Laws.....	10-11
. . . Present Limits on Installment Buying.....	11-12
 PART II	
How Long will the War Last? (with comparisons).....	12
Extra Hour of Daylight Saving.....	13
Breakdowns.....	14-19
Factual Information regarding this Survey.....	20-21
Facts about National Opinion Research Center.....	22-23

POPULATION OVER 21 YEARS OF AGE - 1940

SHOWING STATES AS THEY WOULD APPEAR IF THEIR AREA WERE PROPORTIONAL TO THE NUMBER OF PERSONS TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER. TOT. POP. 21 AND OVER - 83,415,000.



Purposes

I. In the belief that INFLATION at this time would hinder our war effort, certain measures already have been put into effect to prevent rising prices. Other measures are being discussed or considered.

This survey aims to sound out the public's attitude toward five anti-inflation measures that have already been suggested and nationally discussed.

For comparative purposes two questions on anti-inflation measures that have already been put into effect are included—present price ceilings and present limits on installment buying.

II. The survey also includes a question on how much longer people surmise the war will last. The question was reported in our March study enabling comparisons to be presented.

Method

A carefully selected nation-wide cross-section or sample of the entire population over 21 years of age was questioned by the Center's national staff of personally trained interviewers.

The distorted map on the opposite page shows the relative weight of each state in the cross-section on which this survey is based. It also divides the country into four sections. Some breakdowns in this report are given by these four sections.

For Geographical Distribution, Size of Cross-Section, Economic Status, etc., see Factual Information on pages 20-21.

Time of Survey

The interviews on which this survey is based were made between May 20th and 27th, 1942.

Summary

THE finding of this survey indicates that a majority of the American people is prepared to make more sacrifices to aid the war effort than have yet been demanded of them. It shows that the people are ready to accept legislation and tax measures which many experts believe will be necessary to forestall inflation.

For example, today a majority indicates its willingness to have the government take a certain percentage of each person's wages or salary for Defense Bonds or Stamps provided such bonds or stamps could be cashed in case of a family emergency. This, apparently, they were not prepared to approve three months ago. (See March Report.) Again, although a majority thinks that a Federal Sales Tax on everything is a bad idea, this type of a Sales Tax would be approved by 61%, if foods were excluded.

No fewer than 73% of this cross-section of the general public favor placing a limit on the amount of profit to be allowed to business during the remainder of the war. How, and to what extent, profits should be limited are matters for expert opinion rather than for that of the masses. This survey also shows that 68% of the public would be willing either to freeze wages and salaries as of today or set a limit on how high they should be allowed to go during the war. Furthermore, a majority of both those who paid a tax on their 1941 incomes and those who did not pay any, is in favor of a law that would deduct income tax at its source each pay day.

When asked about the price ceilings that have already been established, only three out of each 100 people express any disapproval, while the limits already placed on installment buying are meeting with little more opposition.

A clear majority is today against an additional hour of Daylight Saving, yet this majority would apparently turn into an insignificant minority of 7% if the government said that putting the clock an hour ahead would help the war effort!

The comparatively good news and lack of really bad news during the past few weeks have influenced the opinion of many people concerning the probable length of the war. This is revealed in the comparative figures of this study with one made by the Center three months ago.

Part I. Anti-Inflation Measures

Some of the following questions dealing with the more widely discussed anti-inflation measures in the last analysis may be more a matter for experts than for the general public to decide. For example, to what extent, if at all, should business profits be limited, or, is it practical at this time to apply a ceiling to wages and salaries? These are matters of deep public concern and it seems desirable, therefore, to ascertain the general public's attitudes towards them.

a. Limits on Salaries and Wages

Various types of questions were presented to get at people's attitudes towards this much discussed subject. It was decided to hand each person interviewed a card with these four possible attitudes and to ask: "Which of the following statements comes closest to what you think should be done regarding wages and salaries during the war?"

(a) There should be no limit on how high wages and salaries can go for different kinds of jobs	15%
(b) A limit should be set on how high wages and salaries can go for different kinds of jobs	48
(c) Wages and salaries for different kinds of jobs should not be allowed to go any higher than they are now	20
(d) Something else	7
Don't Know	10
	<hr/> 100%

Significant. Almost seven out of every ten (68%) favor setting a limit on wages and salaries or of preventing them from going any higher than they are today. Only one out of five (20%), however, favor placing a ceiling on wages and salaries as of today.

The 15% against any limit on wages and salaries increases to 21% among the lowest economic group and shrinks to 10% among farmers.

The seven out of each hundred who "wrote their own ticket" made such statements as, "It's all right to fix wages if they are related to the cost of

living," "A ceiling on wages should be related to the amount of profit business is allowed to make." A few thought that the limitation should apply mainly to defense workers and a handful objected to any ceiling on farm income.

The significant breakdowns: Age, Economic and Place of Residence are shown on page 14.

b. Enforced Savings

This and the next three questions were preceded by the statement: "Here are a few questions which some people think would help the war effort. I would like to read them off, and have you tell me which ones you think are good ideas, and which you think are bad."

Mentioning the war in this manner may have influenced the responses of some people. However, this seemed to be the more realistic manner of presentation, for should any of the questions become law, the purpose will be to "aid our war effort."*

"The government should take a certain percentage of each person's wages or salary for Defense Bonds or Stamps. These bonds or stamps could not be cashed during the war except in case of an emergency in the family. Do you think this would be a good idea or a bad idea?"

Good	56%
Bad	26
Qualified Answer	13
No Opinion.....	5
	100%

Significant. Only 26% disapproved of the idea outright.† This percentage increases to 35 among those people in the cross-section who have been to

*The effect of relating some questions to the war effort is very apparent in the answers to the Daylight Saving questions—see page 13. Pretesting this questionnaire revealed, however, the impracticality of asking the questions two ways—first ignoring any connection with the war, and then re-asking them mentioning the war. It was found that after the first one or two questions respondents became conditioned to the suggestions that our war effort might be aided and answered both questions from that frame of reference.

†The Center's March Report included a question on compulsory savings which showed results at variance to the above. The differences may be accounted for by the following facts: 1. The March question specified that the bonds could not be cashed until after the war. 2. The March question was filtered and conditioned by two other questions—one regarding rising prices and the other concerning rationing. 3. Fourteen weeks elapsed between the two surveys. 4. The question in this Report was preceded by the statement: "Here is a suggestion which some people think would help the war effort."

college ("Some or Completed, College"), and decreases to 18% among the lower economic group. It is also interesting to find that the employer, self-employed and white collar groups are less in favor of the plan than are such wage and salary earners as factory, construction and service workers. Of those who qualified their answers, over three quarters stated that enforced savings should be related to present standards of living—upon the amount of a family's income and upon the size of the family group. The remainder gave miscellaneous qualifications.

When a respondent asked who would decide what constituted a family emergency, interviewers were instructed to say that the final decision would rest in the hands of the government.

The significant breakdowns: Economic, Educations, Occupation and Geographical Sections appear on page 15.

c. A Federal Sales Tax

This question was also presented as a suggestion that, according to some people, would help our war effort. It read:

(1) "There should be a Federal Sales Tax on everything that people buy during the war. Do you think this would be a good idea or a bad idea?"

Good	35%
Bad	50
Qualified Answer.....	4
No Opinion.....	11
	100%

The 50% who answered "Bad Idea" and the 11% who didn't express an opinion were asked this second question:

(2) "How would you feel about a Federal Sales Tax on everything except food?"

Good	26%
Bad	25
Qualified Answer	3
No Opinion	7
	61%

Significant. Half the general public is against a Federal Sales Tax at this time on *everything*. Only 35 out of each hundred think that such a tax

would be a good idea. However, if food were tax free, 61% (35% plus 26%) of this national cross-section would favor a Federal Sales Tax.

Considerably more opposition, whether food is included or not, to this tax idea exists in the big cities than in the rural areas. Similarly, a higher percentage is against the suggestion among the middle income group than is among the lower income group.

The 3% who conditioned their answers made such qualifications as, "It depends on the amount of the tax," "All necessities should be exempt," and "It's all right to have a manufacturers' tax."

The significant breakdowns: Sex, Economic, and Place of Residence appear on page 16.

d. Limiting Business Profits

Even if the "extent" and "how" of limiting profits are matters for experts, the general public has definite opinions on the matter. This question read:

"Here is a suggestion which some people say would help the war effort. There should be a law to limit the amount of profit a business can make for the rest of the war. Do you think this would be a good idea or a bad idea?"

Good	73%
Bad	13
Qualified Answer	2
No Opinion	12
	100%

Significant. Only 13 out of every hundred are definitely against limiting profits, while 73 favor the idea.

The 13 voting "Bad" increases to 20% among the higher economic group, to 21% among the professional and proprietor class and to 22% among those people who voted for Willkie in 1940. Yet even among these groups over two-thirds voted the idea a good one.

Among the lower income group 75% favor limiting profit, only 6% are definitely against it. Manual workers voted 78% in favor and 7% against. The significant breakdowns: Economic, Political Vote in 1940, and Occupation appear on page 17.

e. Pay-day Deductions of Income Tax

This question aimed to determine the people's attitude towards weekly or monthly payments of income tax throughout the year. Those people who paid a tax this year or expect to pay a tax next year were asked a slightly different question from those who do not expect to pay any tax. The first group was asked:

"Here is another suggestion which some people say would help the war effort. Instead of people paying their income tax AFTER THE YEAR IS OVER, there should be a law so that part of their tax would be taken each pay day THROUGHOUT THE YEAR. If at the end of the year a person had paid too much or too little, it would be settled then. Do you think this would be a good idea or a bad idea?"

Good	64%
Bad	29
Qualified Answer	1
No Opinion	6
	100%

Comment. The only significant differences of opinion occur between the various economic groups—59% of the higher group voting "Good" compared with 72% of the lower economic group; the age groups—61% of the older people favoring the proposal compared with 67% of the younger people; and sex—63% of the men approving the suggestion compared with 66% of the women. Tables showing these breakdowns appear on page 18.

Respondents who stated that neither they, nor anyone in their family are likely to pay an income tax for this year were asked the same question with this additional prefix:

"Supposing that you did have to pay an income tax for this year, what would you think of this suggestion which some people say would help the war effort? Instead of people paying..."

Good	72%
Bad	14
Qualified Answer	1
No Opinion	13
	100%

Significant. Nearly one-third (29%) of the people who paid a tax on their 1941 incomes, or expect to pay one on their 1942 incomes, would object to a law to deduct the tax at the source each pay day. But only half as many (14%) of those who do not expect to pay a tax would object to such a law.

Everyone who voted "Bad," whether taxpayers or not, was asked why he thought the suggestion was a bad idea. About one-third of them gave as their main reason for objecting—"Too much bookkeeping—too much red tape." Around a fifth stated that they prefer the present method—"Think it easier to pay the income tax once a year or quarterly." Another group representing almost a fifth object to compulsory pay day deduction because they "Don't like regimentation—don't like government interference." A few stated that if they had family emergencies during the year the deduction might cause real hardships. And some types of business men, such as commission merchants and dealers in perishable goods, thought the idea impractical for them.

No significant differences of opinion on this second question are apparent between men and women. The main difference exists between Age groups, Economic and Education groups. These breakdowns appear on page 19.

According to official reports 22,246,637 income tax returns were filed in 1942. How many of these actually paid a tax and how many tax paying families are represented is not ascertainable at this time. However, according to this survey only half (50%) of those who did not pay this year definitely think they will not be required to pay a tax next year. This question, asked only of those who did not file a return in 1942, read:

"Do you think you (or someone in your family) will pay an income tax for this year?"

Yes	29%
Don't Know.....	21
No	50
	100%

f. Present Price Control Laws

Some officials have predicted that price control would fail unless it met with public approval. Whether or not public approval insures its success remains to be seen. In any case, the plan recently

put into effect is acceptable to about nine out of ten people. This question read:

"It is now against the law for the prices of some products to go any higher during the war than they were last March. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?"

Good	89%
Bad	3
Qualified Answer.....	4
No Opinion.....	4
	100%

Comment. Farmers and the higher economic group are least enthusiastic about this law. Yet 84% of the farmers and 85% of the more prosperous are favorably inclined towards it. Six per cent of the farmers voted against it, and 4% of the higher economic level.

Because of the large agreement of groups on this question none of the breakdowns are significant.

Those who qualified their answers offered such remarks as: "It is all right if the price ceiling is related to the cost of production," and "If there is a ceiling on prices there should also be one on wages and salaries."

g. Present Limits on Installment Buying

Even before Pearl Harbor the government had started to place restrictions on installment buying. Since that event down payments have been increased and the period over which loans can extend has been shortened. The following question was asked in order to determine the people's reaction to these restrictions upon their buying habits:

"The government has been putting limits on installment buying. For instance, one of the new rules is that if a person buys something on time, he must pay for it within 12 months. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?"

Good	83%
Bad	9
Qualified Answer	3
No Opinion.....	5
	100%

Comment. Approval is weakest among the lower economic group (11% "Bad"), but even in this group 76 out of each 100 think that the restrictions are a good idea. The differences on this question are so slight that no breakdown tables are shown in this report.

Many of those who conditioned their replies say that their opinions would be influenced by the cost of the article purchased, or by financial circumstances of the purchaser. A few accept the idea of limited installment buying for the individual, but think it is bad for business concerns.

Part II

How much Longer will the War Last?

This question was asked of a similar nation-wide cross-section of adults between February 9 and 16, 1942.* At that time 8% thought the war would last one year or less. Today 26% are of this opinion. This survey shows a majority (55%) thinks the war will be over in two years or less. Three months ago only 32% held this view.

The question on both surveys read:

"How much longer do you think the war will last?"

	Today		3 Months Ago
Less than one year.....	26%	}	8%
One to two years.....	29		24
Two to three years.....	11		16
More than three years	10		34
Declined to guess.....	24		18
	<hr/> 100%		<hr/> 100%

Comment. The increase in those who declined to hazard a guess in this present study is consistent in the breakdowns. For example, last March, 13% of the men and 23% of the women refused to make an estimate. The comparative figures today are 18% men and 29% women.

Examination of the other breakdowns shows a consistent opinion among the three economic groups and the two age groups, for those who think the war will last two years or less and three years or more.

However, as a whole the rural population is less optimistic than the urban population. For example, 48% of the farmers fall into the two years or

*See the Center's Report—"National Survey, March, 1942."

less category compared with 59% of the people who live in our large cities.

No breakdowns on this question are given in this report.

Extra Hour of Daylight Saving

Although the discussion over an additional hour of daylight saving time has largely subsided since it was decided to include the question in the survey, it again emphasizes the willingness of the American people to fall in line with the government proposals to help our war effort. The first part of this question read:

"Would you be in favor of putting the clock another hour ahead for this summer? In other words, adding another hour to daylight savings time?"

Yes	35%
No difference.....	3
No	54
No opinion.....	8
	<hr/> 100%

Comment. As might be expected, farmers were more against this proposal than any other group—67% disapprove, only 23% answering in the affirmative. Among the population in our big cities the people divided evenly.

The 54% answering "No" and the 8% who failed to express an opinion were asked this second question:

"If the government said that putting the clock an hour ahead would help the war effort, would you be in favor of it?"

Yes	51%
No	7
No Opinion.....	4

62%—(54% plus 8%)

Significant. Thus it is revealed that only 7% of the entire cross-section would be against an extra hour of daylight saving if the government said it would help win the war. Among farmers and the higher economic group this 7% rises to 10%. Among the big city dwellers it shrinks to 5% and goes down to 4% among the lower economic group.

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Which of the following statements comes closest to what you think should be done regarding wages and salaries DURING THE WAR?

- There should be no limit on how high wages and salaries can go for different kinds of jobs.
- A limit should be set on how high wages and salaries can go for different kinds of jobs.
- Wages and salaries for different kinds of jobs should not be allowed to go any higher than they are now.
- Something else.

	(a) No Limit	(b) Some Limit	(c) Freeze as of Today	(d) Other Qualifi- cations	Don't Know
TOTAL	15%	48%	20%	7%	10%
By Age					
Under 40	19	49	17	7	8
Over 40	12	46	22	7	13
By Economic Level					
Upper	12	52	22	8	6
Middle	14	47	21	7	11
Lower	21	43	16	7	13
By Residence					
Farm	10	41	28	10	11
Under 2,500 Population	14	49	20	7	10
2,500-500,000	17	49	17	7	10
Over 500,000	20	48	18	5	9

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Here is a suggestion which some people say would help the war effort. The government should take a certain percentage of each person's wages or salary for Defense Bonds or Stamps. These bonds or stamps could not be cashed during the war except in case of an emergency in the family. Do you think this would be a good idea or a bad idea?

	Good	Bad	Quali- fied Answer	Don't Know
TOTAL	56%	26%	13%	5%
By Economic Level				
Upper	53	31	11	5
Middle	55	28	13	4
Lower	59	18	15	8
By Education				
Some or Completed College	51	35	11	3
Some or Completed High School	56	27	13	4
Grammar School Graduate or Less	59	20	14	7
*By Occupation				
Managerial and Professional	53	30	13	4
White Collar	55	31	11	3
Manual	59	21	15	5
Farm	57	23	12	8
By Region				
Northeast	52	31	12	5
Middle West	56	25	14	5
Far West	57	25	16	2
South	60	22	11	7

*These occupational classifications are combinations of the categories used in the 1940 Census.

Managerial and Professional includes proprietors, managers, officials, professional, and semi-professional workers.

White Collar includes clerical, sales, and kindred workers and protective service workers. **Manual** includes craftsmen, foremen, operatives, laborers, and service workers other than protective and domestic.

Farm includes farm operators, managers, and laborers.

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Here is another suggestion which some people say would help the war effort. There should be a Federal Sales Tax on everything that people buy during the war. Do you think this would be a good idea or a bad idea? Those answering "Bad" or "No Opinion" were asked: How would you feel about a Federal Sales Tax on everything except food?

(1) TAX EVERYTHING

	Good 35%	Depends 4%	Bad 50%	No Opinion 11%	Total 100%	Good 26%	Depends 3%	Bad 25%	No Opinion 7%	Total "Bad" and "No Opinion" on (1) 61%
TOTAL	35	4	48	13	100	22	3	26	6	57
By Sex										
Men	39	3	54	13	100	30	3	26	8	67
Women	30									
By Economic Level										
Upper	38	5	47	10	100	22	3	26	6	57
Middle	31	4	56	9	100	23	3	28	6	65
Lower	36	3	46	15	100	27	3	22	9	61
By Residence										
Farm	35	4	48	13	100	26	4	22	9	61
Under 2,500 Population	36	3	48	13	100	29	2	24	6	61
2,500-500,000.	35	4	51	10	100	26	3	25	7	61
Over 500,000.	33	4	55	8	100	23	4	32	4	63

(2) TAX EVERYTHING EXCEPT FOOD

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Here is a suggestion which some people think would help the war effort. There should be a law to limit the amount of profit a business can make for the rest of the war. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?

	Good 73%	Bad 13%	Depends 2%	No Opinion 12%
TOTAL	73	13	2	12
By Economic Level				
Upper	70	20	3	7
Middle	74	12	3	11
Lower	75	6	1	18
1940 Presidential Vote				
Roosevelt Voters	81	10	2	7
Willkie Voters	67	22	4	7
Didn't Vote	69	10	2	19
*By Occupation				
Managerial and Professional	69	21	4	6
White Collar	73	15	3	9
Manual	78	7	1	14
Farm	74	9	2	15

*See footnote page 15.

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Here is another suggestion which some people say would help the war effort. Instead of people paying their income tax AFTER THE YEAR IS OVER, there should be a law so that part of their tax would be taken each pay day THROUGHOUT THE YEAR. If at the end of the year a person had paid too much or too little, it would be settled then. Do you think this would be a good idea or a bad idea?

	Good	Bad	Depends	No Opinion
TOTAL	64%	29%	1%	6%
By Sex				
Men	63	32	1	4
Women	66	26	*	8
By Age				
Under 40.....	67	28	1	4
Over 40.....	61	31	1	7
By Economic Level				
Upper	59	34	1	6
Middle	66	28	1	5
Lower	72	22	*	6

*Less than 0.5 percent.

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Supposing that you did have to pay an income tax for this year, what would you think of this suggestion which some people say would help the war effort? Instead of people paying their income tax AFTER THE WAR IS OVER, there should be a law so that part of their tax would be taken each pay day THROUGHOUT THE YEAR. If at the end of the year a person had paid too much or too little it would be settled then. Do you think this would be a good idea or a bad idea?

	Good	Bad	Depends	No Opinion
TOTAL	72%	14%	1%	13%
By Age				
Under 40.....	75	13	1	11
Over 40.....	70	13	1	16
By Economic Level				
Upper	58	23	2	17
Middle	69	18	2	11
Lower	76	10	*	14
By Education				
Some or Completed College.....	64	25	*	11
Some or Completed High School.....	70	17	2	11
Grammar School Graduate or Less.....	74	11	1	14

*Less than 0.5 percent.

Factual Information

The Cross-Section—The sample population upon which this study was made is representative, within a small degree of error, of the national population over 21 years of age. That is, the sample used is based upon certain sociological characteristics of the adult population of the United States.

Geographical Distribution—Within each of the nine Census Divisions of the country interviews were properly apportioned among the adult population in the urban and rural areas of that Division. 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 obtained in each Census Division follows:

Cross Section	% of Census Division
New England.....	6.8%
Middle Atlantic.....	21.8
East North Central.....	19.7
West North Central.....	11.5
South Atlantic.....	12.4
East South Central.....	7.3
West South Central.....	9.4
Mountain.....	3.0
Pacific States.....	8.1
	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 national 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. Actually, the survey reported in these pages is based on 2,650 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. The 1940 Census shows 48% between 21 and 40, and 52% over 40 years of age.

Color—Within each Census Division were obtained the number of colored respondents proportional to the colored population in that area. These interviews were properly apportioned among Urban, Rural-non-farm, and Farm residents.

Economic Status—Within each sex group the interviews among the white population were assigned on the basis of four standard-of-living categories. The colored people were not assigned on the basis of economic level since such a large proportion of them fall into the lowest income group. For purposes of tabulation the two upper groups are combined in this report and the colored are all included in the lowest economic group. Persons on relief are also included within the third group. The economic characteristics of persons in each one of these three groups can be defined roughly as follows:

Upper (28% of sample)—Those persons who have all the necessities of life and most or some of the luxuries characteristic to their community. Six per cent of the sample is made up of what is understood as the prosperous and wealthy group. The remaining 22% is made up of persons who can afford some luxuries, but must choose rather carefully between which ones to buy.

Middle (43% 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 (29% of the sample)—This group includes both colored and white people from families on relief and also the lowest income non-relief families. These people have difficulty maintaining an adequate standard of living.

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.

Sponsors

The National Opinion Research Center has been established by a grant from the (Marshall) Field Foundation, Inc. of New York City, in association with the University of Denver.

Trustees

The National Opinion Research Center was incorporated on October 27, 1941, as a non-profit organization under the laws of Colorado. Its Board of Trustees consists of these seven members:

Caleb F. Gates, Jr., *Chancellor of the University of Denver.*

Gordon W. Allport, *Associate Professor of Psychology, Harvard University.*

Hadley Cantril, *Associate Professor of Psychology, Princeton University; Director, Office of Public Opinion Research.*

Douglas P. Falconer, *Director, The Field Foundation, Inc.; Director, Greater New York Fund.*

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Supplements to Report #4
Supplement to National Survey

made by the

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

June, 1942

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

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For all Factual information concerning method, size of cross-section, time, etc., see original report entitled -- "Anti-Inflation Measures--National Survey, June, 1942."

The large number of requests for these Reports makes it necessary for the Center to cover part of printing cost and postage by charging 10c for each copy of this Report. Ten or more copies for 7c each. Address: National Opinion Research Center, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado.

Federal Control After the War

Anticipating the possibility of a post-war renewal of the debate concerning Federal control of various economic and social activities, the Center asked the opinions of a miniature electorate as to whether they favored more Federal control or less Federal control after the war of GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANIES, BANKS, LABOR UNIONS, and RAILROADS. Following these, another series of questions concerning preference for Federal or State control of OLD AGE PENSIONS, UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, and PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS was put to this cross-section of the American public.

The Questions:

"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)? How about BANKS? LABOR UNIONS? RAILROADS?"

Note. Each person interviewed was asked to express a preference for more or less regulation "after the war" as compared with "pre-war (1938) conditions." This type of presentation was necessitated by the extraordinary nature of war-time controls by the Federal government. Undoubtedly war-time experiences of the respondents with the institutions named in the questions are effective elements in the formulation of opinions. For this reason some people may prefer to interpret the results as merely indicators of trends in opinion which may change one way or the other as the war progresses and the conditions of the following peace develop. The Center plans to trace the outline of these trends by periodic surveys on these same and additional questions.

The Results:

	Banks	Railroads	Gas and Electric Companies	Labor Unions
SAME regulation as before the war.....	43%	32%	26%	12%
MORE regulation than before the war.....	24	26	32	60
LESS regulation than before the war.....	8	11	14	5
Depends	2	1	3	3
No Opinion.....	23	30	25	20
TOTAL.....	100%	100%	100%	100%

When those without opinions are excluded the results are as follows:

	Banks	Railroads	Gas and Electric Companies	Labor Unions
SAME regulation as before the war.....	56%	45%	34%	15%
MORE regulation than before the war.....	32	37	43	75
LESS regulation than before the war.....	10	16	19	7
Depends	2	2	4	3
TOTAL.....	100%	100%	100%	100%
No Opinion.....	23%	30%	25%	20%

Comment. It will be noted that a majority of the people with opinions expressed satisfaction with the pre-war status as to Banks (56% "same regulation") while that is not true of the other three types of organizations. Only about one person in seven (15%) took this view in regard to Labor Unions.

Apart from those who answered "same," a larger proportion of respondents stated their preference for "more regulation" than favored "less regulation" for all four types of organizations. In the case of Labor Unions 75% of those with opinions preferred more regulation compared with only 7% who wanted less. This group who favor "more regulation" of Labor Unions represented 60% of the entire cross-section. With the other three types of business the people preferring "more regulation" do not constitute a majority either of the cross-section or of those who had opinions. In the case of Gas and Electric Companies, however, the number of people selecting "more" (43% of those with opinions) was greater than those who selected any other answer. (Breakdowns page 5.)

It is noteworthy that the proportion of people who were not ready to express an opinion on these questions was larger than is usually obtained on public opinion questionnaires. The "no opinion" vote ranges from 20% on Labor Unions to 30% on Railroads. Uniformly, women, the less educated, and the less secure economically, were not so prone to express opinions on these questions as were their counterparts. For this reason all the breakdown tables (see pages 5 and 6) are presented with the percentages based only on those who expressed opinions.

The Questions:

"Do you think that OLD AGE PENSIONS should be mostly controlled by the Federal Government, or mostly controlled by each State Government? How about UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE? PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS?"

The Results:

	Old Age Pensions	Unemployment Insurance	Public School Systems
Mostly Federal.....	51%	43%	19%
Mostly State.....	30	36	67
Neither.....	1	1	1
Depends.....	2	1	1
No Opinion.....	16	19	12
TOTAL.....	100%	100%	100%

When those without opinions are excluded the results are as follows:

	Old Age Pensions	Unemployment Insurance	Public School Systems
Mostly Federal.....	61%	53%	22%
Mostly State.....	36	45	76
Neither.....	1	1	1
Depends.....	2	1	1
TOTAL.....	100%	100%	100%
No Opinion.....	16%	19%	12%

Comment. More people in the sample population preferred the major part of the control of Old Age Pensions and Unemployment Insurance being in the hands of the Federal Government than wanted the control in the hands of the State Government. However, these groups do not constitute a majority of the total sample on the Unemployment Insurance question, although 53% of those with opinions favored Federal control. Sixty-one percent of those with opinions favored Federal control of Old Age Pensions.

Of those stating an opinion about Public School Systems, a large majority (76%) favored the State governments retaining the major part of the control. This group still represents a substantial majority (67%) when those without opinions were included. (See pages 6 and 7 for breakdowns.)

On these questions there was again a comparatively large proportion of people who had not made up their minds. These people without opinions were found most characteristically, as on the first series of questions, among women, the less educated and the less secure economically.

BREAKDOWNS

"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.....	32%	56%	10%	2%	23%
By Sex					
Men.....	34	52	11	3	15
Women.....	29	59	10	2	31
By Economic Level					
Upper.....	25	56	16	3	13
Middle.....	32	58	8	2	23
Lower.....	40	52	6	2	34
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	27	56	15	2	10
Some or Completed High School....	31	56	11	2	20
Grammar School Graduate or Less	35	55	7	3	32

"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.....	37%	45%	16%	2%	30%
By Sex					
Men.....	39	43	16	2	19
Women.....	34	48	16	2	41
By Economic Level					
Upper.....	29	45	24	2	20
Middle.....	37	48	13	2	30
Lower.....	46	42	10	2	40
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	32	46	19	3	16
Some or Completed High School....	35	46	17	2	29
Grammar School Graduate or Less	42	44	12	2	37

"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.....	43%	34%	19%	4%	25%
By Sex					
Men.....	46	30	20	4	17
Women.....	39	39	18	4	33
By Economic Level					
Upper.....	35	34	28	3	19
Middle.....	43	36	16	5	23
Lower.....	51	30	15	4	34
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	39	33	24	4	13
Some or Completed High School....	42	35	19	4	21
Grammar School Graduate or Less	46	32	17	5	34

"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	75%	15%	7%	3%	20%
By Sex					
Men	75	15	7	3	11
Women	74	16	6	4	30
By Economic Level					
Upper	81	9	6	4	11
Middle	75	16	6	3	20
Lower	66	22	8	4	31
By Education					
Some or Completed College	86	7	4	3	6
Some or Completed High School	75	14	8	3	16
Grammar School Graduate or Less	69	22	6	3	31

"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	61%	36%	1%	2%	16%
By Sex					
Men	66	30	1	3	9
Women	54	44	1	1	23
By Economic Level					
Upper	57	40	1	2	12
Middle	61	36	1	2	14
Lower	66	32		2	22
By Education					
Some or Completed College	58	38	2	2	8
Some or Completed High School	59	39	*	2	13
Grammar School Graduate or Less	65	32	1	2	22

*Less than 0.5%.

"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	53%	45%	1%	1%	19%
By Sex					
Men	58	40	1	1	10
Women	47	51	1	1	27
By Economic Level					
Upper	49	47	2	2	14
Middle	52	46	1	1	17
Lower	59	40	1	*	25
By Education					
Some or Completed College	49	48	2	1	7
Some or Completed High School	52	46	1	1	16
Grammar School Graduate or Less	57	41	1	1	27

*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	22%	76%	1%	1%	12%
By Sex					
Men	23	75	1	1	8
Women	20	78	1	1	16
By Economic Level					
Upper	19	79	1	1	6
Middle	21	77	1	1	10
Lower	26	72	1	1	20
By Education					
Some or Completed College	24	73	1	2	3
Some or Completed High School	19	79	1	1	8
Grammar School Graduate or Less	24	74	1	1	19

COMPARISON WITH ROCKY MOUNTAIN SURVEY

About seven weeks previous to the completion of this present survey, the Center completed a survey in the Rocky Mountain Census Division in which all of these same questions were asked. The comparative results are shown below.*

MORE OR LESS REGULATION

	Gas and Electric Companies		Banks		Labor Unions		Railroads	
	Nat'l Survey	M'tain Survey	Nat'l Survey	M'tain Survey	Nat'l Survey	M'tain Survey	Nat'l Survey	M'tain Survey
	More	43%	49%	32%	30%	75%	76%	37%
Same	34	31	56	60	15	15	45	50
Less	19	18	10	9	7	7	16	15
Depends	4	2	2	1	3	2	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No Opinion	25	20	23	13	20	13	30	22

FEDERAL OR STATE CONTROL

	Old Age Pensions		Unemployment Insurance		Public School Systems	
	National Survey	Mountain Survey	National Survey	Mountain Survey	National Survey	Mountain Survey
Federal	61%	63%	53%	62%	22%	23%
State	36	34	45	35	76	75
Neither	1	2	1	2	1	1
Depends	2	1	1	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
No Opinion	16	9	19	14	12	9

*For complete report on the Mountain Survey see "Supplement to Cross Sectional Survey made in the Eight Rocky Mountain States," May, 1942.